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

DRAWN FROM THE SECRET ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN  
AND OTHER ORIGINAL SOURCES

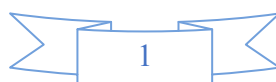
FROM THE GERMAN OF

Dr. LUDWIG PASTOR,

**VOLUME I.**

**1305-1464**

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## AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE publication of a new "History of the Popes from the Conclusion of the Middle Ages drawn from original Sources", cannot be considered a superfluous task. Apart from the special interest attaching to the annals of this the most ancient and still most vigorous of dynasties, from a purely scientific point of view, a new work embodying the substance of the numerous monographs of the last ten years, with additions and corrections from fresh original documents, seems urgently called for.

Ranke, the first in importance of all Protestant German Historians, owes his fame to his *Lives of the Popes in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, which appeared in 1834-1836, and which, even in the most recent editions, essentially represents the state of historical research at that period. The alterations made by the aged author are, with the exception of its continuation to the year 1870, confined to a small number of points. He gives but a summary notice of the Renaissance age, our knowledge of which has been immensely increased during the last few decades by the labours of learned men in Italy, as well as in Germany and France; in the latter country especially, by those of the indefatigable Eugene Müntz. A thorough acquaintance with that period is an essential preliminary to the comprehension of the sixteenth century.

When His Holiness Pope Leo XIII generously opened the secret Archives of the Vatican to students, it became evident that the History of the Popes during the last four centuries would have to be re-written. Ranke, Burckhardt, Voigt, Gregorovius, and Creighton all wrote on the Renaissance Age before these Archives were accessible, and even Reumont, whose trustworthy and exhaustive "History of the City of Rome" has been of the greatest use to me, gives but a few specimens of the rich treasures they contain. Accordingly my first task, during a somewhat prolonged residence on two occasions in the Eternal City, was to make myself thoroughly acquainted with them. My studies were greatly facilitated by the kind assistance afforded me by their custodians, and I soon became convinced that Pertz's observation, "the keys of St. Peter are still the keys of the Middle Ages" is also applicable to our own times.

In addition to the secret Archives of the Vatican, I found, while in Rome, partly by my own exertions, and partly by the aid of friends, historical materials of great value in a number of other Archives, which had hitherto been almost inaccessible. Among these are the Consistorial Archives, the Archives of the Lateran (which unfortunately have not been classified), of the Inquisition, of Propaganda, of the Sixtine Chapel, of the Secretaryship of Briefs, and of the Library of St. Peter's. Nor must the treasures of the Vatican Library be passed over, especially as Ranke and Gregorovius were only able to inspect a small number of these manuscripts.

My researches in the inexhaustible mine of the Papal collections were supplemented by those which I made in the Libraries and Private Archives of Rome. I visited the public or semi-public Libraries, which are celebrated throughout the literary world, as the Angelica, the Barberina, the Casanatense, the Chigi, the Corsini, and the Vallicellana Libraries, and also the less known Altieri, Borghese, and Boncompagni Libraries, the Archives of the Anima, of the Campo Santo al Vaticano, and of the Santo Spirito, as well as those of the Roman Princes, which, in many cases, are not easy of access. Among these the Archives of the Colonna, Gaetani, and Ricci families yielded

an unexpected amount of treasure, while others, as, for example, those of the Odescalchi and Orsini, were comparatively barren.

The overwhelming mass of documents before me decided me only to begin my systematic investigation of the Roman Archives at the middle of the fifteenth century, which we may consider as the period closing the Middle Ages, and forming the transition between two great epochs.

Ample as are the historical materials to be found in Rome, I could not limit myself exclusively to these sources without incurring the danger of being one-sided.

I therefore extended my investigations to the other Archives in Italy, especially those of the more or less important Italian powers, which were in constant communication with the Holy See, and which sent Ambassadors to Rome at an earlier date, and more frequently than is generally supposed. The diplomatic correspondence of the Sfozas in the State Archives at Milan long detained me, and I was able to fill up the gaps existing in it from the Ambrosian Library, and afterwards from the National Library of Paris. Florence, Vienna, and Mantua furnished an unlooked-for number of documents, most of which are still unknown. Lucca is not so rich, but from Modena and Naples I have gathered much that is of value for my work.

I need hardly say that in my various journeys I did not neglect the numerous rich Libraries and the important Municipal Archives which are scattered through Italy. I also investigated the collections of manuscripts in France and Germany, and at several places, as, for example, at Aix in Provence and at Treves, I made interesting and valuable discoveries.

I owe a debt of gratitude, in the first place to His Holiness Pope Leo XIII, who has most graciously been pleased to take an interest in my work, and to encourage me in its prosecution; then to their Eminences Cardinals Jacobini, Hergenrother, and Mertel, His Excellency Count Paar, Austrian Ambassador to the Holy See, Monsignori de Montel and Meszczynski, and Herr Wilhelm Hüffer in Rome; also to Fr. Ehrle, S.J., and Dr. Gottlob, the latter of whom placed at my disposal a number of documents relating to the war against the Turks.

I am also greatly indebted to the Minister of Public Worship and Education in Vienna for his kindness in regard to the transmission of manuscripts, and to the custodians and officials of the Archives and Libraries I have visited, for the assistance they have so obligingly afforded me in my investigations. I beg them all to accept my sincere thanks.

The second volume of this work will conclude the History of the Renaissance Age, and will appear as soon as possible. The subject matter of the four other volumes, which will probably complete my undertaking, will be the three great events of History since the Renaissance: the great disruption in the Western Church, the Catholic Restoration, and the Modern Revolution.

Ludwig Pastor.

15th August, 1885.

## INTRODUCTION

## THE LITERARY RENAISSANCE IN ITALY AND THE CHURCH

WITH the exception of the period which witnessed the transformation of the Pagan into the Christian world, the history of mankind hardly offers one more striking than that of the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times. One of the most powerful elements in this epoch of marked contrasts was the exhaustive appreciation and extension of the study of the ancient world, commonly known as the Renaissance, or the new birth of classical antiquity. This movement naturally began in Italy, where the memory of the classic past had never been wholly effaced, and with it opens a new epoch.

The object of this work is not to demonstrate the origin and development of this revolution, effected in science, poetry, art, and life. The historian of the Popes is only concerned with the Renaissance, in so far as it comes in contact with the Church and the Holy See.

To thoroughly and correctly appreciate this relation, we must bear in mind that in this movement which began in the realm of literature, there were from the first two conflicting currents, discernible, more or less, in its gifted founders, Petrarch and Boccaccio.

Like the author of the *Divine Comedy*, Petrarch took his stand upon the Church, and succeeded in combining enthusiastic admiration for classical antiquity with devout reverence for Christianity. His passionate love for the antique did not make him forget the sublimity of the Christian mysteries. On the contrary, the poet repeatedly and energetically declared that he looked on the Gospel as higher than all the wisdom of the ancients. "We may", he writes to his friend Giovanni Colonna, "love the schools of the philosophers, and agree with them only when they are in accordance with the truth, and when they do not lead us astray from our chief end. Should anyone attempt to do this, were he even Plato or Aristotle, Varro or Cicero we must firmly and constantly despise and reject him. Let no subtlety of arguments, no grace of speech, no renown, ensnare us; they were but men, learned, so far as mere human erudition can go, brilliant in eloquence, endowed with the gifts of nature, but deserving of pity inasmuch as they lacked the highest and ineffable gift. As they trusted only in their own strength and did not strive after the true light, they often fell like blind men. Let us admire their intellectual gifts, but in such wise as to reverence the Creator of these gifts. Let us have compassion on the errors of these men, while we congratulate ourselves and acknowledge that out of mercy, without merit of our own, we have been favoured above our forefathers by Him, who has hidden His secrets from the wise and graciously manifested them to little ones. Let us study philosophy so as to love wisdom. The real wisdom of God is Christ. In order to attain true philosophy, we must love and reverence Him above all things. We must first be Christians—then we may be what we will. We must read philosophical, poetical, and historical works in such manner that the Gospel of Christ shall ever find an echo in our hearts. Through it alone can we become wise and happy; without it, the more we have learned, the more ignorant and unhappy shall we

be. On the Gospel alone as upon the one immoveable foundation, can human diligence build all true learning”.

In justification of his love for the philosophers and poets of antiquity, Petrarch repeatedly appeals to St. Augustine, whose “tearful Confessions” were among his favourite books. “So great a Doctor of the Church”, he says, “was not ashamed to let himself be guided by Cicero, although Cicero pursued a different end. Why, indeed, should he be ashamed? No leader is to be despised, who points out the way of salvation. I do not mean to deny that in the classical writers there is much to be avoided, but in Christian writers also there are many things that may mislead the unwary reader. St. Augustine himself, in a laborious work, with his own hand rooted the weeds out of the rich harvest field of his writings. In short, the books are rare that can be read without danger, unless the light of Divine Truth illuminates us, and teaches us what is to be chosen and what to be avoided. If we follow that Light, we may go on our way with security”. Petrarch never flinched from expressing his devout sentiments; he repeatedly showed himself the apologist of Christianity, and on the occasion of his solemn crowning at the Capitol, went to the Basilica of St. Peter to lay his wreath of laurels on the altar of the Prince of the Apostles.

Yet Petrarch did not escape the leaven of his age or the influence of the dangerous elements of antiquity. He often succumbed to the sensual passion so faithfully depicted in his work, *On Contempt of the World*; his inordinate love of preferment is another blot upon his stormy life, and we discover in him not a few traits at variance with his devout Christian intuitions. Among these are his scornful attitude towards scholastic theology, which had, indeed, much degenerated, and his craving for fame. On this point we shall judge him the more leniently, if we reflect that even the heart of a Dante, whose immortal poem upholds the Christian view of the nothingness of human glory, was not impervious to this weakness. Still it is sad to see a man so eminent in intellectual gifts as Petrarch, yearning after crowns of laurel, royal favours, and popular ovations, and pursuing the phantom of glory in the courts of profligate princes. Undoubtedly this ardent passion for renown, to which the Christian conscience of the poet opposed such an inefficacious resistance, must be considered as a taint of heathenism. In the old classical authors, especially in Cicero, this ideal of human fame was so vividly presented to the mind of Petrarch, that at times it entirely eclipsed the Christian ideal.

But he has one uncontested excellence: never does a wanton or sensual thought mar the pure silver ring of his sonnets. In this respect, the most marked contrast exists between him and his friend and contemporary Boccaccio, whose writings breathe an atmosphere of heathen corruption. The way in which this great master of style and delineation of character sets at naught all Christian notions of honour and decency, is simply appalling. His idyll, *Ameto*, reeks with the profligacy of the ancient world, and preaches pretty plainly the *Gospel of free love*; and his satire, *Corbaccio*, or *The Labyrinth of Love*, displays the most revolting cynicism. A critic of no severe stamp declares that even the modern naturalistic writers can hardly outbid the defilement of this lampoon. And the most celebrated of all Boccaccio’s works, the *Decameron*, is a presentation of purely heathen principles, in the unrestrained gratification of the passions. A modern literary historian says, that the provocative, sensuous style of the stories may find its explanation—without the possibility of excuse—in the prevalent immorality of the times, and the unchaining of all evil passions, caused by the plague; their effect is all the more dangerous, from the genuine wit, with which the writer

describes the triumph of cunning, whether over honest simplicity or narrow-minded selfishness.

In his stories Boccaccio takes especial delight in heaping ridicule and contempt on ecclesiastics, monks and nuns, and with polished irony, represents them as the quintessence of all immorality and hypocrisy.

And yet Boccaccio was no unbeliever or enemy of the Church. His insolent language regarding ecclesiastical personages is by no means the outcome of a mind essentially hostile to the Church, and none of his contemporaries considered it as such. A preacher of penance, who visited Boccaccio in the year 1361, reproached him bitterly with the immorality of his writings, but not with their disloyalty. The compiler of the *Decameron* was never, even in his most careless days, an unbeliever, and in later life, after his conversion, the childlike piety of his nature reasserted itself. He eagerly embraced every opportunity of manifesting his faith, and of warning others against the perusal of the impure writings, which caused him such deep regret. The dalliance of former days with the old classic gods was quite at an end, and we have his assurance that he did not look upon learning as antagonistic to faith, but at the same time, he would rather renounce the former than the latter. His will also bears witness to his piety. Boccaccio hereby leaves the most precious of his possessions, his library, to the Augustinian Friar and Professor of Theology, Martino da Signa, on condition that he should pray for his soul; and after Martino's death he desires that the books should become the property of the monastery of Santo Spirito, and be always accessible to the monks. He wishes that his last resting place should be in the Augustinian Church of Santo Spirito, at Florence, or if death should overtake him at Certaldo, in the Augustinian Church of Saints Philip and James in that town.

The position taken up by these two founders and pioneers of the Renaissance in regard to the Church was, therefore, not by any means a hostile one, and accordingly the attitude of the Popes towards them was throughout friendly. Boccaccio went three times as Ambassador from the Florentines to the Papal Court, and was always well received there. All the Popes from Benedict XII to Gregory XI showed Petrarch the greatest favour, and Clement VI delivered the great poet from pecuniary embarrassments and procured for him the independence needed for his intellectual labours. It is, therefore, not correct to look on the movement, known as the Renaissance, the literary manifestation of which is Humanism, as, in its origin and its whole scope, directed against the Church. On the contrary, the true Renaissance, the study of the past in a thoroughly Christian spirit, was in itself a legitimate intellectual movement, fruitful in fresh results, alike for secular and spiritual science.

The many-sided and methodical study of the intellectual works of former days, with its tendency to deliver men's minds from the formalism of the degenerate scholastic philosophy, and to make them capable of a fresher and more direct culture of all sciences, especially of philosophy and theology, could not but be approved from a strictly ecclesiastical point of view. In the eyes of the Church, everything depended on the method and the aim of the humanistic studies; for the movement could only be hostile to her, if the old ecclesiastical methods were forsaken, if classical studies, instead of being used as means of culture, became their own end, and were employed not to develop Christian knowledge, but rather to obscure and destroy it.

So long, then, as the absolute truth of Christianity was the standing ground from which heathen antiquity was apprehended, the Renaissance of classical literature could only be of service to the Church. For, just as the ancient world in all its bearings could



only be fully manifested to the spiritual eye, when viewed from the heights of Christianity, so Christian faith, worship, and life, could not fail to be more amply comprehended, esteemed, and admired from a clear perception of the analogies and contrasts furnished by classic heathenism. The conditions imposed by the Popes and other ecclesiastical dignitaries upon the revived study of antiquity could but serve, as long as this study was pursued in a right spirit, to promote the interests of the Church, and these conditions corresponded with the old ecclesiastical traditions.

Proceeding from the principle that knowledge is in itself a great good, and that its abuse can never justify its suppression, the Church, ever holding the just mean, from the first resisted heathen superstition and heathen immorality, but not the Graeco-Roman intellectual culture. Following the great Apostle of the Gentiles, who had read the Greek poets and philosophers, most of the men who carried on his work esteemed and commended classical studies. When the Emperor Julian endeavoured to deprive Christians of this important means of culture, the most sagacious representatives of the Church perceived the measure to be inimical and most dangerous to Christendom. Under the pressure of necessity, books on science were hastily composed for teaching purposes by Christian authors, but after the death of Julian the old classics resumed their place.

The danger of a one-sided and exaggerated interest in heathen literature, regardless of its dark side, was never ignored by Christians. "For many", writes even Origen, "it is an evil thing, after they have professed obedience to the law of God, to hold converse with the Egyptians, that is to say with heathen knowledge". And those very Fathers of the Church, who judged the ancient writers most favourably, were careful from time to time to point out the errors into which the young may fall in the study of the ancients, and the perils which may prove their destruction. Efforts were made by a strict adherence to the approved principles of Christian teaching, and by a careful choice of teachers, to meet the danger which lurked in classical literature. Thus, history tells us, did the Church succeed in obviating the perils to moral and religious life attendant on its perusal. Zealots, indeed, often enough arose declaring, "In Christ we have the truth, we need no other learning"; and there were not wanting Christians who abhorred classical learning, as dangerous and obnoxious to Christian doctrine. But the severity, with which Saint Gregory Nazianzen blames these men, proves this party to have been neither enlightened nor wholly disinterested. In espousing the cause of ignorance, they were mainly seeking their own advancement, regardless of the great interests of science and intellectual culture in Christian society, which they would have left to perish, if they had got the upper hand. The most clear-sighted of those who watched over the destinies of the Church, were always intent on the protection of these interests, as were also the great majority of the eastern and western Fathers.

"The heathen philosophy" writes Clement of Alexandria, "is not deleterious to Christian life, and those who represent it as a school of error and immorality, calumniate it, for it is light, the image of truth, and a gift which God has bestowed upon the Greeks; far from harming the truth by empty delusions, it but gives us another bulwark for the Truth, and, as a sister science, helps to establish Faith. Philosophy educated the Greeks, as the law educated the Jews, in order that both might be led to Christ". "He, therefore, who neglects the heathen philosophy", says Clement in another passage, "is like the fool who would gather grapes without cultivating the vineyard. But as the heathen mingle truth with falsehood we must borrow wisdom from their philosophers as we pluck roses from thorns".

In like manner spoke St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and other celebrities of the early Church. They all manifested a clear perception of, and a warm susceptibility for, the beauties of classical literature. Without closing their eyes to the disadvantages and dark shadows of heathenism, they also saw the sunshine, the rays of the eternal light, which beamed forth from these glorious achievements of the human intellect; they heard the prophetic voices which rose from their midst, and sought to bring them into unison with the language of Christendom. They discriminated between the common human element contained in classical literature, and the heathen element which enfolds it; the latter was to be rejected, and the former to take its place within the circle of Christian ideas. They constantly repeated, that everything depends on the manner in which the heathen classics are read and employed in education. These expressions of disapprobation are not directed against the classics in themselves, but against a wrong spirit and a perverted method in their use; they agree in this respect with St. Amphilochius, who gave the following advice with regard to the perusal of these works: "Be circumspect in dealing with them, collect the good that is in them, shun whatever is dangerous; imitate the wise bee which rests upon all flowers and sucks only sweet juices from them". In the same sense, and with true Attic elegance, St. Basil the Great wrote his celebrated *Discourse to Christian youths, on the right use of the heathen authors*. In opposition to the unjust attacks which treated heathen books without exception as vain lies of the Devil, this great Doctor of the Church, whose fame is still fresh in the Basilian Order, dwells with manifest affection on the value and excellence of classic studies as a preparation for Christian science. The writings of St. Gregory Nazianzen furnish proof of even greater esteem, love, and enthusiasm for the literature of the ancients. "It has cost me little", he says in one of his discourses, "to give up all the rest: riches, high position, influence, in short all earthly glory, all the false joys of the world. I cleave to but one thing, eloquence and I do not regret having undergone such toils by land and sea to acquire it".

The necessity of combining classical culture with Christian education, henceforth became a tradition in the Church, especially as the scientific development of the period to which most of the above-mentioned Fathers belong, has had an enduring influence on the ages which have followed.

Amidst the storms of later times, the Church preserved these glorious blossoms of ancient culture, and endeavoured to turn them to account in the interest of Christendom. Monasteries, founded and protected by the Popes, while the genuine spirit of the Church yet lived within them, rendered valuable service in guarding the intellectual treasures of antiquity. With all their enthusiasm for classical literature, the true representatives of the Church were, nevertheless, firmly convinced, that the greatest and most beautiful things antiquity could show came far short of the glory, the loftiness and the purity of Christianity. No exaggerated deification of the heathen writers, but their prudent use in a Christian spirit; no infatuated idolatry of their form, but the employment of their substance in the interest of morality and religion, the combination, in short, of classical learning with Christian life—this was the aim of the Church.

This utilization for Christian ends of the ancient writers was eminently fruitful. "The direct use, which the Fathers made of these writings in their warfare against idolatry and vain philosophy, is obvious". "But", Stolberg adds, "who can estimate all that Origen, the Sts. Gregory, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom and others gained indirectly in the way of culture and grace, and—more important still—in intellectual energy from the ancients?"

The discourses and treatises of those Fathers of the Church who had studied the classics, furnish ample proof that the simplicity of the Faith is far from being impaired by the ornaments of rhetoric. Their poems, as amongst others, St. Gregory Nazianzen's tragedy, *The Suffering Saviour*, render the conceptions of the Patristic, as clearly as Dante's immortal poem does those of the scholastic theology. The efforts of Julian the Apostate to dissolve this Alliance between Christian faith and Graeco-Roman culture are a clear indication of the increase of strength which Christianity was then deriving from this source.

In regard to the reaction towards antiquity, which was the almost necessary consequence of a period of decay of classical learning, the attitude to be adopted by the representatives of the Church was clearly defined. Their promotion of the newly-revived studies certainly in some sense denoted a breach with the later Middle Ages, which had unduly repressed the ancient literature, and, in consequence, fallen into a most complete and deplorable indifference as to elegancies of form, but it involved no breach with the Middle Ages as a whole, far less with Christian antiquity in general.

But this reaction in the Renaissance took a special colouring and shape from the circumstances of the time in which it occurred. It was a melancholy period of almost universal corruption and torpor in the life of the Church, which from the beginning of the fourteenth century had been manifesting itself in the weakening of the authority of the Pope, the worldliness of the clergy, the decline of the scholastic philosophy and theology, and the terrible disorders in political and civil life. The dangerous elements, which no doubt the ancient literature contained, were presented to a generation intellectually and physically over-wrought, and in many ways unhealthy. It is no wonder, therefore, that some of the votaries of the new tendency turned aside into perilous paths. The beginnings of these defections can already be traced in Petrarch and Boccaccio, the founders of the Renaissance literature, though they never themselves forsook the Church.

The contrasts here apparent became more and more marked as time went on.

On the one side the banner of pure heathenism was raised by the fanatics of the classical ideal. Its followers wished to bring about a radical return to paganism both in thought and manners. The other side strove to bring the new element of culture into harmony with the Christian ideal, and the political and social civilization of the day. These two parties represented the false and the true, the heathen and the Christian Renaissance.

The latter party, whose judgment was sufficiently free from fanatical bias to perceive that a reconciliation between existing tendencies would be more profitable than a breach with the approved principles of Christianity and the development of more than a thousand years, could alone produce real intellectual progress. To its adherents the world owes it, that the Renaissance was saved from bringing about its own destruction.

Not a few Humanists wavered between the two streams. Some sought to find a happy mean, while others were in youth carried away by the one current, and in mature age by the other.

No one has better expressed the programme of the radical heathenizing party than Lorenzo Valla in his book *On Pleasure*, published in 1431.

This treatise, in some ways a very remarkable one, is divided into three dialogues, in which Lionardo Bruni represents the teaching of the Stoics, and Antonio Beccadelli that of the Epicureans, while Niccolò Niccoli maintains the cause of "the true good".

These personages are well chosen. The grave majestic Bruni had really, as one of his unprinted works proves, endeavoured to effect a union between Christian Ethics and the Stoic philosophy. Antonio Beccadelli, surnamed Panormita from his native city, Palermo, was his direct Antipodes. He was the author of *Hermaphroditus*, a collection of epigrams far surpassing in obscenity the worst productions of ancient times. Niccolò Niccoli, the reviver of Greek and Latin literature in Florence, was, in a certain sense, a type of the Christian Humanist; his fundamental principle was, that scientific investigation and Christian sentiment must go hand in hand. Even from friends such as Poggio and Marsuppini he would not tolerate words of disrespect for his faith; he detested all materialists and unbelievers. The errors of his life were atoned for by a most edifying death. (When this great scholar felt the approach of death, he had an altar erected in his sick room on which his friend Ambrogio Traversari said mass daily. The dying man received the Holy Viaticum with such devotion that all present were moved to tears)

We must not allow ourselves to be deceived by the conclusion of the Dialogues; their purpose is simply to cast ridicule upon the Stoic morality, as used by the party of conciliation as a bond of union between heathen and Christian views, and that with the ulterior aim of casting ridicule on the moral teaching of the Church.

Cautiously, but yet clearly enough and with seductive skill, the Epicurean doctrine was put forward as defending a natural right against the exactions of Christianity. The gist of this doctrine is summed up by Beccadelli, the exponent of Valla's own views, in the following sentences: "What has been produced and formed by nature cannot be otherwise than praiseworthy and holy"; "Nature is the same, or almost the same as God".

It has been remarked by a judge, who is far from severe, that the last of these propositions, placing the creature on a footing of equality with the Creator, strikes at the very foundations of Christianity; the first demolishes those of morality, substituting for virtue pleasure, for the "will or love for what is good and the hatred of evil", pleasure, "whose good consists in gratifications of mind or body, from whatever source derived"

Beccadelli, the mouthpiece of Valla, further teaches, with perfect consistency, that the business of man is to enjoy the good things of nature, and this to their fullest extent. The "gospel of pleasure" demands the gratification of every sense; it completely ignores the barriers of chastity and honour, and would have them abolished, where they still exist, as an injustice. No sense is to be denied its appropriate satisfaction. The individual, says Valla, plainly, may lawfully indulge all his appetites. Adultery is in the natural order. Indeed, all women ought to be in common. Plato's community of women is in accordance with nature. Adultery and unchastity are to be eschewed only when danger attends them: otherwise all sensual pleasure is good.

Pleasure, pleasure, and nothing but pleasure! Sensual pleasure is, in Valla's eyes, the highest good, and therefore he esteems those nations of heathen antiquity happy, who raised voluptuousness to the rank of worship. Vice becomes virtue, and virtue vice. All his indignation is called forth by the voluntary virginity ever so highly esteemed in Christendom. Continence is a crime against "kind" nature. "Whoever invented consecrated Virgins" he said, "introduced into the State a horrible custom, which ought to be banished to the furthest ends of the earth". This institution has nothing to do with religion; "it is sheer superstition". "Of all human things, none is more insufferable than Virginity. If we were born after the law of nature, it is also a law of nature that we should in turn beget. If you must have women consecrating their whole lives to the

service of religion, choose married women and, indeed, those whose husbands are priests. Observe, however, that all the Divinities, with the sole exception of Minerva, were married, and that Jupiter, so far as in him lay, could not endure virgins. Those who profess themselves to be consecrated virgins are either mad, or poor, or avaricious”.

The new Gospel of a life of pleasure, in opposition to the Scriptural law, “In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread”, is indeed put forward only by way of argument, but this is done in a manner which gives the reader easily to understand that Valla himself agreed with it.

An able modern historian observes: “It is not surprising that these discussions earned for Valla the reputation of maintaining pleasure to be the chief good; that the form of disputation was looked upon as a simple precaution, and the triumph of Christian Ethics as a mere show of justice, the poisonous theory of life had been promulgated, it mattered little whether it was defended or not. Moreover, that which was known of the author’s life said but little for his morality”.

Valla was not alarmed by the attacks of theologians on his daring opinions, for King. Alfonso of Naples was his firm protector. On the contrary, he now betook himself to the realm of theology, and eagerly sought opportunities of encountering his ecclesiastical opponents. His dialogue on religious vows, the first of his works to become known in recent times, here comes under our notice. It is of special interest, as in its pages Valla goes far beyond the previous attacks of the Humanists on the monastic life. His predecessors in this field had assailed the externals of the religious state; they had, under the guise of stories, held up the excesses of individuals to scorn. Valla, in this work, treats the subject quite differently. His attack is of a more radical character; he assails the monastic life in itself, combating the proposition, which has always been upheld by the Church, that by the same course of moral life, a man bound by religious vows attains higher merit and gains a greater reward than does one who belongs to no religious order. The acrimonious remarks in regard to the clerical and monastic states, with which this book abounds, are of trifling importance in comparison with this, its main intent and purpose, which strikes at the very root of the religious life in general.

With equal audacity and venom, Valla turned his arms against the temporal power of the Papacy, in his pamphlet, *On the falsely credited and invented Donation of Constantine*. Considerations affecting the genuineness of this document had been put forward some years previously by the learned Nicholas of Cusa, in his *Catholic Concordance*; and, independently of Valla and Cusa. Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, in the middle of the fifteenth century, showed by a careful sifting of the historical evidence the untenable character of this long-credited document. But Valla, in his work, went a great deal further than these writers. In his hands the proof that the document was a recent forgery became a violent attack on the Temporal Power of the Popes. If Constantine’s Donation be a forgery of later times, he concluded, then the Temporal Principality of the Popes falls to ruin, and the Pope has nothing more urgent to do than to divest himself of the usurped power. The Pope is all the more bound to do this, because, according to Valla’s view, all the corruption in the church and all the wars and misfortunes of Italy are the consequence of this usurpation.

The virulence of Valla’s denunciations against “the overbearing, barbarous, tyrannical Priestly domination” has scarcely been surpassed in later times. “The Popes”, he says, “were always filching away the liberties of the people, and therefore when opportunity offers the people rise. If at times they willingly consent to the Papal rule, which may happen when a danger threatens from some other side, it must not be

understood that they have agreed to continue slaves, never again to free their necks from the yoke, and that their posterity has no right of settling their own affairs. That would be in the highest degree unjust. We came of our own free will to you, O Pope, and asked you to govern us; of our own free will we go away from you again, that you may no longer govern us. If we owe you anything, then make out the debit and credit account. But you wish to rule over us against our will, as if we were orphans, although we might perhaps be capable of governing you with greater wisdom. Moreover, reckon up the injustices, which have so often been inflicted on this State by you or the magistrates you have appointed. We call God to witness that your injustice constrains us to rise against you, as Israel of old rose against Jeroboam. And the injustices of those days, the exaction of heavy tributes, how trifling were they in comparison with our disasters! Have you enervated our State? You have. Have you plundered our churches? You have. Have you outraged matrons and virgins? You have. Have you shed the blood of citizens in our towns? You have. Shall we bear this? Or shall we, perhaps, because you choose to take the place of a father, forget that we are children? As a father, O Pope, or, if the title suits you better, as a lord, we have called you hither, and not as an enemy or an executioner. Although the injuries we have suffered might justify us, we will not imitate your cruelty or your impiety, for we are Christians. We will not raise the avenging sword against your head, but after we have dismissed and removed you, we will appoint another father and lord. Sons are permitted to flee from evil parents who have brought them up, and shall we not be allowed to flee from you, who are not our real father, but only a foster-father who has treated us extremely ill? Attend to your priestly office, and do not set up a throne in the regions of night, thence to thunder forth and hurl the hissing lightnings against this and other nations. The forgery of Constantine's gift has become a reason for the devastation of all Italy. The time has come to stop the evil at its source. Therefore I say and declare—for if I put my trust in God I will not be afraid of men—that during the years of my life, not one true and prudent steward has occupied the Papal Chair. Far from giving food and bread to the family of God, the Pope declares war against peaceful nations, and sows discord between States and Princes. The Pope thirsts after foreign possessions, and exhausts his own. He is what Achilles called Agamemnon, ‘a king who devours the people’.”

It will be seen that it is Valla, not Machiavelli, who started the often-repeated assertion that the Popes are to blame for all Italy's misfortunes. Like the Florentine historian, Valla knows not, or else forgets, that the Church and her rulers preserved the most valuable elements of the ancient culture for humanity, civilized the barbarians, and created mediaeval international law—that the Primate as head of the one Church founded by Christ must necessarily have fixed his seat in the capital of ancient power and civilization, and in order perfectly to fulfil his high office, must be a monarch and not a subject.

As to the important question, in what light the more recent gifts of territory to the Holy See were to be regarded, Valla proceeds very simply. He maintains that, being renewals of Constantine's ancient gift, they could not constitute a new right! The objection that, failing Constantine's document, the temporal possessions of the Popes rested on the right of prescription, he meets with the assertion that, in the case of unauthorized dominion over men, the right of prescription has no existence, and that, even if it had, it would long since have been forfeited by the tyranny of the Popes. This tyranny was all the more crying because the exercise of temporal power was quite inconsistent with the duties of a spiritual Head.

In the above-mentioned pamphlet, which is a caricature of the government of the Popes, and openly calls the Vicars of Christ “tyrants, thieves, and robbers”, the author of the *Dialogue on Pleasure* frequently assumes the air of a pious Christian. He endeavours to speak in an edifying manner of “the loftiness and grandeur” of the spiritual office of the Popes, and brings forward a number of quotations from Holy Scripture. In strange contrast with these passages in his work are the oft-repeated passionate appeals to the Romans, urging them to revolt against the temporal power of the Holy See. Valla also addresses the Princes; paints in the darkest colours the grasping ambition of Rome, and pronounces them to be justified in depriving the Pope of the States of the Church. He concludes this menacing libel with a formal declaration of war against the Papacy. “If the Pope refuses” he says, “to quit the dwelling, which does not belong to him, and return to his own, and to take refuge from the angry waves in the haven of his own vocation, I will set about a second discourse, which will be much more violent than the present one”

In order to form a correct estimate of Valla's anti-papal pamphlet, the circumstances under which it appeared must be taken into consideration. According to his own account, he wrote it six years after the insurrection of the Romans against Eugenius IV. This Pope, who, as feudal Lord of Naples, favoured the claims of the House of Anjou, was at the time in open conflict with King Alfonso, who, on his side, supported the schismatics of Basle. This state of affairs explains how Valla, living under the protection of the King, could venture thus to declare war against the head of the Church and the spiritual power. The sincerity of his convictions as to the unrighteousness of the temporal power of the Holy See soon became apparent. After the reconciliation of the Neapolitan Monarch with Eugenius IV, he made every possible effort to enter the Papal service. In a humble letter addressed to the Pope, whom he had so lately abused as a tyrant, he retracted his former writings, and expressed his willingness in future to devote himself to the service of the Apostolic See.

“The treatise regarding Constantine’s grant”, says an author who occupies almost the same position as Valla, “was the boldest attack on the temporal power ever ventured on by any reformer; was it then strange that a new popular tribune—a Stefano Porcaro—should arise?” In zealously prosecuting the pamphlet the Papacy merely acted in self-defence. Any other Government would have done the same, for Valla called on the Romans to drive the Pope from Rome, and even intimated that it would be lawful to kill him. That the ideas, expressed with such unexampled audacity, fell on a fruitful soil is evidenced by the attempt of Stefano Porcaro on the life of Nicholas V, and also by the fact that later on, in the time of Pius II, the Papal Secretary, Antonio Cortese, brought out an “Anti-Valla”. Unfortunately, only a fragment of this unprinted work is preserved in the Library of the Chapter at Lucca, which also contains another work against Valla and in defence of the temporal power of the Holy See.

Valla’s audacious attack on Christian morals in his dialogue “On Pleasure” was far surpassed by Antonio Beccadelli Panormita (*d.* 1471). Repulsive though the subject be, we must speak of his *Hermaphroditus* or collection of epigrams, because the spirit of the false Renaissance is here manifested in all its hideousness. *The Book*, says the Historian of Humanism, “opens a view into an abyss of iniquity, but wreathes it with the most beautiful flowers of poetry”. The most horrible crimes of heathen antiquity, crimes whose very name a Christian cannot utter without reluctance, were here openly glorified. The poet, in his facile verses, toyed with the worst forms of sensuality, as if they were the most natural and familiar themes for wit and merriment. “And moreover, he complacently confessed himself the author of this obscene book, justified it by the

examples of the old Roman poets, and looked down upon the strict guardians of morality as narrow-minded dullards, incapable of appreciating the voluptuous graces of the ancients". Cosmo de' Medici accepted the dedication of this loathsome book, which is proved by the countless copies in the Italian libraries to have had but too wide a circulation.

Beccadelli's disgraceful work did not, unfortunately, stand alone, for Poggio, Filelfo and Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini have much to answer for in the way of highly-seasoned anecdotes and adventures. No writing of the so-called Humanists, however, equals Beccadelli's collection of epigrams in impurity. The false heathen Renaissance, culminates in this repulsive *Emancipation of the Flesh*, sagaciously characterized by a modern historian as the forerunner of the great Revolution, which in the following centuries shook Europe to its centre.

The representatives of the Church, who in later times were often too indulgent towards the manifold excesses of the Humanists, happily did their duty on this occasion, and met this "appalling fruit of faith in the infallibility of the ancients" with decision. Pope Eugenius IV forbade the reading of this work under pain of excommunication. Cardinal Cesarini, a zealous friend of Humanism, destroyed it, wherever he could get possession of it. The most celebrated preachers of the day, St. Bernardine of Siena and Roberto da Lecce, earnestly warned their hearers against such vile literature, and burned Beccadelli's Epigrams in the open squares at Milan and Bologna. Counter publications were also circulated by the ecclesiastical party. The manuscript of a long indictment against Beccadelli, composed by the Franciscan, Antonio da Rho, is preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. The Carthusian, Mariano de Volterra, composed a poem against him, and the learned Minorite, Alberto da Sarteano, wrote a letter of warning to the young men of Ferrara, and also a larger work, with a view of counteracting the influence of this impure poet

The sensation caused by this vile book was so great that even Poggio, who was certainly by no means over-particular in such matters, advised Beccadelli in future to choose graver subjects, inasmuch as "Christian poets are not allowed the license enjoyed by the heathen". Beccadelli had the insolence to defend himself against this slight reproof, which was not very seriously meant, by an appeal to the authority of the ancients. A great many "learned, worthy, holy Greeks and Romans had", he said, "sung of such things; and yet the works of Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Juvenal, Martial, Virgil, and Ovid were universally read; the very Prince of Philosophers, Plato himself, had written wanton verses". Beccadelli then gives a list of Greek philosophers and statesmen, who had indulged in writings of this description, and yet been virtuous. Similarly in his epigrams he had been careful to declare, that although his writings were immodest his life was spotless. If Beccadelli really believed what he said, daily experience should have taught him another lesson. The horrible crimes which had been the curse of the ancient world, and which were the theme of his elegant verses, raged like a moral pestilence in his time in the larger towns of Italy, especially among the higher classes of society. Florence, Siena, and Naples were described as the chief seats of these excesses; in Siena, indeed, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, it had been found necessary, as in ancient Rome, to legislate against the prevailing celibacy of men. Lucca and Venice also bore an evil name in regard to the prevalence of those vices, which had no small share in bringing about the downfall of Greece.

The corrupting effects of the false, profligate Humanism represented by Valla and Beccadelli made themselves felt to an alarming extent in- the province of religion, as well as in that of ethics. The enthusiasm for everything connected with the ancient



world was carried to such an excess, that the forms of antiquity alone were held to be beautiful, and its ideas alone to be true. The ancient literature came to be looked upon as capable of satisfying every spiritual need, and as sufficing for the perfection of humanity. Accordingly its admirers sought to resuscitate ancient life as a whole, and that, the life of the period of the decadence with which alone they were acquainted. Grave deviations from Christian modes of thought and conduct were the necessary consequences of such opinions.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century Cino da Rinuccini brought forward a list of serious charges against the adherents of the false Renaissance. "They praise Cicero's work *De Officiis*", he says, "but they ignore the duty of controlling their passions and regulating their life according to the rules of true Christian chastity. They are devoid of all family affection, they despise the holy institution of marriage, and live without rule. They avoid all labour for the State—either by word or action—saying that he who serves the community serves nobody. As to theology, they give undue praise to Varro's works, and secretly prefer them to the Fathers of the Church. They even presume to assert that the heathen gods had a more real existence than the God of the Christian religion, and they will not remember the wonders wrought by the saints".

There may be, perhaps, some exaggeration in these charges, but it cannot be denied, that enthusiastic admiration for the ancients exercised a most deleterious influence on the Christian conscience and life of the representatives of the false Renaissance. Even Petrarch lamented the fact, that to confess the Christian faith and esteem it higher than the heathen philosophy was called stupidity and ignorance, and that people went so far as even to deem literary culture incompatible with faith.

It is recorded of the celebrated Florentine Statesman, Rinaldo degli Albizzi, that he held a disputation with a physician versed in philosophy, on the question whether science is in opposition to Christian faith. Like Pietro Pomponazzo, a century later, Albizzi maintained the affirmative, supporting his opinion by quotations from Aristotle. Carlo Marsuppini, of Arezzo, the State Chancellor of the Florentine Republic, openly manifested a great contempt for Christianity and an unbounded admiration for the heathen religion. He adhered to these sentiments to the end, and a contemporary says, "He died without confession or Communion, and not as a good Christian".

Few, however, went to such lengths; most of these men, when the reality of death drew near, abandoned their empty speculations, and a penitent return to the dogmas of the faith took the place of their former vagaries. Even such men as Codro Urceo and Machiavelli, before their end, sought the aid of the Church, from which their lives and opinions had estranged them, and whose graces and blessings their writings had contemned; they died after making their confession, fortified with the consolations of religion.

The adherents of the false Renaissance, with scarcely an exception, were, during life, indifferent to religion. They looked on their classical studies, their ancient philosophy, and the faith of the Church as two distinct worlds, which had no point of contact. From considerations of worldly prudence or convenience they still professed themselves Catholics, while in their hearts they were more or less alienated from the Church. In many cases, indeed, the very foundations of faith and morals were undermined by the triumph of false Humanism. The literary men and artists of this school lived in their ideal world of classic dreams; theirs was a proud and isolated existence. The real world of social and, yet more, that of moral and religious life, with its needs, its struggles, and its sacrifices, was far too common and too burdensome for

their notice; and they only condescended to take part in it, in so far as was necessary in order to bring themselves into view and to share in its advantages.

Overweening self-esteem was a characteristic of all these men; they never thought themselves sufficiently appreciated. Some of them, as for example, Filelfo, cherished a fixed idea that they were the geniuses of their age, and that the whole world must give way to them because they spoke Greek and wrote Latin with elegance. Notwithstanding all the Stoical phrases, which adorned their discourses and writings, these Humanists were fond of money and good cheer, desirous of honour and admiration, eager to find favour with the rich and noble, quarrelsome amongst themselves, ready for any intrigue, calumny, or baseness, that would serve to ruin a rival.

Poggio Bracciolini may be taken as a genuine representative of this false Humanism. This gifted writer, “the most fortunate discoverer the world has ever known in the field of literature”, is, as a man, one of the most repulsive figures of the period. Almost all the vices of the profligate Renaissance are to be found combined in his person, and it would be hard to say whether his slanderous disposition or the gross immorality of his life is most worthy of condemnation.

Notwithstanding occasional expressions of another kind in his writings, there can be no doubt that Poggio’s point of view was more heathen than Christian. Christianity and the Church were entirely outside his sphere. To quote the words of the biographer of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, “he was such a worshipper of heathen antiquity, that he would certainly have given away all the treasures of dogmatic theology for a new discourse of Cicero”. A remarkable example of his heathen, or rather indifferent, state of mind is furnished by his well-known letter to the Council of Constance on the occasion of the burning of Jerome of Prague. Poggio speaks with the greatest enthusiasm of Jerome, from which, however, it is not to be inferred that he approved of his opinions. On the contrary, the conception of a martyr to any faith was as foreign to the mind of this follower of the false Renaissance as to that of a heretic. The thing which he admired in Jerome was of a very different kind. The courage with which this man met death reminded him of Cato, and of Mutius Scevola, and he considered the eloquence of his address to the Council as approaching that of the ancients. The decision of the ecclesiastical authority is scarcely noticed by Poggio; he only regrets that so noble an intellect should have turned to heresy; “If”, he adds, “the accusations brought against him are true”. This doubt is, however, disposed of by the cool observation, “it is not my business to judge of the matter; I contented myself with the opinion of those who are considered wiser than I am”.

Almost all the writings of Poggio are offensively obscene and coarse. The worst in this respect, after his “Facetiae”, are his shameless and immoral letter on the license which prevailed at the baths of Zurich, and his libels on Filelfo and Valla. “Like the lowest boy out of the streets”, says the Historian of Humanism, “Poggio assails his adversary with the coarsest abuse and the basest calumny”. He accuses these two Humanists of every kind of turpitude, and the greater part of the work is unfit for translation.

The impression produced is a strange one, when a writer, whose own life was so far from respectable, sets himself up as a censor of the depraved morals of the monks and clergy. Poggio cannot find words sufficiently stinging with which to brand the hypocrisy, cupidity, ignorance, arrogance, and immorality of the clergy. The monks, however, are everywhere the especial object of his sarcasm, often, indeed, in discourses,

letters, and treatises, where such sentiments might least have been looked for. Violent attacks upon them are to be found, as in his dialogues on Avarice and on Human misery, and in his book against hypocrites. “There are monks”, he says, “who call themselves mendicant friars, but it seems rather that they bring others to beggary, being themselves idle and living by the sweat of other men. Some of these assume the name of Observantines. I do not know what good all these can be said to do; I only know that most who call themselves Minorites and Observantines are rude peasants and idle mercenaries, who aim not at holiness of life, but at escaping from work”. Even in their preaching, according to Poggio, the object of the monks is not the healing of sick souls, but the applause of the simple folk whom they entertain with buffooneries. They indulge their boorish loquacity without restraint, and are often more like apes than preachers.

In order to understand how unjustifiable is this caricature of the monks, we must remember that the Religious Orders gave to Italy in the fifteenth century a line of preachers whose devotion to their calling and whose power and earnestness have, even after the lapse of ages, commanded the esteem of those who differ from them. The limits of this work do not permit us to enter into a detailed account of all the brilliant and truly popular orators who produced the remarkable and copious pulpit literature of the age of the Renaissance. The most celebrated preachers of the d. 1456), Antonio di Rimini (about 1450), Silvestro di Siena (about 1450), Giovanni di Prato (about 1455), Antonio di Bitonto (d. 1459), Roberto da Lecce (d. 1483), Antonio di Vercelli (d. 1483)

In his celebrated work on the Renaissance, Burchkhard admirably describes the meaning of these Italian preachers of penance. “There was”, he says, “no prejudice stronger than that which existed against the mendicant friars; the preachers overcame it. The supercilious Humanists criticized and mocked; when the preachers raised their voices they were entirely forgotten”. With his usual sagacity, this scholar remarks that the men, who bore within them this mighty fervour and this religious vocation, were, in the north, of a mystical and contemplative stamp, and in the south, expansive, practical, and imbued with the national taste for eloquence. And here we may mention that St. Bernardine of Siena is said to have studied oratory from the ancient models, and that Alberto da Sarteano, one of his most distinguished disciples and followers, certainly did so.

Too little attention has as yet been bestowed on the action of these preachers of penance, who were highly esteemed and sought after by the people, and even by worldly-minded princes, and zealously supported by the Popes, especially by Eugenius IV and Nicholas V. When the History of Preaching in Italy at the period of the Renaissance is written, it will be seen that the free and fervent exercise of this office is one of the most cheering signs, in an age clouded with many dark shadows. It became evident that a new spirit had begun to stir in ecclesiastical life. Many proofs are before us that in Italy and in the other countries of Christendom the words of censure and warning were not spoken in vain. No age, perhaps, offers such striking scenes in the conversion of all classes of the people, of whole towns and provinces, as does that, whose wounds were so fearlessly laid bare by Saints Vincent Ferrer, Bernardine of Siena, John Capistran, and by Savonarola.

“An age”, as a modern historian observes, “which thus perceives and acknowledges its faults, is certainly not among the worst of ages. If in the individual the recognition of a fault is the first step to amendment, it cannot be otherwise in regard to whole classes of men, to nations, and to the Church itself. No one who bestows even a superficial glance on the literature of the period, can deny that this recognition existed

in the Church in the time of the Renaissance. The first and most essential step towards amendment had been taken, and there was well grounded hope that further energetic measures would follow”.

From this point of view, the general unfavourable judgment of the religious and moral condition of the Renaissance period may be essentially modified. At all events, as the first German authority on Italian history has lately observed, it is a mistake to suppose from the numerous testimonies of Pagan tendencies furnished by the Italian Humanists, that these were absolutely general. This gifted nation—and this is especially true of Florence, the intellectual home of the Renaissance—still retained its warm religious feeling in the midst of all party struggles, excommunications, and external conflicts. The numerous confraternities of laymen, to which high and low belonged, kept all classes in constant and salutary contact with the Church which had never ceased to be national, as did also the mystery-plays, in which, until the end of the fifteenth century, distinguished poets and poetesses took part. Thus the religious dispositions of the people held many things together, which threatened to fall to pieces, and explains much that would otherwise be difficult of solution; it was often very touchingly manifested. When Gregory XI, the last of the Avignon Popes, laid an interdict upon Florence, crowds of citizens used to assemble in the evenings before the images of the Madonna, at the corners of the streets, and endeavour by their prayers and hymns to make up for the cessation of public worship. Vespasiano da Bisticci, in his life of Eugenius IV, relates that when the Pope, during his sojourn in Florence, blessed the people from a balcony erected in front of the church of Sta. Maria Novella, the whole of the wide square and the adjoining streets resounded with sighs and prayers; it seemed as if our Lord Himself, rather than His Vicar, was speaking. In 1450, when Nicholas V celebrated the restoration of peace to the Church by the publication of a Jubilee, a general migration to the Eternal city took place; eye-witnesses compared the bands of pilgrims to the flight of starlings, or the march of myriads of ants. In the year 1483 the Sienese consecrated their city to the Mother of God, and in 1495, at the instigation of Savonarola, the Florentines proclaimed Christ their King.

The magnificent gifts, by which the pomp and dignity of religious worship were maintained, the countless works of Christian art, and the innumerable and admirably organized charitable foundations also bear testimony to the continuance of “heartfelt piety and ardent faith” in the Italy of the fifteenth century.

Side by side with these evidences of religious feeling in the Italian people, the age of the Renaissance certainly exhibits alarming tokens of moral decay; sensuality and license reigned, especially among the higher classes. Statistics on this subject, however, are so incomplete, that a certain estimate of the actual moral condition of the age or a trustworthy comparison with later times is impossible.

But if those days were full of failings and sins of every kind, the Church was not wanting in glorious manifestations, through which the source of her higher life revealed itself. Striking contrasts—deep shadows on the one hand, and most consoling gleams of sunshine on the other—are the special characteristics of this period. If the historian of the Church of the fifteenth century meets with many unworthy prelates and bishops, he also meets, in every part of Christendom, with an immense number of men distinguished for their virtue, piety, and learning not a few of whom have been by the solemn voice of the Church raised to her altars. Limiting ourselves to the most remarkable individuals, and to the period of which we are about to treat, we will mention only: the saints, and holy men and women given by Italy to the Church.

The first of this glorious company it is St. Bernardine of Siena, of the Order of Minorites, whose eloquence won for him the titles of trumpet of Heaven and fountain of knowledge, and whom Nicholas V canonized about the middle of the century. Around him are grouped his holy brothers in religion: Saints John Capistran, Jacopo della Marca, and Catherine of Bologna, a Sister of the same Order (d. 1463). Among the Blessed of the Franciscan Order are Tommaso Bellaci (d. 1447), Gabriele Ferretti (d. 1456), Arcangelo di Calatafimi (d. 1460), Antonio di Stronconio (d. 1471), Pacifico di d. 1482), Pietro di Moliano (d. 1490), Angelo di Chivasso in Piedmont (d. 1496), Angelina di Marsciano (d. 1435, Angela Caterina (d. 1448), Angela Felice (d. 1457), Serafina di Pesaro (d. 1478), Eustochia Calafata (d. 1491), etc.

The Dominican Order was yet richer in saints and holy persons. Blessed Lorenzo da Ripafratta (d. 1457) laboured in Tuscany, and under his direction the apostolic St. Antoninus (d. 1459) grew up to be a pattern of self-sacrificing charity, and the glorious talent of Fra Angelico da Fiesole (d. 1455) soared heavenward, leading men's hearts to the Eternal by the language of art, as the mystics had done by their writings. St. Antoninus, whose unexampled zeal was displayed in Florence, the very centre of the Renaissance, had for his disciples Blessed Antonio Neyrot of Ripoli (d. 1460) and Costanzio di Fabriano (d. 1481). Blessed Giovanni Dominici (d. 1420) and Pietro Geremia da Palermo (d. 1452) were celebrated preachers and reformers. Then follow Blessed Antonio ab Ecclesia (d. 1458), Bartolomeo de Cerveriis (d. 1466), Matteo Carrieri (d. 1471), Andrea da Peschiera (d. 1480), the Apostle of the Valteline, the recently beatified Cristoforo da Milano (d. 1484), Bernardo Scammaca (d. 1486), Sebastiano Maggi da Brescia (d. 1494), and Giovanni Licci, who died in 1511, at the extraordinary age of one hundred and fifteen. The Dominicaness, Chiara Gambacorti (d. 1420), had held communication with the greatest saint of the later mediaeval period, St. Catherine of Siena; and, together with Princess Margaret of Savoy (d. 1407), also a Dominicaness, was subsequently beatified. In the Order of St. Augustine we have to mention the following who have been beatified:—Andrea, who died at Montereale in 1479, Antonio Turriani (d. 1494), Rita of Cascia (d. 1456), Cristina Visconti (d. 1458), Elena Valentino du Udine (d. 1458), and Caterina da Pallanza (d. 1478). Blessed Angelo Mazzinghi de Agostino (d. 1438) belonged to the Carmelite Order; that of the Gesuati had Giovanni Travelli da Tossignano (d. 1446), the Celestines, Giovanni Bassand (d. 1455); and the Regular Canons the Holy Patriarch of Venice, St. Lorenzo Giustiniani (d. 1456). Blessed Angelo Masaccio (d. 1458) was of the Camaldolese Order, and finally the great Cardinal Bishop of Bologna, Albergati (d. 1443) was a Carthusian. St. Frances (d. 1440), the foundress of the Oblates, was working in Rome. The labours of another founder, St. Francis of Paula (born 1416, d. 1507), belong in part to the period before us. These names, to which many more might easily be added, furnish the most striking proof of the vitality of religion in Italy at the time of the Renaissance. Such fruits do not ripen on trees which are decayed and rotten to the core.

Though it is an error to consider all ranks of Italian society in the fifteenth century as tainted with the spirit of Paganism, we must admit that the baneful element in the Renaissance took fearful hold on the upper classes. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? The seductive doctrines of Epicurus, and the frivolous, worldly wisdom of the Rome of Augustus, were far more attractive than Christian morality. To a pleasure-loving and corrupt generation, the vain mythology of heathenism was infinitely more congenial than the Gospel of a crucified Saviour, and the religion of self-denial and continence. Many ecclesiastical dignitaries also unhappily show undue favour to the

false Humanism. Startling as this may at first sight appear, it is by no means difficult to account for it.

In the first place we must consider the wide-spread worldliness among the clergy, which was a result of the Avignon period of the Papacy, and the subsequent confusion of the schism. Secondly, Humanism soon became such a power that a struggle with it under existing circumstances would have been very hazardous. The chief reason, however, that the Church and the false Renaissance did not come into open conflict, was the extreme care taken by almost all the adherents of this school to avoid any collision with the ecclesiastical authorities. The race of dilettanti and free-thinkers looked upon the doctrinal teaching of the Church as a thing quite apart from their sphere. If in their writings they invoked the heathen gods, and advocated the principles of the ancient philosophers, they also took pains from time to time to profess their submission to the Creeds, and were skilful in throwing a veil over the antagonism between the two. However vigilant the rulers of the Church might be, it was often very hard to determine when this toying with heathenism became really reprehensible.

The strange medley of heathen and Christian words, ideas and thoughts, that prevailed in the age of the Renaissance is notorious. The Church authorities were not severe on transgressions of this kind; and as far as literature was concerned, there can be no doubt that their leniency was thoroughly justified. If the Humanists, in their horror of sinning against Ciceronian Latinity, endeavoured to express Christian ideas in antique phrases, the fashion was certainly an absurd, rather than a dangerous, one. "What need" says Voigt, with reason, "to cry out, if a lively orator should introduce a Roman asseveration into his discourse. Who would charge him with polytheism, if, instead of calling on the one God, he should on some occasion say: 'Ye Gods!' Or if a poet, instead of imploring Divine grace, should beg the favour of Apollo and the Muses, who would accuse him of idolatry?". Accordingly, when Ciriaco of Ancona chose Mercury for his patron saint, and on his departure from Delos addressed a written prayer to him, his contemporaries were not the least scandalized, but contented themselves with laughing at his enthusiasm, and singing of him as "the new Mercury and immortal as his Mercury". The indulgence, which the ecclesiastical authorities showed towards the false Renaissance, is intelligible enough, if we remember that its obviously dangerous tendencies had much to counterbalance them.

From the beginning, the true Christian Renaissance existed side by side with the false.

Its followers were equally enthusiastic in their admiration for the treasures of antiquity, and they recognized in the classics a most perfect means of intellectual culture, but they also clearly perceived the danger attendant on the revival of the old literature, especially under the circumstances of the time. Far from relentlessly sacrificing to heathenism that Christianity, which had permeated the very life of the people, they deemed that safety lay in the conciliation of the new element of culture with its eternal truths; and in this opinion they had the support of Dante, and were in accord with Petrarch's highest aspirations. They were justly alarmed at the radical tendency, which aimed at doing away with all existing sanctions and influences. They saw with dismay that all national and religious traditions were threatened, and that therefore a salutary result from the movement was very doubtful. The programme of these men, the most clear-sighted and sober-minded of the Humanists, was the maintenance of religious and national traditions, the study of the ancients in a Christian and national spirit, the reconciliation of the Renaissance with Christianity.

The chief representatives of the Christian Renaissance were Giannozzo Manetti, Ambrogio Traversari, Lionardo Bruni, Gregorio Carraro, Francesco Barbaro, Maffeo Vegio, Vittorino da Feltre, and Tommaso Parentucelli, afterwards known as Pope Nicholas V.

Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459), the friend of Pope Eugenius IV and Pope Nicholas V, was most deeply convinced of the truth of the Christian Religion. This noble-minded and distinguished scholar used to say that the Christian Faith is no mere opinion, but an absolute certainty, that the teaching of the Church is as true as an axiom in mathematics. However much occupied Manetti might be, he never went to work without first having heard Mass. He placed all his learning at the service of the Church, and although a layman, was well versed in theology and literature, and translated the New Testament and the Psalms. He had studied three books so indefatigably, that he may be almost said to have known them by heart; these were the Epistles of St. Paul, St. Augustine's City of God, and the Ethics of Aristotle. Manetti was the first, and, for a long time, the only Humanist in Italy, who turned his attention to the Oriental languages. To defend the cause of Christian truth, he learned Hebrew and began to write a work against the Jews, whom he meant to combat with their own weapons. This great scholar was a man of exemplary life; his friend and biographer, Vespasiano da Bisticci, affirms that, during an intercourse of forty years, he had never heard an untruth, an oath, nor a curse, from his lips.

Manetti's teacher was the pious Ambrogio Traversari, General of the Camaldolese Order from 1431, a man whom the Protestant historian, Meiners, declares to have been a model of purity and holiness; a superior, admirable for his strictness and prudent gentleness; an author of great industry and learning, and an ambassador whose talents, courage, and statesmanship won for him a high position amongst the most distinguished of his contemporaries. This eminent scholar was the first to introduce Humanist influences into the ecclesiastical sphere. A mixed assembly of clerics and laymen, the *élite* of the Florentine literary world, used to meet in his convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli, to hear him lecture on the Greek and Latin languages and literature, and explain philosophical and theological questions. The biographer of Lorenzo de' Medici speaks enthusiastically of those days when a brilliant intellectual radiance shone forth from this convent, enlightening the dwellings of the Florentine patricians and, through them, the whole world. "Never", he says, "was there seen among clerics and laymen so much real and solid learning devoted to the Church and State, while also ministering to the charm of daily life and the promotion of good morals". Tommaso Parentucelli, who had witnessed this Florentine literary life, which, although not faultless, was on the whole so rich and noble, was unable, even when he had attained the highest dignity in Christendom, to create in Rome anything that could compare with it.

Traversari's unceasing labours in the reform of his Order, and all the harassing toils attendant on his office as Papal Envoy, never interfered with his interest in Greek and Roman literature. Notwithstanding the heavy pressure of necessary business, he contrived to find time to ransack libraries for rare manuscripts and copy them, to visit literary celebrities, to investigate ecclesiastical and heathen antiquities, and by various letters to promote the study of science. His learned works relate chiefly to the Greek writers of the Church, and he was undoubtedly the first authority on the subject and the possessor of the richest collection of books. In his scrupulous conscientiousness, Traversari thought the translation of profane authors unsuitable to his office. Nevertheless, at the request of his friend, Cosmo de Medici, he consented to translate

Diogenes Laertes on the Lives of the Philosophers, consoling himself with the thought that this work might serve the interests of the Christian religion, “inasmuch as when the doctrines of the heathen philosophy are better known, the superiority of Christianity will be the more clearly understood”.

The celebrated Lionardo Bruni (1369-1444), Apostolic Secretary under Innocent VII, Gregory XII, Alexander V, and John XXIII, and afterwards Chancellor of the Republic of Florence, was also sincerely attached to the Church. His love for the classical did not hinder him from recommending “sacred studies”, which, from their very nature, must be the sweetest of “sweet toils”. What a contrast there is between Valla and this good man, who, though not himself a monk, esteemed the religious life, and refused to support a monk who wished to leave his convent. Bruni was greatly looked up to, and people came from all parts to see him; a Spaniard even went so far as to fall on his knees before him. When this noble scholar departed this life on the 9th March, 1444, the Priors determined to pay him extraordinary honour; his corpse was clad in dark silk, and on his breast lay the History of Florence, as the richest gift of the Chancellor to the Republic. Manetti pronounced the funeral oration, and crowned the dead with the laurel of the poet and the scholar, “as an immortal testimony to his wonderful wisdom and his surpassing eloquence”. He was then buried in Santa Croce, where an epitaph composed by Marsuppini, and a monument sculptured by Bernardo Rossellino, mark his resting place.

Among the Christian Humanists we must reckon Gregorio Corraro, the highly cultured kinsman of Pope Gregory XII, and Francesco Barbaro, who, like him, belonged to a patrician family of Venice. Barbaro enjoyed the friendship of almost all the learned Italians of his day, and was, by family tradition and personal feeling, devoted to the cause of the Church. In the negotiations with the Councils of Basle and of Florence he sought, with equal zeal, to promote the interests of the Papal power, and to provide for the spiritual wants of his clients. He furnishes a remarkable example of the union of the Humanist and ecclesiastical tendencies in an age when the latter had begun to lose its power.

Maffeo Vegio (1407-1458), the worthy explorer of the ancient Christian monuments of Rome, must not be passed over. That “tender and eloquent book”, the Confessions of St. Augustine, made a deep impression on his mind, as also on that of Petrarch. It brought about Vegio’s complete conversion, and induced him to devote himself entirely to ecclesiastical literature. Without transcribing the splendid list of his works, we must mention his widely-read book on Education, inasmuch as it represents an endeavour to combine the wisdom of the Classics with the Bible and the teaching of the Church. He strongly recommends the work of Virgil, Sallust, and Quintilian, as means of culture, but objects to the Elegiacs on account of their indecency, and would have the comic authors reserved for the perusal of grown-up men. In the time of Eugenius IV, Vegio came to Rome, where he filled the offices of Datary, Abbreviator, and Canon of St. Peter’s, and finally became an Augustinian Canon. He died in 1458, and was buried in Sant Agostino, in the very chapel where, thanks to his efforts, the bones of St. Monica had found a fitting place of rest, when brought from Ostia in 1430. Vegio's pure life and piety were honoured beyond the limits of his own order. An enthusiastic notice of him is to be found among the writings of the Florentine Vespasiano da Bisticci.

The most attractive and amiable of the representatives of the Christian Renaissance is Vittorino da Feltre, the greatest Italian Pedagogue of his age. “He was one of those men who devote their whole being to the end for which their capacities and



knowledge specially fit them". The honour of having introduced this excellent man "to his proper sphere of work" belongs to the Marquess Gian Francesco Gonzaga, who summoned him to Mantua in 1425, to take charge of the education of his children and direct the court school. Vittorino began his labours by a thorough cleansing of the Casa Giocosa, the new educational Institution, which was pleasantly situated on the borders of the lake of Mantua. At his command the gold and silver plate, the superfluous servants, vanished, and order and noble simplicity took the place of pomp and show. The hours of study were punctually observed, but they were constantly varied by bodily exercise and recreation in the open air. Vittorino encouraged his pupils to expose themselves to cold and heat, to wind and rain, for he believed that a soft and idle life was the origin of many maladies; but there was nothing of Spartan harshness in the education, and individual idiosyncrasies were sufficiently respected. In the fine season he used to take his pupils on long excursions to Verona, to the Lake of Garda, and into the Alps. In regard to decency and good manners, Vittorino was rigid; swearing and blasphemy were always punished, even if the offender were one of the Princes. Corporal punishments were reserved for the worst cases; in general the penalties inflicted were of the nature of disgrace. The moral and religious conduct of the scholars was most carefully watched over, for Vittorino held that true learning is inseparable from religion and virtue. A bad man, he used to say, can never be a perfect scholar, far less a good orator.

His method of teaching was simple and concise; he guarded carefully against the evil subtleties of the day. "I want to teach them to think", he said, "not to split hairs". The classics naturally formed the groundwork of higher education, but with a careful selection fitted for the young. Mathematical Science, Logic, and Metaphysics, were not neglected; special attention was devoted to composition, and every encouragement given to originality. Vittorino was always ready to help those, who were backward in their studies. Early in the morning he was among his scholars, and when all around had betaken themselves to rest, he worked on with individual boys. "Probably", to use the words of a modern author, "the world had never before seen such a schoolmaster, who was content to be a schoolmaster and nothing else, because in this calling he recognized a lofty mission; one who, just because he sought nothing great for himself, found all the richer reward in the results of his labour". When a monk asked permission from Pope Eugenius IV to enter Vittorino's Institution, the Pontiff answered, "Go, my son. We willingly give you up to the most holy of living men". Vittorino's fame was widely spread; eager disciples flocked around him from far and near, even from France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Many of these youths were poor, and such were received by the good man with particular affection; they were not only freely instructed, but also fed, lodged, clothed, and provided with books at his expense, and his generosity often extended even to their families. For these scholars, whom he received for the love of God (*per Pamore di Dio*), he founded a special institution in association with the Princes' School. Here he lived like a father in his family, giving to it all he possessed, for his own wants were very easily satisfied. It is no wonder that the scholars looked up to such a master with love and respect. Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, one of the noblest among them, a man distinguished by his courage, cultivation, and large-mindedness, placed Vittorino's portrait in his palace with the inscription: "In honour of his saintly master, Vittorino da Feltre, who by word and example instructed him in all human excellence, Federigo places this here".

The secret of this great schoolmaster's immense influence is to be found principally in his religious and moral qualities, his disinterestedness, his humility and

simplicity, and the charm of his virginal purity. All his contemporaries speak with respect of his piety. Vespasiano da Bisticci says that “he daily recited the Divine Office like a priest; he strictly observed the Fasts of the Church, and insisted on his scholars doing the same. He said grace before and after meals like a priest, constantly approached the sacraments, and accustomed his scholars to go monthly to confession to the Observantine Fathers. He also wished them to hear Holy Mass every day; his house was a very sanctuary of good morals”. Vittorino’s example shows that a good man may be immersed in classical studies, without making shipwreck of his faith. His liberality equalled his piety; no monk or beggar, who sought his aid, was sent empty away. Notwithstanding his unremitting labours as a teacher and educator, he always found time to visit widows and orphans, the poor, the sick, and even prisoners, and wherever he went, he bore with him comfort, instruction, and help. It was said of him, that the only people who received nothing from him were those, whose needs were unknown to him. Almsgiving on so large a scale would not have been possible, but for the generous support of the Marquess of Mantua and some of his wealthy scholars. All that he received from them was given away to alleviate the sufferings of his fellow men. When he died on the 2nd February, 1446, at the age of sixty-nine, his property was so deeply in debt, that his heirs declined the inheritance, and the corpse had to be buried at the Prince's expense. He left instructions that no monument should be raised to his memory.

The position occupied by the representatives of the Christian Renaissance in relation to the ancient world was the only true one, and they have in some degree solved the problem how justly to appreciate antiquity. Their enthusiasm for the intellectual treasures of the past never went so far as to endanger their devotion to the Christian religion. Unlike the extreme Humanists, they held fast the principle, that the works of the heathens are to be judged by a Christian standard. They saw the danger of so idealizing the moral and religious teaching of Heathenism, as to make it appear that by its means alone the highest end of life could be attained, thus ignoring the necessity of Christian doctrines and morality, of remission of sin and grace from on high.

In the light of Christianity alone can the ancient world be fully and justly estimated, for the pagan ideal of humanity, as exhibited in its heroes and divinities, is not, as a modern philosopher justly observes, a full or complete one. It is but a shadowy outline, wanting the colour and life which something higher must supply—a fragmentary form, which has yet to find its complement in a more perfect whole. This higher Image of human perfection is the Incarnate Son of God, the Prototype of all-creatures; no creation of fancy or product of human reason, but the Truly and the Life Itself. The ideals of Greece grow pale before this Form, and only vanity and folly could ever turn from It to them. This folly was perpetrated by the adherents of the false Renaissance, by those Humanists who, instead of ascending from the Greek Poets and Philosophers to Christ, turned their backs on the glory of Christianity to borrow their ideal from the genius of Greece.

The twofold character of the Italian Renaissance renders it extremely difficult justly to weigh its good and evil in relation, to the Church and to religion. A sweeping judgment in such cases would generally be a rash one, even were the notices of the individuals concerned less scanty than those which are before us; here, as elsewhere, human penetration is baffled in the endeavour to appreciate all its bearings.

A modern Historian has forcibly remarked that every genuine advance of knowledge must in itself be of advantage to religion and to the Church, inasmuch as Truth, Science, and Art are alike daughters of heaven. From this point of view we must contemplate the encouragement given by ecclesiastics to the revival of classical

literature. A distinction should evidently here be drawn between the two schools of the Renaissance, and judgment pronounced accordingly. Those members of the Church, who promoted the heathen view, acted wrongly, and were, if we look at their conduct with a view to the interests of the Church, blameworthy. Impartial inquiry will, however, lead us to temper this blame by a consideration of all the attendant circumstances, and to bear in mind the difficulty of avoiding the abuse, to which the ancient literature, like all other good things of the intellect, is liable.

The common impression that the dangerous tendencies of the Renaissance were not recognized by the Church is very erroneous. On the contrary, from the beginning, men were never wanting, who raised their voices against the deadly poison of the false Humanism. One of the first in Italy to indicate its pernicious influence on education was the Dominican Giovanni Dominici. This preacher, who laboured ardently for the reformation of his Order, enjoyed the favour of Pope Innocent VII, and was raised to the purple by Gregory XII. In his celebrated Treatise on the order and discipline of Family Life, written very early in the 15th century, he denounces, with all the energy of his ardent nature, the system “which lets youth and even childhood become heathen rather than Christian; which teaches the names of Jupiter and Saturn, of Venus and Cybele rather than those of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; which poisons minds that are still tender and powerless by sacrifice to the false Gods, and brings up wayward nature in the lap of unbelief”.

In yet stronger terms does Giovanni Dominici express himself in a writing which has but recently been brought to light, and which is dedicated in courteous language to the celebrated Chancellor of Florence, Coluccio Salutato. Its primary object was to warn him against being seduced by the charms of the false Renaissance; but at the same time, it aimed at protecting youth in general from the questionable elements contained in the classic literature, and at counteracting its perversion and misuse. The Dominican condemns those, who give themselves up with blind and deluded zeal to heathen learning, and are thus led to depreciate the Christian Religion. Looking at the subject from an ascetic point of view, he is at times blind to the ancient literature. In his horror at the new heathenism, which was rising before his eyes, he is even betrayed into the utterance of such paradoxes as, that it is more useful to a Christian to plough the ground than to study the heathen authors! Exaggerations of this kind provoked exaggerations from the opposite party, and in this way it became more and more difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to arrive at a clear understanding in regard to the proper use of the ancient classics.

The Franciscans, as well as the Dominicans, distinguished themselves by their opposition to the Humanists, or Poets, to use the name by which they were commonly called. It cannot be denied that most of these men were full of holy zeal for the interests of Christianity, and that their courageous efforts were of real advantage to the Church, at a time when many other dignitaries, from a spirit of worldliness, favoured the false Humanist tendencies. Still, it is much to be regretted that the majority of the opponents of the Poets went a great deal too far. Correctly to understand the position, we must bear in mind the furious attacks on the Religious Orders and their scholastic teaching by Poggio, Filelfo, and other elegant and well-known Humanist authors. The new movement had gained strength so fast, that the monks were left almost defenceless against the ribaldry of these men. Further, the alarming errors and excesses of the extreme admirers of antiquity justified the worst apprehensions for the future. Consequently, most of those, who withstood the false Renaissance, lost sight of the fact that these errors had their origin, not in the revival of classical studies, but in their

abuse, and in the deplorable social, political, and ecclesiastical conditions of the times. Corrupt intellectual elements, struggling for complete emancipation, had gathered round the banner of the Renaissance, and they often led the great Humanist movement into crooked paths. Thus it came to pass, that the larger number of the monks, in their zeal, overlooked the distinction between the true and the false Renaissance, and made Humanism in general responsible for the excesses of the most extreme of its votaries. Against such attacks the Humanists could most justly appeal to the works of St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Cyprian, and other Fathers of the Church, which are full of quotations from the Poets and of classical reminiscences. The monks often waged war in a very unskilful manner, as, for instance, when they treated Valla's attacks on Priscianus and the mediaeval grammarians as heretical.

The partial and short-sighted view, which condemned the whole Renaissance movement as dangerous to faith and morals, cannot be considered as that of the Church. At this time, as throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, she showed herself to be the Patroness of all wholesome intellectual progress, the Protectress of all true culture and civilization. She accorded the greatest possible liberty to the adherents of the Renaissance, a liberty which can hardly be comprehended by an age, which has lost the unity of the Faith. Once only in the period of which we are about to treat, did the Head of the Church directly attack the false Renaissance, and this censure was called forth by a shameless eulogy of heathen vices, which the Pope, as the chief guardian of morals, could not pass over in silence.

Otherwise the Church gave liberal encouragement to Humanist studies, fully endorsing the beautiful words of Clement of Alexandria, that the learning of the heathens, as far as it contains good, is not to be considered heathen, but a gift of God. And, indeed, the speedy degeneracy of the Renaissance in Italy was not the fault of the ancient literature, but rather of its abuse. That the many irreconcilable enemies of the Renaissance, who are to be found in the Religious Orders, are not the true representatives of the Church, is evident from the fact that the greater number of the Popes adopted a very different attitude towards the new movement.

The friendly relations which, existed between the Popes and the two founders of the Renaissance literature, Petrarch and Boccaccio, have already been mentioned; these relations were not impaired by the passionate language, used by these two great writers in denouncing the corruptions which had made their way into ecclesiastical affairs during the Avignon period. No less than five times was Petrarch invited to fill the office of Apostolic Secretary, but the poet could not make up his mind to undertake the charge, fearing that it would compel him to give up literature, his special vocation. But he gladly employed himself, at the desire of the learned Pope Clement VI, in the collection of early manuscripts of Cicero's works for the Papal Library. When the tidings of the death of Petrarch, whom he had once invited to Avignon by an autograph letter, reached Pope Gregory XI, he commissioned Guillaume de Noellet, Cardinal Vicar of the Church in Italy, to make diligent inquiries after his writings and to have good copies made for him, especially of the Africa, the Eclogues, Epistles, Invectives, and the beautiful work, On the Solitary Life.

Gregory XI, whom a modern writer has justly characterized as the best of the Avignon Popes, showed a notable interest in the half-forgotten heritage from the ancient world. When he heard that a copy of Pompeius Trogus had been discovered at Vercelli, he at once sent a letter to the Bishop of that city, desiring him immediately to look after this book and to have it conveyed to the Papal Court by a trusty messenger. A few days later the same Pope charged a Canon of Paris to make researches in the Sorbonne

Library regarding several works of Cicero's, to have them transcribed as soon as possible by competent persons and to send the copies to him at Avignon. It might, at first sight, have seemed likely that the storms which burst over the Papacy after the death of Gregory XI would have deterred the Popes from showing favour to the Renaissance, which was now asserting its power in the realm of literature, and yet it was actually at this very period that a great number of the Humanists found admission into the Roman Court.

A closer study of this time, in connection with which the previous years of the residence of the Popes at Avignon must also be considered, will bring to light the causes of the gradual and, in some respects, hazardous influx of Humanism into the Papal Court. A review, of the History of the Popes from the beginning of the Exile to Avignon until the end of the great Schism seems all the more necessary, as without an intimate acquaintance with this period of peril to the Papacy, the latter course of events cannot be understood.

In the progress of the following work we shall show that the Renaissance gradually took root in Rome under Martin V and Eugenius IV; that Albergati, Cesarini, and Capranica, the most distinguished among the wearers of the purple in the fifteenth century, encouraged Humanism in its best tendencies; that the sojourn of Eugenius IV in Florence, and the General Council held there, produced marked effects in the same direction; until at last, in the person of Nicholas V, a man mounted the Throne of St. Peter, who, full of confidence in the power of Christian Science, ventured to put himself at the head of this great intellectual movement. This circumstance was the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the Papacy, as well as in that of science and art—an epoch which reached its climax in the reigns of Julius II and Leo X.

It has often been said that the Renaissance itself ascended the Papal Throne with Nicholas V, yet it must not be forgotten that this great Pontiff was throughout on the side of the genuine and Christian Renaissance. The founder of the Vatican Library, like Fra Angelico whom he employed to paint his study in that Palace, knew how to reconcile his admiration for the intellectual treasures of the past with the claims of the Christian religion: he could honour both Cicero and St. Augustine, and could appreciate the grandeur and beauty of heathen antiquity without being thereby led to forget Christianity.

The leading idea of Nicholas V was to make, the Capital of Christendom the Capital also of classical literature and the centre of science and art. The realization of this noble project was, however, attended with many difficulties and great dangers. If Nicholas V overlooked or underestimated the perils which threatened ecclesiastical interests from the side of the heathen and revolutionary Renaissance, this is the only error that can be laid to his charge. His aim was essentially lofty and noble and worthy of the Papacy. The fearlessness of this large-hearted man, in face of the dangers of the movement—"a fearlessness which has in it something imposing"—strikes us all the more forcibly, when we consider the power and influence which the Renaissance had at this time attained in Italy. The attempt to assume its guidance was a great deed, and one worthy of the successor of the Gregories and Innocents.

To make the promotion of the Renaissance by the Holy See a matter of indiscriminate reproach, betrays total ignorance of the subject. For, deep and widespread as was the intellectual movement, excited by the resuscitation of the antique, it involved no serious danger to Christian civilization, but rather was an occasion of new activity and energy, as long as the unity and purity of the Christian

faith were maintained unimpaired under the authority of the Church and her head. If in later days, in consequence of the undue influence obtained by the heathen Renaissance, a very different development ensued; if the intellectual wealth, won by the revived study of the past, was turned to evil purposes, Nicholas V, whose motives were of the highest and purest, cannot be held responsible. On the contrary, it is the glory of the Papacy that, even in regard, to the great Renaissance movement, it manifested that magnanimous and all-embracing comprehensiveness which is a portion of its inheritance. As long as dogma was untouched, Nicholas V and his like-minded successors allowed the movement the most ample scope; the founder of the Vatican Library had no foreboding of the mischief which the satire of the Humanists was preparing. The whole tenor of his pure life testifies that his words proceeded from an upright heart, when he earnestly exhorted the Cardinals assembled around his death-bed to follow the path he had chosen in labouring for the welfare of the Church—the Bark of Peter, which, by the wonderful guidance of God, has ever been delivered out of all storms.

## Volume I Time line

- 1305 Clement V begins the separation from Rome
- 1316 John XXII establishes a permanent abode at Avignon
- 1314 Death of Clement V
- 1314 Rome in a state of desolation and anarchy. Subversive doctrines of Ocean, Marsiglio, and Jean de Jandun
- 1328 Deposition of the Pope and election of an Anti-Pope
- 1334 Death of John XXII and election of Benedict XII
- 1339 Erection of the Papal palace at Avignon
- 1342 His death, and election of Clement VI
- 1348 Clement VI issued Bulls for the protection of the Jews
- 1352 Election of Innocent VI
- 1362 Death of Innocent VI and election of Urban V
- 1367 Urban V returns to Rome rejoicings of the people
- 1370 Urban V succeeded by Gregory XI
- 1375 Florence joins the revolt against the Holy See
- 1376 He declares war against Florence. St. Catherine of Siena endeavours to make peace
- 1376 The Pope quits Avignon for Rome
- 1377 Congress of Sarzana
- 1378 Death of Gregory XI, the last of the French Popes
- 1378 (April 8th) The Cardinals unite and elect Urban VI
- 1378 (August 9th) They assemble at Anagni and declare the election invalid. They elect the Anti-Pope Clement VII. Commencement of the great Papal Schism
- 1381 He excommunicates the Queen of Naples
- 1383 He goes to Naples to assert his authority and is besieged
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- 1389 Boniface IX
- 1394 Death of Clement VII, and election of the Anti-Pope Benedict XIII
- 1404 Death of Boniface IX, and election of Innocent VII
- 1408 Seven of Gregory XII's Cardinals appeal against him. France and other Powers disown Benedict XIII

- 1409 The Council of Pisa assembles - its want of Canonical authority
- 1410 Death of Alexander V, and election of John XXIII
- 1415 His proposals of surrender and flight from the Council
- 1415 (May 10th) John XXIII is tried by the Council and deposed
- 1415 (July 4th) Gregory XII in the interests of the Church decides to abdicate
- 1417 Gratitude of the Council to Gregory XII—his death
- 1417 The great Schism ended by the election of Martin V. Anti-Pope John XXIII
- 1417 (March 6th) His agreement with Queen Joanna of Naples
- 1420 Martin V enters Rome - deplorable condition of the city
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## BOOK I

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE POPES FROM THE  
BEGINNING OF THE EXILE AT AVIGNON TO THE END OF THE GREAT  
SCHISM, 1305-1417.

## CHAPTER I.

## THE POPES AT AVIGNON.

1305-1376

The disastrous struggle between the highest powers of Christendom, which began in the eleventh century and reached its climax in the thirteenth, was decided, apparently to the advantage of the Papacy, by the tragical downfall of the house of Hohenstaufen. But the overthrow of the Empire also shook the temporal position of the Popes, who were now more and more compelled to ally themselves closely with France. In the warfare with the Emperors, the Papacy had already sought protection and had found refuge in that kingdom in critical times. The sojourn of the Popes in France had, however, been only transitory. The most sacred traditions, and a history going back for more than a thousand years, seemed to have bound the highest ecclesiastical dignity so closely to Italy and to Rome that, in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the idea that a Pope could be crowned anywhere but in the Eternal City, or could fix his residence for the whole duration of his Pontificate out of Italy, would have been looked upon as an impossibility.

A change came over this state of things in the time of Clement V (1305-1314), a native of Gascony. Fearing for the independence of the Ecclesiastical power amid the party struggles by which Italy was torn, and yielding to the influence of Philip the Fair, the strong-handed oppressor of Boniface VIII, he remained in France and never set foot in Rome. His successor, John XXII, also a Gascon, was elected, after prolonged and stormy discussions, in 1316, when the Holy See had been for two years vacant. He took up his permanent abode at Avignon, where he was only separated by the Rhone from the territory of the French King. Clement V had lived as a guest in the Dominican Monastery at Avignon, but John XXII set up a magnificent establishment there. The essential character of that new epoch in the history of the Papacy, which begins with Clement V and John XXII, consists in the lasting separation from the traditional home of the Holy See and from the Italian soil, which brought the Popes into such pernicious dependence on France and seriously endangered the universal nature of their position.

O good beginning!

To what a vile conclusion must Thou stoop.

The words of the great Italian poet are not exaggerated, for the Avignon Popes, without exception, were all more or less dependent on France. Frenchmen themselves, and surrounded by a College of Cardinals in which the French element predominated, they gave a French character to the government of the Church. This character was at variance with the principle of universality inherent in it and in the Papacy. The Church had always been the representative of this principle in contradistinction to that of isolated nationalities, and it was the high office of the Pope, as her Supreme Head, to be the common Father of all nations. This universality was in a great degree the secret of the power and influence of the Mediaeval Popes.

The migration to France, the creation of a preponderance of French Cardinals, and the consequent election of seven French Popes in succession, necessarily compromised the position of the Papacy in the eyes of the world, creating a suspicion that the highest spiritual power had become the tool of France. This suspicion, though in many cases unfounded, weakened the general confidence in the Head of the Church, and awakened in the other nations a feeling of antagonism to the ecclesiastical authority which had become French. The bonds which united the States of the Church to the Apostolic See were gradually loosened, and the arbitrary proceedings of the Court at Avignon, which was too often swayed by personal and family interests, accelerated the process of dissolution. The worst apprehensions for the future were entertained.

The dark points of the Avignon period have certainly been greatly exaggerated. The assertion that the Government of the Avignon Popes was wholly ruled by the "will and pleasure of the Kings of France", is, in this general sense, unjust. The Popes of those days were not all so weak as Clement V, who submitted the draft of the Bull, by which he called on the Princes of Europe to imprison the Templars, to the French King. Moreover, even this Pope, the least independent of the fourteenth century Pontiffs, for many years offered a passive resistance to the wishes of France, and a writer, who has thoroughly studied the period, emphatically asserts that only for a few years of the Pontificate of Clement V was the idea so long associated with the "Babylonian Captivity" of the Popes fully realized. The extension of this epithet to the whole of the Avignon sojourn is an unfair exaggeration. The eager censors of the dependence into which the Avignon Popes sank, draw attention to the political action of the Holy See during this period so exclusively, that hardly any place is left for its labours in the cause of religion. A very partial picture is thus drawn, wherein the noble efforts of these much-abused Pontiffs for the conversion of heathen nations become almost imperceptible in the dim background. Their labours for the propagation of Christianity in India, China, Egypt, Nubia, Abyssinia, Barbary, and Morocco have been very imperfectly appreciated. The earliest of the Avignon Popes, Clement V and John XXII, gave the greatest attention to Eastern affairs, and were the originators of a series of grand creations, from which the best results were to be expected. Their successors were chiefly occupied in the maintenance and preservation of the works established by the wisdom of their predecessors, yet in the time of Clement VI an effort was made to extend the sphere of the Church even to the furthest limits of Eastern Asia. The unwearied assiduity of the Avignon Popes in taking advantage of every favourable event in the East, from the Crimea to China, to promote the spread of Christianity by

sending out missions and founding Bishoprics, is all the more admirable because of the great difficulties with which the Papacy was at that time beset.

A complete estimate of their large-minded labours for the conversion of the heathen, and a thoroughly impartial appreciation of this period, will not be possible until the Regesta of these Popes, preserved in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, have been made accessible to investigation. We shall then obtain an insight into that inner life of Church affairs which held its clear and sure course amidst all external tumults; which, while the Papacy was apparently on the brink of ruin, did not forget the lonely Christians among the heathens of Morocco and in the camps of the wandering Tartars, and took thought for the eternal salvation of nations still unconverted, as faithfully as for the deliverance of the imperilled Church.

With the most ample recognition of the worldwide activity of the French Popes, it cannot be denied that the effects of the transfer of the Holy See from its natural and historical home were disastrous. Torn from its proper abode, the Papacy, notwithstanding the individual greatness of some of the Avignon Pontiffs, could not maintain its former dignity. The freedom and independence of the highest tribunal in Christendom, which, according to Innocent III, was bound to protect all rights, was endangered, now that the supreme direction of the Church was so much under the influence of a nation so deeply imbued with its own spirit, and possessing so little of the universal. That France should obtain exclusive possession of the highest spiritual authority was a thing contrary both to the office of the Papacy and the very being of the Church.

This dependence on the power of a Prince, who in former times had often been rebuked by Rome, was in strange contradiction with the supremacy claimed by the Popes. By this subjection and by its worldliness, the Avignon Papacy aroused an opposition which, though it might for a moment be overborne while it leant on the crumbling power of the Empire, yet moved men's minds so deeply that its effects were not effaced for several centuries. Its downfall is most closely connected with this opposition, which was manifested, not only in the bitter accusations of its political and clerical enemies, but even also in the letters of its devoted friend St. Catherine, which are full of entreaties, complaints, and denunciations. The Papal Government, founded as it was on the principle of authority, built up in independence of the Empire, and gaining strength in proportion to the decay of that power, was unable to offer any adequate resistance to this twofold stream of political and religious antagonism. The catastrophe of the great Schism was the immediate consequence of the false position now occupied by the Papacy.

The disastrous effects produced by the residence of the Popes at Avignon were at first chiefly felt in Italy. Hardly ever has a country fallen into such anarchy as did the Italian peninsula, when bereft of her principle of unity by the unfortunate decision of Clement V to fix his abode in France. Torn to pieces by irreconcilable parties, the land, which had been fitly termed the garden of Europe, was now a scene of desolation. It will easily be understood that all Italian hearts were filled with bitter longings, a regret which found voice in continual protests against the Gallicized Papacy. The author of the Divine Comedy sharply reprovved the "Supreme Pastor of the West" for this alliance between the Papacy and the French monarchy. On the death of Clement V, when the Cardinals assembled in conclave at Carpentras, Dante came forward as the exponent of the public feeling which demanded the return of the Papal Throne to Rome. In a severe letter addressed to the Italian Cardinals he says: "You, the chiefs of the Church militant, have neglected to guide the chariot of the Bride of the Crucified One along the path so

clearly marked out for her. Like that false charioteer Phaeton, you have left the right track, and though it was your office to lead the hosts safely through the wilderness, you have dragged them after you into the abyss. But one remedy now remains: you, who have been the authors of all this confusion, must go forth manfully with one heart and one soul into the fray in defence of the Bride of Christ whose seat is in Rome, of Italy, in short of the whole band of pilgrims on earth. This you must do, and then returning in triumph from the battle-field, on which the eyes of the world are fixed, you shall hear the song 'Glory to God in the Highest'; and the disgrace of the covetous Gascons, striving to rob the Latins of their renown, shall serve as a warning to all future ages".

Petrarch judges the French Popes with the greatest severity. In theory he condemns everyone, worthy or unworthy, who lived at Avignon. No expression is too strong when he speaks of this city, which he compares to the Babylon of the Apocalypse. In one of his poems he calls it "the fountain of anguish, the dwelling-place of wrath, the school of errors, the temple of heresy, once Rome, now the false guilt-laden Babylon, the forge of lies, the horrible prison, the hell upon earth". In a whole series of letters, which, however, he took care to keep to himself, he pours forth the vials of his wrath on the city, which had drawn the Popes away from sacred Rome. He even uses the peaceful sonnet, in which he had formerly been wont to express only the bliss and the pain of love, to fulminate, like a prophet of the Old Testament, against the doings of the unholy city. It would be, however, a great mistake to consider his picture of the wickedness of Avignon and the corruption of the Church, painted with true Italian fervour, as strictly trustworthy and accurate. Petrarch here speaks as a poet and as a fiery, enthusiastic, Roman patriot. His judgments are often intemperate and unjust. His own life was not such as to give him the right to come forward as a preacher of morals. Passing over his other failings, we need here only allude to his excessive greed for benefices. This passion has much to do with his bitterness against Avignon and the Papal Court. We are led to suspect that there were many unsuccessful suits. Petrarch did nothing towards the amendment of this evil world; the work of reformation was in his own case begun very late. He was a dreamer, who contented himself with theories, and in practice eschewed all improvements which demanded any greater effort than that of declamation.

The unmitigated condemnation of the Avignon Popes must have been based in great measure on Petrarch's unjust representations, to which, in later times and without examination, an undue historical importance has been attached. He is often supposed to be a determined adversary of the Papacy; but this is a complete mistake. He never for a moment questioned its divine institution. We have already said that he was outwardly on the best terms with almost all the Popes of his time, and received from them many favours. They took his frequent and earnest exhortations to leave Avignon and return to desolate Rome as mere poetical rhapsodies, and in fact they were nothing more. If Petrarch himself, though a Roman citizen, kept aloof from Rome; if, though nominally an Italian patriot, he fixed his abode for many years, from motives of convenience, or in quest of preferment, in that very Avignon which he had bitterly reproached the Popes for choosing, and which he had called the most loathsome place in the world, must not the Babylonish poison have eaten deeply into his heart? How much easier it would have been for Petrarch to have returned to Rome than it was for the Popes, fettered as they were by so many political considerations!

But however much we may question Petrarch's right to find fault with the moral delinquencies of the Court at Avignon; however much we may, in many respects, modify the picture he paints of it, no impartial inquirer can deny that it was pervaded by

a deplorable worldliness. For this melancholy fact we have testimony more trustworthy than the rhetorical descriptions of the Italian poet. Yet it must in justice be borne in mind that the influx of thousands of strangers into the little French provincial town, so suddenly raised to the position of capital of the world, had produced all the evils which appertain to densely populated places. Moreover, even if we are to believe all the angry assertions of contemporaries as to the corruption prevailing in Avignon, evidence is not wanting, on the other hand, of ardent yearnings for a life conformable to the precepts of the Gospel.

Side by side with the profligacy which was the characteristic of the age, and, therefore, prominent in its history, there were still to be found scattered in various places many homes of quiet and devout contemplation. Thence went forth an influence, winning noble souls to a higher ideal of existence, and gently, but perseveringly, striving by means of self-denial and persuasion, to allay the passionate feuds of parties and disentangle their intrigues. As this higher life only manifested itself here and there, history passes it by; it is dealt with in commonplace phrases, judged, or rather misjudged, by the measure of the later movements of the sixteenth century, as if they formed a canon for the historical investigation of all religious phenomena. At no time were there wanting good and earnest men, who were doing their utmost in their own circle to stem the tide of corruption, and exerting a salutary influence on their age and surroundings. It would be most unjust to the champions of the Papal rights to suppose that, because they maintained the monarchy of the Pope and his right to both swords, they were ready to sanction that which was evil at Avignon, or condone tyrannous abuses. In the highest circles there were men of the ancient stamp with the strictest views of life. Alvaro Pelayo praised the Cardinal Legate Martin, who went to Denmark poor and returned poor, and the Legate Gaufridus who, when sent to Aquitaine, bought his own fish and would not accept even wooden platters. He wished Bishops and Popes not to have smart pages about them, and not to promote undeserving relations. He prayed that all simoniacal practices should be abolished, that the Roman Church should be a mother, not a sovereign, and that the Pope should consider himself not a lord, but a servant, a steward, a labourer. These men, who looked on Louis of Bavaria as a tyrant, were not on that account disposed to give the Pope a free pass. While energetically asserting his rights, and those of the Church and the Bishops, they also insisted on the accompanying duties with a plainness of speech, which we miss in later ages, together with the magnanimity shown by those who suffered it.

The removal of the Holy See to Avignon was most disastrous to the Eternal City, which thereby lost, not only her historic position as the Capital of Christendom, but also the material benefits which the presence of the Popes conferred on the community at large, and on many of the individual inhabitants. While the Popes resided in Rome and its neighbourhood, they were able, for longer or shorter periods, to maintain order and peace between Barons and Burghers. Their Court and the influx of strangers which it attracted, brought great wealth into the City, and when the Pontiff was in their midst, the Romans could easily attain to lucrative ecclesiastical positions. This state of things was now completely changed. Rome, thrown upon herself, was in her interior resources inferior to all the considerable cities of central Italy. She became a prey to increasing isolation and anarchy. The longer the absence of the Popes continued, the greater was the desolation. The Churches were so dilapidated and neglected that in St. Peter's and the Lateran cattle were grazing even to the foot of the altar. Many sacred edifices were roofless, and others almost in ruins. The monuments of heathen antiquity fared even worse than those of Christian Rome, and were mercilessly destroyed. A Legate sold the

marble blocks of the Colosseum to be burned for lime. The materials of the ancient edifices were even carried out of the City. In the archives regarding the construction of the Cathedral of Orvieto are a number of documents, which show that the overseers of the work brought a great deal of the marble employed from Rome, that they sent agents there almost more frequently than to Carrara, and that they repeatedly received presents of great blocks of marble, especially from the families of the Orsini and Savelli. The only public work executed in Rome during the Avignon period was the construction of the marble steps leading up to the Church of St. Maria Ara Coeli. The remarkable development of art which had been going on during the latter half of the thirteenth century was suddenly arrested. The school of the Cosmati came to an end; the influence of Giotto had vanished. Avignon became in this respect a dangerous rival to the Eternal City, for even in their exile the Popes did not forget the fine arts. Death alone hindered Giotto from accepting the flattering invitation of Benedict XII, and in 1338-39 the Pope summoned in his stead the celebrated painter, Simone Martini of Siena, to adorn his Cathedral and his Palace; the interesting but long-neglected frescoes of this artist are now, alas! in a melancholy condition. The bereaved City fared almost as ill in regard to literature as to art. The consequences of this state of things, which then passed unperceived, made themselves felt at a later period. The triumph of the Renaissance in Rome would have been neither so rapid nor so complete, but for the state of barbarism into which the City had fallen when deprived of the Pope.

It is hard to form an adequate idea of the utter desolation and degradation of Rome at this time. The view on which Petrarch looked down from the Baths of Diocletian, with its hills crowned by solitary churches, its uncultivated fields, its masses of ancient and modern ruins, its scattered rows of houses, had nothing to distinguish it from the open country but the circuit of the old walls of Aurelian. The ruins of two epochs—heathen antiquity and the Christian middle ages—made up the Rome of those days.

It was no mere figure of speech when Cardinal Napoleone Orsini, after the death of Clement V (1314), assured the King of France that the transfer of the Papal residence to Avignon had brought Rome to the brink of ruin, or when at a later date (1347), Cola di Rienzo declared that the Eternal City was more like a den of robbers than the abode of civilized men.

Rome learnt by bitter experience that she was historically important only as the seat of the Papacy, and the Popes had also much to suffer on account of their separation from their natural prescriptive home. Parted from Italy, the States of the Church, and Rome, the very ground had been cut away from under their feet. In one respect in particular this very soon made itself felt.

The financial difficulties from which the Popes had suffered even in the thirteenth century became much more serious after they had taken up their abode on French soil. On the one hand, the income they had drawn from Italy failed; and on the other, the tributary powers became much more irregular in the fulfilment of their obligations, because they feared that the greater part of the subsidies they paid would fall into the hands of France. The Papal financiers adopted most questionable means of covering deficits. From the time of John XXII especially the hurtful system of Annates, Reservations, and Expectancies, came into play, and a multitude of abuses were its consequence. Alvaro Pelayo, the most devoted, perhaps even over-zealous, defender of the Papal power in the fourteenth century, justly considers the employment of a measure, liable to excite the cupidity of the clergy, as one of the wounds which then afflicted the Church. His testimony is all the more worthy of consideration, because, as



an official of many years' standing in the Court, he describes the state of things at Avignon from his own most intimate knowledge. In his celebrated book, *On the Lamentation of the Church*, he says: "Whenever I entered the chambers of the ecclesiastics of the Papal Court, I found brokers and clergy, engaged in weighing and reckoning the money which lay in heaps before them".

This system of taxation and its consequent abuses soon aroused passionate resentment. Dante, "consumed with zeal for the House of God", expressed, in burning words, his deep indignation against the cupidity and nepotism of the Popes, always, however, carefully distinguishing between Pope and Papacy, person and office. It was not long, however, before an opposition arose which made no such distinctions, and attacked not only the abuses which had crept in, but the Ecclesiastical authority itself. The Avignon system finance, which contributed more than has been generally supposed to the undermining of the Papal authority, greatly facilitated the attacks of this party.

From what has been said it will be clearly seen that the long-continued sojourn of the Popes in France, occasioned as it was by the confusion of Italian affairs, was an important turning-point in the history of the Papacy and of the Church. The course of development which had been going on for many centuries, was thereby almost abruptly interrupted, and a completely new state of things substituted for it. No one who has any idea of the nature and the necessity of historical continuity, can fail to perceive the danger of this transference of the centre of ecclesiastical unity to southern France. The Papal power and the general interests of the Church, which at that time required quiet progress and in many ways thorough reform, must inevitably in the long run be severely shaken.

To make matters worse, the conflict between the Empire and the Church now broke out with unexpected violence. The most prominent antagonists of the Papacy, both ecclesiastical and political, gathered around Louis of Bavaria, offering him their assistance against John XXII. At the head of the ecclesiastical opposition appeared the popular and influential order of the Friars Minor, who at this very moment were at daggers drawn with the Pope. The special occasion of this quarrel was a difference between them and him, regarding the meaning of evangelical poverty; and the great popularity of the Order made their hostility all the more formidable. The Minorites, who were irritated to the utmost against the Pope, succeeded in gaining great influence over Louis of Bavaria, an influence which is clearly traceable in the appeal published by him in 1324, at Sachenhausen, near Frankfort. In this remarkable document, amongst the many serious charges brought against John XXII, "who calls himself Pope", is that of heresy, and it is asserted that he exalts himself against the evangelical doctrines of perfect poverty, and thus against Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and the company of the Apostles, who all approved it by their lives. After a passionate dogmatic exposition of the poverty of Christ and a shower of reproaches, comes the appeal to the Council, to a future legitimate Pope, to Holy Mother Church, to the Apostolic See, and to every one in general to whom an appeal could be made.

This document, in which political and religious questions were mingled together, was sedulously disseminated in Germany and Italy. It must have greatly embittered the whole contest. A religious conflict was now added to the political one. Louis, a simple soldier, was unable to measure its consequences and powerless to control its progress. It grew more and more passionate and violent. The Minorites no longer confined themselves to the province of theology, in which the conflict between them and the pope had at first arisen, but also took part in political question. Led on by their theological antagonism, they proceeded to build up a political system resting on theories

which threatened to disturb all existing ideas of law, and to shake the position of the Papacy to its very foundations. The special importance of the action of the Minorites consists in the assertion and maintenance of these principles, which indeed did not at once come prominently forward, for the writings of the Englishman, William Occam, in which they are chiefly propounded, collectively date from a period subsequent to the Diet of Rhense. There can, however, be no doubt that the views which Occam afterwards expressed in his principal work, the "Dialogus", had already at an earlier period exercised great influence.

According to the theory of Occam, who was deeply imbued with the political ideas of the ancients, the Emperor has a right to depose the Pope should he fall into heresy. Both General Councils and Popes may err, Holy Scripture and the beliefs held by the Church at all times and in all places, can alone be taken as the unalterable rule of Faith and Morals. The Primacy and Hierarchical Institutions in general are not necessary or essential to the subsistence of the Church; and the forms of the ecclesiastical, as of the political, constitution ought to vary with the varying needs of the time.

With the Minorites two other men soon came to the front, who may be considered as the spokesmen of the definite political opposition to the Papacy. It was probably in the summer of the year 1326 that the Professors of the University of Paris, Marsiglio of Padua and Jean de Jandun, made their appearance at the Royal Court of Nuremberg. The "Defender of Peace" (Defensor Pacis), the celebrated joint work of these two most important literary antagonists of the Popes of their day, is of so remarkable a character that we must not omit to give a further account of its subversive propositions. This work, which is full of violent invectives against John XXII, "the great dragon and the old serpent", asserts the unconditional sovereignty of the people. The legislative power which is exercised through their elected representatives, belongs to them, also the appointment of the executive through their delegates. The ruler is merely the instrument of the legislature. He is subject to the law, from which no individual is exempt. If the ruler exceeds his authority, the people are justified in depriving him of his power, and deposing him. The jurisdiction of the civil power extends even to the determination of the number of men to be employed in every trade or profession. Individual liberty has no more place in Marsiglio's state than it had in Sparta.

Still more radical, if possible, are the views regarding the doctrine and government of the Church put forth in this work. The sole foundation of faith and of the Church is Holy Scripture, which does not derive its authority from her, but, on the contrary, confers on her that which she possesses. The only true interpretation of Scripture is, not that of the Church, but that of the most intelligent people, so that the University of Paris may very well be superior to the Court of Rome. Questions concerning faith are to be decided, not by the Pope, but by a General Council.

This General Council is supreme over the whole Church, and is to be summoned by the State. It is to be composed not only of the clergy, but also of laymen elected by the people. As regards their office, all priests are equal; according to Divine right, no one of them is higher than another. The whole question of Church government is one of expediency, not of the faith necessary to salvation. The Primacy of the Pope is not founded on Scripture, nor on Divine right. His authority therefore can only, according to Marsiglio, be derived from a General Council and from the legislature of the State; and for the election of a Pope the authority of the Council requires confirmation from the State. The office of the Pope is, with the College appointed for him by the Council or by the State, to signify to the State authority the necessity of summoning a Council, to

preside at the Council, to draw up its decisions, to impart them to the different Churches, and to provide for their execution. The Pope represents the executive power, while the legislative power in its widest extent appertains to the Council. But a far higher and more influential position belongs to the Emperor in Marsiglio's Church; the convocation and direction of the Council is his affair; he can punish priests and bishops, and even the Pope. Ecclesiastics are subject to the temporal tribunals for transgressions of the law, the Pope himself is not exempt from penal justice, far less can he be permitted to judge his ecclesiastics, for this is the concern of the State. The property of the Church enjoys no immunity from taxation; the number of ecclesiastics in a country is to be limited by the pleasure of the State; the patronage of all benefices belongs to the State, and may be exercised either by Princes, or by the majority of the members of the parish to which an ecclesiastic is to be appointed. The parish has not only the right of election and appointment, but also the control of the official duties of the priest, and the ultimate power of dismissal. Exclusion from the Christian community, in so far as temporal and worldly interests are connected with it, requires its consent. Like Calvin, in later days, Marsiglio regards all the judicial and legislative power of the Church as inherent in the people, and delegated by them to the clergy. The community and the State are everything; the Church is put completely in the background; she has no legislature, no judicial power, and no property.

The goods of the Church belong to the individuals who have devoted them to ecclesiastical uses, and then to the State. The State is to decide regarding sale and purchase, and to consider whether these goods are sufficient to provide for the needs of the clergy and of the poor. The State has also power, should it be necessary for the public good, to deprive the Church of her superfluities and limit her to what is necessary, and the State has the right to effect this secularization, notwithstanding the opposition of the Priests. But never, Marsiglio teaches, is power over temporal goods to be conceded to the Roman Bishop, because experience has shown that he uses it in a manner dangerous to the public peace. Like Valla and Macchiavelli, in later times, Marsiglio assumes the air of an Italian patriot, whence attributes all the troubles of Italy to the Popes. This is a palpable sophistry, for that reproach was in no way applicable to Marsiglio's days. Italy was then under the sway of her most distinguished monarch, King Robert of Anjou, whom the Popes had protected to the best of their power, and Louis of Bavaria's expedition to Rome was certainly neither their wish nor their work. On the contrary, at a later period, Pope John XXII issued a Bull with the object of separating Italy from Germany, and thereby destroying the influence of the Ultramontanes, or non-Italians in Italy.

In face of these outrageous attacks and this blank denial of the Divine institution of the Primacy and the Hierarchy, there were never wanting brave champions of the Apostolic See and of the doctrine of the Church. Most of them, unfortunately, were led by excess of zeal to formulate absurd and preposterous propositions. Agostino Trionfo, an Italian, and Alvaro Pelayo, a Spaniard, have, in this matter, gained a melancholy renown. As one extreme leads to another, in their, opposition, to the Caesaro-papacy of Marsiglio, they exalted the Pope into a kind of demi-god, with absolute authority over the whole world. Evidently, exaggerations of this kind were not calculated to counteract the attacks of political scepticism in regard to the authority of the Holy See.

The theory put forward in the *Defensor Pacis*, regarding the omnipotence of the State and the consequent annihilation of all individual and ecclesiastical liberty, far surpassed all preceding attacks on the position and constitution of the Church in audacity, novelty and acrimony.

Practically this doctrine, which was copied from the ancients, meant the overthrow of all existing institutions and the separation of Church and State. Many passages of the work go far beyond the subsequent utterances of Wyclif and Huss, or even those of Luther and Calvin, whose forerunner Marsiglio may be considered. The great French Revolution was a partial realization of his schemes, and, in these days, a powerful party is working for the accomplishment of the rest. Huss has been styled “the Precursor” of the Revolution, but the author of the *Defensor Pacis* might yet more justly claim the title.

Louis Ravaria accepted the dedication of the book which brought these doctrines before the world and promulgated political principles of so questionable a character, but a still greater triumph was in store for Marsiglio. In union with the anti-papal Minorites and the Italian Ghibelines he succeeded in inducing Louis to go to Rome and to engage in the Revolutionary proceedings of the year 1328. The collation of the Imperial Crown by the Roman people, their deposition of the Pope and election of an anti-Pope in the person of the Minorite, Pietro da Corvara, were the practical results of the teaching of the *Defensor Pacis*.

Some of the Emperors of the House of Hohenstaufen had been men of stronger characters than Louis was, yet none had ever gone to such extremes. He appealed to doctrines whose application to ecclesiastical matters was equivalent to revolution, and whose re-action on the sphere of politics after their triumph over the Church would have been rapid and incalculable. For a century and a half the Church had been free from schism; by his action he let loose this terrible evil upon her. His culpable rashness gave a revolutionary and democratic turn to the struggle between the Empire and the Papacy. He repudiated all the canonical decisions regarding the Supremacy of the Pope which the Emperors of the House of Hapsburg had accepted, degraded the Empire to a mere Investiture from the Capitol, and despoiled the Crown of Charles the Great, in the eyes of all who believed in the ancient imperial hierarchy, of the last ray of its majesty. It is strange that under Louis the Roman Empire should actually have been thus desecrated and degraded, so soon after Dante's idealization had crowned it with a halo of glory.

It is impossible in the present retrospect to describe all the vicissitudes of Church and State during the struggle which was so disastrous to both. Envenomed by the dependence of the Popes on France, the exasperation on both sides was intense. Thy ecclesiastical power was implacable, lost to all sense of moderation, dignity, or charity. The secular power, cowardly but defiant, shrank from no extreme, sought the aid of the lowest demagogues, and by its vacillations frustrated each favourable chance that arose. The long and obstinate warfare, so little honourable to either party, could have no result save the equal humiliation of both and the complete ruin of social order in Church and State. John XXII, restless and active to the last, died at a great age on the 4th December, 1334.

His successor, Benedict XII (1334-1342), a man of austere morals, was unable, notwithstanding his gentle and pacific disposition, to compose the strife with Louis of Bavaria and the Friars. King Philip VI of France and the Cardinals in the French interest laboured to prevent peace between the Pope and Louis, and Benedict had not sufficient strength of will to carry out his purpose in face of their opposition.

John XXII, in his latter years, had thought of returning to Rome, and Pope Benedict XII wished to do so, but the Eternal City was at this time an arena of passionate discord and constant bloodshed. A Pope could not have remained there, even if the predominance of French influence and the irksome protection of the House of

Anjou had allowed him to make the attempt. King Philip VI and the French Cardinals, who formed the large majority of the Sacred College, accordingly found no difficulty in detaining the Pope on the banks of the Rhone. In face of the hopeless and yearly increasing confusion in Italy, the wish to return to the Tombs of the Apostles gradually died away in his noble soul. In 1339 he began to build at Avignon a suitable dwelling-place, half palace and half fortress; it was enlarged by his successors and so gradually grew into the celebrated Palace of the Popes. This gigantic pile stands on the rock of the Doms, and with its huge, heavy square towers, its naked yellowish-brown colossal walls, five yards in thickness and broken irregularly by a few pointed windows, is one of the most imposing creations of mediaeval architecture. In its strange combination of castle and cloister, prison and palace, this temporary residence of the Popes reflects both the deterioration and the fate of the Papacy in France. It was the Popes' prison, and at the same time their Baronial Castle, in that feudal epoch when the Heads of Christendom were vassals of the French Crown, and were not ashamed to bear the title of Counts of Venaissin and Avignon. The Palace of the Popes, in comparison with which the neighbouring Cathedral has an insignificant appearance, also manifests the decline of the ecclesiastical, and the predominance of the worldly, warlike, and princely element, which marked the Avignon period.

The labours of Benedict XII as a reformer in the best sense of the word, are worthy of the highest praise. In this respect he forms a striking contrast with his predecessor; he also most carefully avoided anything approaching to nepotism. "A Pope" he said, "should be like Melchisedech, without father, without mother, without genealogy". During his whole Pontificate he manifested the most earnest desire to do away with the abuses which had prevailed in the preceding reign, severely repressing bribery and corruption in all the branches of ecclesiastical administration. He sent the prelates who lingered about the Court back to their dioceses, and revoked all In Commendams and Expectancies, with the exception of those appertaining to the Cardinals and Patriarchs. He made the reform of the relaxed Religious Orders of men his special care, and, as one of his biographers observes, he caused the Church, which had become Agar, to be again Sara, and brought her out of bondage into freedom.

Benedict XII's successor, Pierre Roger de Beaufort, was also a native of the South of France; he was born at the Castle of Maumont in the Diocese of Limoges, and, on his accession, took the name of Clement VI (1342-1352). Unlike the pacific Benedict, this strong-minded Pontiff proceeded to resume against Louis of Bavaria the traditions of John XXII, and with success. He skilfully turned the enmity of the Houses of Lützelburg and Wittelsbach to account against the Emperor. A deadly struggle between these two families was imminent, when Louis suddenly died. The triumph of the Papacy seemed assured, for Charles IV undertook to satisfy all the demands of the Papal Court, and even the portion of the German nation which had followed the Emperor in his opposition to the Popes, gradually reverted to its former path.

But the whole nature of the conflict between the two divinely appointed powers, and the new ideas which had come to light during its continuance, had worked a great change in the spirit of the age. The old Pagan idea of the State, so destructive of every other human or divine right, had been revived by Marsiglio and Occam, and its delusive sophistry had beguiled many. The disastrous struggle had shaken the allegiance of thousands to the authority of the Pope, many spiritual bonds which had hitherto attached them to the Church were loosened, the general feeling was no longer what it had formerly been, and, moreover, the corruption of morals during these years had made frightful progress.

The Pontificate of Clement VI was marked by the revolt of Cola di Rienzo, and the magic power attached to the name of the Eternal City was again manifested, but the fantastic extravagance of the Tribune, the instability of the Roman people, and, finally, the measures taken against it by the Pope, soon made an end of the new Republic and its head. The whole revolt seemed like some meteor that beams forth for a moment and is immediately lost in the darkness. Yet in some respects it was an important sign of the times. The programme of Italian unity under an Italian Emperor, put forth by the "Tragic Actor in the tattered purple of antiquity", clearly showed the progress already achieved by the modern idea of nationality. The ruin of the great political unity of the Middle Ages brought forth the selfish spirit of modern times. This unchristian nationalism was first developed in France, the very nation into whose power the Head of the Church had fallen. Thence it spread to Italy, where it found an ally in the heathen Renaissance. This was only natural, for nationalism in its narrowest sense was the spirit of the ancient world. Sooner or later a conflict between the Church and this degenerate principle was inevitable, for the Universal Church cannot be national. According to the will of her Divine Founder, she must accommodate herself to every race: there must be One Fold and One Shepherd. At one and the same time the most stable and the most pliable of all institutions, the Church can be all things to all men, and can educate every nation without doing violence to her nature. She persecutes no tongue nor people, but she shows no special preferences. She is simply Catholic, that is, Universal. Were it possible for her to become the tool of any one nation, she would cease to be the Universal, Church, embracing the whole world.

Clement VI was in many respects a distinguished man. He was celebrated for immense theological knowledge, for a marvellous memory, and, above all, for rare eloquence. Some of his sermons, preached in the Papal Chapel before his elevation to the Pontificate, are preserved in manuscript in German Libraries. When Pope, he used to preach publicly on occasions of special importance to the Church, such, for example, as the appointment of Louis of Spain to be Prince and Lord of the Canary Islands (1344)

The gentleness and benevolence of this Pontiff were even more remarkable than his erudition and eloquence. He was ever the helper of the poor and needy, and the brave defender of the unfortunate and oppressed. When a sanguinary persecution broke out against the Jews, who were detested as the representatives of capital, and slain by thousands by the excited populace in France and Germany, the Pope alone espoused their cause. He felt that his exalted position imposed on him the duty of curbing the wild fanaticism of the turbulent masses. In July and September, 1348, he issued Bulls for the protection of the abhorred race. If in the frantic excitement of the time, these measures were almost fruitless, Clement VI at least did all that was in his power, by affording refuge to the homeless wanderers in his little State.

But notwithstanding the admirable qualities of this Pontiff, there is a dark side, which we must not conceal. Through the acquisition, by purchase, of Avignon and the creation of many French Cardinals, he made the Roman Church still more dependent on France. Her true interests suffered much from the manner in which he heaped riches and favours on his relations, and from the Luxury of his Court. Extravagance and good cheer were carried to a frightful pitch in Avignon during his reign. There was a certain magnanimity in the prodigality of Clement, who said that he was Pope only to promote the happiness of his subjects; but the treasure left by his two immediate predecessors was soon exhausted, and fresh resources were needed to enable him to continue his liberal mode of life. He was only able to procure these at the cost of the interests of the Church, for his financial measures were even more injurious than those of Clement V

and John XXII. As in former times, so now, the frequent and excessive exercise of the undoubted right of the Popes to levy taxes led, in many countries, to violent resistance. Among the Teutonic nations especially, the discontent was extreme. England endeavoured to protect herself by strict legislative enactments, and her example was afterwards followed by Germany. Owing, however, to political distractions, the opposition was not unanimous, although the measures adopted were, in some cases, sufficiently stringent. In October, 1372, the monasteries and abbeys in Cologne entered into a compact to resist Pope Gregory XI in his proposed levy of a tithe on their revenues. The wording of their document manifests the depth of the feeling which prevailed in Germany against the Court of Avignon. "In consequence", it says, "of the exactions with which the Papal Court burdens the clergy, the Apostolic See has fallen into such contempt, that the Catholic Faith in these parts seems to be seriously imperilled. The laity speak slightingly of the Church, because, departing from the custom of former days, she hardly ever sends forth preachers or reformers, but rather ostentatious men, cunning, selfish, and greedy. Things have come to such a pass, that few are Christians more than in name". The example of Cologne was soon followed. Similar protests were issued in the same month by the Chapters of Bonn, Xanten, and Soest, and in the month of November by the ecclesiastics of Mayence. Such was the feeling in Western Germany towards the end of the Avignon period, and in Southern Germany the same sentiments prevailed. Duke Stephen the elder of Bavaria and his sons addressed a letter to the ecclesiastics of their country in 1367, informing them "that the Pope lays a heavy tax on the income of the clergy and has thus brought ruin on the monasteries; they are therefore strictly enjoined, under severe penalties, to pay no tax or tribute, for their country is a free country, and the princes, will not-permit the introduction of such customs, for the Pope has no orders to give in their country".

Clement VI, unfortunately, did not recognize the injury inflicted on the interests of the Church by his extravagant demands for money. On the contrary, when the abuses which had ensued were brought to his notice, and he was reminded that none of his predecessors had allowed things to go to such lengths, he replied, "My predecessors did not know how to be Popes", a saying which is characteristic of this Pontiff, in whose person the period of the Avignon exile is most characteristically portrayed.

Happily for the Church, Clement's successor, Innocent VI (1352-1362), was of a very different stamp. This "austere and righteous" man—seems to have taken Benedict XII as his model. Immediately after his coronation he revoked the Constitution of Clement VI, granting benefices in certain cathedral and collegiate churches to ecclesiastical dignitaries, suspended a number of Reservations and In-Commendams, expressed his disapproval of pluralities, and bound every beneficed priest to personal residence, under pain of excommunication. In this way he emptied the Papal Palace of a crowd of useless courtiers, whose only occupation was intrigue and money-making. Naturally frugal in his own expenses, and convinced that it was his duty to be very careful in regard to the possessions of the Church, he banished all splendour from his Court, put a stop to superfluous outlay, and dismissed needless servants. He required the Cardinals, many of whom were given up to luxury and had amassed immense wealth, to follow his example, and often rebuked the passions and failings of individual members of the Sacred College. Preferment in his days was the reward of merit. "Ecclesiastical dignities", he used to say, "should follow virtue, not birth". Innocent VI, who contemplated a thorough reform of Church government in general earnestly strove to stem the corruption of the age, even beyond his own immediate sphere. Accordingly, in 1357, he sent Bishop Philippe de Labassole to Germany to labour at the reform of the

clergy. Almost all historians regard Innocent VI as an austere, earnest, and capable ruler, who, although not wholly free from the taint of nepotism, worked unceasingly for the welfare of the Church and of his people. Some even consider him the best of the Avignon Popes.

This remarkable Pontiff also lent a helping hand to the final restoration of the Empire, but this new Empire was too weak to have sufficed for itself even in ordinary times. From the fear of a return to the days of Frederick II and Louis of Bavaria, it was considered prudent, if possible, to deprive the Empire of all power of injuring the Church, and everything else was sacrificed to this idea. The mistake proved a serious one. With all his admirable qualities, Innocent VI was no politician.

The brightest spot in his Pontificate is the restoration of the papal authority in Italy, by means of the gifted Cardinal Albornoz. The return of the Pope to his original and proper capital was now a possibility. It was, moreover, becoming a matter of urgent necessity, as the residence of the Papal Court on the banks of the Rhone had been rendered most insecure by the increasing power of mercenary bands and the growing confusion of French affairs. Innocent VI had indeed meant to visit Rome, but old age and sickness frustrated his purpose. His successor, the learned and saintly Urban V (1362-1370), was more fortunate. Two great events mark his Pontificate as one of the most important of the century.

His return to Rome, which the Emperor Charles IV promoted with all his power, was effected in 1367. It was the only means by which the papal authority could be reinstated, the Papacy delivered from the entanglement of the war between France and England, and the necessary reform of ecclesiastical discipline carried out.

The second great event, which occurred in the following year, was the Emperor Charles IV's pilgrimage to Rome and the friendly alliance between the Empire and the Church. The return of Urban V to the tombs of the Apostles was an occasion of immense rejoicing to all earnest and devout Italians. Giovanni Colombini, the founder of the Gesuati, and his religious came as far as Corneto to meet the Pope, singing hymns of praise. They bore palm branches in their hands, and accompanied the Holy Father on his way with rejoicings. Shortly afterwards he confirmed their statutes which were based on the Rule of St. Benedict. Petrarch welcomed the Pope on his entry into Rome in the words of the psalmist: "When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a barbarous people, then was our mouth filled with gladness and our tongue with joy".

Rome had seen no Pope within her walls for more than sixty years; the city was a very picture of utter decay: the principal churches, the Lateran Basilica, St. Peter's, and St. Paul's, and the Papal Palaces were almost in ruins. The experience of two generations had proved, that while the Popes might possibly do without Rome, Rome could not do without the Popes. Urban V at once gave orders for the restoration of the dilapidated buildings and churches. Royal guests soon arrived at her gates, and the city gradually began to recover. The Romans came to meet their Sovereign with all due respect and submission; peace and quietness seemed at last to have returned. But Urban V was not endowed with strength and perseverance to unravel the tangled skein of Italian affairs, and resist his own longing and that of most of the Cardinals for their beautiful French home. In vain did the Franciscan, Pedro of Aragon, point out the probability of a schism if the Pope should forsake the seat of the Apostles. The supplications of the Romans, the warnings of Petrarch, and St. Bridget's prediction that he would die when he left Italy, were unavailing to turn Urban V from his purpose. To the great sorrow of all true friends of the Papacy and the Church, he went to Avignon,



where he shortly died (December 19, 1370). When Petrarch heard the tidings he wrote: “Urban would have been reckoned amongst the most glorious of men, if he had caused his dying bed to be laid before the Altar of St. Peter and had there fallen asleep with a good conscience, calling God and the world to witness that if ever the Pope had left this spot it was not his fault, but that of the originators of so shameful a flight”. With the exception of this weakness, Urban V was one of the best of the Popes, and his resistance to the moral corruption of the day is worthy of all honour, even though he was unable completely to efface the traces of the former disorders.

The period was in many ways a most melancholy one. The prevailing immorality exceeded anything that had been witnessed since the tenth century. Upon a closer inquiry into the causes of this state of things, we shall find that the evil was in great measure due to the altered conditions of civilized life. Commercial progress, facilities of intercourse, the general well-being and prosperity of all classes of society in Italy, France, Germany and the Low Countries, had greatly increased during the latter part of the thirteenth century. Habits of life changed rapidly, and became more luxurious and pleasure-seeking. The clergy of all degrees, with some honourable exceptions, went with the current. Fresh wants necessitated additional resources, and some of the Popes (as, for example, John XXII and Clement VI) adopted those financial measures of which we have already spoken. Gold became the ruling power everywhere. Alvaro Pelayo, speaking as an eyewitness, says that the officials of the Papal Court omitted no mean of enriching themselves. No audience was to be obtained, no business transacted without money, and even permission to receive Holy Orders had to be purchased by presents. The same evils, on a smaller scale, prevailed in most of the episcopal palaces. The promotion of unworthy and incompetent men, and the complete neglect of the obligation of residence, were the results of this system. The synods, indeed, often urged this obligation, but the example of those in high places counteracted their efforts. The consequent want of supervision is in itself enough to explain the decay of discipline in the matter of the celibacy of the clergy, though the unbridled immorality, which kept pace with the increasing luxury of the age, had here also led many astray.

Urban V, himself a saintly man, attacked these abuses with energy and skill; he clearly saw that the reformation of the clergy was the first thing to be attended to and took vigorous measures, not only against heretical teachers, but also against immoral and simoniacal ecclesiastics and idle monks. He enforced the rule regarding the holding of Provincial Councils, which had long been neglected, put a stop to the disgraceful malpractices of the Advocates and Procurators of the Roman Court, and conferred benefices only on the deserving. He wished his Court to be a pattern of Christian conduct, and, therefore, watched carefully over the morals of his surroundings. He was fearless wherever he believed the interests of God to be concerned, and, although of a yielding disposition, showed an amount of decision in maintaining the rights and liberties of the Church, which astonished all who knew him. The luxurious life at Avignon was distasteful to him, and furnished one strong reason for his journey to Rome. He was free from any taint of nepotism, and induced his father to give up a pension which the King of France had granted him; justice was his aim in all things; he was punctual in holding Consistories; all business, especially such as concerned the affairs of the poor, was promptly despatched, he kept strict order in his Court, and put down all fraud and oppression. During his sojourn in Italy, Urban also occupied himself with ecclesiastical reforms, one of which was that of the celebrated Abbey of Monte Casino.

The weakness of Urban V in so speedily abandoning Rome was visited on Gregory XI (1370-1378), a Pontiff distinguished for learning, piety, modesty, and purity of life. In his time, the spirit of Italian nationality rose up against the French Papacy. The great mistake which had been made in entrusting the government of the States of the Church almost exclusively to Provençals, strangers to the country and to its people, was sternly avenged. A national movement ensued, the effects of which still survive in Italy, and which produced a general uprising of the Italians against the French.

The Republic of Florence, once the staunchest ally of the Holy See, now took the lead in opposition “to the evil Pastors of the Church”, and in July, 1375, associated itself with Bernabò Visconti, the old enemy of the Apostolic See. Unfurling a red banner, on which shone the word, “Liberty”, in golden letters, the Florentines called upon all who were dissatisfied with the rule of the Papal Legates to arise. The preponderant of Frenchmen against the governors in the States of the Church was, no doubt, in some degree the cause of the ready response made to his appeal. Still, the most loyal adherent of Gregory XI, St. Catherine of Siena, denounces the conduct of the “evil Pastors”, and urges the Pope to proceed vigorously against those “who poison and devastate the garden of the Church”. It would, however, be unfair to adopt the tone of the majority of Italian chroniclers and historians, and lay all the blame on the Papal Legates. “The policy of most of the Italian states”, to quote the words of one thoroughly conversant with this period, “was infected with that same disease of self-seeking and duplicity, of which the Legates were accused, while the mode of government in the princely Castles and in the Republics was incomparably more oppressive than in the Papal dominions. Some of these Legates were among the most distinguished servants of the Church of that age, but they all shared in the Original Sin of foreign nationality, and did not understand the Italians, who, on the other hand, found it convenient to attribute to others their own faults”.

The behaviour of the Florentines towards Gregory XI was closely connected with the internal affairs of the Republic. A numerous party in Florence, to whom the increased authority of the dominant Guelph section of the nobles was obnoxious, extremely disliked the strengthening of the territorial power of the Pope. Dreading a diminution of Florentine influence in Central Italy, they adroitly made use of the errors of the Papal governors to stir up the States of the Church. Their efforts were successful beyond all expectation. In the November and December of 1375, Montefiascone, Viterbo, Citta di Castello, Narni, and Perugia rose in revolt, soon to be followed by Assisi, Spoleto, Ascoli, Civita Vecchia, Forli, and Ravenna, and before two months had passed, the March of Ancona, the Romagna, the Duchy of Spoleto, in short, the whole of the States of the Church were in open insurrection. The power of the revolutionary torrent is strikingly shown by the defection of Barons like Bertrando d'Alidosio, the Vicar Apostolic of Imola, and Rodolfo da Varano, who had been numbered among the most devoted adherents of the Pope. The Florentines, not yet content, made constant efforts to gain the few cities which still resisted the Revolution, and, where letters and emissaries failed to accomplish this object, proceeded to more forcible measures.

Consternation reigned in Avignon; Gregory XI, timid by nature, was deeply shocked and alarmed by the evil tidings from Italy. Fearing that the cities which still remained true to him would also join the standard of revolt, he endeavoured to make terms with his opponents, but in vain; the Florentines had no desire for peace, especially when they had succeeded in inducing the powerful city of Bologna, the “pearl of the Romagna”, to turn against the Pope.

In face of the reckless proceedings of his enemies, Gregory XI believed the time had come when even a pacific Pontiff must seriously think of war. A sentence accordingly went forth, which, as time proved, was terrible in its effects and in many respects doubtless too severe. The citizens of Florence, were excommunicated, an interdict was laid upon the city, Florence, with, its inhabitants and possessions, was declared to be outlawed. Gregory XI came to the unfortunate decision of opposing force by force, and sending the wild Breton mercenaries, who were then at Avignon with their captain, Jean de Malestroit, to Italy, under the command of the fierce Cardinal Legate, Robert of Geneva. War was declared between the last French Head of the Church and the Republic of Florence.

No one more deeply bewailed these sad events than St. Catherine of Siena, a young and lowly nun, who exercised a wonderful influence over the hearts of her contemporaries, as the ministering angel of the poor in their corporal and spiritual necessities, the heroic nurse of the plague-stricken, and the mighty preacher of penance. This simple maiden, who is one of the most marvellous figures in the history of the world, clearly perceived the faults on both sides in this terrible strife, and "in heartstirring and heartwinning words" spoke out her convictions to all, even to the most powerful. As the true Bride of Him who came to bring peace to the world, she constantly urged peace and reconciliation upon the opposing parties. "What is sweeter than peace?" she wrote to Niccolò Soderini, one of the most influential citizens of Florence; "it was the last will and testament which Jesus Christ left to His disciples, when He said, 'You shall not be known as My disciples by working miracles, nor by foretelling the future, nor by great holiness shown forth in all your actions, but only if you shall live together in charity and peace and love'. So great is my grief at this war which will destroy so many among you, body and soul, that I would readily, if it were possible, give my life a thousand times to stop it".

The letters addressed by St. Catherine to Pope Gregory XI are unique in their kind. She looks at everything from, the highest point of view, and does not scruple to tell the Pope the most unwelcome truths, without, however, for a moment forgetting the reverence due to the Vicar of Christ. "You are indeed bound", she says in one of these letters, "to win back the territory which has been lost to the Church; but you are even more bound to win back all the lambs which are the Church's real treasure, and whose loss will truly impoverish her, not indeed in herself, for the Blood of Christ cannot be diminished, but the Church loses a great adornment of glory which she receives from her virtuous and obedient children. It is far better to part with a temporal treasure than with one which is eternal. Do what you can; when all that is possible has been done, you are excused in the sight of God and of men. You must strike them with the weapons of goodness, of love, and of peace, and you will gain more than by the weapons of war. And when I inquire of God what is the best for your salvation, for the restoration of the Church, and for the whole world, there is no other answer but the word, Peace, Peace! For the love of the crucified Saviour, Peace". "Be valiant and not fearful", St. Catherine entreats after the revolt of Bologna; "answer God who calls you to come and to fill and defend the place of the glorious Pastor St. Peter, whose successor you are. Raise the standard of the Holy Cross, for as, according to the saying of the Apostle St. Paul, we are made free by the Cross, so by the exaltation of this standard which appears before me as the consolation of Christendom, shall we be delivered from discord, war and wickedness, and those who have gone astray shall return to their allegiance. Thus doing you shall obtain the conversion of the Pastors of the Church. Implant again in her heart the burning love that she has lost. She is pale through loss of blood which has been

drained by insatiable devourers. But take courage and come, O Father; let not the servants of God, whose hearts are heavy with longing, have still to wait for you. And I, poor and miserable that I am, cannot wait longer; life seems death to me while I see and hear that God is so dishonoured. Do not let yourself be kept from peace by what has come to pass in Bologna, but come, I tell you that ravening wolves will lay their heads in your lap like gentle lambs, and beseech you to have pity on them, O Father”.

With like freedom did Catherine point out to the rulers of Florence that they owed obedience to the Church, even if her pastors failed in the performance of their duties. “You know well that Christ left us His Vicar for the salvation of our souls, for we cannot find salvation anywhere save in the mystical body of the Church, whose Head is Christ and whose members we are. He who is disobedient to the Christ on earth has no share in the inheritance of the Blood of the Son of God, for God has ordained that by his hand we should be partakers of this Blood and of all the Sacraments of the Church which receive life from this Blood. There is no other way, we can enter by no other door, for He who is Very Truth says, ‘I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life’. He who walks in this way is in the truth and not in falsehood. This is the way of hatred of sin, not the way of self-love which is the source of all evil. You see then, my dear sons, that he who like a corrupt member resists the Holy Church and our Father, the Christ upon earth, lies under sentence of death. For as we demean ourselves towards him, whether honouring him or disobeying him, so do we demean ourselves towards Christ in Heaven. I say it to you with the deepest sorrow, by your disobedience and persecution you have deserved death and the wrath of God. There can nothing worse happen to you than the loss of His grace; human power is of little avail where divine power is wanting, and he watcheth in vain that keepeth the city, unless the Lord keep it. Many indeed think that they are not offending God but serving Him, when they persecute the Church and her Pastors, and say they are bad and do nothing but harm; yet I tell you that even if the Pastors were incarnate devils and the Pope the same, instead of a good and kind Father, we must be obedient and submissive to him, not for his own sake, but as the Vicar of the Lord in obedience to God”.

The words, alas! fell on a barren soil, St. Catherine soon perceived to her great sorrow that the Florentines, who had sent her to negotiate their terms of peace at Avignon (June, 1376), had no real desire to come to an understanding with the Pope. For those who now held sway in Florence intended to bring the Church to such straits that her temporal power would disappear, and this not from any lofty ideal as to the higher interests of the Church, but in order that the Pope should be without the means of punishing them. The peace, with which the Saint of Siena saw that the fulfilment of the dearest wish of her heart—the Pope’s return to Rome—was closely connected, seemed more distant than ever. But St. Catherine did not lose courage. During her sojourn at Avignon she unceasingly implored the Pope to yield and to let mercy prevail over justice; not content with this, she desired to lay the axe to the root, in order to remove the evil thoroughly. She now urged him by word of mouth, as she had already done in her letters, to undertake the reformation of the clergy. The worldly-minded Cardinals were amazed at the plain speaking of this nun. She told the Pope of his failings, especially his inordinate regard for his relations. All Avignon was in a state of excitement; many would have been glad to crush her, but they feared the Pope who had taken her under his protection. She loudly complained that at the Papal Court, which ought to have been a Paradise of virtue, her nostrils were assailed by the odours of hell. It is greatly to the honour of Gregory that St. Catherine could venture to speak thus plainly, and equally to her honour that she did so speak.

St Catherine's zeal for reform was even surpassed by that with which she endeavoured to bring about the return of the Pope to Rome. She laboured with the greatest ardour for the realization of this project, which lay very near her heart, in the first place on account of the relations then existing between Rome and Italy, and the longing desire of all Italians. But her strongest motive was her solemn conviction that the Chief Pastoral Office in the Church ought to be closely associated with the City, which the blood of the Apostles and of countless martyrs had hallowed. She by no means overlooked the other advantages of the ancient abode of the Caesars, but her devout enthusiasm—herein widely differing from that of Petrarch—was kindled by the vision of Rome, as the Holy City born again and ennobled in Christ. She writes of Rome, as a “garden watered with the blood of martyrs, which still flows there and calls on others to follow them”; and it was her desire to make her great by restoring to her her choicest ornament, the Throne of the Apostles. Equally earnest was her desire to restore the fallen power of the Vicar of Christ; and, fully persuaded that in no other city on earth could the Papacy flourish as in Rome, she gave herself no rest, until she had undone the work of Philip the Fair.

Meanwhile the aspect of affairs in Italy had become more and more threatening to the Papacy. Besides Rome only Cesena, Orvieto, Ancona, Osimo, and Jesi, had remained true to the Pope, and the rebels had left no means untried to shake the allegiance of these places. Rightly judging that the attitude of the Eternal City must have a decisive influence, they laboured especially to induce the Romans to rebel. But happily for Gregory, the violent letters of the Florentine Chancellor, Coluccio Salutato, urging them to rise against “the barbarians, the French robbers, and the flattering priests”, were unheeded. It was, however, impossible for Rome to continue absolutely uninfluenced by the general insurrectionary movement, and a party arose there which threatened that if Gregory put off his return to Italy, an antipope should be elected. The great excitement which reigned throughout the States of the Church, is proved by the fact that many of the inferior clergy in the revolted Provinces joined the insurrection, and incited the members of their flocks to expel the Papal officials.

Since the days of Frederick II the Papacy had never been in such imminent peril, for it now seemed on the point of losing its historical position in Italy, and even of being permanently banished by the Italians themselves to Avignon. St. Bridget had, many years before, expressed her fear that, unless Gregory XI soon returned to Italy, he would forfeit not only his temporal, but also his spiritual authority, and this fear seemed on the point of realization. The restoration of the Papal residence to Rome was the only possible remedy.

Gregory XI had long entertained the idea of going to Rome, but the influences which detained him in France had as yet been too strong; his venerated father, Count de Beaufort, his mother, his four sisters, his King, his Cardinals, and his own repugnance towards a country whose language was unknown to him, were all so many hindrances in the way. If the sickly and timid Pontiff at last overcame the pressure put upon him by those around him, and by the French King, who sent his own brother the Duke of Anjou, to Avignon, this result is due to the burning words of St. Catherine of Siena. On the 13th September, 1376, Gregory XI left Avignon for Genoa travelling by way of Marseilles. At Genoa, St. Catherine succeeded in counteracting all the attempts made to induce him to turn back. Fearful storms delayed the voyage to Italy, and in consequence he only reached Corneto on the 5th December. The inhabitants of this ancient Etruscan City went forth to meet the Pope when he landed, carrying olive branches in their hands, and singing the Te Deum.

Gregory XI remained here five weeks, principally on account of inconclusive negotiations with the inhabitants of the Eternal City, whom the Florentines were ceaselessly inciting to revolt. The practical Romans, however, came to terms with the Pope's plenipotentiaries, and on the 21st December, 1376, an agreement was concluded which enabled him to continue his journey. He left Corneto on the 13th January, 1377, and on the 14th landed at Ostia and went up the Tiber to St. Paul's, whence on the 17th, accompanied by a brilliant retinue, he made his entry into the City of St. Peter.

The conclusion of the unnatural exile of the Papacy in France was a turning point in the history of the Church, as well as in that of Rome. The spell with which Philip the Fair had bound the ecclesiastical power was broken; a French Pope had set himself free. The gratitude of the world was assured to him, and that of Rome could not be wanting. Yet Gregory XI found no rest in the Eternal City, where anarchy had taken such deep root that the Florentines found no difficulty in stirring up fresh troubles. Hardly had he established himself in the Vatican, when the conflict regarding the limits of his authority in the City broke out anew, and the treaty concluded between the Pope and the Romans proved but a false peace. Yet more melancholy were the experiences of the well-meaning Pontiff in regard to general affairs. He had, as he himself wrote to the Florentines, left his beautiful native land, a grateful and devout people, and many other delights, and, notwithstanding the opposition or the prayers of Kings, Princes and many Cardinals, had hastened to Italy amid great dangers, with great fatigue, and at great cost, fully determined to remedy whatever his servants might have done amiss, ready, for love of peace, to accept conditions little honourable to himself, if only by this means tranquillity might be restored to Italy. To his deep sorrow all the hopes which he had built on his personal presence in Italy, were disappointed. The Improvement expected, not only by the Pope, but also by many discerning contemporaries, failed to appear. The rebellion had assumed such formidable dimensions, hatred against the rule of the Church seemed to be so interwoven with the sentiment of patriotism, that the evil might be deemed incurable. And the antipapal feeling was fearfully intensified by the tragical massacre perpetrated at Cesena (February, 1377), by order of the Cardinal of Geneva. This deed of blood was welcome to the Florentines, who now appealed, not only to their allies and to the hesitating Romans, but to many Kings and Princes of Christendom. While they portrayed the horrors that had taken place in Cesena in the darkest colours, they sought to justify their own attitude and to increase the hatred felt for the Papal cause. In Italy their efforts were very successful, as we learn from a passage in the Chronicle of Bologna, which declares that the people would believe neither in the Pope nor in the Cardinals, because such things had nothing in common with the Faith.

Gregory XI, whose health had suffered much from the climate, to which he was unaccustomed, and the troubles of the few months he had spent in Rome, left the unquiet city in the end of May for Anagni, where he remained until November. Amid the increasing confusion of affairs and exhaustion of financial resources, he never lost courage. He well knew that the fortune of war is subject to many vicissitudes, and he had firm confidence in the justice of his cause. The wise policy, with which he had liberally rewarded the loyal, severely punished the irreconcilable, and readily forgiven the repentant, gradually worked a change in his favour. He succeeded in reconciling the wealthy City of Bologna to the Church, and winning to his side Rodolfo da Varano, the chief General of the Florentines. The Prefect of Vico, to whom Viterbo was subject, also gave up the Florentine League, which seemed threatened with dissolution. But the people of Florence were not to be influenced by these events, and instead of adopting moderate measures, proceeded to extremities. The conditions proposed to the Pope were

such as he could not accept. Not only did the Republic refuse to restore the confiscated property of the Church and to repeal the Edict against the Inquisition, but it also demanded that all rebels against the Church should remain for six years unpunished in *statu quo*, and should be free to make treaties, even against the Pope and the Church. Such proposals could not really be called conditions of peace; they were, as Gregory XI justly observed, merely an effort to strengthen revolutionary tyranny and to prepare the way for fresh war. And yet, in a letter addressed soon afterwards to the Romans, the Florentines had the audacity to complain most bitterly of the Pope as preaching peace with his lips only!

It is no wonder that, instead of listening to the mild counsels of St. Catherine of Siena, Gregory XI vigorously carried on the war with his inexorable opponents, who ended by disregarding even the Interdict. He took every means to ensure the publication of his terrible sentence against the Florentines, by which their trade was most seriously affected, in places such as Venice and Bologna, where it had not yet been promulgated. If tidings reached him, from countries where this had been done, of a lenient execution of the decree, he at once protested in the strongest terms. The injury thus inflicted on the national prosperity of the Republic was quite incalculable.

The prosecution of the war demanded an immense outlay. The increasing tyranny in the internal government of the Republic, and the insufferable burden laid by the Interdict on the consciences of a religious population, produced a growing desire for peace, which endangered the success of the warlike party. Signs of discord became apparent among the confederates. Accordingly, when the Bishop of Urbino, as envoy from the Pope, proposed their own ally Bernabò Visconti to the Florentines as umpire, the chiefs of their party did not venture to refuse to appear at the Peace Congress to be held at Sarzana. Early in the year 1378 Bernabò arrived in the city, where ambassadors from most of the Italian powers soon assembled. Gregory XI had at first been averse to sending a Cardinal to the Congress, but for the sake of peace he finally resolved on this concession, and the Cardinal of Amiens, accompanied by the Archbishops of Pampeluna and Narbonne, accordingly appeared on his behalf. On the 12th of March the negotiations began, to be almost immediately interrupted by the death of the Pope.

Gregory XI had returned to Rome from Anagni on the 7th November; the Romans who during his absence had become reconciled to the Papal rule, received him joyfully and delivered to him the contract of peace with Francesco di Vico, prefect of the City. A little before his death the Pope was able to assure the Romans that the condition of their City had hardly ever been so peaceful as during the preceding winter. The tranquillity of Rome could not, however, deceive Gregory as to the dangers which threatened the Papacy; he knew too well how much was still wanting to a durable settlement of Italian affairs, and he could not but acknowledge that he had failed to carry out the ecclesiastical reform so strongly and so justly urged upon him by St. Catherine. Dark visions hovered round his sick-bed. He seems to have had a foreboding of the schism that was imminent, for, on the 19th of March, 1378, he made arrangements to ensure the speedy and unanimous election of a successor. His health had always been delicate, and on the 27th March he succumbed to the continual agitation he had undergone and to the unfavourable effects of the Italian climate. Gregory XI was the last Pontiff given by France to the Church.

## CHAPTER II.

The Schism and the Great Heretical Movements,  
1378-1406 (1409)

After an interval of seventy-five years a Conclave again met in Rome, and on its decision depended the question whether or not the injurious predominance of France in the management of the affairs of the Church should continue. Severe struggles were to be expected, for no slight disunion existed in the Sacred College.

Of the sixteen Cardinals then present in Rome, four only were of Italian nationality. Francesco Tibaldeschi and Giacomo Orsini were Romans, Simone da Borsano and Pietro Corsini, natives respectively of Milan and Florence. These Princes of the Church were naturally desirous that an Italian should occupy the Chair of St. Peter. The twelve foreign or "Ultramontane" Cardinals, of whom one was a Spaniard and the others French, were subdivided into two parties. The Limousin Cardinals strove for the elevation of a native of their province, the birthplace of the last four Popes. Of the six remaining members of the Sacred College, two were undecided, and the four others, of whom the Cardinal of Geneva was the leader, formed what was called the Gallican faction.

No party accordingly had the preponderance, and a protracted Conclave was to be anticipated. External circumstances, however, led to a different result. Before the Cardinals entered on their deliberations, the Municipal authorities of Rome had besought them to elect a Roman, or at any rate an Italian, and while the Conclave was proceeding, the governors of the districts appeared, and presented the same petition. The populace gathered round the Vatican in the greatest excitement, demanding, with shouts and uproar, the election of a Roman. The Cardinals were compelled to make haste, and as no one of the three parties was sufficiently powerful to carry the day, all united in favour of Bartolomeo Prignano, Archbishop of Bari, candidate who belonged to no party and seemed in many respects the individual best fitted to rule the Church in this period of peculiar difficulty. He was the worthiest and most capable among the Italian prelates. As a native of Naples, he was the subject of Queen Joanna, whose protection at this crisis was of the greatest importance. A long residence in Avignon had given him the opportunity of acquiring French manners, and ties of equal strength bound him to Italy and to France. On the 8th April, 1378, he was elevated to the supreme dignity, taking the name of Urban VI.

Great confusion was occasioned by a misunderstanding which occurred after the election. The crowd forcibly broke into the Conclave to see the new Pope, and the Cardinals, dreading to inform them of the election of Prignano, who was not a Roman, persuaded the aged Cardinal Tibaldeschi to put on the Papal Insignia and allow the populace to greet him. Hardly had this been done, when, apprehensive of what might



happen when the deception was discovered, most of the Cardinals sought safety in flight. Finally, confidence was restored by the assurance of the City authorities that Prignano's election would find favour with the people. It is plain then that the election itself was not the result of compulsion on the part of the Roman populace. If, however, the least suspicion of Constraint could be attached to it, the subsequent bearing of the Cardinals was sufficient to completely counteract it. As soon as tranquillity was restored Prignano's election was announced to the people and was followed by his Coronation. All the Cardinals then present in Rome took part in the ceremony, and thereby publicly acknowledged Urban VI as the rightful Pope. They assisted him in his ecclesiastical functions and asked him for spiritual favours. They announced his election and Coronation to the Emperor and to Christendom in general by letters signed with their own hands, and homage was universally rendered to the new Head of the Church. No member of the Sacred College thought of calling the election in question; on the contrary, in official documents, as well as in private conversations, they all maintained its undoubted validity.

It cannot, indeed, be denied that the election of Urban VI was canonically valid. The most distinguished lawyers of the day gave their deliberate decisions to this effect; but it had taken place under circumstances so peculiar that it was extremely easy to obscure or distort the facts. It was canonical, but it had been brought about only by the dissensions between the different parties, and was agreeable to none. The Cardinals respectively hoped to find a pliable instrument for their wishes and plans in the person of Urban VI. In the event, however, of this hope being disappointed, or of their discords being appeased, it was to be expected that the elected Pontiff would fall a victim to their reconciliation. Without a single genuine adherent in the College of Cardinals, he might soon see his supporters changed into opponents.

The new Pope was adorned by great and rare qualities; almost all his contemporaries are unanimous in praise of his purity of life, his simplicity and temperance. He was also esteemed for his learning, and yet more for the conscientious zeal with which he discharged his ecclesiastical duties. It was said that he lay down to rest at night with the Holy Scriptures in his hand, that he wore a hair-shirt, and strictly observed the fasts of the Church. He was, moreover, experienced in business. When Gregory XI had appointed him to supply the place of the absent Cardinal Vice-Chancellor, he had fulfilled the duties of the office in an exemplary manner, and had acquired an unusual knowledge of affairs. Austere and grave by nature, nothing was more hateful to him than simony, worldliness, and immorality in any grade of the clergy.

It was but natural that the elevation of such a man should call forth the brightest anticipations for the welfare of the Church. Cristoforo di Piacenza, writing to his Sovereign, Lodovico Gonzaga of Mantua, soon after the election of Urban, says: "I am sure that he will rule God's Holy Church well, and I venture to say that she has had no such Pastor for a century and more, for he has no kindred, he is on very friendly terms with the Queen of Naples, he is conversant with the affairs of the world, and is moreover very clear-sighted and prudent".

But Urban VI had one great fault, a fault fraught with evil consequences to himself, and yet more to the Church; he lacked Christian gentleness and charity. He was naturally arbitrary and extremely violent and imprudent, and when he came to deal with the burning ecclesiastical question of the day, that of reform, the consequences were disastrous.

The melancholy condition of the affairs of the Church at this period is clear from the letters of St. Catherine of Siena. The suggestion of reform which she had made repeatedly and with unexampled courage had unfortunately not been carried out. Gregory XI was far too irresolute to adopt energetic measures, and he also attached undue weight to the opinions of his relations, and of the French Cardinals, by whom he was surrounded; moreover, he was fully occupied by the war with Florence, and this was perhaps the chief cause of his inaction. Whether, if longer life had been granted to him, he would really have undertaken the amendment of the clergy, it is impossible to say. One thing is certain, that at the date of the new Pope's accession the work had still to be done.

It is to Urban's honour that he at once took the matter in hand, beginning in the highest circles, where, in the opinion of all prudent men, the need was the most urgent. But instead of proceeding with the prudence and moderation demanded by a task of such peculiar difficulty, he suffered himself from the first to be carried away by the passionate impetuosity of his temper. Thus his already unstable position was soon rendered most precarious. The very next day after his coronation he gave offence to many Bishops and Prelates, who were sojourning in Rome, some of them for business, and some without any such reason. When, after Vespers, they paid him their respects in the great Chapel of the Vatican he railed them perjurers, because they had left their churches. A fortnight later, preaching in open consistory, he condemned the morals of the Cardinals and Prelates in such harsh and unmeasured terms, that all were deeply wounded. Nor did the Pope rest satisfied with words. His great desire was to eradicate simony, and that all business brought to Rome should be despatched gratuitously, and without presents. This he more especially required from the Cardinals, who were bound to be models to the rest of the clergy. He publicly declared that he would not suffer anything savouring of simony, nor would he grant audience to anyone suspected of this sin. He particularly forbade the Cardinals to accept pensions, considering this practice to be a great hindrance to the peace of the Church. He expressed his intention of living as much as possible in Rome, and, as far as in him lay, of dying there. Urban also issued ordinances against the luxury of the Cardinals, and these measures were no doubt most excellent. Would only that the Pope had proceeded in a less violent and uncompromising manner! He certainly did not take the best way of reforming the worldly-minded Cardinals, when, in the Consistory, he sharply bade one of them be silent, and called out to the others "Cease your foolish chattering!" nor again, when he told Cardinal Orsini that he was a blockhead. On the contrary, these brutal manners embittered men's minds, and did much to frustrate his well-meant plans and actions.

St. Catherine of Siena was aware of the severity, with which Urban VI was endeavouring to carry out his reforms, and immediately exhorted and warned him. "Justice without mercy", she wrote to the Pope, "will be injustice rather than justice". "Do what you have to do with moderation", she said in another letter, "and with goodwill and a peaceful heart, for excess destroys rather than builds up. For the sake of your Crucified Lord, keep these hasty movements of your nature a little in check". But instead of giving heed to these admonitions, Urban VI pursued his disastrous course, breaking rather than bending everything that opposed him. Relations between him and the Cardinals became more and more strained, for not one among these luxurious prelates had sufficient humility and patience to endure his domineering proceedings. Scenes of the most painful description frequently occurred, and, considering the incredible imprudence of Urban's conduct, we cannot wonder at his insuccess. Almost immediately after his election, St. Catherine had advised him to counteract the influence

of the worldly-minded Frenchmen who formed the majority in the Sacred College, by the nomination of a number of virtuous and conscientious Cardinals, who might assist him with counsel and active support in the arduous duties of his office. But Urban let precious time go by without adding to their number. Instead of acting, he confined himself to saying, in presence of several of the French Cardinals, that it was his purpose to create a preponderating number of Romans and Italians. An eye-witness relates that at these words the Cardinal of Geneva grew pale and left the Papal presence.

A revolution in the Sacred College was evidently imminent, when Urban VI fell out with his political friends, the Queen of Naples and her husband, Duke Otto of Brunswick. He also quarrelled with Count Onorato Gaetani of Fondi. The exasperated Cardinals now knew where to find a staunch supporter. Hardly had the oppressive and unhealthy heats of summer set in at Rome, when the French, one after another, sought leave of absence "for reasons of health". Their place of meeting was Anagni, and it was an open secret in Rome that they were resolved to revolt against a Pope, who had shown them so little regard, and who absolutely refused to transfer once more the Papal residence to France. If hopes were entertained of an amicable arrangement of differences, such hopes soon proved delusive. The Schism which had been impending ever since Clement V had fixed his seat in France, and which had almost broken out in the time of Urban V, and again in that of Gregory XI, now became a reality.

In vain did the Italian Cardinals, by order of the Pope, propose that the contest should be settled by a General Council; in vain did the most eminent lawyers and statesmen of the day, such as Baldo di Perugia and Coluccio Salutato, maintain the validity of Urban's election; in vain did St. Catherine of Siena conjure the rebellious Cardinals, by the Saviour's Precious Blood, not to sever themselves from their Head and from the truth.

The plans of reform entertained by Urban VI filled the French King, Charles V, with wrath. The free and independent position, which the new Pope had from the first assumed was a thorn in the side of the King, who wished to bring back the Avignon days. Were Urban now to succeed in creating an Italian majority in the Sacred College, the return of the Holy See to its dependence on France would be greatly deferred, if not indeed altogether prevented. Charles V therefore secretly encouraged the Cardinals, promising them armed assistance, even at the cost of a cessation of hostilities with England, if they would take the final step, before which they still hesitated. Confident in his powerful support, the thirteen Cardinals, assembled at Anagni, on the 9th August, 1378, published a manifesto, declaring Urban's election, to have been invalid, as resulting from the constraint exercised by the Roman populace, who had risen in insurrection, and pro- claiming as a consequence the vacancy of the Holy See.

On the 20th September they informed the astonished world that the true Pope had been chosen in the person of Robert of Geneva, now Clement VII. The great Papal Schism (1378-1417), the most terrible of all imaginable calamities, thus burst upon Christendom, and the very centre of its unity became the occasion of the division of the Church.

It is not easy to form a correct judgment as to the proportion of blame due respectively to the Pope and the Cardinals. It would be at once unjust and historically incorrect to make Urban VI alone responsible; indeed, the principal share of guilt does not fall upon him. Reform was a matter of the most urgent necessity, and Urban VI was performing a sacred duty when he boldly attacked existing corruptions. If he overstepped the bounds of prudence, the fault, though a serious one, can readily be

accounted for by the amount of the evil. Urban made this error worse by deferring the creation of new and worthy Cardinals until too late.

It must also be observed that the measure of reform undertaken by the Pope involved a complete breach with the fatal Avignon period, and this not only in an ecclesiastical, but also in a political sense.

If Urban sternly dismissed a certain number of the Cardinals and sent them back to their Bishoprics, his aim in this was not merely the removal of great and mischievous abuses, but also the diminution of French influence in the Papal Court, and of the pressure in favour of a return to Avignon. With the same objects in view the Pope purposed to choose Cardinals from all the different nations of Christendom. He wished to re-assert that universal character of the Roman Church which had been so seriously impaired during the Avignon period; hence his friendly attitude towards England. With a clear-sightedness surpassing that of any of his contemporaries, this energetic Pontiff perceived that if it would again fulfil its proper destiny, the Papacy must not belong to any one nation, and must pass beyond the narrow circle of French interests. Urban's programme consisted in its liberation from the excessive influence of France. Resistance was inevitable, and its very violence shows the progress the evil had already made.

The guilt of the worldly-minded Cardinals far outweighed that of the Pope. By his want of charity and violence of temper, Urban doubtless gave them just cause for complaint. But instead of bearing with patience the weaknesses of the Pontiff they had chosen, instead of temperately opposing his unjust, or apparently unjust, measures, goaded on by the French King, who felt that his influence in ecclesiastical affairs was seriously threatened, they proceeded at once to extremities. They were bound to pay honour and obedience to the lawful Head of the Church, whose position they had for months fully recognized, and yet they took occasion from his personal failings to declare his election invalid, and, by the appointment of an Antipope, to cause a Schism in the Church. The conduct of the Cardinals is absolutely inexcusable. They constituted themselves at once accusers, witnesses, and judges; they sought to remove a less evil by the infinitely worse remedy of a double election and a Schism. St. Catherine of Siena's scathing words were fully justified. "I have learned", she wrote to Urban, "that those devils in human form have made an election. They have not chosen a Vicar of Christ, but an Anti-Christ; never will I cease to acknowledge you, my dear Father, as the Representative of Christ upon earth. Now forward, Holy Father! go without fear into this battle, go with the armour of divine love to cover you, for that is a strong defence."

No less pointed are the words addressed by the Saint to the recreant Princes of the Church. "Alas! to what have you come, since you did not act up to your high dignity! You were called to nourish yourselves at the breast of the Church; to be as flowers in her garden, to shed forth sweet perfume; as pillars to support the Vicar of Christ and his Bark; as lamps to serve for the enlightening of the world and the diffusion of the Faith. You yourselves know if you have accomplished that, to which you were called, and which it was your bounden duty to do. Where is your gratitude to the Bride who has nourished you? Instead of being her shield you have persecuted her. You are convinced of the fact that Urban VI is the true Pope, the Sovereign Pontiff, elected lawfully, not through fear, but by divine inspiration far more than through your human co-operation. So you informed us, and your words were true. Now you have turned your backs on him, as craven and miserable knights, afraid of your own shadow. What is the cause? The poison of selfishness which destroys the world! You, who were angels upon earth, have turned to the work of devils. You would lead us away to the evil which is in you, and seduce us into obedience to Anti-Christ. Unhappy men! You made truth known to

us, and now you offer us lies. You would have us believe that you elected Pope Urban through fear; he who says this, lies. You may say, why do you not believe us? We, the electors, know the truth better than you do. But I answer, that you yourselves have shown me how you deal with truth. If I look at your lives, I look in vain for the virtue and holiness, which might deter you, for conscience sake, from falsehood. What is it that proves to me the validity of the election of Messer Bartolomeo, Archbishop of Bari, and now in truth Pope Urban VI? The evidence was furnished by the solemn function of his Coronation, by the homage which you have rendered him, and by the favours which you have asked and received from him. You have nothing but lies to oppose to these truths. O ye fools! a thousand times worthy of death! In your blindness you perceive not your own shame. If what you say were as true as it is false, must you not have lied, when you announced that Urban VI was the lawful Pope? Must you not have been guilty of simony, in asking and receiving favours from one, whose position you now deny?"

Such was indeed the case. The outbreak of the schism was chiefly due to the worldly Cardinals, stirred up by France, and longing to return thither. This condition of things was a result of the disastrous Avignon epoch, which accordingly is ultimately responsible for the terrible calamity which fell upon Christendom. "From France", as a modern ecclesiastical historian well observes, "the evil proceeded, and France was the chief, and, in fact, essentially the only support of the schism, for other nations were involved in it merely by their connection with her. But the Gallican Church had to bear the weight of the yoke, which, in her folly, she had taken upon her shoulders. Her Bishoprics and Prebends became the prey of the needy phantom-Pope, and of his thirty-six Cardinals. He was himself the servant of the French Court, he had to put up with every indignity offered him by the arrogance of the courtiers, and to purchase their favour at the cost of the Church in France, thus subjected to the extortions of both Paris and Avignon". How completely Clement VII looked on himself as a Frenchman, and how thoroughly all feeling for the liberty and independence of the Papacy had died within him, is clearly evidenced by the fact that, reserving for the Holy See only Rome, the Campagna, the Patrimony of St. Peter, and Sabina, he granted the greater part of the States of the Church to Duke Louis of Anjou to form the new kingdom of Adria, on condition that he should expel Urban VI. No former Pope had ventured thus to tamper with the possessions of the Church. Such an action was only possible to the "executioner of Cesena", the man "of broad conscience", as the historian of the Schism calls him.

The rival claims to the lawful possession of the Tiara were now a matter of general discussion, and unfortunately, judgment too often depended on political considerations, rather than on an impartial examination of facts. It became evident that the question really underlying the whole contest was, whether French influence, which had become dominant in Europe since the downfall of the Hohenstaufens, should still control the Papacy, or whether the Papacy should resume its normal universal position. The French King, Charles V, perfectly understood the real gist of the matter. "I am now Pope!" he exclaimed, when the election of Clement VII was announced to him. The Anti-pope was not generally acknowledged, however, so rapidly as the French monarch could have desired. The University of Paris was at first neutral, and only espoused the cause of Clement VII under compulsion. The Spanish Kingdoms also began by endeavouring to maintain neutrality, so that his cause would probably have perished in its infancy, had it not been for the powerful support of Charles V, who spared no pains to win over all nations in any way subject to French influence Within the next few years

all the Latin nations, with the exception of Northern and Central Italy and Portugal, took the part of Clement VII, and Scotland, the ally of France, naturally also adhered to the French Pope.

The attitude of England was determined by the enmity existing between that country and France. When the French King declared for Clement VII, England energetically espoused the cause of Urban VI. Guido di Malesicco, the Legate of the Anti-pope, was not allowed to set foot on English soil, and King Richard even went so far as to confiscate the property of the Clementine Cardinals. England in general identified the struggle against Clement with the war against France; the split in the Church and the conflict between the two nations became blended together.

The Emperor, Charles IV, who had already looked with an unfavourable eye on the sojourn of the Popes at Avignon, was also a firm adherent of the Roman Pope. He was well aware that France aspired to dominion, not merely over, the Papacy or the Empire, but over the whole. Charles' example was followed by the greater portion of the Empire and by Louis of Anjou, King of Hungary and Poland, who was connected by marriage with the Princes of the House of Luxemburg, and was the inveterate enemy of Joanna of Naples. Ever since Charles had aided him against the Turks, and the Queen had become estranged from the Pope, he had forgotten that French blood ran in his veins. The northern kingdoms and most of the Italian States, with the exception of Naples, continued loyal to the Roman Pope.

It was much to the advantage of Urban VI, who in the meantime had created a new College of Cardinals, that his opponent was not able to maintain a position in Italy, where, nevertheless, the battle had to be decided. But now, as if struck by blindness, the Pope began to commit a series of errors. In the pursuit of his own personal ends he completely lost sight of the wider views, which ought to have directed his policy. The conflict with his powerful neighbour, Queen Joanna of Naples, became his leading idea. He excommunicated her as an obstinate partisan of the French Pope, declared her to have forfeited her throne, and allowed a Crusade to be preached against her. He entrusted the execution of his sentence to the crafty and ambitious Charles of Durazzo, invested him with the Kingdom of Naples on the 1st June, 1381, and crowned him on the following day. In return for these favours, Charles had to promise to hand over Capua, Caserta, Aversa, Nocera, Amalfi, and other places to the Pope's nephew, a thoroughly worthless and immoral man. While thus providing for the aggrandizement of his family, Urban did not scruple to despoil churches and altars of their treasures, in order to obtain the resources necessary for the expedition against Naples. But punishment soon overtook him. Charles at once took possession of the Kingdom of Naples, but seemed to have quite forgotten his promise. Urban was beside himself, and resolved to go in person to Naples and assert his authority. Notwithstanding the opposition of his Cardinals, he carried this unfortunate project into execution in the autumn of 1383. The result, as might have been expected, was only to add fresh bitterness to the conflict, and to bring about Urban's complete discomfiture. The monarch, who owed his crown to the Pope, treated him from the first as his prisoner. A brief reconciliation was followed by still more violent discord, and the Pope was besieged at Nocera. Here he exposed his high dignity to ridicule, by proceeding four times a day to the window, and with bell, book, and candle solemnly excommunicating the besiegers. And as if to fill up the measure of the abjection and misery of the Holy See, he, at this very time, fell out with his own Cardinals. Embittered by the irksome insecurity of their sojourn at Nocera, and by the violence and obstinacy of the Pope, who, deaf to their advice, continued to involve himself and the Church in fresh

perplexities, several of them got an opinion drawn up by a Canonist, Bartolino di Piacenza, to the effect that a Pope, who by his incapacity or blind obstinacy should endanger the Church, might be placed under the guardianship of some Cardinals and made dependent on their approval in all matters of importance. They accordingly determined to take forcible possession of his person, but Urban, being forewarned, caused the conspirators to be seized, imprisoned, tortured, and ultimately put to death. The cruel harshness of the aged Pope greatly injured his reputation. Two of his Cardinals went over to the French Pope, by whom they were gladly welcomed. It was a terrible calamity for the Church, that just at a time when Princes and people were bent on their own political interest, the severe and obstinate character of Urban prepared so much evil for himself and his adherents, and that no power was able to turn him from his course. He held with unbending determination to his unfortunate Neapolitan project, and died unlamented at Rome on 15th October, 1389. Christendom had never yet witnessed such a Schism; all timid souls were cast into a sea of doubt, and even courageous men like Abbot Ludolf of Sagan, its historian, bewailed it day and night.

Anti-popes, indeed, had already arisen on several occasions, but in most cases they had very soon passed away, for, owing their elevation to the secular power, it bore more or less clearly on its very face the stamp of violence and injustice. But in the present instance all was different; unlike the Schisms caused by the Hohenstaufens or Louis of Bavaria, that of 1378 was the work of the Cardinals, the highest of the clergy. And, moreover, the election of Urban VI had taken place under circumstances so peculiar that it was easy to call it in question. It was impossible for those not on the spot to investigate it in all its details, and the fact, that all who had taken part in it subsequently renounced their allegiance, was well calculated to inspire doubt and perplexity. It is extremely difficult for those who study the question in the present day with countless documents before them, and the power of contemplating the further development of the Schism, to estimate the difficulties of contemporaries who sought to know which of the two Popes had a right to their obedience. The extreme confusion is evidenced by the fact that canonized Saints are found amongst the adherents of each of the rivals. St. Catherine of Siena, and her namesake of Sweden, stand opposed to St. Vincent Ferrer and the Blessed Peter of Luxemburg, who acknowledged the French Pope. All the writings of the period give more or less evidence of the conflicting opinions which prevailed; and upright men afterwards confessed, that they had been unable to find out which was the true Pope.

To add to the complications, the obedience of Germany to Urban VI and that of France to Clement VII was far from complete, for individuals on both countries attached themselves to the Pope, from whom they expected to gain most. The allegiance of the Holy Roman Empire to Urban was evidently of an unstable character, since ecclesiastics in Augsburg fearlessly, and without hindrance, accepted charges and benefices from the hands of the Antipope and his partisans, and itinerant preachers publicly asserted the validity of his claim. Peter Suchenwirt, in a poem written at this period, describes the distress, which the growing anarchy within the Church was causing in men's minds, and earnestly beseeches God to end it. "There are two Popes", he says; "which is the right one?"

"In Rome itself we have a Pope,  
In Avignon another;  
And each one claims to be alone

The true and lawful ruler.  
 The world is troubled and perplext,  
 Were better we had none,  
 Than two to rule o'er Christendom,  
 Where God would have but one.  
 He chose St. Peter, who his fault  
 With bitter tears bewail'd;  
 As you may read the story told  
 Upon the sacred page.  
 Christ gave St. Peter pow'r to bind,  
 And also pow'r to loose ;  
 Now men are binding here and there,  
 Lord, loose our bonds we pray."

"Our sins, indeed, had deserved this punishment; the world is full of injustice and falsehood:

"Never have hatred, pride, and greed,  
 Had pow'r so great as now."

"Men are sunk in vices and crimes; it is in vain to look for peace and justice. The disastrous year of 1378 took an Emperor and a Pope from the world; we have now a Pope too many and an Emperor too few. God alone can put an end to this misery"; and the poet concludes with the prayer —

"To Christendom its chiefs restore,  
 Both its Pope and its Emperor,  
 Thus throughout the world shall be,  
 End made of wrong and misery"

It has been well observed that we can scarcely form an idea of the deplorable condition to which Europe was reduced by the schism. Uncertainty as to the title of its ruler is ruinous to a nation; this schism affected the whole of Christendom, and called the very existence of the Church in question. The discord touching its Head necessarily permeated the whole body of the Church; in many Dioceses two Bishops were in arms for the possession of the Episcopal throne, two Abbots in conflict for an abbey. The consequent confusion was indescribable. We cannot wonder that the Christian religion became the derision of Jews and Mahometans.



The amount of evil wrought by the schism of 1378, the longest known in the history of the Papacy, can only be estimated, when we reflect that it occurred at a moment, when thorough reform in ecclesiastical affairs was a most urgent need. This was now utterly out of the question, and, indeed, all evils which had crept into ecclesiastical life were infinitely increased. § Respect for the Holy See was also greatly impaired, and the Popes became more than ever dependent on the temporal power, for the schism allowed each Prince to choose which Pope he would acknowledge. In the eyes of the people, the simple fact of a double Papacy must have shaken the authority of the Holy See to its very foundations. It may truly be said that these fifty years of schism prepared the way for the great Apostacy of the sixteenth century.

It is not within the scope of the present work to recount all the vicissitudes of the warfare between the claimants of the Papal throne — for Urban VI received immediately a successor. Neither side would yield, and the confusion of Christendom daily increased and pervaded all classes of society. The Cardinals of the rival Popes were at open variance, and in many dioceses there were two Bishops. This was the case in Breslau, Mayence, Liege, Basle, Metz Constance, Coire, Lubeck, Dorpat, and other places, and even the Religious and Military Orders were drawn into the schism.

The conflict was carried on with unexampled violence. While the adherents of the Roman Pope reprobated the Mass offered by the "Clementines", the "Clementines" in their turn looked on that of the "Urbanists" as a blasphemy; in many cases public worship was altogether discontinued. "The depths of calamity", as St. Catherine of Siena said, "overwhelmed the Church". "Mutual hatred", writes a biographer of the Saint, "lust of power, the worst intrigues flourished amidst clergy and laity alike, and who could suppress these crimes? God alone could help, and He led the Church through great and long-continued tribulation back to unity, and made it plain la all that men may indeed in their wickedness wound her, but they cannot destroy her, for she bears within a divine principle of life". Therefore, even amid the direst storm of discord, St. Catherine could write, "I saw how the Bride of Christ was giving forth life, for she contains such living power that no one can kill her; I saw that she was dispensing strength and light, and that no one can take them from her, and I saw that her fruit never diminishes, but always increases". But this did not lessen the Saint's distress. "Every age", she wrote to a nun, "has its afflictions, but you have not seen, and no one has seen a time so troubled as the present. Look, my daughter, and your soul must be filled with grief and bitterness, look at the darkness which has come upon the Church; human help is unavailing. You and all the servants of God must take Heaven by storm; it is a time for watching, and not for sleeping; the foe must be vanquished by vigils, by tears, by groans and sighs, and by humble, persevering prayer".

But St. Catherine did not content herself with merely praying for the Pope. After the failure of her efforts to nip the fearful evil of the Schism in the bud, she put forth all her powers to secure the victory of justice — the cause of the Roman Pope. Letters full of warning, supplication, and menace were addressed by her to various individuals; she wrote to the Pope and the Cardinals as well as to the most illustrious Princes. Her influence aided Urban to maintain his position in Italy and contributed to the defeat of the French Anti-pope in that country. But she was not permitted to witness the restoration of unity to the Church, for on the 29th April, 1380, she died, full of grief for the disorders due to the Schism, but with an unshaken confidence in the "eternal future of the Church".

The literature of this period, a field as yet but little explored, testifies to the general distress caused by the Schism. Touching lamentations in both prose and verse

portray the desolation and confusion of the time, and this was aggravated by epidemics. "Whose heart", cries Heinrich von Langenstein, "is so hardened as not to be moved by the unspeakable sufferings of his Mother, the Church?" In order to give yet more force to his complaint that the spirit of unity and concord has forsaken Christendom, he brings the Church herself forward and puts into her mouth the words of Jeremias, associated by the Liturgy with the Dolours of our Lady : "See if there be sorrow like my sorrow". The celebrated Canonist, Giovanni di Lignano, in a treatise in support of the legitimacy of Urban VI, echoes Langenstein's words. The chronicler of St. Denis mentions a comet which appeared at this time with its tail turned to the west, as portending war, insurrection, and treason. He foretold that a Pope was to be besieged in Avignon, and a Pope driven from Rome. The pious Giovanni dalle Celle, in despair at the contest which deprived the very centre of the Church of its universality, writes: "They say. that the world must be renewed; I say, it must be destroyed". Amongst writings of a similar nature we must not omit the frequently quoted treatise addressed to Urban VI by the celebrated Archbishop of Prague, Johann von Jenzenstein, who depicts the abjection of the Church in striking terms. From these complaints it is evident how keenly the need of a supreme Judge, Guardian, and Guide in ecclesiastical affairs was felt.

Naturally, men did not stop at mere expressions of sorrow, but went on to inquire into the origin of the evil which was bringing such dishonour on the Church. The most clear-sighted contemporary writers point to the corruption of the clergy, to their inordinate desire for money and possessions — in short, to their selfishness— as the root of all the misery. This is the key note of Nicolas de Clemangis' celebrated book, "On the Ruin of the Church" (written in 1401); and in a sermon delivered before the Council of Constance, the preacher insisted that "money was the origin of the Schism, and the root of all the confusion".

It cannot, however, be too often repeated that the ecclesiastical corruption was in great measure a consequence of the Avignon period, and of the influence which State politics had acquired in matters of Church government. The rupture, produced by the recreant French Cardinals, was, in reality, nothing but the conflict of two nations for the possession of the Papacy; the Italians wished to recover it, and the French would not let it be wrested from them.

Those who raised their voices to complain of the corruption and confusion of Christendom were not always men of real piety or moral worth. In many cases they might with advantage have begun by reforming their own lives. Some of them went so far as to charge all the evils of the day upon the ecclesiastical authorities, and stirred up laity and clergy against each other; such persons only destroyed that which was still standing. Others, again, clamoured for reform, while themselves doing nothing to promote it. But at this time, as at all periods in the history of the Church, men were found who, without making much noise or lamentation, laboured in the right way — that is, within the limits laid down by the Church — for the thorough amendment of all that was amiss.

Of this stamp was Gerhard Groot of Deventer (born f 1340, died 1384). This excellent man, whom John Busch and Thomas à Kempis rightly name a light of the Church, endeavoured to spread abroad a true idea of the high vocation of the clergy, to point out to Christian people the way of salvation, and to propagate genuine piety in the hearts of his fellow men. Having received deacon's orders, he went through Holland, preaching missions in the towns of Zwolle, Deventer, and Kempen. He usually preached three times a day; people came from miles to hear his inspired discourses. The Churches were for the most part too small to contain the congregations, and he frequently

preached in the churchyards. His language was not that of the schools, but of the heart, and therefore it reached the hearts of his hearers. Moreover, his life was the practical exemplification of his doctrine. His whole work maybe briefly summed up as the promotion of the imitation of Jesus Christ.

Much was gained when by degrees a circle of disciples gathered round this Apostolic man; they lived under his direction and that of his friend, Florentius Radewins, earning their bread by transcribing pious books, and employing themselves also in the religious instruction of the people. By the advice of Florentius, they put their earnings together and lived in common under a head elected by themselves. With Gerhard's assistance, Florentius drew up a rule of life and ordinances for the Community. All promised to obey him as their Superior and to remain for life. Vows, in the proper sense of the word, were not taken, for the new Community was not as yet recognized as a religious Congregation by the Holy See. Each member had also to promise that he would contribute to the general support by manual labour, especially by writing. Their object was to lead the life of the early Christians —"the life of Perfection and of Imitation of Christ". The principle of self-support, on which this community was founded, distinguished it from the existing religious houses, which made the Divine worship, prayer, and religious instruction their practical aim, and derived their support from endowments or the gifts of the faithful.

Such was the origin of the celebrated community of the Brothers of the Common life (Fraterherren). The fervent words of Thomas à Kempis describe their further progress. "Humility, the first of all virtues, was here practised from the least to the greatest. This makes the earthly house a Paradise, and transforms mortal men into heavenly pearls, living stones in the Temple of God. There, under holy discipline, flourished obedience, the mother of virtues, and the lamp of spiritual knowledge. The highest wisdom consisted in obeying without delay, and it was a grave fault to disregard the counsel or even the slightest word of the Superior. The Joy of God and of men burned within and without, so that the hard hearts of sinners melted into tears when they heard their holy words; those who came cold, went away inflamed by the fire of the discourse and full of joy, and resolved for the future to sin no more. There was a shining store of armour for the spiritual warfare against each separate vice; old and young alike learned to fight bravely against Satan, the flesh, and the deceits of the world. The memory of the ancient Fathers and the fervour of the Egyptian solitaries, which had long lain half buried, was brought to life again, and the religious state rose, in conformity with the traditions of the primitive Church, to the highest perfection! There were heard pious exhortations to the practice of virtue, and the most holy and sorrowful passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ was the subject of frequent and devout meditation. We know that from the attentive remembrance of His Passion comes healing for our souls; it has power to kill the poisonous bite of the serpent, to moderate the passions of the heart, and to raise the dull soul from earth to Heaven by the imitation of the Crucified".

Gerhard Groot and his foundation had soon to encounter much opposition, especially from the Mendicant Friars. Accordingly, a very short time before his early death, he urgently recommended his friend Florentius to adopt the rule of a religious order. His wish was carried out in the year 1386-1387, when a house, following the rule of St. Augustine, was established at Windesheim, three hours' journey to the south of Zwolle, and six members of Florentius' Brotherhood took possession of it. This foundation deserves to be particularly mentioned, even in a History of the Popes, for monastic reform and the revival of faith flowed thence like a mighty stream, first

through Holland and then through the whole of Northern Germany, the Rhine country, and Franconia. It was established as a Congregation in 1395, and its Statutes were immediately confirmed by Pope Boniface IX. The disciples of Groot did much to promote the real reform of the clergy, and the amelioration of Catholic life in Germany and the Netherlands. The services rendered by the Congregation of Windesheim and the Fraterherren in raising the standard of popular instruction, and promoting the spread of religious literature in the vernacular, have been recognized by the best judges. It is acknowledged that they were not behind their age in regard to scientific attainments, and that their method in classical studies was excellent. The rapid increase of this congregation, from the year 1386, when the first six brothers took possession of mud huts at Windesheim, and the wonderful renovation of monastic life which it initiated, form one of the brightest spots in an age so full of sorrow.

Among the darker shades of the picture of this period, we must count the formation of sectarian Conventicles by laymen and the increase of false prophecies. In regard to the first of these evils, it has been well observed that times like that of the great Schism are fraught, for earnest natures, with a special danger, in proportion to their dissatisfaction with the provision for their spiritual needs, made by those who represent the Church. The false prophecies, on account of their wide diffusion, demand a more detailed examination. The difficulty of ascertaining which Pope was the true one, and the anxiety and perplexity of conscience which afflicted all thoughtful souls, in consequence of the chaotic state of the Church, led to a notable multiplication of visionaries and prophets. There was a widespread expectation of the coming of Anti-Christ, and the approaching end of the world; an Englishman, writing probably in the year 1390, even maintained that the Pope was the Anti-Christ of the Apocalypse. By means of another most dangerous class of prophecies, political and heretical agitators, the latter of whom were at this time peculiarly audacious, endeavoured to turn the sad condition of the Church to profit for their own purposes. A host of these predictions, which aggravated the general confusion, are inspired by the false ascetical principle that the clergy and the Church ought to return to Apostolic poverty.

Views of this kind are forcibly enunciated in the celebrated work of the so-called hermit, Telesphorus, who, born, by his own account, near Cosenza, gave out that he lived in the neighbourhood of Thebes. His prophecy claims our attention, because, as countless manuscripts bear witness, it enjoyed a wider circulation than any other writing of the kind.

Telesphorus starts from the idea that the Schism is a punishment for the sins and crimes of the Roman Church and the clergy in general. Its conclusion, he says, is to be expected in the year 1393, when the Anti-Pope (the Italian Pope) will be slain in Perugia. This event will be followed by a complete renovation of the Church and the return of the clergy to Apostolic poverty, but the persecution of the clergy will continue. A new Emperor and a new Pope will then appear, and the latter, the "Pastor Angelicus", will deprive the Germans of the Imperial Crown and bestow it on the French King Charles; he will recover possession of Jerusalem, and the union with the Greek Church will be accomplished. The burden of the prophecy of Telesphorus is the transfer of the Imperial dignity to the Royal House of France; it is nothing but a programme of French hopes and political aspirations, set forth in the prophetic form so popular at the period.

The wide diffusion of this prediction and its anti-German character, induced the "most eminent German theologian of the day", Heinrich von Langenstein (Henricus de Hassia), to write a controversial work in reply. The worthy Hessian scholar begins by disapproving the existing rage for prophecies, and specially condemns the predictions of

Joachim and Cyrillus, from which Telesphorus had borrowed. His position throughout is that of the celebrated Theological School of Paris, which made no account of these predictions, and looked upon those of the Abbot Joachim as mere guesses which had nothing supernatural about them, while his treatment of many dogmatic questions was far from orthodox.

Langenstein strongly opposes the principle laid down by Telesphorus, that the clergy ought to be deprived of all their wealth and possessions. He justly observes that it would be most dangerous to teach the powerful laity, already unfavourably disposed towards ecclesiastics, that they had a right, under pretext of reform, to take possession of Church property, and that the abuse of riches by the clergy does not furnish a ground for deprivation. If this were so, the property of laymen must also be taken from them, since most of them make a worse use of it. If, however, the Religious Orders were to be suppressed and despoiled, as Telesphorus predicts, the consequence, Langenstein maintains, would be, not the reformation, but the complete ruin of the Church.

The so-called Telesphorus was not the only instance of a false prophet. Langenstein's work clearly proves their number to have been very considerable. He devotes a whole chapter to those, who were induced by the Schism to come forward and to foretell, by the course of the stars or their own conjectures, the triumph of one or other of the Popes and the end of the contest. While Telesphorus supported France, Gamaleon predicted the renovation of the Church after the conquest of Rome by the German Emperor and the transfer of the Papacy to Germany. In the excited state of public feeling, these pretentious prophets, in an uncritical age, found ready credence. The predictions were copied out and illuminated as if they had been revelations of the Holy Spirit. In short, there was a very deluge of prophecies regarding the termination of the Schism, and all of them ended in nought.

The crisis which the Church passed through at this juncture, is the most grievous recorded in her history. Just when the desperate struggle between the rival Popes had thrown everything into utter confusion, when ecclesiastical revenues and favours served almost exclusively as the reward of partisans, and when worldliness had reached its climax, heretical movements arose in England, France, Italy, Germany, and, above all, in Bohemia, and threatened the very constitution of the Church. This was most natural; the smaller the chance of reform being effected by the Church, the more popular and active became the reform movement not directed by her; the higher the region that needed, but resisted reform, the more popular did this movement become.

Germany was disturbed by the Beghards, and also more especially by the Waldenses, whose doctrines had taken root in Bavaria and Austria during the latter half of the thirteenth century, and, notwithstanding constant repression, had become widely diffused. The movement reached its height in Germany in the last thirty years of the fourteenth century — the disastrous time of the Great Schism. It was not only in Southern Germany and the Rhine country, the two centres of Mediaeval heresy, that a great proportion of the population had embraced the Waldensian doctrine, it had also made its way into the north and the furthest east of the empire. Waldensian congregations were to be found in Thuringia, the March of Brandenburg, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Pomerania, Prussia, and Poland. That the Waldenses were very numerous in the Austrian dominions at the beginning of the last decade of the fourteenth century is proved by the fact that they had no less than twelve superintendents. In Southern Germany things had by this time come to such a pass that the Celestine Monk, Peter of Munich, appointed Inquisitor for the Diocese of Passau in 1390, felt that his life was in danger, and urgently implored the aid of the secular power

against the heretics, who threatened him with fire and sword. The condition of the neighbouring Diocese of Ratisbon was similar to that of Passau.

Too little attention has hitherto been bestowed on the revolutionary spirit of hatred of the Church and the clergy, (many of whom were, alas, unworthy of their high calling,) which had taken hold of the masses in different parts of Germany. Together with the revolt against the Church, a social revolution was openly advocated. A chronicler, writing at Mayence in the year 1401, declares that the cry of "Death to the Priests", which had long been whispered in secret, was now the watchword of the day.

The reappearance in many parts of Germany of the Pantheistic Sect of Free Thought furnishes an example of the aberrations to which heresy leads. The recently-discovered report of proceedings, taken against an adherent of this sect at Eichstatt in 1381, shows us the awful danger which threatened all ecclesiastical and social order from this quarter. The Eichstatt heretic maintained that, by devout worship and contemplation of the Godhead, he had come to be one with God, absolutely perfect and incapable of sinning. The practical consequences which the accused had drawn from his imagined perfection were of a most suspicious nature, and are calculated to substantiate many of the charges, hitherto deemed unjust and incredible, which Mediaeval writers have brought against the sectaries of their day; for, in the opinion of the accused, neither the precepts of the Church nor the laws of common morality, are binding on one who is endowed with the spirit of freedom and perfection; even the gravest breaches of the sixth commandment are, in his case, no sin, so far as he merely follows the impulse of nature; and so firmly is he persuaded of his right to do "what gives him pleasure", that he declares he is permitted to put to death those who oppose him, even if they were a thousand in number.

The appearance of John Wyclif in England was a matter of far greater moment than heresies of this kind, which were forcibly repressed by the Inquisition. The errors of the Apocalyptic and the Waldenses, of Marsiglio, Occaan and others, were all concentrated in his sect, which prepared the transition to a new heretical system of a universal character, namely, Protestantism. His teaching is gross pantheistic realism, involving a Predestinarianism which annihilates moral freedom. Everything is God. An absolute necessity governs all, even the action of God Himself. Evil happens by necessity; God constrains every creature that acts, to the performance of each action. Some are predestined to glory, others to damnation. The prayer of the reprobate is of no avail, and the predestined are none the worse for the sins which God compels them to commit. Wyclif builds his church on this theory of predestination. It is, in his view, the society of the elect. As an external institution, accordingly, it disappears, to become merely an inward association of souls, and no one can know who does or does not belong to it. The only thing certain is that it always exists on earth, although it may be sometimes only composed of a few poor laymen, scattered in different countries. Wyclif began by a conditional recognition of the Pope, but afterwards came to regard him, not as the Vicar of Christ, but as Anti-Christ. He taught that honour paid to the Pope was idolatry, of a character all the more hideous and blasphemous, inasmuch as divine honour was given to a member of Lucifer, an idol, worse than a painted log of wood, because of the great wickedness he contains. Wyclif further teaches that the Church ought to be without property, and to return to the simplicity of Apostolic times. The Bible alone, without tradition, is the sole source of faith. No temporal or ecclesiastical superior has authority, when he is in a state of mortal sin. Indulgences, confession, extreme unction and orders, are all rejected by Wyclif, who even attacks the very centre of all Christian worship, the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar.

These doctrines, which involved a revolution, not only in the Church, but also in politics and society, made their way rapidly in England. Countless disciples, poor clergy whom Wyclif sent forth in opposition to the "rich Church which had fallen away to the devil", propagated them through the length and breadth of the land. These itinerant preachers in a comparatively short time aroused a most formidable movement against the property of the Church, the Pope, and the Bishops. But a change suddenly took place. King Richard the Second's marriage with Anne the daughter of the King of Bohemia, was a great blow to the cause of Wyclif in England. The Courts of Westminster and of Prague were of one mind in regard to the affairs of the Church and other important political questions, and would have done anything rather than show favour to Wyclif and his companions, or to France and her anti-Pope, Clement VII.

On the other hand, as this marriage led to an increase of intercourse between England and Bohemia, Wyclif's ideas found entrance into the latter country. English students frequented the University of Prague, and Bohemians that of Oxford; and Wyclif's treatises were widely spread in Bohemia. John Huss, the leader of the Bohemian movement, was not merely much influenced, but absolutely dominated by these ideas. Recent investigations have furnished incontestable evidence that, in the matter of doctrine, Huss owed everything to Wyclif, whose works he often plagiarized with astonishing simplicity.

The opinions of the Bohemian leader, like those of Wyclif, must necessarily have led in practice to a social revolution, and one of which the end could not be foreseen, since the right to possess property was made dependent on religious opinion. Only Believers, that is to say, the followers of Huss, could hold it, and this right lasted as long as their convictions accorded with those that prevailed in the country. Argument is needless to show that such a theory destroys all private rights, and the attempt to make these principles, so plausibly deduced from the doctrines of the Christian religion, serve as the rule for the foundation of a new social order, must lead to the most terrible consequences. The subsequent wars of the Hussites evidently owed their peculiarly sanguinary character in great part to these views. If Huss declared war against social order, he also called in question all civil authority, when he espoused Wyclif's principle, that no man who had committed a mortal sin could be a temporal ruler, a bishop, or a prelate, "because his temporal or spiritual authority, his office and his dignity would not be approved by God."

Whether Huss realized the consequences of such doctrines, or merely followed his master, may remain an open question; one thing, however, the most enthusiastic admirer of the Czech reformer cannot dispute—namely, that doctrines which must have rendered anarchy permanent in Church and State imperatively required to be met by some action on the part of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The results of the opinions promulgated by Huss soon became apparent in the Bohemian Revolution in which the idea of a democratic Republic and of a social system based on communistic principles took practical form.

The international danger of Czech radicalism, which also soon made itself "terribly apparent" in Germany was exposed in clear and forcible terms on New Year's Day, 1424, by an envoy of the Cardinal Legate in his address to the Polish King. "The object of my mission" he said, "is the glory of God, the cause of the Faith and of the Church, and the salvation of human society. A large proportion of the heretics maintain that all things ought to be in common, and that no tribute, tax, or obedience should be rendered to superiors; a doctrine by which civilization would be annihilated and all government abolished. They aim at the forcible destruction of all Divine and human

rights, and it will come to pass that neither kings and princes in their kingdoms and dominions, citizens in their cities, nor even people in their own houses, will be secure from their insolence. This abominable heresy not only attacks the Faith and the Church, but, impelled by the devil, makes war upon humanity at large, whose rights it assails and destroys".

On the death of Urban VI (October 15, 1389), the fourteen Cardinals of his obedience assembled in Rome for the election of a new Pope. This was the first vacancy of the Holy See which had occurred since the outbreak of the Schism. The French Court endeavoured to prevent an election, but the Roman Cardinals, perceiving that Clement VII, with whom the Schism began, had no intention of retiring, did not consider it consistent with their duty to deliver the Church completely over to the Avignon Anti-Pope. Accordingly, on the 22nd November, 1389, a new Roman Pope, Boniface IX (1389- 1404) was chosen, who, in order to defend himself against the oppressive exactions by which Clement VII was exhausting the countries subject to his obedience, was compelled to resort to new financial expedients. Under him, Rome lost her last relics of municipal independence. The opposition of the University of Paris was unable to hinder a fresh election on the death of Clement VII, in 1394, and the astute Pedro de Luna took the name of Benedict XIII. The numerous endeavours for unity made during this period form one of the saddest chapters in the history of the Church. Neither Pope had sufficient magnanimity to put an end to the terrible state of affairs, and all efforts to arrange matters were, without exception, frustrated, till it seemed as if Christendom would have to get accustomed to two Popes and two Courts. On the death of Boniface IX the Roman Cardinals elected Cosimo dei Migliorati, a Neapolitan, aged sixty-five, henceforth known as Innocent VII.

The short Pontificate (1404- 1406) of this ardent lover of science and the arts of peace is, however, deserving of notice as exemplifying the interest taken by the Papacy in intellectual culture, even under the most adverse circumstances. In order duly to appreciate the merits of the pacific Innocent VII in this matter, we must realize the troubled state of Rome, and the perplexities in which he was involved by the policy of King Ladislaus of Naples and the machinations of the crafty Anti-Pope. Amidst difficulties so immense, Innocent VII formed the project of rescuing the Roman University, founded by Boniface VIII, from the decay into which it had fallen during recent years of confusion. On the 1st of September, 1406, he issued a Bull, declaring his intention of bringing back to Rome the study of the Sciences and liberal Arts which, even apart from their utility, are the greatest ornament of a city. He therefore summoned to the Roman University the most competent Professors of every Science. Not merely Canon and Civil Law, but also Medicine, Philosophy, Logic, and Rhetoric were to be studied in this school. "Finally", says Innocent VII, "that nothing may be wanting to our Institution, there will be a Professor who will give the most perfect instruction in the Greek language and literature."

The terms of the Bull, and the enthusiastic praise of the Eternal City with which it concludes, reflect the increasing influence of the Humanistic tendency in the Roman Court. "There is not on earth", it says, "a more eminent and illustrious city than Rome, nor one in which the studies we desire to restore have longer flourished, for here was Latin literature founded; here Civil Law was committed to writing and delivered to the nations; here also is the seat of Canon Law. Every kind of wisdom and learning took birth in Rome, or was received in Rome from the Greeks. While other cities teach foreign sciences, Rome teaches only that which is her own".



But a few months after the publication of this Bull Innocent VII died, and accordingly everything was brought to a standstill.

The times were certainly little favourable to the Muses, and yet Humanism continued to advance and make its way into the Papal Court. From the beginning of the fifteenth century we find Humanists in the Papal service no longer isolated individuals, as during the Avignon period, but in great and ever-increasing numbers, and among them, some whose appointment throws a melancholy light on the circumstances of the time. The most striking instance of this kind is that of the well-known Poggio, who became one of the Apostolic Secretaries during the pontificate of Boniface IX. Poggio held this very lucrative post under eight different Popes, and at the same time filled other offices. For half a century he was employed, with sundry interruptions; but his frivolous nature was incapable of any real affection for the Church or for any one of the Popes whom he served. He certainly wrote a violent invective against Felix V, the Pope of the Council of Basle, but it would be a mistake to suppose that his pen was guided by zeal for the Church. This may, indeed, be measured by the manner in which he wrote of the death of Jerome of Prague. His animosity to Felix V was simply and solely because the Roman Court, by which he lived, was threatened; he was doubtless as indifferent to the contest between the two Popes as to the heresy of the Hussites.

That such a man should have been able to retain his position in the Papal service is to be explained by the sad confusion consequent on the Schism. From the moment when the Parisian Doctors, with their ready pens, and the learned men of many other Universities had taken part in the conflict which was distracting Christendom, the Popes were compelled to look about them for new literary champions, and the frequent negotiations for the restoration of unity made it absolutely necessary that they should have men of talent and education at their disposal. The Humanists offered themselves to meet the need, and many of them eagerly sought lucrative places in the Papal Chancery. This, however, cannot excuse the imprudence with which some of the Popes gave appointments to adherents of the false Renaissance. But in this case, as in many others, circumstances must be taken into account, if we would form a correct judgment. Humanism had already attained great political importance. The time had come when political discourses and state papers, clothed in the grand periods of Ciceronian Latin, exercised an irresistible influence over readers and hearers, producing their effect rather by the beauty of the form than by the substance, or, at any rate, by means of the form obtaining an easier access for the meaning. When, even in the smaller Courts, the style of the new school was adopted, how could the Papal Chancery have remained behind? The Humanists had raised themselves to the position of leaders of public opinion; they were well aware of it, and often assumed Imperial airs. The Papacy surrounded on all sides by enemies, was obliged, like the other powers of Italy, to take these facts into account. The terror which the Humanists could inspire even in the most powerful tyrants, is evidenced by an expression of Duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti of Milan: "A letter of Coluccio Salutato" he said, "can do more injury than a thousand Florentine knights". The effects of the letters written by this most bitter enemy of the Popes must have been deeply felt by Gregory XI, and were doubtless long remembered by his successors. Another circumstance is also to be taken into account. Elaborate discourses were so much the fashion that they seemed indispensable on such occasions as the conclusion of a peace, the reception of an Embassy, or any public or private solemnity. Courts and Governments and, in some cases, even wealthy families had their official orators. In the present day music is almost always the accompaniment of a feast; at that time a Latin discourse was the best entertainment that could be provided for a company

of cultured men. It will easily be understood that the Popes deemed it impossible to do without a literary man like Poggio, whose pen was readier than that of any of his contemporaries.

In the time of Innocent VII, Lionardo Bruni, whose name has been repeatedly mentioned in these pages, entered the Papal service. Unlike Poggio, he was an adherent of the Christian Renaissance. The circumstances of his appointment are characteristic of the time. Bruni was recommended to the Pope by Poggio and Coluccio Salutato, and Innocent VII wished at once to nominate him as Papal Secretary. But an adverse party at the Roman Court objected to Bruni's appointment on the ground of his too great youth, and supported another candidate. It happened that, at this very time, important Papal briefs had to be prepared with the greatest possible haste, and the Pope offered the post as a reward to the candidate who should best acquit himself of the task. The drafts of the briefs were read in a Consistory before the Pope and the Cardinals, and Bruni gained a decided victory over his rival. From the first year of the Pontificate of Innocent VII, whose example was afterwards followed by Eugenius IV, Nicholas V, and other Popes, we find the well-known Pietro Paolo Vergerio installed as Secretary in the Roman Court. The marvellously rapid growth of the influence of this school in Rome appears in the fact that this Humanist was appointed to deliver a discourse on the Union of the Church before the Cardinals assembled in Consistory previous to the election of Gregory XII, and that he was not afraid to say very hard things. Subsequently, it became more and more the custom to employ the Humanists, on account of their superior cultivation, in the service of the Popes, both in the Chancery and in Diplomatic situations, and the time was not distant when classical proficiency was, the surest road to ecclesiastical preferment. Under Innocent VII's successor, Gregory XII (1406-1415), fresh Humanists, amongst whom was Antonio Loschi of Vicenza, were won to the service of the Papal Court. He composed a new formula for the official correspondence, with the object of introducing a Ciceronian style of Latin. Although he was not able completely to overcome the difficulties involved in the legal nature of the formulas, yet it is the opinion of competent judges that a marked improvement in the Latinity of the Court, especially in those documents less fettered by legal phraseology, is to be dated from his time. Flavio Biondo, one of the most laborious and virtuous of the younger generation of secretaries, expressly said that Loschi had been his instructor in the duties of his office.

But it is now time to return to the troubles of the Schism. The crisis was drawing near. It came in the Pontificate of Gregory XII.

During the earlier years of the Schism, efforts had been made to establish the legality of the one, and the illegality of the other Pope, by means of arguments founded on history and on Canon Law, but in consequence of French intrigues the question had only become more and more obscured. As time went on, conscientious men, who anxiously strove to understand the rights of the case, were unable to decide between claims which seemed to be so equally balanced, while in other cases passion took no account of proofs, and power trampled them under foot. Despair took possession of many upright minds. The Schism seemed an evil from which there was no escape, a labyrinth from which no outlet could be found. The path of investigation which, by the lapse of time and in consequence of the prevailing excitement, had necessarily become more and more difficult, seemed to lead no further. The University of Paris, which suffered much from the discord of Christendom, now sought to assume the leadership of the great movement towards unity. In 1394 her members were invited to send in written opinions as to the means of putting an end to the Schism. In order that all might express

their opinions with perfect freedom, it was decided that the documents should be placed in a locked chest in the Church of St. Mathurin. The general feeling on the subject is manifested by their number, which amounted to ten thousand. Their examination was to be the work of a Commission formed of members from all the Faculties of the University. Three propositions emerged from this mass of documents. The first was the voluntary retirement of the two Popes (Cessio). The second the decision of the point of law by a commission selected by the two Popes (Compromissio). The third, an appeal to a General Council. The University recommended the voluntary retirement of both Popes as the simplest and safest course, and as rendering a fresh election of one whom both parties would acknowledge, possible. The endeavours to restore unity by this means were carried to their further point under Gregory XII, after the failure of the French scheme of forcibly imposing peace on the Church by the common action of all the western powers. They seemed at first in Gregory's case to promise success, but all hopes of the kind soon proved delusive.

CHAPTER III  
The Synods of Pisa and Constance,  
1409-1417 (1418)

The election of Gregory XII was due in great measure to the belief that he was earnestly bent on the restoration of unity to the Church, and, in the earlier days of his Pontificate, he certainly seemed full of enthusiasm for this great cause. He assured those around him that, notwithstanding his age, he was ready, for the sake of unity, to meet Benedict, even if he had to take the journey on foot with a staff in his hand, or to cross the sea in an open boat. In his Encyclical, as well as in other Briefs, he expressed himself in a manner which seemed to leave no doubt that the Schism would soon be at an end. He wrote to the Anti-Pope to the effect that the strife for their respective rights ought to cease, and that they should imitate the woman mentioned in Old Testament history who preferred to give up her real claim to the child rather than consent to have it divided. Accordingly, when in his answer to this epistle Benedict XIII offered to abdicate on the same conditions as Gregory, the restoration of unity to the Church appeared to be certain. But the appearance was deceptive. The embassy which France sent to both Popes to inquire more closely into their intentions, soon made it plain that Gregory XII, who was greatly under the influence of his relations, was as little in earnest in his expressions as was Benedict. The rejoicing of Gerson was premature. The meeting-place of the Popes was a subject of much dispute, and various proposals were made, but the meeting never took place, although Gregory XII and Benedict XIII came, within a few miles of each other.

Contemporary writers and modern historians are agreed in laying on Gregory XII's nephews and the Archbishop Giovanni Dominici of Ragusa the chief blame for his conduct in not resigning. The hatred with which they consequently were regarded by the promoters of union is manifested in a satire preserved by Dietrich von Nieheim. It purports to be a letter from Satan to Giovanni of Ragusa, and is full of ironical allusions to personal peculiarities, to various occurrences, and some revolting practices and manners. It is interesting also as an example of that medley of ecclesiastical, scriptural, and heathen ideas which was so popular at this period. This letter must have been written in March, 1408. It concludes by exhorting Giovanni Dominici to continue his opposition to Gregory's resignation, and tells him what he is to expect in another world. Satan, he is informed, has had the hottest place made ready for him in the lowest depths of eternal Chaos, between Arius and Mahomet, where other supporters of the Schism are most anxiously awaiting him. "Farewell, and be as happy as was our dear son Simon Magus", are the last words of this curious document.

Gregory's altered attitude in regard to the question of union naturally awakened the greatest uneasiness among his Cardinals, and a party adverse to him was formed in the Sacred College. In order to counterbalance their influence, Gregory, forgetful of the promise he had made in the Conclave, decided to create new Cardinals. There were stormy discussions at Lucca, but they did not deter the Pope from actually nominating

four Cardinals. Seven of those belonging to his Court then withdrew to Pisa, and issued two proclamations, by which the breach with Gregory was rendered final. In the first an appeal was made from an ill-informed to a better-informed Pope, to Jesus Christ, to a General Council and to a future Pope. The second called on the Princes of Christendom to give their support to the movement in favour of union.

The relations of Benedict XIII with France also underwent a considerable change at this time. The conviction that this Pope, who before his election had professed the greatest zeal for union, had no real desire for the termination of the Schism was gaining ground, and on the 12th January, 1408, the King informed him that France would make a declaration of neutrality, if unity were not restored by the Feast of the Ascension. Benedict replied by a simple reference to the ecclesiastical penalties incurred by disobedience to the Pope. In the end of May, France solemnly disowned the authority of Benedict, an example which was soon followed by Navarre, and also by Wenceslaus and Sigismund, the Kings of Bohemia and Hungary. A great national Synod was then held in France, and the principles, in accordance with which the affairs of the Church were to be administered during the period of neutrality, were determined. It was also decided that the benefices of those who should still acknowledge Benedict were to be forfeited.

These violent measures broke the power of Benedict, whose Cardinals came to an understanding with those who had deserted Gregory XII. As if the Holy See had really been vacant, they at once began to assume the position of lawful rulers of the Church, and formally sent out proclamations convening a Council at Pisa on the Feast of the Annunciation of our Lady, March 25, 1409. Both Popes now endeavoured, by summoning Councils of their own, to counteract the rebellion of the Cardinals, but the Council of the latter, although its convocation was, according to the canonical decisions of the time, absolutely illegal, took place and became extremely important.

The increasing desire for the restoration of unity will not alone suffice to explain this astonishing fact. The Synod of Pisa (1409), according to Catholic principle, was, from the outset, an act of open revolt against the Pope. That such an essentially revolutionary assembly should decree itself competent to re-establish order, and was able to command so much consideration, was only rendered possible by the eclipse of the Catholic doctrine regarding the primacy of St. Peter and the monarchical constitution of the Church, occasioned by the Schism. The utter confusion in theological ideas and the dangerous nature of the anti-papal tendency, partly due to the teaching of Occam and Marsiglio, which prevailed in the principal countries of Christendom at this time, can only be fairly estimated by a comparison of the theories set forth with the doctrine of the Church.

It was the will of Christ that the whole Church should have a single, visible head, so that, by the mutual connection of all the members among themselves, and by the subjection of all these members under one head, the most perfect unity should subsist. Therefore, a short time before His Ascension, our Saviour, according to His promise (St. Matt, xvi., 17-19), appointed the Apostle Peter, after his threefold profession of love, to be His Vicar on earth, the foundation and centre of the Church, the shepherd of "the lambs and the sheep", that is to say, of the whole company of the redeemed on earth, as related by St. John (xxi., 15 *et seq.*)

The primacy conferred on St. Peter, according to the teaching of the Church, is not merely a primacy of precedence and honour, but one of supreme jurisdiction, of complete spiritual power and authority. Inasmuch as Christ committed this power

immediately and directly to St. Peter, he holds it for the Church, but not from her; he is not her representative and delegate, but her divinely-appointed head.

Neither the Primacy nor the Church is a transitory institution. St. Peter was Bishop of Rome, there he died a martyr's death under Nero. It is an article of the Catholic Faith, that all his prerogatives and powers are by Divine appointment transmitted to his lawful successors in the See of Rome. This plenitude of power was from the first contained in the Papacy, but was, of course, manifested only in such measure as the needs of the Church and the circumstances of the time required. "Like every living thing, like the Church herself", says a modern ecclesiastical historian, the unique and incomparable institution of the Papacy has its historical development. But this takes place according to that law which underlies the very life of the Church herself, the law of evolution, of growth from within. The Papacy must share all the destinies of the Church, and take part in each phase of her progress".

The bishops of Rome, as direct successors of the Prince of the Apostles, according to Catholic teaching possess by Divine appointment the plenitude of episcopal power over the Universal Church. Supreme, full, and lawful spiritual authority over all the faithful is theirs. In virtue of this supreme authority, all her members, including Bishops, are subjects of the Pope; subject, whether we view them as isolated individuals, or as assembled in Council. Far from subjecting the Pope to a Council, the early Church held it as a principle that the supreme authority could be judged by no one. A General Council cannot exist without the Pope or in opposition to him, for, as head of the Church, he is the necessary and essential head of the General Council, whose decrees receive their ecumenical validity solely from his confirmation. As supreme legislator, the Pope can, in matters of discipline, revise and change the decrees of a General Council, as well as those of his predecessors. Former ecclesiastical legislation forms a precedent for his action, in so far as he, being the superior, is by his own example to show respect to the law. The power of the Primacy also contains, comprehended within itself, the supreme judicial power. Appeal may accordingly be made to him in all ecclesiastical matters; there is no appeal from his judgment to another tribunal; the plenitude of power over the Universal Church, conferred on the Holy See, is limited by nothing but Divine and natural law.

The Schism, attacking as it did the very centre of unity, brought discussion as to the position of the Pope in the Church into the foreground. In a period of such agitation, the discussion inevitably assumed a revolutionary character most dangerous to the Church. A multitude of theories, more or less openly opposed to her teaching, were brought forward, intensifying the confusion by their abandonment of the solid legal foundations. Many men, who were otherwise strongly attached to the Church, were carried away by these anti-papal tendencies.

Things had come to such a point that besides the new theory of the superiority of the Council over the Pope, views were asserted and maintained which completely denied the unity of the Church and the divine institution of the Primacy. It was said that it mattered little how many Popes there were, that there might be two or three or ten or twelve; or that each country might have its own independent Pope. Again, it was suggested that it might be the will of God that the Papacy should be for a time, or even permanently, divided, as the Kingdom of David had been, and after the example of human governments which are subject to change. Certainty regarding the will of God was deemed unattainable, but it was thought possible that the efforts to restore unity might really be in opposition to it.

This last opinion, which may be considered as a consequence of Occam's teaching, was strongly controverted by Heinrich von Langenstein in his "Proposition of Peace for the Union and Reformation of the Church by a General Council", written in 1381. He looks on the Schism as a thing permitted by God, who, in His wisdom, which constantly brings good out of evil, had not prevented this great misfortune, but would have it bring about the right and necessary reform of the Church. For the accomplishment of this great work he considers that a General Council must be held.

The new and extravagant system which Langenstein put forth in this Peace Proposal in order to furnish a theoretical justification for the Convocation of a General Council, is important from its bearing on future events. It is briefly as follows: No special weight is to be attached to our Lord's institution of the Papacy. The Church would have had a right to appoint a Pope if He had not done so. If the Cardinals should have chosen a Pope who does not suit the Church, she had the right to revise the work of her agents, and even to deprive them of her commission. For the power to elect the Pope rests originally in the Episcopate, and reverts to it if the Cardinals cannot, or will not elect; or if they abuse their right of election. The criterion, by which all acts of Church and State are to be judged, is whether they do, or do not promote the general good. A prince who, instead of preserving the State, would ruin and betray it, is to be resisted as an enemy; the same course should be pursued in the Church. Necessity breaks the law; indeed, even renders its breach a duty. In the present instance of the Schism, however, Langenstein goes on to say, it is by no means necessary to resort to this expedient. Laws are given that human actions may be ordered and measured thereby, but as these actions are innumerable, they cannot be completely comprehended by any law, and therefore, if we would not run counter to the will of the lawgiver, we must look to the spirit rather than to the letter. In the interpretation of every law we must be mindful of the Aristotelian principle of equity. To apply these general notions to the present case, it is not of the essence of a General Council that it should be summoned by the Pope; in extraordinary cases this may be done by temporal princes. The authority of the Council stands higher than that of the Pope and the Sacred College, for of the Church alone is it said that the gates of hell should not prevail against her.

These theories, by which Langenstein broke with the whole existing system, soon became widely diffused. Henceforward this most dangerous doctrine of the natural right of necessity was the instrument used in all efforts to put an end to the Schism. Not very long after the appearance of the "Peace Proposal", we find Langenstein's view maintained by another German theologian, Conrad von Gelnhausen. His argument is chiefly directed against those "who are never weary of repeating that, even if all the Prelates of the Church came all together without the authority of the Pope they would form no Council, but merely a Conventicle". The Papacy, according to this writer, is an official position whose authority is derived from the unanimous will of the faithful. Infallibility resides in the whole Church. The individual Pope is fallible, whence it evidently follows that a Council may be lawfully assembled without his authority.

Langenstein's principles had the greatest influence on the mind of Jean Gerson. This is shown in the remarkable New Year's Sermon which he preached at Tarascon, in 1404, before Pope Benedict XIII. The constitution of the Church, like every ecclesiastical law, has, he maintained, peace for its object. If a law no longer fulfils this purpose it is *ipso facto* repealed. Every means of putting an end to the Schism would be lawful, and the best means would be a General Council.

It is easy to understand that Benedict XIII was greatly offended by this discourse. An opposition to its principles also arose among the French theologians and was

expressed in the Assembly held in Paris in 1406, where Guillaume Filastre, the future Cardinal, absolutely denied the right of a General Council to judge or condemn the Pope. Pierre d'Ailly lamented the manner in which certain members of the University of Paris spoke of the Pope, and declared it unlawful to renounce allegiance to Benedict, inasmuch obedience is not to be refused even to a Pope suspected of heresy. It cannot, in fact, be denied that the theory which permitted such a course, made revolution permanent, for the Pope would be subject not merely to the judgment of the Church, but to the subjective estimate of the individual.

In the meantime objections to the new theories of Church government were little heeded; faith in the Divine right of the Primacy had been shaken to its foundations; the distress of the Church became more and more intolerable, and the general confusion greater. The attempt to decide between the claims of the different Popes was abandoned, and, as the proposals of abdication and of compromise had proved impracticable, the idea of an appeal to force gained ground; the great object was to find some way of getting rid of the Schism. Dignitaries of the Church, as, for example, Pierre Leroy, the Abbot of Mont St. Michel, openly proclaimed it lawful to disobey a Pope who misused his power. The Parisian Professor Plaoul declared both Popes to be obstinate schismatics, and consequently heretics, adding that all their adherents were to be looked upon as promoters of heresy and schism. The extreme urgency of the case, in his opinion, justified the King in summoning a Council, and even made it his duty to do so, and to use all possible means for the removal of the Schism; for, as Plaoul further explained, the obligation of peace, being based on divine and natural law, takes precedence of all constitutions, and annuls all contrary obligations, even oaths. If the Pope hinders peace it becomes necessary to separate from him.

Theories of this revolutionary description were not confined to France. In Italy, the Republic of Florence, which, especially since the election of Gregory XII, had been most zealous in its endeavours to promote the "holy cause of peace", decided, in 1408, that, under existing circumstances, neutrality or indifference in regard to both Popes was the best expedient. In Prague, a German Dominican Friar, Johann von Falkenberg, called Pope Gregory a heretic. He ascribed to the Cardinals the right of deposing their Lord, without admitting that the Pope might deprive them of their dignities. In like manner the celebrated Canonist, Zabarella, who afterwards became a Cardinal, sought to raise the Sacred College to the position of a standing governing committee in the Church, and thereby to secure for it the lion's share in the contemplated changes. The treatise in which he put forward this idea is most important, as it gives us for the first time the Council theory in its fullness. Zabarella ascribes the plenitude of power to the Church, and consequently to the General Council as her representative. The Pope, in his view, is only the highest servant of the Church, to whom the executive power is entrusted. Should he err, the Church must set him right; should he fall into heresy, or be an obstinate schismatic, or commit a notorious crime, the Council may depose him. The Church, or the General Council, cannot sit permanently, and therefore the Pope commonly wields the supreme power. He can, however, issue no decree binding on the whole Church without the consent of the Cardinals, and, if he should differ from them, the Council must decide the matter. It is to be summoned by the Pope, or, in the event of a schism, or of his refusal to summon it, notwithstanding urgent necessity, by the College of Cardinals. If this body is unable or unwilling to act, the duty devolves on the Emperor. The scope of the General Council was also widely extended. Learned Canonists, like Abbot Pierre Leroy, of Mont St. Michel, taught that the Pope can never



alter its decisions, and is bound to acknowledge them, even if they should concern the faith or the general welfare of the Church.

Revolutionary views of this kind predominated in the Council of seditious Cardinals assembled at Pisa, but they were not allowed to pass uncontroverted. Among their most zealous opponents was the noble King Rupert. He saw that the path in which the Cardinals were engaged, could never lead to unity, but rather to a "threefold division, and to still greater discord and humiliation for the Church and Christendom". To avert this fresh disaster, he sent a special embassy to Pisa to state his serious objections to the proceedings of the Cardinals. The Ambassadors argued that obedience might not be renounced for the sake of obtaining union, inasmuch as it is not lawful to do evil that good may come; that the Cardinals could not themselves depart from unity in order to unite others; that it belonged to the Pope alone to summon a General Council; that Pope Gregory had been acknowledged and presented to Christendom by the Cardinals as duly elected, but that if his election had been unlawful, their own position must be doubtful. They further contested the legality of a union of the two colleges, inasmuch as the Cardinals of one party could alone be recognized as lawful.

These and other considerations were, however, unheeded by the Assembly at Pisa. Delusive hopes of union held the better sort captive, and blinded them to the intrigues of Baldassare Cossa, who was leading the Council according to his own interests, and turned a deaf ear to all representations regarding the injustice of these proceedings towards both Popes. Since many Universities and learned men expressed their agreement with the new theories, the Synod of Pisa disregarded all canonical scruples, and boldly assumed authority over the two Popes of whom one must necessarily have been the lawful head of the Church. In vain did Carlo Malatesta, the loyal adherent of Gregory XII, endeavour, even at the last moment, to bring about an understanding between him and the Synod. In vain did this Prince, who was distinguished for his Humanistic culture, and was the noblest of his race, represent to the Cardinals, that their new way might indeed speedily lead to an end, but that the end would be a threefold division instead of unity. The Synod of Pisa having in its first session declared itself to be canonically summoned and ecumenical, representing the whole Catholic Churchy then proceeded to the trial and deposition of Benedict XIII and Gregory XII. No one seriously believed the assertion by which the Council supported its action. It was declared to be a matter of public notoriety that Benedict XIII and Gregory XII were not merely promoters of the Schism, but actually heretics in the fullest sense of the word, because by their conduct they had attacked and overturned the article of faith regarding the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. Having thus invented a basis of operations, the Synod of Pisa proceeded with feverish haste to the most extreme measures, from which they might reasonably have been deterred by their knowledge that Gregory and Benedict had each an important body of followers, and that the forcible repression of both parties could not be deemed possible. Without further negotiations with the two Popes, neither of whom had appeared at Pisa, their deposition was decreed, and a new election ordered. The elevation on the 26th June, 1409, of the aged Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, Petros Filargis, a Greek, who took the name of Alexander V, was the result.

Instead of two Popes there were now three, for the sentence of the Synod of Pisa had in no way affected the allegiance of the States which recognized Gregory XII or Benedict XIII. The Assembly which was to have restored unity had only increased the confusion. Such was the deplorable result of the removal of the established basis of unity. As Pierre d'Ailly had sadly foreseen, the Council of Cardinals added another and

a far more dangerous evil to those which already existed; it created a second Schism, and showed itself absolutely incapable of accomplishing the much longed for reform of ecclesiastical affairs. Reform and union alike came to nothing at Pisa.

Alexander V died on the 3rd May, 1410. The Cardinals immediately elected as his successor Baldassare Cossa, who assumed the name of John XXIII (1410-1415). Of all the miserable consequences of the disastrous Synod of Pisa, this election was the worst. John XXIII was not, indeed, the moral monster his enemies afterwards endeavoured to represent him, but he was utterly worldly-minded and completely engrossed by the temporal interests, an astute politician and courtier, not scrupulously conscientious, and more of a soldier than a Churchman. No help for the distracted Church was to be hoped for from him. All eyes, therefore, turned to the powerful and right-minded Sigismund, the King of the Romans, who was necessarily most deeply interested in the termination of the Schism, inasmuch as his Coronation as Emperor in Rome could not take place until Western Christendom was again united under one spiritual head. He did not disappoint the hopes which were fixed upon him, for the termination of the Schism and the restoration of unity to the Church in the West were in great measure his work.

The mischief wrought by the Synod of Pisa could not, however, check the ever-increasing belief that peace could only be restored by a General Council. Its very fruitlessness drove the more ardent to extreme measures for the deliverance of the Church from the three-headed Papacy. A scandal so terrible made men long for union at any price. The belief that the Emperor, or the King of the Romans was bound, as Protector of the Church, to summon a General Council, came more and more prominently forward. It was forcibly expressed by Dietrich von Nieheim, the author of a work "On the ways of uniting and reforming the Church by means of a General Council" (1410), long falsely attributed to Gerson. Dietrich here distinguishes two Churches; the particular and private Apostolic Church, and the Universal Church which, as the Society of all the faithful, has received immediately from God the power of the keys. Her representative, the General Council, is therefore above the Pope, who is bound to obey her; she may limit his power, annul his rights, and depose him. If the existence of the Church is in danger, she is, according to Dietrich, dispensed from the moral law. The end of unity sanctifies all means: graft, deception, violence, bribery, imprisonment, and death. For all law is for the sake of the whole body, and the individual must give way to the general good. Dietrich founds his chief hopes on a powerful Roman Emperor or King. "Until there is", he says, "a just, mighty, universal Roman Emperor or King, the Schism will not only continue, but will, we must fear, constantly grow worse". And as, in his opinion, the removal of the Schism and the holding of a General Council cannot be expected without the King of the Romans, he is bound, under pain of grievous sin, to bring about its meeting.

Sigismund understood how to turn to account the temper of the time, which found expression in the remarkable work of Dietrich von Nieheim. He also knew how to overcome the great obstacles which stood in the way of the Council. Fortune favoured him in a remarkable manner. The conquest of Rome by King Ladislaus (June, 1413) had compelled John XXIII to escape to Florence, where so dangerous a visitor had not been very cordially welcomed. As the Pope was in urgent need of protection and aid against his enemy, he gave his Cardinal-Legates, Challant and Zabarella, ample powers to come to an understanding with the King of the Romans, who was then at Como, as to the time and place of the Council. After lengthened resistance on their part, Sigismund succeeded in obtaining their consent to the selection of Constance, a German city, as the

place of its assembly. This point settled, he hastened to complete the matter, and on the 30th October, 1413, informed all Christendom that, in agreement with Pope John, a General Council would be opened at Constance on the 1st November in the following year, and solemnly invited all Prelates, Princes, Lords, and Doctors of Christendom to attend. John XXIII, who was completely powerless, had no choice but to submit to Sigismund's will; on the 9th December he signed the Bull which convened a General Council at Constance, and promised himself to be present. As soon as this, decisive step had been taken by the Pisan Pope, Sigismund wrote to Gregory XII and Benedict XIII, inviting them to come to the Council, and also to the Kings of France and Aragon, calling upon them to do everything in their power to ensure the accomplishment of the important object it had in view.

When John XXIII, in his extremity, made up his mind to consent to the convocation of the Council at Constance, he hoped by this act to establish a certain right to direct it, with the assistance of his numerous Italian prelates, more or less in accordance with his own views. Any such hopes, however, proved utterly fallacious, and, if we may believe the Chronicler Ulrich von Richental, who tells us that at the sight of the Lake of Constance John exclaimed "This is how foxes are caught!" even before he set foot in the city, where the Council was to be held, he had become fully aware of the danger which threatened him. There was, indeed, ample ground for his apprehensions; a feeling most unfavourable to him had become general, and the complete failure of the Council of Pisa had at the same time driven the leaders of the party of union to the adoption of revolutionary opinions. The important treatise of Dietrich von Nieheim "On the ways of uniting and reforming the Church by means of a General Council", which we have mentioned, had already given expression to the prevailing sentiment. The author attacks the worldly-minded Popes and their Courts in the most ruthless manner. Their sins are painted in the darkest colours, while he hardly alludes to those of the rest of the clergy. If his work does not contain the full and perfect truth, it nevertheless bears important testimony to the predominant tone of mind at the period. Few contemporary writings as clearly show how low the first dignity of Christendom had fallen in the eyes of the friends of reform, and how its bearers had come to be despised. The hostility of the party adverse to John XXIII soon manifested itself at Constance in the most unmistakable manner. It gained new strength from the arrival of Sigismund, and its first great result was the new mode of voting by nations, carried through in opposition to the Italians by the Germans, English, and French. Events unfolded themselves with marvellous rapidity after the arrival of the King of the Romans, and John's prospects became more and more gloomy. An anonymous memorial, addressed to the Fathers of the Council and containing most serious charges against the Pisan Pope, produced great effects. His bearing from the beginning of the Council had been irresolute, and now he lost heart altogether. In dread of judicial proceedings, he solemnly promised to give peace to the Church by an absolute surrender of the papal power, if Gregory XII and Benedict XIII would likewise abdicate. But this step was not taken freely or in good faith. Meanwhile the language of the party of reform became more and more decided. John, who was kept well informed of all that passed by his spies, at last came to the conclusion that nothing but bold and sudden action could save him, and on March 19th, 1415, with the connivance of Duke Frederick of Austria, he fled "on a little horse" to Schaffhausen, disguised as a messenger.

The deed was one of desperation, and occasioned the greatest confusion and alarm amongst those assembled at Constance. The Italians and Austrians left the city

and gathered round their Princes; merchants, fearing a riot, packed up their wares, and the Burgher-master called the citizens to arms.

During this stormy episode, the party which looked on a definite limitation of Papal rights as the only means of suppressing the Schism and reforming the Church discipline, gained the upper hand. The General Council was to effect this limitation, and accordingly it was held that the Pope must be subject to its jurisdiction; many, indeed, would have rendered this subjection permanent. With characteristic precipitation it was decided in the third, fourth, and fifth Sessions that a General Council could not be dissolved nor prorogued by the Pope without its own consent; that the present Council continued in full force after the flight of the Pope; that everyone, even the Pope, must obey the Council in matters concerning the faith and the extirpation of the Schism, and that it had authority over the Pope as well as over all Christians.

By these decrees a power which had not been instituted by Christ was constituted supreme over the Church, and this was done in order to provide the Assembly of Constance with a theoretical basis on which to act independently of the Pope. But, although defended by d'Ailly and Gerson, they never received the force of law. They proceeded from a headless Assembly, which could not be an Ecumenical Council since it was not acknowledged by any Pope, while one of the three must certainly have been the lawful head of the Church. Moreover, the method of procedure, by a majority of votes, had no precedent in the ancient Councils, and these decrees were carried against the Cardinals by a majority composed in large part of unauthorized persons. It was evident, then, that they could only be regarded as an act of violence, an expedient to put an end to the existing confusion. It was possible, indeed, to interpret the words, asserting the supremacy of the Council over the Pope, in a sense which limited their application to the Schism of the day, and they were thus understood by many, both at the time and afterwards. But, in the intention of their authors, their signification was general and dogmatic, and amounted to the introduction of a new system, subversive of the old Catholic doctrine. No dogmatic importance, however, can possibly be attached to them. The Assembly of Constance was no General, or representative, Council of the Church, and they never received Papal confirmation. The great mistake of those assembled at Constance was to take that which may have seemed a matter of necessity under extraordinary circumstances, as a general rule for all times, and to consider it possible that a General Council could be held without the Pope, and in opposition to him, an idea as extravagant as would be the supposition that a body without a head could be a living organism. The necessary consequence of this attempt to carry out reforms by means of the Episcopate alone was, as a modern Canonist well observes, that in the next century many denied the authority of both Pope and Bishops.

The firmness and prudence of Sigismund had been the chief means of frustrating the attempt made by John XXIII to disperse the Assembly at Constance, and the fate of this Pope was soon decided. He had already been arrested and confined in Radolfzell, and, after a trial, was, on the 29th May, solemnly and formally deposed; utterly broken in spirit he submitted without remonstrance to the sentence of the Synod.

The deposition John XXIII nullified the work of the Synod of Pisa, and brought things back to the position they had occupied, before it had decreed the deposition of Gregory XII and Benedict XIII. The election of a new Pope ought logically, therefore, to have taken place, but such a measure would not have advanced matters a step, and accordingly the Synod was in an untenable position when Gregory XII solved his difficulties by his magnanimous resolution to abdicate. The way in which this was done is of the highest significance, and must by no means be viewed as a concession in non-

essentials to the assembled Bishops. Gregory XII the one legitimate Pope, sent his plenipotentiary, Malatesta, to Constance, where the prelates of his obedience had already arrived, and now summoned the Bishops to a Council. His Cardinal-Legate, who had made his entry into the city as such, read Gregory's Bull of Convention to the assembled Bishops, who solemnly acknowledged it. Malatesta then informed this Synod, which Gregory XII had constituted, of his abdication (4th July, 1415). His summons had given the Synod a legal basis; the Bishops of the third obedience gradually joined it, while Benedict XIII, with but three Cardinals, fled to the fortress of Peñiscola, thus proclaiming himself a schismatic before the whole Church. The Holy See was, therefore, now acknowledged and declared to be vacant, and it became possible to proceed to the election of a successor to Gregory XII.

"If even we admit the proposition", observes the Canonist from whom we have taken the above account, "that Gregory XII's fresh convocation and authorization of the Council were a mere matter of form, this form was the price to which he attached his abdication; and it meant nothing less than that the Assembly should formally acknowledge him the lawful Pope, and accordingly confess that its own authority dated only from that moment, and that all its previous acts—in particular those of the fourth and fifth Sessions—were devoid of all ecumenical character. The recognition of Gregory XII's legitimacy necessarily included a similar recognition of Innocent VII, Boniface IX, and Urban VI, and the rejection of Clement VII and Benedict XIII.

In gratitude for the concession which he had made, the Council conferred upon Gregory XII the Cardinal Bishopric of Porto, with the permanent Legation of the March of Ancona, and rank second only to that of the Pope; he did not, however, long enjoy these dignities, as he died on the 18th October, 1417. His last words were "I have not understood the world, and the world has not understood me".

From the resignation of Gregory XII till the election of Martin V the Apostolic See was vacant, and the Church was ruled by the Council to which the Cardinals belonged. The Council, during this period, undertook the administration and temporal government of the States of the Church, a remarkable fact, which clearly proves them to be the property of the whole Church.

After the burning of John Huss (July 6th, 1415) matters regarding the third point of the great programme of the Council—the reform of the Church in her head and members—principally occupied its attention. The great majority of the Assembly were of one mind as to the need of reform. "The whole world, the clergy, all Christian people, know that a reform of the Church militant is both necessary and expedient", exclaims a theologian of the day. "Heaven and the elements demand it; it is called for by the Sacrifice of the Precious Blood mounting up to heaven. The very stones will soon be constrained to join in the cry". But while this necessity was generally recognized, the members of the Council were neither clear nor unanimous in their views as to the scope and nature of the reform. Various measures were proposed, especially for the amendment of the Papal Court, but few of them were practicable. When the details came to be considered the countless difficulties which ultimately rendered the labours of the Council in this matter so ineffectual became more and more apparent.

Contemporary writings clearly show the existence of a widespread dislike of the higher clergy, not only amongst the laity, but also amongst the inferior ecclesiastics. An immense number of absolutely revolutionary discourses preached at Constance by monks and clergy of the lower ranks, bear witness to this feeling. The Cardinals were detested by the majority of those who formed the Assembly at Constance, and they had

repeatedly to complain of grievous slights put upon them. The treatment which they had to expect may be gathered from the singular fact that on the 17th April, 1415, a Prelate brought forward a proposal for their exclusion from all deliberations regarding Union and Reform. It was not indeed carried, but it showed the Cardinals the greatness of the danger which threatened them. They dexterously met it by an effort to get the matter into their own hands, and in the end of July moved that a Committee should be appointed to deliberate on the reform of the Church. The opposition aroused by this step was overcome by the eloquence of d'Ailly. The Cardinals' motion was passed, and the first Committee was appointed, between the 26th July and the 1st of August. It consisted of eight deputies from each nation, and three Cardinals. The conflict of various interests made it impossible to come to any agreement on the most important questions. In the autumn of 1416 negotiations came to a complete standstill. Some powerful impulse was wanted to keep up the interest in the Council, which flagged more and more, wearied out by the monotony of interminable discussions.

In regard to the smallness of the results achieved by it, a Protestant writer has justly observed: "Few perhaps lacked goodwill, but all lacked courage to begin the conflict against the network of interests which covered all the ground. If the work were once seriously undertaken, it was hard to see where it might end".

The resistance naturally offered by the Conservative element to any change in the constitution of the Church, exercised a great influence on the cause of reform. This struggle absorbed all energies, and divided the Council into two camps at a time when united action alone could have led to success. Another circumstance also came into play.

The Constitution of the Church is an organic body, and a reform of one part must necessarily react on the whole. The chief aim of by far the greater number at Constance was the removal of special pressing abuses, and the protection of special concerns. Considerations of the general good were postponed to those regarding particular interests. No party would begin by reforming itself; each wished for reform in the first place at the cost of another. Unanimous action was out of the question in this conflict of parties.

We must also give due weight to the influence of national and political interests. Church and State, in the views of that time, were by no means unconcerned with each other. Civil and ecclesiastical life were most closely bound together, and, as a necessary consequence, every effort to reform the Church awakened national and political opposition. The removal of abuses by reverting to a simple principle, was, under these circumstances, impossible; relations were so entangled that every change was like a Revolution. "Church Reform", to quote the words of a modern historian, "was the Tower of Babel; every imaginable language was spoken in the Assembly, and opinions were as numerous and as conflicting as the nationalities gathered together at Constance"

The conflict of interests was intensified by the system of division into nations adopted in the Council, which opened the door to party spirit and national jealousy. This new organization of the Assembly, though framed with the sole purpose of counteracting the preponderance of the Italian prelates, was in great measure responsible for the failure of the work of reform. Even those, who looked with sympathy on the introduction of new modes of deliberation and voting, acknowledge this fact. "The reform which one nation desires, another rejects", wrote Peter von Pulka, the Envoy of the University of Vienna. Under these circumstances, it was impossible to foresee how long the Church would remain without a head, if according to the wishes

of Sigismund and the German nation, the election of a new Pope was to be deferred until the reform had been accomplished. Discussions of a most violent nature soon arose on this question. The struggle was at last concluded by a compromise, which the aged Bishop of Winchester, the uncle of the King of England, brought about. According to its terms, a Synodal Decree was to give assurance that, after the election, the reform of the Church should really be taken in hand; those Decrees of reform, to which all the different nations had already given their consent, were to be published before the election, and the mode of the election was to be determined by deputies.

Accordingly, on the 9th of October, 1417, in the thirty-ninth General Session, five Decrees of reform, on which the nations had agreed, were published. The first concerned the holding of General Councils, which were henceforth to be of more frequent occurrence; the next was to be held in five years; the following one, ten years later; and after that, one every ten years. The second Decree enacted precautionary measures against the outbreak of a fresh Schism; the third required every newly-elected Pope, before the proclamation of his election, to lay before his electors a profession of his faith. The remaining Decrees limited the translation of Bishops and Prelates, and abolished the Papal rights of *spolia* and procuration. Regarding the election of a new Pope, it was agreed on the 28th of October that, for this time, thirty other Prelates and Doctors, six from each nation, should be associated with the Cardinals present at Constance. This decision, as well as the Decree for securing reform, was immediately published in the fortieth General Session, on the 30th October. The Decree was to the effect that, before the dissolution of the Council, the new Pope was, with its co-operation, or with that of deputies of the nations, to take measures for ecclesiastical reform, especially in reference to the Supreme head of the Church and the Roman Court.

The Conclave began on the evening of the 8th November, 1417, in the Merchants' Hall at Constance, which is still visited by every traveller, and on St Martinis Day the Cardinal Deacon Oddone Colonna came forth as Pope Martin V.

## BOOK II

THE RESTORATION OF THE PAPAL POWER AND ITS STRUGGLE WITH  
THE COUNCIL.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ROME

1417-1447

## CHAPTER I.

## MARTIN V. (1417.1431)

There was indeed cause for the unbounded rejoicings over the restored unity of the Church, which re-echo through the pages of the ancient chronicles of this period. "Men could scarcely speak for joy", says one of these writers. The Church had again a head — the great Western Schism was at an end. These nine and thirty years of division were the most terrible crisis the Roman Church had passed through during the long centuries of her existence. An uncompromising opponent of the Papacy has acknowledged that any secular kingdom would have perished; yet so marvellous was the organization of this spiritual dynasty, and so indestructible the idea of the Papacy, that the Schism only served to demonstrate its indivisibility.

The new Pope, a man in the full vigour of life, belonged to one of the highest and most powerful families of Rome; he was distinguished by his simplicity, temperance, purity, knowledge of Canon Law, and many other virtues, and had kept comparatively aloof from party questions. Without in any way sacrificing his dignity, he had been on friendly terms with all those assembled at Constance. The despatches of Ambassadors present at the Council speak with the highest praise of the gracious bearing of the Pope. This noble Roman, in fact, seemed to combine all the qualities that could enable him worthily to fill his high position.

The election of Martin V might have been a source of unalloyed happiness to Christendom, if he had at once taken the crucial question of Church Reform vigorously in hand; but the Regulations of the Chancery issued soon after his accession showed that little was to be expected from him in this respect. They perpetuated most of the practices in the Roman Court which the Synod had designated as abuses. Neither the isolated measures afterwards substituted for the universal reform so urgently required, nor the Concordats made with Germany, the three Latin nations, and England, sufficed



to meet the exigencies of the case, although they produced a certain amount of good. The Pope was indeed placed in a most difficult position, in the face of the various and opposite demands made upon him, and the tenacious resistance offered by interests now long established to any attempt to bring things back to their former state. The situation was complicated to such a degree that any change might have brought about a revolution. It must also be borne in mind that all the proposed reforms involved a diminution of the Papal revenues; the regular income of the Pope was small and the expenditure very great. For centuries, complaints of Papal exactions had been made, but no one had thought of securing to the Popes the regular income they required. The States of the Church could only be defended by mercenary troops; the Court and the Cardinals were a cause of great expense; a large outlay was needed for the Legations, and all these things were bound up with the centralized organization of the Church, which no one wished to attack. A Pope could not preside in Apostolic simplicity over Bishops who kept up a princely state. It must also be added that Italian affairs urgently demanded the speedy return of the Pope to Rome.

The delay of the reform, which was dreaded by both clergy and laity, may be explained, though not justified, by the circumstances we have described. It was an unspeakable calamity that ecclesiastical affairs still retained the worldly aspect caused by the Schism, and that the much-needed amendment was again deferred.

Sigismund made every effort to induce Pope Martin V to take up his abode in Germany; Basle, Mayence, and Strasburg were proposed to him as places of residence, and the French begged him to live in Avignon, as so many of his predecessors had done. But Martin would not on any account become dependent on a foreign power, and firmly declined all these proposals. In the absence of its chief Pastor, the inheritance of the Church was, he said, rent and despoiled by tyrants; the City of Rome, the head of Christendom, was devastated by pestilence, famine, sword, and revolt; the Basilicas and the shrines of the Martyrs were, some of them, already in ruins, and others about to fall into that state. In order to prevent complete destruction, he must go; he begged them to let him depart. The Roman Church being the head and mother of all churches, in Rome alone is the Pope at his post, like the pilot at the helm of the vessel.

The condition of the States of the Church undoubtedly demanded the return of the Pope, and Martin V acted prudently in resolving to make his way back to Italy and to his native city. Amidst the rejoicings of the people, he journeyed through Berne to Geneva. Here he heard of the disturbances which had broken out in Bohemia in consequence of the burning of Huss, and received the oath of allegiance of the Avignon Ambassadors. On the 7th September, 1418, it was determined to transfer the Papal Court to Mantua. On his way, Martin V tarried in Milan and consecrated the High Altar of the Cathedral. An inscription in the interior over the great portal, and a medallion of the Pope in the gallery of the choir, commemorate this circumstance.

The Pope remained in Mantua from the end of October, 1418, until the following February. The critical position of affairs in the States of the Church then compelled him to spend nearly two years in Florence. He lived in the Dominican Monastery of Santa Maria Novella, where the apartment prepared for him long bore the name of the Pope's Hall (Sala del Papa). Here Baldassare Cossa (John XXIII), having been at length released from his captivity, came humbly to throw himself at the feet of the Pope, showing more dignity in adversity than he had done in prosperity. Martin received him kindly, and appointed him Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum (June 23, 1419), but on the 22nd December, 1419, he died, so poor that there was hardly enough to pay the legacies he left! The costly monument erected to this unhappy man by Cosmo de Medici is still

to be seen in the Baptistery at Florence. His recumbent statue rests on a sarcophagus beneath a canopy, and the short but pregnant inscription declares that "The body of Baldassare Cossa, John XXIII, once Pope, is buried here". "This tomb", a modern historian observes, "is the boundary mark of an important epoch in the life of nations, the monument of the great Schism and also the last grave of a Pope out of Rome".

The better Martin V became acquainted with the condition of affairs in his native land, the more clearly did he perceive that nothing was to be accomplished by violence. Rome and Benevento were now in the hands of Queen Joanna of Naples. Bologna was an independent Republic, and other portions of the States of the Church had been usurped by individuals. The Pope had to deal with this hopeless situation by diplomatic measures. In the first place he succeeded in coming to an understanding with the Queen, to whom he promised the recognition of her rights and his consent to her coronation, which was performed by the Cardinal-Legate Morosini, on the 28th October, 1419; Joanna, on her part, bound herself to support the Pope in the recovery of the States of the Church, and to grant considerable fiefs in her kingdom to his brothers. In consequence of this agreement, Joanna, on the 6th March, 1419, ordered her General, Sforza Attendolo, to evacuate Rome. By the mediation of the Florentines, Martin V succeeded, in February, 1420, in coming to terms with the daring Condottiere, Braccio di Montone, who controlled half central Italy, and passed for one of the ablest military leaders of his day. Braccio, as Vicar of the Church, retained Perugia, Assisi, Todi, and Jesi, in consideration for which he gave up his other conquests, and in July, 1420, constrained the Bolognese to submit to the Pope. It was at length possible for Martin V to proceed to his capital; he left the city of Florence on the 9th September, 1420, reached Rome on the 28th, and made his solemn entrance into the Eternal City on the 30th. The people enthusiastically welcomed him as their deliverer.

Martin V found Rome at peace, but in such a state of misery that, as one of his biographers observers, "it hardly bore the semblance of a city". The world's capital was completely in ruins, its aspect was deplorable, decay and poverty met the eye on every side. Famine and sickness had decimated its inhabitants and reduced the survivors to the direst need. The towers of the nobles looked down upon foul streets, encumbered with rubbish and infested with robbers both by night and by day. The general penury was so extreme that, in 1414, even on the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, no lamp could be lighted before the Confession of the Prince of the Apostles! A chronicler relates that many of the clergy had neither food nor raiment, from which the sad condition of the rest of the people may be imagined.

The city in which these poor creatures lived consisted of a few miserable dwellings scattered through a great field of ruins. Many monuments which had survived the calamities of the Avignon period, had been destroyed during the terrible years of the Schism. Amongst these was the Castle of St. Angelo, which, in the spring of 1379, was demolished, all but the central keep, containing the room where was the grave of Hadrian. The other relics of antiquity had met with the same barbarous treatment. Manuel Chrysoloras, who was in Rome towards the end of the fourteenth century, wrote word to his Emperor at Constantinople, that scarcely any ancient sculpture remained standing; it had been used for steps, for door-sills, for building and for mongers for beasts; the colossal figures of the Dioscuri were the only specimens of the work of Phidias and Praxiteles to which he could still point. If any statues were found, they were mutilated or completely destroyed as heathen; moreover, the ancient edifices were used as quarries for building material, and for burning into lime. The other structures in the City had also suffered dreadfully during the vicissitudes of the Schism; most of the

houses had fallen, many churches were roofless, and others had been turned into stables for horses. The Leonine City was laid waste; the streets leading to St Peter's, the portico of the church itself, were in ruins, and the walls of the City were, in this quarter, broken down, so that by night the wolves came out of the desolate Campagna, invaded the Vatican Gardens, and with their paws dug up the dead in the neighbouring Campo Santo.

Such was the condition of Rome at the time when Martin V returned; everything, so to speak, had to be restored. The Pope devoted himself to the work before him with a zeal and resolution, which revealed the born Roman. Even while at Florence, he had appointed a Commission to superintend the restoration of the Roman churches and basilicas, and had furnished considerable sums for the purpose. The work was commenced in good earnest, after he had taken up his residence in Rome; he began with those things which were most necessary. The public parts of the Vatican, as, for instance, the Consistorial Hall and the Chapel, as well as the Corridor connecting the latter with the Loggia of Benediction, were repaired, and windows were put in everywhere. The first thing to be done in the city was to clear away the filth and rubbish, which filled the streets and poisoned the air. Martin V accordingly revived the ancient office of Overseer of the Public Thoroughfares (*Magistri viarum*) by appointing two Roman citizens, whose duty it was to make the streets again passable. At the same time he gave them absolute powers of expropriation and demolition, available against all previous appropriation of public spaces and buildings, and all grants of exemption, even when they were protected by the threat of excommunication. Strong measures were taken against the brigandage which, had become a real plague in the City and its neighbourhood. We find documents in which mention is made of the regulation of prisons; and a Papal Minister of Police, under the name of "Soldanus", appears on the scene. For the sake of example, some of the robbers' nests in the neighbourhood of Rome were razed to the ground. The frugal Pope did not care to keep up a large standing army; even the Body-Guard for the defence of the Palace was very modest. It consisted chiefly of subjects of the Pope, and was the predecessor of the Swiss Guard. A strong tower was built at Ostia to prevent smuggling, and to serve as a watch tower against pirates and enemies by sea.

Of all the buildings in Rome, the Pope made the neglected churches the object of his special care. Perceiving the impossibility of himself providing for them all, he turned to the Cardinals and urged them to restore their titular churches; the appeal was not made in vain. The Pope himself undertook the parochial churches and the chief basilicas, and did everything on a magnificent scale. He contributed the enormous sum of 50,000 golden florins for a new roof to St. Peter's; the portico was also completely restored, and, according to some accounts, decorated with paintings representing the lives of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Martin V's restoration in St. John Lateran, the cathedral Church of the Popes, were even more important. This noble basilica, which had been terribly injured by fire, was newly roofed with wood and floored with a beautiful inlaid pavement, the ruinous churches of the more distant parts of the City and neighbourhood being, for this purpose, despoiled of their porphyry, granite, and serpentine. For the painting of the walls of the nave he summoned the famous Gentile da Fabriano, who was employed here from the year 1427. Vittore Pisanello was afterwards associated with him. Gentile was munificently paid by the Pope; he received a yearly salary of three hundred golden florins, while Bevilacqua, of San Severino, the cannon-founder and engineer, had only a hundred and twenty; and, at a subsequent period, the justly-celebrated Fra Angelico da

Fiesole received but two hundred. The mural paintings in the Lateran, which were completed under Eugenius IV, were unfortunately destroyed by damp during Pisanello's lifetime. They were, however, seen by the eminent painter Roger van der Weyden, when he made a pilgrimage to Rome and visited the Lateran basilica, in the jubilee year of 1450; on which occasion he pronounced Gentile to be the first among Italian painters.

Masaccio, the great Master of the Tuscan School, in the first half of the century, and teacher of the later painters, was also attracted to Rome by Martin V. In Vasari's time, two of his works, a Madonna and a painting of Pope Liberius with the features of Martin V, were still to be seen in the Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore.

Afterwards, during the peace with which Martin's prudence blessed the States of the Church, the financial position of Rome improved and the walls of the capital were restored, the Palace of the Conservators was rebuilt, and many gates and bridges over the Tiber were placed in a proper condition. Martin V erected for himself a modest Palace on the western slope of the Quirinal, near the Church of the Holy Apostles Saints Philip and James, and this was his favourite residence from the fourth year after his arrival in Rome. He also built a strong and stately castle in the picturesque village of Genazzano, which is situated on a tufa rock at the beginning of the Aequi and Hernici hills, at no great distance from Palestrina, the ancient stronghold of the Colonna family, and there the Pope and his nephews often spent the summer. But, with these two exceptions, the works which he accomplished were rather works of restoration, imperatively demanded by the circumstances of his time, than original creations.

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that Martin V was devoid of the taste for splendour. On the contrary, while his frugal mode of living laid him open to the imputation of parsimony, he made a great point of appearing with the utmost magnificence in religious ceremonies. While at Florence, he ordered a richly embroidered cope and a golden tiara, whose beauty was spoken of after the lapse of a hundred and fifty years. For the tiara eight delicately wrought little golden figures between leaves of the same metal were supplied by Lorenzo Ghiberti, and a costly clasp for the cope, representing our Saviour giving His blessing. But the regular commissions which the Pope gave for certain constantly-recurring occasions did even more for the encouragement of artists than those of so exceptional a nature. Caps and swords of honour were presented each New Year to Princes or other distinguished personages; every Cardinal received a ring on his creation, and golden roses were bestowed each year on Laetare Sunday, hence called Rose Sunday, on Princes or eminent men and ladies of high rank, churches, or municipalities whose loyalty the Pope desired to secure. These roses had golden stems, and were set with precious stones. We must also mention the many richly-embroidered banners, bearing the arms of the Pope and the Church, and sometimes the figures of Saints, which were generally given to ensign-bearers and Captains of the Church. Martin V was obliged to go to Florence for almost all these things. Art could not flourish in a city so impoverished as Rome had become, and there was no demand for it. But the impulse given by his munificence could not fail in time to tell on the Eternal City. The Papal mint at this time attained a degree of excellence which it never lost, even during the subsequent decay of taste.

Notwithstanding the solicitude with which Martin V watched over every branch of the administration, the recovery of the Eternal City was extremely slow. The work of destruction had been so terrible, that, even in the days of his successor, a historian described Rome as a City of cowherds. Yet it cannot be denied that a general change for the better set in from the time that the Papacy was again permanently established there. Martin V devoted his whole attention to the restoration of prosperity and order, and it

was no flattery which bestowed on him the name of the Father of his country. The political independence of the city of Rome was indeed at an end, but it retained ample liberty of action in all internal affairs. Martin V left the municipal constitution of his native city absolutely untouched; by his desire, the rights and privileges of Rome were recorded by the Secretary of the Senate, Niccolò Signorili, in a book, of which copies are preserved in several of the Roman Archives and Libraries. The Romans easily forgot their loss of political independence, beneath the sway of a Pope whose one object was to heal the wounds inflicted on their unhappy city during the prolonged absence of his predecessors. He showed how much could be accomplished by an energetic Prince : even the plague of brigandage, which has always been so prevalent among the races of Latin origin, seemed to have been completely banished from the States of the Church by his vigorous measures. "In the time of Martin V", to quote the words of a Roman chronicler, "a man might travel by day or by night through the country, miles away from Rome, with gold in his open hand". "So great were the quiet and peace all through the States of the Church", says a biographer of the Pope, "that one might have imagined the age of Octavianus Augustus to have returned".

But Martin V not only laid the foundations of the restoration of the Eternal City, but also those of the Papal monarchy, and his action in this respect is of the highest importance. The Schism had utterly disorganized the States of the Church; they existed only in name, a motley mixture of governments, constitutions, rights, privileges, and usurpations. The task which devolved on the new Pope was little short of superhuman, but he undertook it with a courage and energy which were equalled by his skill and prudence. He has the great merit of having been the first to prepare the way for transforming this conglomeration of communities and provinces, with their particular rights, heterogeneous constitutions and indefinite pretensions, into a united monarchy. He limited and curbed the power of the independent princes who ruled the cities, a hundred years before they were completely done away with. It has been justly observed that his labours would have been still more effectual, if a consistent course had been pursued in the States of the Church, and if the unquiet and troubled rule of his successor had not in great measure destroyed what he had accomplished.

Circumstances favoured the Pope to a remarkably degree. The man from whom he might have apprehended the ruin of all his projects, Braccio di Montone, who had threatened to compel the Pope to say mass for a bajocco, died in the June of 1424. In consequence of his death, which was a cause of great rejoicing in Rome, Perugia, Assisi, Jesi, and Todi again submitted to the direct authority of the Holy See. From this moment may be dated the steady growth of Papal power, which, was also favoured by the family feud that divided the great house of Malatesta, and by the fact that many cities were weary of the galling yoke of their tyrants. Martin's course for the next few years was a series of successes. Imola, Forlì, Fermo, Ascoli, San Severino, Osimo, Cervia, Berinoro, Citta di Castello, Borgo San Sepolcro and many other cities gradually submitted to him. Bologna, which had been brought into subjection by Braccio di Montone, again revolted in 1428. The gates of the Palace were burst open, the Palace itself was plundered, and the Papal Legate constrained to fly. By the mediation of the Venetians and Florentines, terms were made in the following year between the Pope and the revolted Bolognese. Both Martin and his Ambassador, Domenico Capranica, evinced great moderation and forbearance in the negotiations, for even after the second insurrection they allowed the city to retain its own constitution.

Martin V also strengthened his temporal power by family alliances. By the union of his niece Caterina with Guido da Montefeltre, he won that powerful house

completely to his interests. His sister Paola was married to Gherardo Appiani, Lord of Piombino, and endowed with lands. The Pope provided for his relations in the most munificent manner.

It has been the custom to condemn the "excessive nepotism" of Martin V with great severity, but the circumstances of the time diminish the blame that maybe due to him in this respect. These circumstances cast the Pope upon his nephews for aid, for when he came to Italy, a landless ruler whom the urchins in the streets of Florence derided in their songs, where could he look for support except to his relations? Little was to be expected from the other Roman nobles, whose strongholds were like nests of robbers, and whose life was one of wild warfare; from the leaders of mercenary bands, who were wont to leave their troops in the lurch, if their own safety required it or the hope of richer gain attracted them; or, again, from Queen Joanna at Naples, the most inconstant of women. It cannot be denied that the affection of Martin for his family was inordinate but self-preservation, even more than family affection, was the motive which impelled him to seek the exaltation of the Colonnas. In the midst of a powerful and quarrelsome aristocracy, at the head of a hopelessly distracted State, in an unquiet city always ready for revolt and riot, it was but too natural that Martin V, if he wished to keep a firm footing, should lean on his kindred and increase their power.

The aggrandizement of the Colonna family began when Queen Joanna, in return for her recognition and coronation, invested the two brothers of the Pope with important Neapolitan fiefs. On the 12th May, 1418, Giordano Colonna was created Duke of Amalfi and Venosa, and on the 3rd of August, 1419, Prince of Salerno; the other brother, Lorenzo, became Count of Alba, in the Abruzzi. At a later date, we find him also in possession of Genazzano in the Aequi Hills, which is full of reminiscences of the Colonnas. Death soon carried away both Giordano and Lorenzo from their riches and honours; the latter was miserably burned in the tower of one of his castles in 1423, and Giordano died of the plague in the following year, leaving no heir. By his marriage with Sveva Gaetani, Lorenzo left three sons, Antonio, Odoardo, and Prospero. Antonio became Prince of Salerno and head of the family, Prospero was a cardinal, and Celano and Marsi fell to Odoardo.

The Neapolitan fiefs were but a portion of the landed possessions which the Colonna family acquired by means of Martin V. Great additions were made to the considerable estates they already enjoyed in the near and remote neighbourhood of Rome; the stronghold of Ardea, the ancient capital of the Rutuli, Marino, which commanded the shortest route to the south, Nettuno, beautifully situated on the shores of the Mediterranean, Astura, which formerly belonged to the Frangipani, Bassanello in the Sabine valley of the Tiber, Soriano in the territory of Viterbo, Paliano in the valley of the Sacco, afterwards the most important of their strongholds, Frascati, Petra Porzia and Rocca di Papa were all conferred by the Pope on his kindred, and most of these castles were exempted from the salt tax, the hearth tax, and all other taxes whatever.

The list we have given, although not a complete one, shows that Martin went beyond the bounds of justice and the necessity of circumstances, in favouring his relations. The honours and riches heaped upon the Colonnas excited the jealousy of the other ambitious nobles of the States of the Church, and more especially that of their hereditary foes, the Orsini. Martin V was prudent enough to treat this powerful family with the utmost consideration. Even before his arrival he had invested them with the vicariate of Bracciano for three years, and he afterwards endeavoured to secure their goodwill by the marriage of his niece Anna with Gianantonio Orsini, Prince of Tarento.

The life of Martin V was simple and regular; the only recreation he cared for was to retire to the delicious solitude of his family property, when the heat of summer or some pestilential epidemic made Rome insupportable. Sometimes he visited other spots in the neighbourhood of the Eternal City, on several occasions making a lengthened sojourn at Tivoli. In his later years, he showed a marked preference for the Castle of Genazzano. He repeatedly varied his place of abode in Rome; in the earlier years of his Pontificate spending the winter months at the Vatican, and the summer and autumn at Sta. Maria Maggiore. In May, 1424, he removed to the newly-erected Palace of the Holy Apostles, which henceforth became his favourite residence. In the autumn of 1427 Martin V went for a short time to the Lateran, which shows that at least some rooms there must have been restored.

His energy as a reformer was displayed in the sphere of religion, no less than in that of politics. Very soon after his return to Rome he took measures against the heretical Fraticelli, who were at work chiefly in the Marches; he endeavoured to reform the clergy of St. Peter's, and to do away with the worst abuses at the Court. In the early part of his Pontificate, he made constant efforts not only to protect the clergy from the aggressions of the temporal power, but also to amend their lives. As time went on, other interests unfortunately became predominant, and withdrew him more and more from the work of reform. The remarkable energy which he manifested in this cause during the first half of his reign has, however, been little appreciated.

Martin V also sought to increase devotion to the relics existing in the Eternal City, and carefully provided for their fitting custody. A new and precious relic, the body of St. Monica, the mother of the great St. Augustine, was brought to Rome from Ostia, by his desire. He caused its arrival to be celebrated by a special solemn function, at which he himself offered the Holy Sacrifice. Afterwards he addressed a striking discourse to the Augustinian Hermits whom he appointed guardians of the sacred remains, and to the assembled crowd. A passage in this discourse has a peculiar interest, inasmuch as it proves Martin V to have been completely uninfluenced by the Humanistic tendencies of his day. After describing the virtues of St. Monica, her sweetness, her patience, her maternal solicitude, which found its reward in the holiness of such a son, he exclaims, "then, while we possess Augustine, what care we for the sagacity of Aristotle, the eloquence of Plato, the prudence of Varro, the dignified gravity of Socrates, the authority of Pythagoras, or the skill of Empedocles? We do not need these men; Augustine is enough for us. He explains to us the utterances of the prophets, the teaching of the Apostles, and the holy obscurity of Scripture. The excellences and the doctrine of all the Fathers of the Church and all wise men, are united in him. If we look for truth, for learning, and for piety, whom shall we find more learned, wiser, and holier than Augustine?" After this discourse, which may be considered as St. Monica's Bull of Canonization, Martin V proceeded to place the precious remains in a sculptured sarcophagus of white marble. This had been provided, at great cost, by Maffeo Veggio, a pious Humanist, and two noble Roman ladies also gave three silver-gilt lamps, which were lighted before the sacred relic and kept burning night and day.

We must not omit to mention that the Pope took great pains to promote Devotion to the most Holy Sacrament of the Altar. His Brief on this subject is a beautiful example of his piety.

The great Jubilee, which he proclaimed for the year 1413, must also have done much to encourage religious feeling. Unfortunately but scanty notices of this important event have been handed down to us, and it has therefore been supposed that few

pilgrims came to Rome to gain the proffered Indulgence. This, however, is a mistake. The Humanist Poggio, in one of his letters, complains that Rome was "inundated by Barbarians", that is to say, by non-Italians, who had thronged there for the Jubilee, and had "filled the whole City with dirt and confusion". The Chronicle of Viterbo also speaks of the great number of "Ultramontanes" who had hastened to Rome to gain the Jubilee Indulgence.

The following year brought St. Bernardine of Siena, one of the greatest saints and preachers of his age, to Rome. This hero of unworldliness and self-sacrificing charity had devoted himself to the care of the sick during the great plague of 1400, when he was but twenty. He afterwards preached penance to the Roman populace, who had grown wild and lawless during the absence of the Popes. A pure and saintly life gave double power to his words, and the success of his preaching was immense. Bloody feuds which had lasted for years, were brought to an end, atonement was made for great crimes, and hardened sinners were converted. "On the 21st June, 1424", writes the Secretary of the Senate, Infessura, "a great funeral pile of playing-cards, lottery tickets, musical instruments, false hair, and other feminine adornments, was erected on the Capitol, and all these things were burned". A few days later a witch was also unhappily burned, and all Rome crowded to the sight.

In 1427, St. Bernardine came again to Rome to clear himself of the charge of heresy, of which he had been accused to the Pope. The occasion was as follows: when the Saint entered a city, he had a banner carried before him on which the Holy Name of Jesus was painted, surrounded by rays. It was set up near the pulpit when he preached; sometimes also, when speaking of the Holy Name, he held in his hand a tablet, on which it was written in large letters visible to all. By his earnest persuasion many priests were induced to place the Name of Jesus over their altars, or to have it painted on the inner or outer walls of their Churches; and it was inscribed in colossal letters outside the Town Hall in many Italian Cities, as, for example, in Siena, where it is to be seen to this day. St. Bernardine's enemies had accused him to the Pope on account of this veneration paid to the Holy Name, misrepresenting the facts. As might have been expected, the investigation which Martin V instituted, resulted in his triumphant justification; the Pope permitted him to preach and display his banner wherever he chose. Moreover, in order to manifest his innocence the more clearly in Rome, where he had been slandered, the Pope himself, with his assembled clergy, made a solemn procession in honour of the Name of Jesus amidst universal rejoicings. He also commanded the Saint to preach in St. Peter's, and then in other Churches in the Eternal City. For eighty days St. Bernardine devoted himself to these Apostolic labours, which were crowned with the greatest success. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini afterwards Pope Pius II writes: "All Rome flocked to his discourses. He frequently had Cardinals, and sometimes even the Pope himself, amongst his audience, and all with one voice, bore witness to his marvellous power and success".

St. Bernardine can only be regarded as a passing guest in Rome, but St. Frances of Rome belonged completely to the Eternal City. Even before the days of Martin V, the charity of this noble Roman lady had been actively engaged in alleviating the miseries of her native City. The congregation which owes its origin to her zeal, and which still flourishes under the name of "Oblate di Tor de' Specchi", was founded in the year 1425, during the Pontificate of Martin V.

From her childhood, St. Frances had been in the habit of frequenting the old Church of Sta. Maria Nuova, at the Forum, which was served by the Benedictines of the Mount of Olives (Olivetans). In prosperity and adversity she had always kept up this



pious custom, and was daily to be found there in company with other Roman ladies of rank, her friends and imitators. Here one day she proposed to her companions that they should adopt a common rule of life, such as could be observed by people living in the world, and thus share in the merits of the Olivetans. The ladies welcomed the idea, and the General of the Order soon consented that, under the name of "Oblates of St. Mary", they should be affiliated to the monastery of Sta. Maria Nuova, and participate in the prayers and merits of the Monks. The deep veneration entertained for St. Frances by all her companions, the works of mercy which they performed in common, and their regular visits to the Church of Sta. Maria Nuova, where they received Holy Communion on all feasts of Our Lady, at first constituted their only bond of union.

Such was the origin of the congregation of the Oblate di Tor de Specchi, which was afterwards confirmed and solidly established by Eugenius IV. The name of Oblate has reference to the simple vow made by those who enter; the offering of themselves for works of piety; while the surname is derived from an extensive building at the foot of the hill of the Capitol, once the home of the Specchi family. St. Frances bought this house, and established the Community in it, and after the death of her husband, Lorenzo Ponziani, she humbly sought admission as an ordinary postulant into her own foundation. Notwithstanding her opposition, she was elected Superior. The Community lived in great poverty; the means which the first Oblates had brought with them were expended in the purchase of the house and the erection of a little chapel. St. Frances had indeed made over to the congregation two vineyards which she possessed outside the city, but the small return which they brought in bore little proportion to the needs of the Sisters, who went through the streets of the city and the hospitals like ministering angels, dispensing consolation and alms. Death overtook the Saint, not amidst her Oblates, but in her former palace in the Trastevere, where she had gone to take care of her son in his serious illness. Here, surrounded by a multitude of devout persons, she died, on the 9th March, 1440, at the age of fifty-six, after a life spent in prayer, contemplation, and works of mercy. The mortal remains of the "poor woman of Trastevere", as St. Frances loved to be called, were laid in Sta. Maria Nuova. In 1608, when she was canonized by Paul V, the Church took the name of Sta. Francesca Romana. Anyone who has been in Rome on the 9th March, and has visited her tomb, round which eighteen bronze lamps are burning, or gone to the venerable Convent of Tor de' Specchi, and seen the chamber with pointed windows which she inhabited for four years, and which is now a chapel, will be able to bear witness that the memory of this noble Roman lady and model Christian matron, is still deeply revered.

As soon as Martin V felt that his position in Italy was more firmly established, he turned his attention to the restoration of Papal supremacy abroad. The abolition in France and England of the Anti-Papal legislation, consequent on the confusion of the time, was one of his special objects, and in France his efforts were crowned with success. In February, 1425, the young King Charles VII published an Edict by which the rights of the Pope were completely restored. Martin V also zealously defended the liberties of the Church against the Governments of Portugal, Poland, and Scotland, and against the Republics of Venice and Florence. His energetic resistance to any interference with her rights was manifested when Charles of Bourbon, Count of Clermont, ventured to imprison Martin Gouge de Champagne, his Bishop. Almost as soon as the tidings reached the Pope he made the greatest efforts to procure the Prelate's liberation, and after a time he was successful. His resistance to the Conciliar movement was equally resolute.

According to the decisions of the Synod of Constance, Councils were henceforth to be held at appointed periods. The extraordinary remedy which had hitherto been employed only in desperate crises or at rare intervals, and which could prove beneficial only under such circumstances, was to be brought into constant use. Instead of once in a century, or, at most, once in fifty years, it was now to be resorted to every five or ten! The aim of this innovation was to substitute constitutional for monarchical government in the Church.

Martin V was absolutely opposed to any attempt of the kind, and from his point of view he was no doubt perfectly right. Erroneous ideas regarding the constitution and position of a Council were at this time widely diffused, threatening the very foundations of the Papal power, and it was his duty to consider how they might be set right. The endless disputes as to whether the Pope or the Council was to have the first place in the Church, and the pretensions of the Synods of Pisa and Constance to dictate to the Pope, had not only filled him with distrust, but inspired a real horror of the very name of a Council. He could not, however, venture openly to oppose the movement, and accordingly summoned a Council to meet in the year 1423 at Pavia. Circumstances were most unfavourable for such an assembly. England and France were engaged in a bloody conflict, Germany was laid waste by the Hussites, and war with the Moors was raging in Spain. It was evident that the Council, which opened at Pavia in April, 1423, could not be numerously attended. In June it had to be transferred to Siena, on account of an outbreak of the plague, and here it soon became plain that its purpose in regard to the Pope was identical with that of the Council of Constance, and that those principles and ideas which had so seriously imperilled the monarchical character of the government of the Church and the authority of the Pope, and had occasioned the deposition of John XXIII, were again asserting themselves. Matters were made yet worse by the hostile attitude of King Alfonso of Aragon, who endeavoured to incite the Council against the Pope. Martin V accordingly made the small attendance of Prelates and their divisions a pretext for suddenly dissolving it. On the 7th March, 1424, in the evening, his Legates secretly posted up a Decree, to the effect that by virtue of the Pope's authority it had been dissolved on the 26th of February, and that all Archbishops, Bishops, and others were strictly forbidden to attempt its continuance; and, having done this, they hastily left the city. Before the publication of the Decree, Basle had been selected as the place of meeting for a fresh Synod, and the Pope had confirmed the choice.

The Council of Basle was not to meet for seven years; a thorough reform of ecclesiastical affairs might in this interval have been undertaken, but Martin allowed the precious time to pass by almost in vain, as far as that important work was concerned. The reformatory Provisions of the Bull which he published on the 16th May, 1425, were certainly admirable, but they were far from being sufficient, and we do not hear that they were really carried into effect. In the pope's justification it-must indeed be alleged, that the restoration of the States of the Church fully occupied him, and that this restoration was a matter of urgent importance. The events of the preceding century, the consequences of the sojourn of the Popes at Avignon, had proved beyond all doubt the necessity that the Holy See should possess temporal sovereignty, and be established on its own territory. Yet In Rome itself at least, Martin V ought to have remedied the most crying abuses, and his negligence on this point can neither be excused nor denied.

The picture which confidential letters, especially the reports of Envoys of the Teutonic Order to their Superiors, the Grand Masters in Prussia, give of the state of things in Rome at this period, is a very gloomy one. In the year 1420, one of these

Envoys wrote to Prussia: "Dear Grand Master, you must send money, for here at the Court all friendship ends with the last penny". In another letter, the writer says that it is impossible to describe all the devices used in Rome to get money; that gold is the only friend and the only means for getting any business done. In a report of the year 1430 we read: "Greed reigns supreme in the Roman Court, and day by day finds new devices and artifices for extorting money from Germany, under pretext of ecclesiastical fees. Hence much outcry, complaining, and heart-burnings among scholars and courtiers; also many questions in regard to the Papacy will arise, or else obedience will ultimately be entirely renounced, to escape from these outrageous exactions of the Italians; and the latter course would be, as I perceive, acceptable to many countries"

It is possible that certain statements in these reports are to be rejected, or considered as exaggerated, yet on the whole, the picture they present must be a true one, for Swiss, Poles, and even Italians of that day have all borne similar testimony.

It has repeatedly been asserted that the Roman Court has assumed a more and more Italian character ever since the time of Martin V. This, however, is quite a mistake, for at the very period in question the composition of the Papal Court was eminently international, and may be said to have in this respect reflected the image of the Universal Church. Spain, France, England, Germany, and Holland are all represented. Even during the Avignon exile the international character of the Papal Court had not been completely lost. In one of the volumes containing the registers of Gregory XI we have a list, drawn up by his command, of the Court officials at Avignon at the time of the departure of the Court (September, 1376). The immense number of German names in this list is very remarkable. We are also indebted to two Germans in the Papal service, Dietrich von Nieheim and Gobelinus Persona, for the best descriptions of the changeful times of the Schism.

The number of foreigners in Rome in the time of Martin V was very large, and among them were a great many Germans, who held positions at the Papal Court and in various administrative and legal offices in the Chancery, Datary, Penitentiary, Apostolic Chamber and Rota. During the whole of the fifteenth century, foreigners — Netherlander, Frenchmen, and afterwards Spaniards— formed the majority in the Papal Chapel.

Some of the foreigners filled most influential positions; the important post of Master of the Sacred Palace (Counsellor of the Pope in all theological and legal questions), for example, was, from the time of Martin V to that of Calixtus III, held three times by a Spaniard, once by a German, Heinrich Kalteisen from the Rhenish provinces, and once by an Italian.

Hermann Dwerg (in Latin, Nanus), like Nieheim and Persona, of Westphalian origin, was Protonotary in the time of Martin V, and much esteemed at his Court. He enjoyed the special favour and confidence of the Pope, and, as Envoy of the Teutonic Order, was freely admitted to his presence during his illness, when even a Cardinal rarely ventured to appear. At the time of his death, on the 14th December, 1430, Dwerg had the reputation of being one of the richest, most influential, and most highly respected men in the Eternal City. But amidst all his riches he retained a spirit of evangelical poverty and was a most devout priest. His will, which is still preserved in his native town of Herford, bears witness to his piety, his pure love of God and of the Church, and his generous unselfishness. It also shows that all the splendour of his position beyond the Alps never alienated his heart from his German home. Beginning with a prayer, he desired that his funeral should be simple, and that no monument

should mark his resting-place; then he disposes of his property principally for the benefit of his native town and of the University of Cologne, in which he founds two scholarships, leaving a house in Herford and the sum of 10,000 florins to defray the expense. Another house which he possessed in Herford he appoints to be an asylum for the poor. He bequeaths 400 Rhenish dollars to each of the principal churches of his native town, as an endowment for a mass to be said in each, and to that of Saints John and Denis, in which, he says, "the bodies of my parents repose, 200 more". Two hundred dollars are to be employed in the completion of the tower of this church. His books are left to the church at Pusinna. His truly Catholic will concludes with these words, "Whatever is left over of my goods and possessions, my executors are to distribute secretly amongst the poor, remembering the account they will have to render to God"

The Germans were greatly favoured by Nicholas V as well as by Martin V. Nicholas V indeed deemed it impossible to do without them, and in 1451, when the plague had carried off almost all the German Abbreviators, he desired the Envoy of the Teutonic Order to bring before him the names of a number of his countrymen, whose virtues and abilities might fit them to fill the vacant posts.

The number of German tradesmen, artisans, and craftsmen, settled in Rome in the fifteenth century, strikes us as even more surprising than that of the officials employed in the Court. In the nineteenth century thousands of Germans yearly leave their homes for America; at that period, Italy, with its great and wealthy cities and, above all, Rome, exercised a similar attraction. We find Germans occupying all manner of positions in Rome; they were merchants, innkeepers, money changers, weavers, gold and silver-smiths, book copiers and illuminators, blacksmiths, bakers, millers, shoemakers, tailors, saddlers, furriers, and barbers. While German prelates occupied the highest positions at the Roman Court, German bankers and merchants, especially those from Bavaria and the Netherlands, became prominent in the commercial life of the city. The earliest printers in Rome were Germans.

That the German colony during the fifteenth century was extremely numerous and important is evidenced by the fact that the shoemakers of that nation formed a special guild, whose statutes were confirmed by Eugenius IV in 1439, and that even its journeymen bakers had a guild of their own. The Statute Book of the shoemakers, dating from the end of the fifteenth century, is still preserved. The ancient list of members up to the end of that century contains, according to Monsignor de Waal, one thousand one hundred and twenty names, to which, by the year 1531, one thousand two hundred and ninety more were added, so that within a century, more than two thousand four hundred shoemakers had entered the brotherhood. They had their special guildhall, with a chapel dedicated to Saints Crispin and Crispinianus, and to this day the stonework over the door bears the inscription "House of the true German Shoemakers". There were many more German than Italian master bakers settled in Rome at the beginning of the sixteenth century. They formed a joint guild, presided over by two Consuls, one of whom was German, and the other Italian. The journeymen, or "Peckenknechte", had also their confraternity with its special chapel in the Church of the Anima, and a chaplain of its own. In the year 1425 an agreement was drawn up between masters and journeymen, in regard to work and wages. At a later period they combined to found a "School", or guildhall, near the little Church of St. Elizabeth, where they henceforth assembled for the worship of God, and for consultation on matters affecting their common interests; they also erected a hospital there.

The Germans who sojourned for a while in Rome were far more numerous than those who actually made their home there. An historian, who has the merit of being the first to investigate the subject thoroughly, says that "No nation has in all times kept up such an intercourse with Rome as the Germans; no other has in peace and in war exercised such influence on the fate of the city and of the Papacy; an influence sometimes evil, but more often salutary and happy; no other has enjoyed so large a share of the paternal care and affection of the successors of St. Peter". Countless German pilgrims have left no trace behind them in Rome, but the authenticated number of those who visited the city of the seven hills in the fourteenth and fifteenth century is very considerable. In the Confraternity books of the Anima and of the Hospital of Sto. Spirito there are long lists of German names, some of them belonging to the highest ranks of society, and similarly, in the ancient Martyrology of St. Peter's, among the benefactors for whom anniversary services are to be held on appointed days, Germans are mentioned on almost every page, and also Bavarians and many Hungarians.

Considering the difficulties of the journey, the number of pilgrims who went to Rome in the fifteenth century is surprising. Many made the pilgrimage of their own free will, but in many cases it was imposed as a penance, or undertaken as such. Others, again, who had been at the Italian Universities and had there become acquainted with Romans of high position, afterwards followed them to the capital of Christendom. Then, if we also take into account Papal confirmations, nominations, dispensations, appeals, reserved cases, and absolutions, we may form some idea of the immense number of persons whom business attracted to Rome. Flavio Biondo, the Humanist, estimates the ordinary number of pilgrims to Rome during Lent or Eastertide at forty to fifty thousand, and at the time of a Jubilee they were much more numerous.

The immense intercourse of other nations with Rome was the origin of the many national foundations in the Eternal City for the reception and care of weary and sick pilgrims. The Popes bestowed many privileges and favours upon all these institutions. In Rome, the common home of all Christians, everyone was to feel welcome, and to find among his own fellow countrymen provision for all his temporal and spiritual necessities.

A survey of these various foundations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries shows the German nation again in the foremost place. The still flourishing Institutions of the Anima and the Campo Santo date from the fourteenth century.

The origin of the Pilgrim's Hostelry of Our Lady at the Campo Santo, near St. Peter's, is unfortunately wrapped in obscurity. Most probably it is the continuation of the ancient school of the Franks, which was founded by Charles the Great and Pope Leo III, on the southern side of St. Peter's, and whose church and buildings had gradually passed into the possession of its Chapter. Notwithstanding the change of ownership, which must have taken place during the Avignon period, the Canons of St. Peter's by no means denied the historical claim of the German nation to their ancient foundation, and made no difficulties when some Germans undertook the erection of a new hospice and church within the domain of the School of the Franks, but nearer the Basilica. They seem, indeed, to have made over to them the remains of some former buildings. The hospice was placed under the patronage of Our Lady. The end of the choir of its little church is still standing. More exact details regarding this hospice are not as yet forthcoming; the only information we possess is derived from a brief of Pope Calixtus III, in the year 1455, which says that Germans had founded it a long time before, in their solicitude for their fellow countrymen. Its origin has been assigned to the beginning of the fourteenth century, and even to the Jubilee year of 1300, but this is

uncertain. There is no doubt, however, regarding the foundation of a second German hospital in the interior of the City, in the Jubilee year, 1350. The Church of Sta Maria dell' Anima is familiar to all German visitors to Rome. Johann Peters, of Dortrecht, and the celebrated Dietrich von Nieheim were its real founders. The former, whose long residence in Rome in the service of Pope Boniface IX had given him every opportunity of knowing the needy and forlorn position of pilgrims, in the year 1386 made a vow that he would found a hospice for the Germans. To this object he devoted three houses which he possessed in the Rione Parione; the middle one was to be a chapel, and the other two for the separate lodging of men and women. The hospice owes its organization and the Papal approbation of the Brotherhood connected with it to Dietrich von Nieheim. He himself drew up its first statutes, and besides bestowing on it during his lifetime many gifts, left to it in his will seven houses, a vineyard, and other property.

Pope Boniface IX had granted an Indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines to all who should contribute to this benevolent work. The conditions were thus furnished for the erection of a Brotherhood, according to the common practice of the Middle Ages when a work of great general utility, especially if it had also a religious character, was to be accomplished. By the erection of the Confraternity which took place either at this time, or it may be previously, the supporters of the Anima entered into a bond of spiritual union, those who enjoyed the benefits of the hospice being bound to pray, or, if priests, to say Mass for its Founders and Benefactors. The Book of this Confraternity, a small folio of 291 pages, written on parchment, and bound in red leather, with a clasp, is still preserved in the Archives of the Anima. It begins in the year 1463 with names taken from older lists, and is continued until 1653. The number of members inscribed exceeds three thousand, more than a third part of whom were ecclesiastics, and about half belong to the fifteenth century.

The German Hospice of the Anima enjoyed the peculiar favour of Popes Innocent VII and Gregory XII; they confirmed its foundation, placed it under the protection of the Papal Vicar, and granted to it the parochial right of free burial and a special cemetery. On account of its increasing importance, its church was, during the reigns of Martin V and Eugenius IV, enlarged by the addition of the two houses which had hitherto served for the male and female pilgrims, and thus two aisles were added to the nave. It is evident that by this time further space must have been acquired so as to allow of this extension of the church, without prejudice to the accommodation for pilgrims; its property continued to increase, for in the year 1484 it owned twenty-two houses.

Other German foundations were also made in the fifteenth century. By a deed dated August 2nd, 1410, Nicolaus Herici, priest of the Diocese of Kulm and Chaplain of the Church of S. Lorenzo in Paneperna, gave two houses in the Rione Regola for the use of poor Germans. This hospice at first bore the name of St. Nicholas, and afterwards that of St. Andrew. In 1431 its administration was united with that of the Anima. In the middle of the century a Convent of German nuns of the Order of S. Francis was also founded in Rome, and rapidly became very flourishing. We must not close the list of German foundations without mention of the hospital near the Church of San. Giuliano de Fiaminghi, destined for the benefit of Flemings and Walloons, and dating from the days of the Crusades.

The other nations of Christendom also possessed, charitable institutions for their own pilgrims in the Eternal City. The little Church of St. Bridget, on the Piazza Farnese, preserves the memory of the House for Swedish Students and Pilgrims which the Saint established (d. 1373). The Bohemian Pilgrims' House, with St. Wenceslaus for its Patron, is about equally ancient, and it seems probable that Charles IV, when in Rome

for his coronation, first conceived the idea of its foundation; an old tradition indeed says that the hospice originally occupied the very house where, disguised as a pilgrim, he spent the last days of the Holy Week in 1355. The Document, however, which records its actual opening, bears date March, 1378, and informs us that in the year 1368, during his second sojourn in Rome, Charles IV had bought a spacious house, not far from the Campo di Fiore, and devoted it to the reception of all poor, needy, and sick pilgrims from Bohemia, Moravia, and Lower Silesia. The Papal Confirmation was not given till the 1st August, 1379, the delay being probably due to the troubled state of the times, which, together with the disturbances in Bohemia, brought about the ruin of this house. From an inscription which still exists, we learn that its restoration was undertaken by Heinrich Roraw in 1457.

The celebrated Dietrich von Nieheim built a house for poor priests from Ireland, and a national hospice for English pilgrims was founded in 1398, in the Via de Sta. Maria di Monserrato. This was changed into a college for the education of priests of that nation by Gregory XIII, as but few pilgrims came to Rome from England in his time. A noble Portuguese lady, Juana Guismar, who came to visit the holy places in Rome about the year 1417, established an institution for female pilgrims of her own nation. Twenty years later this hospice was enlarged by Cardinal Antonio Martinez de Chiaves, of Lisbon, and a church was built adjoining it under the title of St. Antonio de Portoghesi. The restoration of the Hungarian Pilgrims' House from a state of complete ruin had already been undertaken in the time of Martin V. In the Jubilee year of 1450, Alfonso Paradinas, Bishop of Rodrigo, erected a Spanish Hospital, which, with its Church, was dedicated to St. James the Apostle and St. Ildephonsus (San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli). In the neighbourhood of Chiesa Nuova was a hospital for pilgrims and sick persons from the Kingdom of Aragon, to which at this period Sicily belonged; it had been founded in 1330 by two pious ladies from Barcelona, and was subsequently united with the Hospital of San Giacomo. The little Church of San Pantaleone, near the Tiber, whose site is now occupied by the magnificent Church of St. John (San Giovanni de Fiorentini), was bestowed by the Chapter of San Celso on the Brotherhood of the "Pietà della nazione Fiorentina", a confraternity which had its origin during the terrible outbreak of the plague in 1448.

The generosity of Nicholas V provided for the erection of a church and hospital for the Dalmatians and Illyrians in 1453; this foundation (San Girolamo degli Schiavoni) was enlarged in the time of Sixtus IV and is still extant. At the prayer of Cardinal Alain, Calixtus III, in the year 1456, assigned a Church, Sant. Ivone de' Brettoni, to the Bretons, and a hospital for the sick and for pilgrims of that nation was afterwards built near it (151 1). It may here be observed that a number of new foundations, similar to these which we have mentioned, came into being in the time of Sixtus IV. Churches, attached to national hospices, were, during his Pontificate, granted to the Lombards, Genoese, French, and others. "There is," says one, acquainted with the Eternal City, "something beautiful in these National Churches. Far from fatherland, the wanderer, in meeting with so many, familiar names, feels that he is at home. In San Giovanni de' Fiorentini we are entirely surrounded by Florentines, in San Carlo al Corso by Lombards! in San Marco by Venetians, and in Santa Maria dell' Anima by Germans, and the subjects of the Low Countries. This peculiarity forms no small part of the charm of Rome".

The humanists who, during the time of Schism, had made their way into the Papal Court, formed a distinct, and in many ways incongruous, element in a body composed of ecclesiastics.

Personally, Pope Martin V. kept completely aloof from the movement. In order to understand the position which the representatives of the literary Renaissance nevertheless attained at his Court, we must remember that the Council of Constance had given an immense impulse to Humanism. The world had never before beheld an assembly at once so numerous and intellectually so brilliant, and this latter fact gave it a weight far beyond that derived merely from numbers. The opportunities of intercourse between learned and cultivated men, afforded by these Councils, exercised an important influence on general civilization, and especially on the Renaissance in literature. "The Council of Constance" as the Historian of Humanism observes, "inaugurates a new epoch in the history of the search throughout Europe for Manuscripts, while the impetus given to the interchange of thoughts between different nations by the two great Synods of Constance and Basle cannot be exaggerated. The dawn of Humanism, north of the Alps, date§ from this period"

Among the Papal Secretaries present at the Council of Constance were many Humanists. The most remarkable of them were the learned Greek, Manuel Chrysoloras, who, however, died (15 April, 1415) soon after his arrival; the well-known Lionardo Bruni who also was but a short time at the Council, and Poggio. Among the non-official Humanists who came to Constance, we may mention the Poet Benedetto da Piglio, Agapito Cenci, and the jurists, Pier Paolo Vergerio and Bartolomeo da Montepulciano. With the assistance of the two latter, Poggio, much wearied by the endless theological discussions, began to search the libraries of Reichenau, Weingarten, St. Gall, and other monasteries in the neighbourhood, for manuscript copies of the Latin classics. It is to the honour of Germany that these precious memorials of antiquity were preserved in some of her cloisters. The recommendations with which, as Papal Secretary, Poggio was furnished, enabled him to gain access to the most jealously-guarded collections, and to bring to light a number of classical masterpieces. The delight occasioned among his fellow-countrymen by these discoveries cannot be described, and the self-esteem in which the Humanists had never been deficient, was notably increased. This was manifested on the occasion of the Enthronement of Martin V, when they claimed precedence for the Secretaries over the Consistorial Advocates, and were, it appears, successful.

Evidently this action of the Humanistic Secretaries displeased the Pope, and it may have been one of the reasons why he never, in any way, favoured them. He certainly saw that they were necessary to him, and employed many of them in his service, which Poggio entered in the year 1423. The critical state of affairs at the opening of Martin's Pontificate had induced this remarkable man to seek his fortunes in England. His hopes were sadly disappointed, and, turning his back on the "land of Barbarians", he again repaired to Rome. Within a short time after his arrival there, he was able to inform his friends that he had found little difficulty in obtaining the position of Papal Secretary. It is hard to understand how Martin V, who was so exceedingly strict in regard to the moral conduct of his dependents, could admit a man of Poggio's character into his service. For the new Papal Secretary was what he had ever been. He himself tells us how, when the dull day's work at the Chancery was over, he and his friends amused themselves by telling disedifying stories. They called their meeting-place "the forge of lies", and we may form a fair estimate of Poggio from the fact that, at the age of fifty-eight, he published a selection of these anecdotes. The frivolous, absolutely heathen spirit of this partisan of the false Renaissance is but too plainly manifested in this work. With the exception of a few jests which are harmless, it is entirely made up of coarse innuendoes and scandalous and blasphemous stories. All



ecclesiastical things and persons are turned into ridicule; priests, monks, abbots, hermits, bishops, and cardinals appear in motley procession, and Poggio has a tale to tell of each. Naturally, the monks come off worst. Jokes and ribaldry of this description formed the evening amusement of the men whose pens were employed in the composition of the Papal Bulls and Briefs. When Valla produced his "Dialogue on Pleasure" in this circle, he knew his audience. These doings were carefully concealed from the Pope, whose name was by no means respected in their conversations. The reproach, however, remains, that such men were his servants and were retained in his employment. The improvement in the Latinity of the Papal documents was top dearly purchased at the cost of such scandal.

At the time of the re-organization of the Court, and even before Poggio had entered his service, Martin V. had nominated Antonio Loschi, Secretary. The selection of this man, who was repeatedly sent on embassies, was disastrous, for he, too, belonged to the false Renaissance.

The versatility of the Humanists made their position at Court more and more secure. They were of use on every occasion; in the composition of Bulls and Briefs as well as in that of purely political documents, at the receptions of Princes and Ambassadors, and when appropriate discourses were required, either for festival or funeral. It was thought well to treat men who rendered such varied services with extreme consideration.

By nominating a number of distinguished men to the Sacred College, and by effacing the last traces of the Schism Martin V conferred great benefits on Christendom. These two subjects demand a more detailed investigation.

The number of the Cardinals had greatly increased during the time of the Schism, for each one of the opposing Popes had formed a College of his own, and Popes and Anti-Popes alike had endeavoured to strengthen their positions by a liberal use of the hat. Urban VI, created sixty-three Cardinals, the Anti-Pope Clement VII, thirty-eight. The three successors of Urban VI appointed thirty-three; Benedict XIII, twenty-three; Alexander V and John XXIII, forty-four. Of all these there were but twenty-eight living at the time of the election of Martin V. This number, however, was in the opinion of the majority of the assembly at Constance, excessive; and with the view of increasing the power of the Sacred College so as to counterbalance that of the Pope, the Synod decided that for the future it should consist of twenty-four members. This measure was a decided attack on Papal rights, and was all the less justified, inasmuch as naturally the Cardinals, who had survived the stormy period of the Schism while the holder of the Papacy had been changed, had, unlike the Pope, become more powerful than ever. The regulations of the Council regarding the qualifications of Cardinals and the representation of the different nations in the highest senate of Christendom, were, however, beneficial.

Martin V, on whom devolved the difficult task of doing justice to the Cardinals of both obediences, and who also received into the Sacred College five former adherents of Benedict XIII, was so moderate in making appointments that at the time of his death there were but nineteen Cardinals. Although fully resolved to do away with their undue ascendancy, he from the first proceeded in this matter, as in all others, with the greatest prudence. Almost six years elapsed before any creation took place (July 23rd, 1423), and the names of the two then chosen for the dignity, Domingo Ram and Domenico Capranica, were only made known in a secret Consistory to the Cardinals: the publication was reserved till a later period, and accordingly in the open Consistory no

mention was made of the creation. Three years later, on the 24th May, 1426, Martin V. for the second time created Cardinals. On this occasion the nomination of Ram and Capranica was confirmed, and Prospero Colonna and Giuliano Cesarini were created. The Consistorial decree concerning this secret nomination is extant, and is signed by all the Cardinals; it expressly provides that in case the Pope should die before the publication of these four Cardinals, this is to be considered as equivalent to publication, and they are to be admitted to take part in the election of his successor. The Pope personally informed Capranica of his nomination, but strictly forbade him in any way to let his elevation be known. In order, however, to set him completely at ease on the subject, he admitted him to the ceremony of kissing the feet followed by the customary embrace from the older Cardinals. Of the ten new Cardinals actually published on the 24th May, 1426, three were French (Jean de la Rochetaillée, Louis Allemand, and Raymond Mairose, Bishop of Castres), and three Italian (Antonio Cassini, Ardicino della Porta, and Niccolo Albergati). The others were an Englishman (Henry Beaufort), a German (Johann von Bucca, Bishop of Olmütz), a Spaniard (Juan Cervantes), and a Greek (Hugo of Cyprus).

Even before his creation of Cardinals in 1426, Martin V had published admirable regulations for the reform of the Sacred College, which at that time was composed of Prelates who had belonged to three different obediences. In order that their light may again shine before the world, and that they may be fit for the management of the affairs of the Church, this Constitution exhorts the Cardinals to be distinguished above all other men by moral purity; to live simple, upright, holy lives, avoiding not only evil, but even the appearance of evil; to walk humbly, and not to be haughty in their bearing towards other Prelates or priests. They are to govern their households with due care, and to see that their retainers are chaste and honourable in their conduct. They are not to seek after Court favour, or the patronage of Princes, but, undistracted by worldly interests, to consecrate themselves with their whole souls to the service of God.

That such admonitions should be needed implied the existence of deplorable abuses in the highest Senate of the Church. How, indeed, could it have been otherwise? The Schism had disorganized the Sacred College, and produced a baneful spirit of independence. Martin V's projected restoration of the Papal power naturally involved a change in this state of things, but, if we are to rely on the account— given by an Envoy of the Teutonic Order, it would seem that the Pope went too far in his endeavours to repress the autonomy of the Cardinals. In a letter written in 1429, this Envoy gives the following particulars regarding his audience of the Pope: — "When the Lord Bishop of Courland presented me to the Pope and to the Cardinals, they received me kindly and gave me good words; but little or nothing followed, for when the a opponents of the Order came to them, they give them the same. Five Cardinals : de Ursinis, Arelatensis, de Comitibus, who was Protector of the Order and is now Legate at Bologna, Rhotomagensis, and Novariensis, are well inclined towards it and towards myself personally. But they dare not speak before the Pope, save what he likes to hear, for the Pope has so crushed all the Cardinals that they say nothing in his presence except as he desires, and they turn red and pale when they speak in his hearing". This treatment was resented by the Cardinals, and its evil consequences became manifest immediately after the death of Martin V.

Early in November, 1430, Martin's last creation of Cardinals took place. A Spaniard (Juan Casanova) and a Frenchman (Guillaume de Montfort) were nominated, and Ram, Prospero Colonna, Cesarini, and Capranica were published. The titular Churches of the last four were San. Giovanni e Paolo, San. Giorgio in Velabro, St.

Angelo in Pescaria, and Sta. Maria in Via Lata. As it was the custom to send the red hat only to Cardinals occupying important legations, Capranica, who was at this time Legate in Perugia, did not receive it. Authentic evidence regarding these proceedings is preserved; nevertheless, more recent historians have involved them in the greatest perplexity. To this circumstance was due the difficulty experienced by Capranica in inducing Eugenius IV, after the death of Martin V, to recognize his position as Cardinal. This Pope, influenced by his enemies and falsely advised, denied him his dignity, and he was forced to repair in haste to the Council of Basle to assert his rights.

The action of Eugenius was unjust, and all the more unfortunate, inasmuch as notwithstanding his youth, Capranica was one in every respect worthy to be a member of the Sacred College. All his contemporaries are unanimous in their praise of this noble Roman, who combined deep piety with great learning. In the course of this history we shall often have to refer to his valuable services. He died at the very moment when his elevation to the Papacy was a certainty. Had Martin V created no Cardinal but Capranica, the highest praise would still be due to him, but all the others whom he raised to the purple were worthy of the dignity. "Martin V", says a writer who is generally little ready to speak in favour of a Pope, "has the real merit of having placed in the Sacred College men whose virtue or culture soon won high esteem in the Church".

Among the Cardinals appointed by Martin V, Giuliano Cesarini undoubtedly stands next to Capranica in regard to talent and capacity. Cesarini (born 1389, d. 1444), like many a great man, raised himself from poverty by his own industry. His biographer, Vespasiano da Bisticci, tells us that, when a student at Perugia, he lived on alms and collected candle-ends in order to be able to study by night. After taking his Doctor's degree, he became Professor of Canon Law at Padua; Capranica, only his junior by two years, and Nicholas of Cusa were amongst his pupils. Cardinal Branda, in whose house he lived, brought him to Rome, where he soon won the favour of Martin V. The Pope proved his high esteem by entrusting to him two tasks of exceptional difficulty: that of inducing the German Princes to undertake a Crusade against the Hussites, and that of presiding as Legate at the Council of Basle. "In Cesarini", to quote the biographer of Pius II, "were united all the natural gifts and all the talents which mark the born ruler. Admiration was his, although he sought it not. A lasting impression was made on everyone who approached him, and there was an irresistible charm in his intellectual and beautiful features. He was grave and dignified in the presence of Princes, affable and genial with men of low degree. In social intercourse, the Cardinal seemed to give place to the man, and in the discharge of the high duties of his office, the man of the world, to the Prelate. His zeal for the Faith and for the Church, and his courteous manners, his deep and solid learning and his humanistic culture, his impassioned eloquence and the easy flow of his conversation, seemed each in turn to be a part of his nature". Vespasiano da Bisticci cannot say enough in praise of his piety and purity of life. From him we learn that the Cardinal always slept in a hair shirt, fasted every Friday on bread and water, spent part of every night with his chaplain in the church, and every morning went to confession and said Mass.

Cesarini's generosity was boundless; he gave all he had for the love of God, and no one went away from him unheard. The remembrance of his own early hardships made him take a special interest in poor and gifted youths. He sent them at his expense to study at Perugia, Bologna, or Siena, and provided in the most ample manner for all their needs. As Cesarini would not accept any benefice besides his Bishopric of Grosseto, the exercise of such liberality would have been impossible but for the

simplicity of his own mode of life. More than one dish never appeared on his table; the wine which he drank was but coloured water. His care for his household was most touching. On one occasion when all its members at once were taken ill, he went to see them all every morning and evening, to make sure that no one wanted for anything. Even the stable-boy was daily honoured by the Cardinal's visit. He was full of the most ardent zeal for all the interests of the Church, especially for reform, for the conversion of Jews and heretics, and for the union of the Greeks. Cardinal Branda used to say that if the whole Church were to become corrupt, Cesarini by himself would be able to reform it. "I have known a great many holy men", says the worthy Vespasiano da Bisticci, "but among them none who was like Cardinal Cesarini; for five hundred years the Church has not seen such a man!"

An essential feature in the description of Cesarini would be wanting if we omitted all mention of his relation to Humanism. Like Capranica, he was a warm friend of classical studies. "To them" it has been said, "he owed those graces of mind and speech which so enhanced his physical advantages". Cicero, Lactantius, and St. Augustine were his models. Cesarini was overwhelmed with business, and he was poor — even after he had been promoted to the purple. Vespasiano da Bisticci saw him sell duplicates from his library in order to give alms; consequently it was impossible for him to come forward as the generous patron of Humanism, but his interest in these studies was so great that even on his journeys as Legate he found time to search diligently for old manuscripts. This we learn from Cardinal Albergati, who shared his tastes.

Niccolò Albergati, though less cultivated than Cesarini, held constant intercourse with the partisans of the new studies, and did what he could to further them. Filelfo, Poggio, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, and especially Tommaso Parentucelli, enjoyed his favour. Albergati, who had entered the austere Carthusian Order and afterwards become Bishop of his native city, Bologna, was a model of all priestly and episcopal virtues. When created a Cardinal, in his humility he assumed no armorial bearings, but simply a cross, an example which was followed by his old companion, Parentucelli, on his elevation to the Papacy. The high dignity to which Albergati had been promoted did not interfere with his observance of his Rule. He slept upon straw, never ate meat, wore a hair shirt, and rose at midnight to pray. "Entrusted with numerous and arduous Embassies, this Cardinal furnished an example of the combination of the greatest prudence in difficult matters of worldly policy with a perfect uprightness and integrity of character".

Antonio Correr, Cardinal of Bologna, was also a man of great worth. To quote the words of Vespasiano da Bisticci, "Messer Antonio, of the House of Correr, a nobleman, and nephew of Pope Gregory XII, led a holy life, and, like Pope Eugenius, in his youth entered a religious Order in an island of Venice called San Giorgio in Alga. He was led to take this step by the boundless zeal for the Christian Faith and for his own salvation, which filled his soul. After he had spent many years in the Order, it came to pass that his uncle was elected Pope (1406) and determined to make him a Cardinal, although he would not leave his monastery for anything in the world. At last, being constrained by the Pope, he consented on one condition: this was that Messer Gabriel (Condulmaro), who afterwards became Pope Eugenius, should also receive the purple, and the Pope agreed that it should be so for his sake. After both had become Cardinals, Messer Antonio and all who belonged to his household lived most virtuously and were a pattern to others. The Cardinal held, as benefices, two abbeys, one in Padua and the other in Verona. In both of these he introduced the Observance of the rule and gave a part of the revenues to the monks, reserving to himself only what was needed for his

support. He also provided that, after his death, both should belong to the religious, free from all charges. He lived in piety and holiness to the age of eighty, and when Pope Eugenius returned from Florence to Rome, resolved to leave the Court and retire to his Abbey at Padua. After he had dwelt there for some time, he undertook to set his affairs in order. Year by year he had kept an account of the sums which he drew from his benefices. One day he summoned to his dwelling the Procurators of the two monasteries and caused all his property to be gathered together in a great hall; he had an inventory taken of his plate, books, household furniture, and even of his clothes, and every separate article valued. After this had been done he sent for his account books, in which the revenues received from his benefices were entered, and, by his command, a list of the objects before him, with their valuation, was written at the opposite side of the page. He then told one of the Procurators that he might take the books and half of the silver plate and of the other objects, as he had arranged them. He addressed the like request to the other Procurator, with the words: 'Take and carry away what belongs to you'. In this manner, before leaving the apartment, he disposed of all his goods, and kept nothing but a chalice, a vestment, and four silver vessels. After all this was finished, he said to the Fathers of the two monasteries: 'I have had various goods delivered to you whose value amounts to so much; so much have I drawn from the benefices bestowed upon me. If I had more, I would give it to you; have patience with me and pray to God for me. The monks were above measure astonished at the Cardinal's action, and thanked him most warmly. But he rose from his seat and said: 'Thanks be to God for that which He has ordered'. Lords and Prelates may learn from this Cardinal that it is better for a man himself to do what is to be done than to entrust it to his heirs. He lived four months after this distribution of his property. He paid his servants their wages every month and gave them clothing twice a year. He would not be a burden to anyone, and left bequests to his servants and for pious purposes as his conscience suggested. He ended his days like a Saint. I learned all this from his nephew, Messer Gregorio, who was present at the division of his property and deserves all credit. Such Prelates of God's Church are worthy of everlasting remembrance".

It was of inestimable importance to the Church to have again men of such piety, learning, and activity, employed in the Supreme Council of the Pope, "men who were convinced that they were bound by their own example to quash the accusations made against the clergy, and to meet the ever-increasing pressure of the new intellectual culture, by themselves taking part in the restoration of classical literature and of the sciences".

Besides those of whom we have spoken, Humanism had other patrons in the Sacred College. Honourable mention is due to Branda Castiglione, Cardinal of Piacenza, a man noted for his simplicity, and to the nephew of Martin V, Cardinal Prospero Colonna. The latter possessed a library of some importance, and to him Poggio dedicated his table-talk regarding avarice, a sure sign that among men of letters he was not notorious for this vice.

But the most zealous promoter of literature and art in the Rome of that day was the rich Cardinal Giordano Orsini. He had pictures of the Sibyls painted on the walls of his reception-room, with inscriptions containing their prophecies of Christ. He spared no trouble or cost in forming a valuable collection of manuscripts of the Greek and Latin classics. Amongst other treasures which it included were the *Cosmography* of Ptolemy, acquired by the Cardinal in France, and a precious Codex, with twelve hitherto unknown Comedies of Plautus, purchased from Nicholas of Treves, a German dealer in manuscripts. The Cardinal himself endeavoured to restore the corrupt text of these

Comedies, and intended to publish them, with some verses composed by Antonio Loschi. Poggio, who on this account was denied access to the manuscript, revenged himself by describing the Cardinal as a selfish hoarder of treasures which he could not appreciate. Time, however, proved that the judgment of the irritable philologist was unfounded. Before his death (1438), Cardinal Orsini devoted his literary treasures to the general good, by making them over to the library of St. Peter's. There were in all 254 Codices, most of them extremely valuable. Considering the unwearied labour and the large amount of money expended in the formation of this collection, the high praise bestowed on the Cardinal by Lapo da Castiglionchio, in the dedication of his translation of a Biography of Plutarch, is not unfounded. "In the irreparable loss", he says, "which we have suffered by the destruction of so many works of antiquity, my only comfort is that Providence has bestowed you upon our age. You are the first for many centuries, who has endeavoured to revive the Latin tongue and in great measure succeeded. In your declining years, you have undertaken most costly and dangerous journeys to far distant places, in order to find the buried treasures of antiquity. You alone have rescued many great men of former days from oblivion, and have brought to light not only unknown works of known authors, but also works by writers whose names we had never yet heard or read. By your exertions such a multitude of useful writings have been brought together as are enough to give occupation to the learned men of more than one city".

The crowning point of Martin V's work of restoration was the removal of the last traces of the unhappy Schism, and his labours for this object were unwearied and widespread. The Spanish peninsula necessarily claimed his chief attention: Benedict XIII had died at Peñiscola in the November of 1424, clinging to the very end to his usurped dignity. One of the last acts of this obstinate man had been the appointment of four new Cardinals; in 1425 three of these, probably instigated by King Alfonso, elected Aegidius Muñoz, a Canon of Barcelona, who called himself Clement VIII. To complete the Comedy of the Schism, Jean Carrer, a Frenchman and one of Benedict XIII's Cardinals, on his own independent authority, elected a new Pope, who took the name of Benedict XIV. Both of these elections were ridiculous rather than dangerous, and Clement VIII would, like Benedict XIV, have vanished from the page of history, leaving no trace behind, had not political circumstances given him an importance which by no means belonged to him as an individual. Alfonso V of Aragon was a bitter enemy of Martin V, because the Pope did not support his pretensions to the Kingdom of Naples, but acknowledged his rival Louis of Anjou. Clement VIII was a useful tool in Alfonso's hands for the purpose of causing constant annoyance to the Pope. Reconciliation with this monarch was an indispensable preliminary to the extirpation of the Anti-Papal succession, but the prospect in this direction was at first very discouraging.

As early as January, 1425,\* before the election of Clement VIII, Martin V had entrusted Cardinal Pierre de Foix, a very skilful diplomatist, and a relation of Alfonso's, with an Embassy to Spain. But the King of Aragon had assumed an attitude which at once rendered all negotiations impossible. He forbade his subjects to hold any intercourse with Rome, prohibited the publication of Papal Bulls, and let the Cardinal-Legate know that in the event of his presuming to enter his Kingdom, he would have his head cut off. The Anti-Pope was, by the command of Alfonso, solemnly crowned.

The rupture with Rome was thus made definite. It was then expected that the Governments of France and England, who were much irritated against Martin V regarding the question of the Council, would join the new Schism. The Pope and his

court were in consternation. Happily this danger was averted, and Count Jean d'Armagnac alone took part in the revival of the deplorable Schism of Peniscola.

On the 15th July, 1426, Martin V summoned King Alfonso to Rome to answer for his support of the Anti-Pope and his other attacks on the liberty of the Church. This measure did not fail to produce an effect. Alfonso perceived that many, even among his own subjects, disapproved of his schismatical position and dreaded excommunication and interdict. The wary King may also have seen that he could only be a loser by his isolation from the rest of Europe, and that, in the end, more was to be gained from Martin V than from the powerless Clement VIII. He accordingly sent an Embassy to Rome and promised to admit the Legate into his kingdom. Cardinal de Foix hereupon undertook his second mission to Spain, and was received with all honour. His ability and wise moderation, seconded by the efforts of King Alfonso's Secretary, Alfonso (Alonso) de Borja, succeeded in the year 1427 in laying the foundations of an agreement between him and Martin V. The Cardinal then returned to Rome to give an account of his proceedings, bringing the Pope letters from the King, in which he declared himself ready to render obedience and to forsake the Schism. The outbreak of the plague in Rome, in 1428, caused some delay in the negotiations, but early in the year 1429 Cardinal de Foix went a third time to Aragon and brought the whole affair to a happy conclusion. The King made complete submission, and called on Clement VIII to resign, which he readily did (26th July, 1429). The pseudo-Cardinals solemnly went into conclave at Peñiscola, and elected Martin V Pope, and so this attempt at a Schism ended as absurdly as it had begun. Count Jean d'Armagnac, whom Pope Martin V had excommunicated in 1429, made his submission and was absolved in the following year. And thus Martin V succeeded in completely restoring the unity of the Church after it had been, for two and fifty years rent by Schism.

His Pontificate, although marked by this happy event, was in other respects by no means unclouded. The affairs of Bohemia, where the Hussite heresy had widely spread, caused him grave anxiety. Before the dissolution of the Council of Constance he called alike upon the dignitaries of the Church and upon the Secular Authorities to enforce the legal penalties against this heresy. On the 1st March, 1420, he published a Bull in Florence, calling all Christendom to arms for the "extirpation of the Wycklifites, Hussites and other heretics". Martin V held to his purpose of overcoming the Bohemians by force with all the tenacity and persistency of his nature, and would not hear of negotiations with these heretics, who constituted a danger not only to the Church, but to the very foundations of civil society.

The complete failure of the Crusade against the Hussites, and its result in stimulating the demand for the Council which was so greatly dreaded by the Pope is a matter of history. The pressure began towards the end of the year 1425, when Ambassadors from the King of England appeared before Martin V, praying and requiring that, within a year at furthest, he would open the Council at Basle, undertake the reform of the Church, and appear in person with all his Cardinals. At this audience, an English Prelate said bluntly to the Pope: If the abuses of the Church are not removed by your Holiness, the necessary reforms will be taken in hand by the secular powers. On the 17th December, the Pope answered the Ambassadors in a Consistory, defended the course of action which he had hitherto pursued, and declared that it was not now opportune to shorten the period decided upon at Siena. In July, 1426, it was reported that an Embassy from the French King had gone to Rome to demand the holding of the Council. Subsequently the Dominican, Giovanni di Ragusa, came to Rome for the same object.

In face of this pressure, which was not always sincere, Martin V's attitude was one of the greatest reserve. Long consultations were daily held by the Cardinals in the latter part of the year 1429, but he uttered not a word on the subject. The party which looked on the Council as the universal remedy for all evils became more and more uneasy. The Council became almost a mania, especially among the learned men of the universities. With many of them, indeed, the object was, not the return of the Bohemians to the Faith or the reform of the Church, but a transformation of her constitution to the prejudice of the Papacy, and this it was that alarmed Martin V.

The most unscrupulous measures were employed by this party. On the morning of the 8th of November, 1430, placards were posted up on the Papal Palace and on many other public places in Rome, asserting the necessity of the Council, and threatening the Pope, that if he did not shortly summon it, obedience would be withdrawn and he would be deposed. The sensation caused was immense; no one knew who were the authors of the placards, although mention was made in them of two princes, by whose desire they were put up. According to Giovanni di Ragusa, from this time forth the friends of the Council in Rome became more confident, and urged the matter on the Pope himself. On the 1st January, 1431, he appointed Cardinal Cesarini Legate of the Apostolic See for the forthcoming crusade against the Hussites. A month later he also decided that this Cardinal, who was on the side of reform, should preside over the Council at Basle, from the moment of its meeting, and should undertake its guidance. Two Bulls were prepared for Cesarini, the first of which authorized him to open the Council and preside over it; and the second, in case of necessity, to dissolve it or transfer it to another city. The latter Bull, which has come down to us through Giovanni di Ragusa clearly indicates the attitude which Martin V intended to assume towards the Council. He justly apprehended further encroachments on the Papal authority, which had already been seriously impaired by the Schism, but before the necessity for extreme measures had arisen, he died of apoplexy on the 29th February, 1431.

Martin V, "the second founder of the Papal Monarchy, and the Restorer of Rome" was buried in the Lateran, where his monument, erected in the time of Eugenius IV, is still to be seen, with his effigy in bronze and an inscription from the pen of the Humanist, Antonio Loschi, who describes him as "the happiness of his age" (*temporum suorum felicitas*).

This praise is not unmerited, for whatever Martin may have had to answer for in the way of inordinate love for his relations and of evasion of the demands for reform, it is certain that during the period of his Pontificate, Rome and the States of the Church enjoyed an amount of prosperity which had not been their lot for more than a century before his accession, and which contrasted favourably with their condition in the troubled reign of his successor. This Colonna, who was highly endowed with a peculiar capacity for ruling, a keen understanding, political sagacity and determination, has the unquestioned merit of inaugurating the restoration of the spiritual and temporal power of the Papacy after years of confusion; of giving back to the Eternal City her ancient splendour, and to the States of the Church their importance, and of procuring for them a golden age of peace. This is undoubted, even though we may agree with Cardinal Aegidius of Viterbo, in lamenting that from henceforth virtue was too often sacrificed to the acquisition of power and wealth.



## CHAPTER II

## EUGENIUS IV, 1431-1447

The failings of Martin V entailed much suffering on his successor, the virtuous and austere Eugenius IV. A reaction against the mode of government of the departed Pope, whose rigour towards his Cardinals and whose favour towards his kindred had been alike excessive, began in the Conclave. The Cardinals sought once for all to protect themselves from the possibility of treatment such as they had experienced, by drawing up a kind of Capitulation, in which rules for the conduct of the future Pope were laid down. It was not the first time that such an attempt had been made, for a document is still preserved in which the Cardinals assembled in Conclave in 1352 imposed conditions on the Pope about to be elected! After making a certain provision for the maintenance of his dignity, they assigned to themselves all emoluments, and to him all charges. Innocent VI, the able Pontiff who came forth from this Conclave, and who had himself, as Cardinal, subscribed the Capitulation, annulled it as uncanonical, because the Cardinals in Conclave had gone beyond their powers in drawing it up, and as rash, because it ventured to limit by human statutes and definitions that plenitude of power which God Himself had committed to the Holy See, independently of all foreign will or consent. The attempts of the College of Cardinals to provide themselves with a kind of Golden Bull were thus frustrated, three years before Charles IV bestowed one on the German Electors.

The Capitulation of 1431 went, in some respects, even further than that which had been framed before the election of Innocent VI. The Pope, according to its terms, was to reform the Roman Court "in its Head and its members", and not to transfer it to another place without the consent of the majority of the Sacred College; he was to hold a General Council, and by its means to reform the whole Church; in the appointment of Cardinals, he was to observe the prescriptions laid down at Constance; he was not to proceed against the person or property of any one of the Cardinals without the consent of the majority of the body, nor to diminish their power of testamentary disposition. Moreover, all vassals and officials of the States of the Church were to swear fealty to the Sacred College, which was to possess the half of all the revenues of the Roman Church, and the Pope was not to undertake any important measure in regard to the States of the Church without its assent.

These articles, which Eugenius IV immediately published in a Bull, gave a new government to the States of the Church and materially limited the temporal power of the Pope. But the altered state of things, was of short duration.

According to the description given by Vespasiano da Bisticci, Pope Eugenius was tall, of a handsome and imposing presence, thin, grave, and dignified in his bearing. He made such an impression on those around him that they hardly ventured to look at him. During his sojourn at Florence he seldom went out, but when he appeared in public, his aspect inspired such reverence that most of those who beheld him shed tears. "I remember", continues this writer, "that once, at Florence, during the time of his exile,

Pope Eugenius stood on a tribune erected near the entrance to the monastery of Sta. Maria Novella, while the people, who filled the Piazza and the neighbouring streets, gazed on him in silence. When the Pope began the 'Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini' nothing was heard but loud sobbing, so overwhelming was the impression made by the majesty and the piety of the Vicar of Christ, who, in truth, seemed to be He whom he represented".

Vespasiano further informs us that Eugenius' manner of life was most simple; he drank no wine, but only water with sugar and a little cinnamon. His repast consisted of one dish of meat, with vegetables and fruit, both of which he liked; he had no fixed hour for meals, so his servants always kept something ready for him. He willingly granted audiences when his business was done; was very generous, and gave alms most bountifully; accordingly, he was always in debt, for he did not value money and kept nothing for himself. One day a poor Florentine citizen, Felice Brancacci, appealed to the Pope for assistance. Eugenius sent for a purse filled with florins and bid him take as many as he liked. As the man timidly took but a few, the Pope laughed and said: "Take plenty; I give you the money gladly". He parted with money as soon as he received it.

Four monks and a secular priest, all of them excellent men, were constantly with the Pope. Two of the monks were Benedictines, and two belonged to his own Order, that of the Augustinian Hermits. He recited the Divine Office with them daily, rising regularly for matins. When he awoke from his sleep, he had one of the books which lay near his bed given to him, and read for an hour or two, sitting up, with the book lying on a cushion before him between two candles. The sanctity of his life won universal veneration. Some of his relations came to him but they received no part of the temporal goods of the Church, for he held that he could not give away that which did not belong to him.

Nevertheless, the Pontificate of Eugenius IV was not a happy one. His hasty and over-violent measures against the relations of his predecessor at once involved him in a serious contest with the powerful house of Colonna, during which a conspiracy to surprise the Castle of St. Angelo by a nocturnal attack was discovered and suppressed in Rome.

Almost as soon as this sanguinary struggle had been concluded and the pride of the Colonnas humbled, fresh disturbances of a far more dangerous character broke out.

The attendance at the Council which had been opened at Basle on the 23rd of July, 1431, was very scanty, and on the 18th of December, in the same year, Eugenius IV issued a Bull dissolving it, and transferring it to Bologna, where it was again to meet after the lapse of a year and a half. Incorrect information and fear of the growing power of Councils induced the Pope to take this momentous step, which was a grievous mistake, prematurely revealing his extreme distrust of the Council, before any act or decision of that body had occurred to justify it. Those who were assembled at Basle evaded the public reading of the Bull of Dissolution on the 13th of January by absenting themselves from the place of meeting, and, on the 21st of the month, published an Encyclical Letter, addressed to all the faithful, announcing their determination "to continue in the Council, and, with the assistance of the Holy Spirit, to labour at the task committed to it". The secular powers at once came forward and promised the little Assembly their aid and protection, the menaces of Eugenius were unheeded, and the partisans of the Synod became more numerous. At this epoch the idea of a General Council exercised a strange fascination on men's minds. He was looked upon as the

cure for all the ills of the Church. If the disastrous Schism had been happily healed by this means, would it not be equally efficacious in the matter of reform?

The great victory gained by the Hussites at Taus, in which the cross of the Legate Cesarini and the Papal Bull proclaiming the Crusade fell into the hands of the heretics, had the effect of giving fresh weight and power to the Council. The humiliating defeat of the Crusading army produced a general and most painful impression, and contributed more than anything had yet done to strengthen and extend a conviction of the futility of the line of action hitherto pursued against the Bohemians, and of the necessity, not merely of ecclesiastical reform, but of amicable negotiation with the Hussites. These two measures seemed practicable only by means of the Council, and therefore the gifted Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini urged the Pope to recall the Bull which dissolved it — unfortunately his efforts were in vain, for Eugenius would not yield. In order to defend themselves from the Pope, the members of the Synod of Basle who were sure of King Sigismund's protection proceeded to reassert the revolutionary resolutions by which the Council of Constance had been declared superior to the Pope (February 15, 1432). Measures of a yet more hostile character soon followed. On the 29th of April the Pope and his Cardinals were formally summoned to Basle, and threatened with proceedings for contumacy, in the event of their failure to appear within a period of three months. This was a decided step towards the revolution, for which Nicholas of Cusa sought to furnish a scientific justification in his treatise "On Catholic Unity". An order published on the 26th of September, 1432, facilitated its accomplishment, by admitting representatives of the lower ranks of the clergy to the Council in such overwhelming numbers, that the higher ecclesiastics were completely deprived of that moderating influence in such assemblies which undoubtedly belonged to them.

It is impossible to justify the course taken by the Synod of Basle, which soon overstepped all bounds in its opposition to Eugenius IV. At Constance, doubts regarding the legitimacy of one or other of the Popes may in some degree have excused adherence to the false theories by which a way of escape from an intolerable position was sought. The Basle Assembly now extended the Decrees to the case of an undoubted Pope, whose position was universally acknowledged. In its resistance to him, it assumed the proud title of an Ecumenical Council, assembled and enlightened by the Holy Spirit, and endeavoured to make the extraordinary power, which the Synod of Constance had exercised under the pressure of extraordinary circumstances, a precedent of general application. The pretension of a handful of prelates and doctors to represent the whole Catholic Church, would at other times have been ridiculed; now, they might count on success, partly because of the confusion of opinion on such matters due to the Schism, and partly because of the credit which Court favour and effectual negotiations with the Hussites had won for their Assembly. The danger which threatened the Papacy and the Church was of incalculable magnitude, for if the Basle resolutions were carried into effect, the overthrow of the divinely-established constitution of the Church was inevitable; the Vicar of Christ became merely the first official of a Constitutional Assembly. If priests dealt in a similar manner with their Bishops and the faithful with their priests, the dissolution of the whole Church would be the necessary consequence.

The Synod had entered on a course which was leading to a new Schism, and this was clearly perceived in Rome.

The gravity of the whole position, the continued excitement in the States of the Church, combined with the opposition to the Pope's line of conduct which had arisen in the Sacred College, at last induced Eugenius IV to yield, and to enter into negotiations with the Council. Its overweening pretensions would have frustrated all attempts to

arrange matters, had it not been for the exertions of Sigismund, who was crowned Emperor at Rome on the 31st May, 1433. The Pope recalled the Decree dissolving the Council, and, reserving his own rights and those of the Apostolic See, acknowledged it as Ecumenical in its origin and proceedings (15th December, 1433), in a Bull which, although it went to the utmost possible limit of concession, did not expressly confirm the Anti-Papal resolutions previously adopted by the Synod. This Bull was, so to speak, extorted from the Pope by the extreme dangers which at the time threatened his position in Italy.

The very soul of all the Anti-Papal conspiracies was Duke Filippo Maria Visconti, of Milan. The Venetian Pope had incurred the hatred of this tyrant from the very beginning of his reign, by showing favour to his enemies the Republics of Venice and Florence. Eugenius' contest with the Council furnished the Duke of Milan with a welcome opportunity of avenging himself on the Pope, by inducing his Condottieri Niccolò Fortebraccio and Francesco Sforza to invade the unquiet States of the Church. Both of these leaders professed to be acting by the command of the Council of Basle. Fortebraccio, supported by the Colonna family, made a rapid advance to the very gates of Rome; Eugenius fled to St. Angelo, then to San. Lorenzo in Damaso, and lastly to the Trastevere. Some of the Cardinals thought the Pope's cause quite desperate, and left the Eternal City. The Savelli openly joined the Pope's enemies; among the great Roman families, he had only some of the Orsini and Conti on his side. His contemporary Flavio Biondo says, "it is shorter to reckon those who remained true than those who fell away".

In this extremity, being without any steadfast allies, and surrounded by enemies, Eugenius IV resolved to yield to the demands of the Assembly at Basle.

After his reconciliation with the Council the Pope endeavoured to free himself from foes nearer home. In March, 1434, a treaty was concluded with Sforza, in virtue of which this brave leader, the most distinguished General Italy had known since the days of Julius Caesar, and the greatest statesman of his time, was appointed Vicar in the March of Ancona and Standard Bearer of the Church. Eugenius IV also sought to come to an understanding with Fortebraccio, but his advances were contemptuously repelled, and, in conjunction with Niccolò Piccinino, Visconti's General, the Condottiere laid waste the neighbourhood of the Eternal City. Meanwhile emissaries from Milan, Piccinino, the Colonna family, and, it may be, also from the Council, were busily at work stirring up the Romans against the Pope. Their success was greatly facilitated by the conduct of Cardinal Francesco Condulmaro, who met the Roman deputies when they came to complain of the miseries of constant warfare and of the ruin of their property, with the scorn of a Venetian noble.

On the 29th May, 1434, the Revolution broke out in Rome; the Capitol was stormed, the Pope's nephew imprisoned, and finally a Republic proclaimed. Eugenius IV now resolved to fly. On the 4th June he rode, in the garb of a Benedictine monk, to the banks of the Tiber, where a boat received him; he was recognized as he was sailing away, and a shower of stones was thrown at him. Lying in the bottom of the boat and covered with a shield he escaped uninjured to Ostia; a galley thence conveyed him to Pisa and Florence, and, like his predecessor, he took up his abode there in the Dominican Monastery of Sta. Maria Novella.

The Roman Republic was of short duration; after the flight of the Pope the Eternal City became a prey to complete anarchy. The palace in the Trastevere where Eugenius IV had been living and the Vatican were plundered by the populace, who also robbed the Papal Courtiers. Baldassare d'Offida, the Papal Castellan, held the Castle of

St. Angelo, and with his artillery overawed the adjacent parts of the City. The new Government, at the Capitol was bad and thoroughly incompetent; the rulers only despoiled the City, and many who had hoped that the overthrow of the Papal power would inaugurate a golden age, were grievously disappointed. The Romans soon perceived that nothing could be worse than the rule of their own people, and that the "freedom" of the city, which had been forsaken by most of its foreign inhabitants, brought with it nothing but evil. A great desire for the Pope's return tilled men's minds, but Eugenius thought himself safer in his exile at Florence than in his capital, and sent Giovanni Vitelleschi, Bishop of Recanati, to the States of the Church as his representative. In October, 1434, when he entered Rome, the people rose up with the cry: "The Church! the Church!" and the Papal authority was soon re-established.

Vitelleschi is one of the most remarkable figures of his time. He belonged to a family of note in Corneto, bore arms in his youth under Tartaglia, but entered the ecclesiastical career after the accession of Martin V. He had, however, no vocation to the priesthood, and his elevation to the See of Recanati can only be accounted for by the existing confusion of spiritual and temporal affairs. He was a brave knight, but no pastor of souls, and, even under the mitre, he retained the character and manners of a Condottiere. In the field, his courage and military skill were unsurpassed by any leader of the day. Had he not been bound to the service of the Church, he would have won both glory and power, as did Sforza, Niccolò Piccinino, and others. He was ambitious, crafty, avaricious and cruel, yet there was something magnificent about him, and he was determined and brave. This man, who, according to Infessura, struck all who saw him with fear, now went forth with dauntless energy, not merely to humble the foes of the Pope in the States of the Church, but to destroy them with fire and sword. The first to feel the weight of his iron hand was the ancient race of Vico, who had always been at variance with the Pope. The City Prefect, Giacomo da Vico, the last of the family, was compelled to surrender his Castle of Vetralla, brought to trial, and then beheaded. Eugenius IV then raised Francesco Orsini to the rank of Prefect of the City, at the same time greatly restricting the jurisdiction of the office by appointing the Vicecamerlengo Governor of the City and its territory, with authority in matters of police and criminal cases.

Vitelleschi's first successes were rewarded by his elevation to the dignities of Patriarch of Alexandria and Archbishop of Florence. During his absence a fresh insurrection, in which the Conti, Colonna, Gaetani, and Savelli took part, broke out in Rome. The Patriarch, as Vitelleschi now called himself, at once hastened back to execute bloody vengeance on the offenders. The Castles of the Savelli and Colonna were forcibly taken and destroyed; and Palestrina, the principal fortress of the latter family, was also compelled to surrender on the 18th August, 1436. On his return to Rome he was received with honours such as hitherto had been rendered to none but Popes and Emperors. Senate and people determined to erect an equestrian statue of him in marble on the Capitol, with the inscription, "To Giovanni Vitelleschi, Patriarch of Alexandria, the third Father of the City of Rome, after Romulus". Winter brought him back to his native City of Corneto, where he built himself a palace which, notwithstanding its present fallen condition, is one of the most imposing examples still remaining in Italy of the transition from the Gothic to the Renaissance period of architecture.

With the spring of the following year (1437) the work of vengeance against the tyrants of the Campagna began anew. In the end of March workmen were sent to Palestrina with orders to raze the city to the ground. The terrible work went on for forty

days, and even the churches were not spared. In the struggle for the throne of Naples, Vitelleschi, by the command of Eugenius, espoused the cause of Anjou, against Alfonso of Aragon, who harassed the States of the Church from the South and kept up open relations with the Pope's enemies. The Patriarch took Antonio Orsini, Prince of Tarento, the most powerful of Alfonso's partisans, prisoner, and the Pope acknowledged this service by creating him Cardinal (August 9th, 1437).

His other military enterprises in the Kingdom of Naples were unsuccessful, and he returned to the States of the Church to resume his merciless warfare against their tyrants. Lorenzo Colonna had taken Zagarolo by surprise in 1439. On the 2nd of April the Cardinal stormed the place, and had it levelled to the ground; fresh struggles with Niccolò Savelli and the Trinci in Foligno followed. Vitelleschi was again victorious; the whole territory from Civitavecchia to the Neapolitan frontier was in his power; four thousand horsemen and two thousand foot soldiers were constantly in readiness to quell any resistance.

In Rome the Cardinal ruled with a despotism hitherto unknown; the Romans, weary of endless disquiet, forgave everything because he maintained order; even his deeds of cruelty were excused. "Never, up to the present day", says the simple-minded Paolo di Liello Petrone, "has any-one done so much for the welfare of our City of Rome; if only he had not been so cruel; although he was almost compelled thereto on account of the corruption which prevailed in Rome and its neighbourhood to such a degree, that murders and robberies were committed by the citizens and peasants by night and by day". In order to restore the Leonine City, Vitelleschi, following the example of Romulus, sought to re-people this devastated quarter by granting to it the privileges of asylum for criminals and freedom from taxes, and civil autonomy. The power of the Cardinal was at its height when he suddenly fell.

This event is veiled in the deepest obscurity; it is more than probable that the Florentines had a hand in it. His enemies allied themselves with Antonio Rido, the Castellan of St. Angelo, whose relations with Vitelleschi were strained to the utmost. On the 19th March, 1440, Rido had an interview with Vitelleschi, who had everything in readiness for a fresh expedition to Umbria, on the Bridge of St. Angelo. Rido kept the Cardinal in conversation until his troops had passed over. Then, at a given signal, the narrow door leading to the Borgo was shut, a chain, which had secretly been placed in readiness, was drawn across the bridge, and Rido's soldiers pressed forward to seize Vitelleschi. In vain did the Cardinal with his followers endeavour to fight his way through. He was wounded, dragged from his horse, and shut up in St. Angelo; his soldiers, on hearing the tidings, would have stormed the castle, but Rido managed to appease them by the publication of a Papal warrant for his arrest, the genuineness of which they were unable to test. A fortnight later (2nd April) the Cardinal was a corpse.

Such are the actual facts of the case, and everything else is more or less uncertain. The words written by a contemporary chronicler are still essentially true; no one knew on what grounds Vitelleschi had been taken prisoner, or who had given orders for his arrest, or if the real cause of his death had been violence or poison.

The question whether Eugenius IV consented to the imprisonment of his favourite is one which cannot be answered with certainty; yet many historians have affirmed that he did, and it is most probable that Rido's action was not altogether spontaneous and independent. Yet, if we may believe his own letter to the Florentines, written immediately after the arrest—which is doubtful—this opinion cannot be maintained. Rido here declares that Vitelleschi repeatedly endeavoured to wrest the

fortress from him, to the great detriment of the Church and of the Pope, that he knew the Cardinal to be an open enemy of the Pope, and that, therefore, he had on that very day taken him prisoner, but without the permission of Eugenius, whom he could not inform beforehand for want of time. This remarkable letter concludes by saying "I have done to him what he undoubtedly desired to do to me". This single document, taken by itself, is not sufficient to decide the question positively, yet it is calculated to shake our confidence in the often repeated assertion that "Eugenius consented to the imprisonment of his favourite". A complete explanation of the complicated events of this period can only be furnished by further researches in the Archives.

The Pope was too much in the power of the Florentines to condemn Vitelleschi's imprisonment, and Rido was at once promoted to high dignity. It would seem that proofs of the treasonable designs attributed to the Cardinal were not forthcoming, for in subsequent Briefs the Pope repeatedly speaks of him as his "beloved son". In a Brief to the inhabitants of Corneto, his imprisonment is represented as the accidental consequence of dissensions between him and Rido, and then Scarampo's nomination as Legate is announced without comment. This document contains no word of complaint against Rido, who, like Vitelleschi, is styled by the Pope "beloved son", but there is a passage which seems directly to contradict the supposition that the latter had wished to found a State for himself. Scarampo, like his predecessor, was a worldly-minded Prelate; he had formerly been a physician, and it is said that Eugenius owed his recovery from an illness to his care. Under Vitelleschi, he followed the career of arms, later on he took orders, was made Archbishop of Florence, and soon after his appointment as Vitelleschi's successor, was raised to the purple (July 1, 1440).

Pietro Barbo, son of Nicholas Barbo and Polyxena Condulmaro, sister to Eugenius IV, was at the same time created Cardinal. Barbo was extremely fond of splendour, very generous, learned in Canon law, and an enthusiastic collector of ancient coins and gems; in a later portion of this work we shall speak of his collections and of his palace. A bitter and lasting feud existed between him and Scarampo.

Scarampo's government of Rome was as severe as that of Vitelleschi, but he did far more for the restoration of the afflicted city, and has justly been praised for his efforts to raise the Romans from the sloth into which they had fallen, and to make of them civilized beings.

The flight of Eugenius IV to Florence—the last event of the kind until the flight of Pius IX—had, especially in one respect, consequences of a far-reaching nature.

The whole intellectual training of Eugenius, who, even while he occupied the Papal throne, never ceased to be the austere monk, tended to keep him untouched by the Renaissance movement, but he was by no means indifferent to the progress of science, and had given proof of his zeal in this matter by his re-establishment (1431) of the Roman University, which "had been completely ruined by the misfortunes of the time, and the disunion of the Church". He also encouraged artists, and was well disposed to carry on the work of Martin V, but the Roman Revolution of 1434 suddenly interrupted every effort of the kind.

Pope Eugenius IV's choice of Florence, the home of revived art and the intellectual centre of Humanism in Italy, as his abode, was a matter of the greatest importance. The Pope and his Court, by their lengthened sojourn there and by the negotiations with the Greeks, were brought into the closest contact with the Renaissance; and the vehement discussions which soon afterwards broke out in regard to the Councils, compelled him to secure the services of skilful pens, so as to fight his

opponents with their own weapons. The years spent in Florence, however, were of more weight than all besides. It was impossible to live in the very home of the Renaissance and remain insensible to its influence. This was, however, a time of probation for the Humanistic Secretaries of the Pope. The sources of remuneration failed, and in consequence many members of the Court left their Master. Among the few who remained faithful was Flavio Biondo, who had been appointed Apostolic Secretary early in the year 1434. In his simplicity, modesty, and purity of life this hard-working man, who was a representative of the Christian Renaissance, forms a consoling contrast to the unprincipled Poggio and his fellows. The Pope had a great regard for him, and Biondo, on his side, manifested his gratitude by dedicating to Eugenius IV his historical description of the City of Rome ("Roma Instaurata"). This is in some respects a very remarkable work, being the first topographical account of the Eternal City founded on a systematic use of documentary sources of information. It is also full of original, though often mistaken, ideas. Biondo is, in fact, the founder of a special branch of science — that of topography. His book abounds in information regarding Christian Rome. Unlike Poggio, from whose "Wanderings through Rome" all allusion to this aspect of the Eternal City is carefully excluded, Biondo, the Christian Humanist, brings it prominently forward. With Petrarch, he believes that the majesty and glory of Rome stand on another and surer foundation than the vanished pomp of Capitol and Palatine, the renown of her Consuls and Legions. At the end of the third book he gives a complete list of the principal churches, chapels, and holy places. He justly prizes the sanctuaries and relics of Our Lord, the handkerchief of St. Veronica, and the shrine, *Domine quo vadis*, and those of the Apostles and Martyrs, as the peculiar and inalienable treasure of Rome. The thought of the glorious remains preserved in the Eternal City consoles him for the ruin which meets him on every side. An intelligent interest in Christian antiquity pervades the whole work, which, at its commencement, undertakes to point out the sanctuaries of the martyrs, and especially to inform its readers where and by whom the churches were built. Accordingly, throughout the whole of the first volume, which follows the topographical order, the churches are introduced together with the edifices of ancient Rome. The restoration of ecclesiastical buildings, accomplished by the zeal of Eugenius IV, is repeatedly mentioned in terms of the highest praise; and other works are not unnoticed, as, for example, the magnificent completion of the Palace of San Lorenzo in Lucina, whose foundations had been laid in 1300, and whose construction had been carried on by many successive Cardinals; also the rebuilding of the bridges connecting the Island of the Tiber with the rest of Rome, by order of Eugenius IV. It will be seen that Biondo may fairly claim the title of founder of Christian and mediaeval topography.

To give an account of all the Humanists who entered the Papal service during the Pontificate of Eugenius IV, does not fall within the scope of the present work. We need only remark that their number was surprisingly great and that, notwithstanding the Pope's austerity, little or no regard was paid in their selection to Christian conduct or to religious sentiments. At this time, indeed, the antagonism which afterwards appeared was still latent, and the partisans of the Christian and Heathen Renaissance associated freely with one another. The literary gatherings which took place every morning and evening at Florence, in the vicinity of the Papal residence, with Manetti, Traversari and Parentucelli included also Poggio and Carlo Marsuppini, who on his death-bed scorned the consolations of Religion.\*

The decision with which Eugenius forbade Valla's return to Rome, when he sought forgiveness and offered his services and his measures against Beccadelli's



disgraceful book, prove, nevertheless, that he did not practically ignore the dangers of the heathen Renaissance. It is probable that he would have opposed it in a far more energetic manner, had not the contest with the Council of Basle taxed all his powers to the utmost, and made the greatest consideration towards the Humanists with their ready pens a necessity. The Pope feared them, because, as he once observed, they were not wont to pass over an injury, and because they could avenge themselves with weapons which were hard to parry. Humanistic studies were warmly encouraged in this Pontificate, as they had been in the preceding one, by Cardinals Giordano Orsini (d.1438), Albergati (d. 1443), Giuliano Cesarini (d. 1444), Prospero Colonna, and Domenico Capranica. The last-named Cardinal had a choice library of two thousand volumes, which he generously opened to all students. Gerardo Landriani (d. 1445) another patron of the Humanists, was raised to the purple by Eugenius IV at the Council of Florence. He had a valuable library of classical works, many of which were rare His learning was justly esteemed, and the discourses which he made before the Council of Basle and as Ambassador to the King of England, were transcribed, and regarded as elegant compositions. This Cardinal was on friendly terms with Marsuppini, Poggio, and even Beccadelli, a circumstance which gave no offence to their contemporaries. It became more and more the custom to flatter the Humanists on account of their literary services. Those were the days when the ascetic Albergati held constant intercourse with half-heathen wits, and the pious Capranica welcomed Poggio's letters and addressed him as his "very dear comrade".

Besides these Cardinals we must mention Bessarion as a diligent collector of books, a laborious author, and a friend and patron of scholars. He was the protector of all the learned Greeks who had any reason to apply to the Papal Court.

It is not easy to pronounce a general judgment as to the circumstances which prepared the way for the Pontificate of the first Humanist who ever mounted the Papal Throne, yet we may safely say that the contact of Pope and Court with the vigorous literary life of Florence had in some respects a very beneficial effect. On the other hand, however, it was undoubtedly one of the contributing causes of that predominance of Humanists in the Roman Court which, in itself, and still more on account of their heathen tendencies, awakened grave apprehensions.

The Italian troubles consequent on the exile of Eugenius were small compared with those provoked by the Assembly at Basle. Neither the fact of his compliance nor his defenceless position availed to soften the hearts of the bitter enemies of the Papacy in that City. The reconciliation had been only apparent, and the feelings of the majority were unchanged, so that the fanatical partisans of the Council soon gained the upper hand. Their leader was Cardinal Louis Allemand of Arles, and their object was to make the Council permanent and endow it with all the attributes of sovereignty, judicial, administrative, legislative, and executive, with the Pope as its more or less necessary appendage. Instead of the reform of the ecclesiastical abuses, which in many countries had reached a fearful pitch, the diminution of the Papal authority and the destruction of the monarchical character of the Church became the chief business of the Synod.

A decree abolishing at one blow all annates, pallium-fees, taxes, and other charges was issued by this Assembly, and was well calculated to provoke a desperate struggle between the Pope and the Council. A Protestant historian remarks that this "decree, even if in itself just and necessary, was, with such extensive provisions, at this moment, a party measure of extreme violence. The Pope, with a portion of his Court, was in exile at Florence, and dependent on the alms of his allies. He was more than ever in need of money for subsidies to the troops, by whose help alone he could recover for

himself, and for the Church, the territories which had been wrested from her or had revolted against her. And, at this very lime, his last source of revenue was cut off. In vain did the Papal Legates ask how the officials of the Court were to be paid, embassies kept up, exiled prelates supported, and heretics and enemies of the Church overcome. It seemed as if the Council counted on the Pope's disobeying its decree and thus giving fresh occasion for judicial proceedings. There was a tone of irony in the discourses which were constantly made in praise of Apostolic poverty, and in the suggestion that the Pope, undisturbed by temporal cares, could live entirely for the service of God. At Constance, the abolition of the annates had been demanded, but in view of the Pope's defenceless position, deferred. This consideration was at that time an act of forbearance, now it was a duty".

Further decrees against the Pope soon followed. They were so prejudicial to the undoubted rights of the Holy See that Eugenius IV was constrained to address a memorial to all the European Powers, making bitter complaints of the unheard of presumption of the Synod. It had, he says, degraded his Legates by arbitrarily limiting their authority; made their presidency merely nominal by resolving that its decisions should be published by others and without their consent; transformed itself into a headless body; subjected the Pope, by a false interpretation of the Constance decrees, to the censorship of the Synod, in a manner unknown to former times; undertaken an immense amount of business, and involved itself in discussions altogether foreign to its proper object; given away many benefices; erected commenda; granted Papal dispensations; demanded for itself the annates refused to the Pope; assumed the right of dealing with cases reserved to the Holy See; and suppressed the Prayer for the Pope in the Liturgy. The undue extension to private persons of the right of suffrage, in direct opposition to the ancient custom of Councils, is justly viewed by the Pope as the chief source of all this confusion. Measures adopted at Constance with a view to the unanimous decision of the great question of the Schism, — a matter of universal consequence — were made applicable to all cases and extended in their scope. With a fallacious appeal to this isolated example, an assembly, the majority of whose members were men of no real weight, proceeded to deal with affairs of the utmost importance, gave forth as the decisions of a General Council decrees which had been drawn up in an unlawful and precipitate manner, and endeavoured to overturn the constitution of the Church. For these reasons the Pope deemed that it was time for princes to recall their Bishops and Ambassadors from Basle, and so render possible the assembling of another and better-disposed Council.

The complaints of Eugenius, who was unwilling to let his high dignity become a mere shadow, were fully justified, for the conduct of the clerical democracy at Basle went beyond all bounds. The majority of the Assembly consisted of Frenchmen, and offered no opposition to any measure directed against the exiled Pope; the most fanatical party seized every opportunity of making him feel their power and ill-will. Their real object was declared with admirable candour by the Bishop of Tours in one of the Sessions in the following words: "We must either wrest the Apostolic See from the hands of the Italians, or else despoil it to such a degree that it will not matter where it abides". The Council would have proceeded yet further in this direction but for a crisis occasioned by the negotiations for union with the Greeks.

The history of these negotiations shows that the Pope alone sincerely sought for union. The Greek Emperor used the idea as a talisman to procure aid against the Turks; the members of the Council of Basle hoped by its means to gain a fresh victory over the Pope, and, by a great success, to recover their hold on public opinion, which was

threatening to turn against them. The choice of the place where the Union Council should meet led to fresh discord between the Pope and the Assembly at Basle. In its Session of the 7th May, 1437, an important decision was arrived at. The Anti-Papal party, led by Cardinal Louis Allemand of Arles, had, shortly before this Session, so strengthened itself by the admission of a number of ecclesiastics from the neighbourhood of Basle, that it could command a majority. Amidst violent opposition it decided that Basle should be the place of meeting, or, if this city were not convenient for the Greeks, Avignon, or some city in Savoy, and also that a general tithe should be levied on Church property to meet the necessary expenses. A minority of the Assembly, including Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini and the most esteemed among the Prelates, voted for the selection of Florence or Udine, which had been proposed by the Pope.

The Pope approved of the decision of the minority, and did everything in his power to hinder the execution of the Decree of the majority. He saw plainly the object of the contemplated transfer of the Council from Basle to Avignon to be the establishment of the Roman Court under French protection in the latter city, after his death or deposition. This purpose explains the obstinacy with which Cardinal Louis Allemand and his followers held to Avignon in spite of the objections of the Pope, ever mindful of the disastrous results of the sojourn of his predecessors in that city, and of the Greeks, which were founded on its great distance from their country. The objections of the Greeks frustrated all negotiations between them and the Cardinal's party, while the superior skill of the Papal diplomatists completely won them over to the side of their master.

The Pope's success provoked his adversaries at Basle to the utmost, and on the 3rd July, 1437, they issued a monitum, in which, after pouring forth a torrent of accusations against him and even laying all the political miseries of the States of the Church to his charge, they summoned him to appear before their tribunal. A Bull, published on the 18th September, was the Pope's reply to this summons; it declared that the six years duration of the Council of Basle had produced a surprisingly small result. He made known to all Christendom its evil doings, and should it undertake any measures against him and the Cardinals, or persist in its adherence to the monitum, he required its immediate removal to Ferrara, a city which had been named by the Greeks and which he approved. On the publication of the Bull, the Synod was at once to discontinue its labours, except in regard to Bohemian affairs, which might proceed for thirty-one days more. In any case, however, on the arrival of the Greeks and their ratification of the selection of Ferrara, the Pope transfers the Council to that city, and there, in presence of the new Synod and before the whole world, he will justify his conduct and clear himself from the accusations made against him at Basle. At the same time he annulled the transfer of the Council to Avignon, summoned all who had a right to be present to meet at Ferrara, and formally made the removal to that city known to all the citizens of Basle and to all the illustrious Universities.

The Synod declared this Bull invalid, and threatened the Pope with suspension and deposition. In vain did Cardinal Cesarini once more endeavour to make peace. In a long and fervent discourse, he earnestly entreated the members of the Synod to lay aside all hatred and strife and meet the Greeks, and send ambassadors to them. Should the Greeks refuse to come to Basle, Avignon, or Savoy, he urged concession to their wishes, inasmuch as union was the principal matter and the place but a secondary consideration. He also insisted on reconciliation with the Pope, lest they should become a laughing-stock to the Greeks. But his words fell upon deaf ears, and with his numerous friends he left Basle.

The learned Nicholas of Cusa and other distinguished theologians also at this time separated themselves from the Council, and espoused the cause of the Pope. They have been severely blamed for the step and accused of want of principle. But, as the historian of these events very justly observes, "is it impossible that a man should enthusiastically cling to a party as long as he is fully persuaded of the goodness, justice, and usefulness of its aims and proceedings, and when he sees it enter on an evil course and persist in it in spite of all warnings, should sever himself from it and oppose it? Is not this the duty of every honourable and truth-loving man? The estimable Cardinal Cesarini and the great Nicholas of Cusa were warm partisans of the Council of Basle as long as they believed it to be animated by zeal for the improvement of the condition of the Church, for the conversion of those in error and for the restoration of peace and unity. When, however, it became more and more evident that no true regard for the welfare of the Church, but paltry obstinacy and party feeling, ruled its decisions; when the hatred of the majority of its members for the Pope had made Schism with all its terrible consequences imminent, these men considered themselves bound to abandon the cause of the Synod, and thereby, as far as in them lay, avert the threatened calamity".

While the Synod of Basle thus lost its best adherents, the Council, which had been opened at Ferrara on the 8th January, 1438, by Cardinal Albergati, at once attained the greatest importance. On the 4th March the Greek Emperor, John Palaeologus, appeared with a numerous train of Greek dignitaries and theologians, amongst whom were Mark of Ephesus, Bessarion of Nicaea, and Gemistos Plethon; four days later the Greek patriarch Joseph followed. Eugenius IV had been there ever since the end of January, and immediately after his arrival had convened the members of the Assembly to a solemn Congregation in his private chapel, laid before them the state of his relations with the Synod of Basle, and exhorted them to begin the work of reformation by their own amendment.

The negotiations with the Greeks dragged on for more than a year, and often it seemed as if the Assembly would disperse without accomplishing its end. Political necessities at last induced the Greeks to give way, and in July, 1439, the union, which proved but a temporary one, was effected at Florence, the Council having been in the meanwhile transferred to that city. A document in which the conditions of union were laid down, was signed on the 5th July, 1439, all the ecclesiastical dignitaries present in Florence, with the exception of some bitter opponents among the Greeks, and on the 6th July it was solemnly read in the Cathedral. It is still preserved as one of the most precious treasures of the Laurentian Library.

The Pope hastened to make the good tidings known throughout Christendom, and to appoint public prayers and processions, in order to thank God for the happy event, and implore Him to perfect His work, and bring the proud barbarian nations also beneath the yoke of the Christian Faith.

The success obtained by Eugenius was indeed immense, for, even if the hatred of the Greek to the Latin nations made the union continue to be rather one on paper than a living reality, yet it was the accomplishment of that which had long been deemed impossible; a Schism, before whose extent and danger even the Papal Schism seemed small, had been dogmatically healed, and the great boon of a reconciliation, which it was hoped would be world-wide, was due to the persecuted Pope. It was difficult at that period to form an opinion as to the duration of the union, but there was a more or less general impression that the submission of the Greeks would tend to the exaltation of that Papal authority which the Council of Basle had set at naught.

The dogmatical decision regarding the extent of the Papal power, embodied in the Union Decree of the Council of Florence, was of extreme importance to western Christendom, which had not yet recovered from the effects of the great Schism. An Ecumenical Council now pronounced the Pope to be the head, not merely of individual Churches, but of the Church Universal, to derive his power not from the will of the faithful, but immediately from Christ, whose Vicar he is; and to be not only the Father, but also the Teacher, to whom all Christians owe submission. The publication of this decision, which has become the essential foundation of the theological development of the doctrine of the Primacy, was a mortal blow to the very root of the Schism.

Apart from their dogmatic aspect, these negotiations with the Greeks hold an important place in the history of literature and civilization. The result of the new intellectual intercourse between East and West, between Greek and Latin culture, were immense, especially in the promotion of the study of the Greek language and the introduction of the Greek philosophy, both of which had hitherto been almost unknown to Western Christendom.

On the Roman Court the influence exercised was an abiding one, and tended to give the Humanist element a power even greater than that which it had already attained. Eugenius IV required men who were able to translate Greek, and to hold personal interviews and disputations with the representatives of the Greek Church, and accordingly, although himself untouched by the spirit of the Renaissance, he was constrained to take a number of eminent Greek scholars, who were Humanists, into his service. These men were fully employed, to judge from Guarino's declaration that from the time of the arrival of the Greeks he had not enjoyed a quiet hour. The official interpreter in the disputations was Niccolò Sagundino of Negroponte, a man of business rather than a scholar. It was during the progress of these long-drawn negotiations with the Greeks that Tommaso Parentucelli, one of the noblest representatives of the Christian Renaissance, gave those brilliant proofs of his knowledge of theological literature, which attracted the attention of the Pope and thus paved the way for his own subsequent elevation to the supreme dignity.

The Greek Bessarion, and the Camaldolese monk, Ambrogio Traversari, the special favourite of Eugenius, whom we have already mentioned, took a yet more important part in these proceedings. To the latter belongs the honour of having drawn up the Act of Union in both languages; it is plain, however, from careful investigation that Bessarion's share in the composition of this document was considerable.

Bessarion, a great man and a great scholar, has been justly regarded as the last Greek of note before the complete downfall of his nation. He was born at Trebizond early in the fifteenth century, and was of humble origin. After studying for some time at Constantinople he entered the Basilian Order in 1423, and in the same year went to the Peloponnesus and zealously applied himself to philosophy and mathematics under the guidance of Gemistos Plethon. His natural aversion to anything extreme and exclusive, either in conduct or in science, made the office of mediator and peacemaker peculiarly congenial, and gave him a special fitness for the management of the difficult negotiations regarding union. He passed rapidly through the different grades of ecclesiastical promotion until he became Archbishop of Nicaea, and as such accompanied the Greek Emperor to Italy. His moral worth and persuasive eloquence made a deep impression on all who saw him in Ferrara and Florence. After the happy conclusion of the union, Bessarion went for a short time to Greece, but soon returned to Italy, where he joined the Latin obedience, and on the 18th December, 1439, was raised to the purple, together with Archbishop Isidore. He was now commonly known by the

name of Nicenus, while Isidore was called Ruthenus. Bessarion's proceeding has been the subject of severe and most unjust censure. But this step seems amply accounted for both on personal and external grounds, if we regard it as a consequence of the Union of the Churches and the attendant negotiations, nor does it involve any change either of opinion or belief. Bessarion's subsequent bearing towards his former associates was uniformly noble and generous. With a heart full of the ideal of that union which unfortunately was to prove so short-lived, he strove in his new country to promote the study and appreciation of Greek learning, and became its able Humanistic exponent. He also studied Latin, and was zealous in his labours for the Church, for the cause of learning and for his own unhappy nation. We shall have hereafter to speak of the many difficult mission which the Pope entrusted to Bessarion, as well as of his self-sacrificing efforts on behalf of his countrymen. As Reformer of the Basilian Order and Protector of the two great Mendicant Orders, the Greek Cardinal rendered the most valuable service to the Church. His ample income was nobly employed in the furtherance of learning, the acquisition of manuscripts and the maintenance of needy scholars. His Palace was a place of meeting for all the most distinguished Greek and Italian literary men, and the circle of Humanists whom he drew around him took the form of an academy, in which the philosophy of Plato and all other branches of learning and science were discussed in familiar conversation. The Cardinal gave further practical proof of his hearty interest in the Renaissance by his translation into Latin of many Greek authors, by his splendid defence of Plato against the Aristotelian, George of Trebizond, and by the establishment of a library unequalled in Italy for the number and value of its manuscripts; especially after the fall of Constantinople, the zeal of the collector was guided and stimulated by his patriotism. If his country was to be desolated by barbarians, he wished at least to rescue the intellectual works of the ancient Greeks from destruction, and accordingly made it his business to search diligently after rare books. His appointment by the Pope in 1446 as Visitor of the Basilian Monasteries in Italy was extremely favourable to the accomplishment of his purpose. By degrees he got together about nine hundred manuscripts, whose value he estimated at fifteen hundred ducats. Four years before his death he presented this library to the Republic of Venice, the ancient link between East and West. His motive for this magnanimous action was the consideration that, notwithstanding all his liberality, the library, while in his possession, could benefit but a limited number of readers, whereas in Venice its treasures would be open to all scholars. The Philosopher Gemistos Plethon, Bessarion's master, ranks next after him among the Greeks who took part in the Union Council. The energies of this gifted but passionate man were, however, directed rather to the spread of the Platonic Philosophy than to the cause of union, and he left behind him abiding traces of his work in Italy. His burning words inflamed the soul of Cosmo de\* Medici, and gave birth to his plan for the revival of this philosophy in Italy. Marsiglio Ficino, the man selected by Cosmo for the execution of his purpose, says in his translation of the works of Plotinos: "The great Cosmo, at the time when the Council assembled by Pope Eugenius IV was sitting in Florence, was never weary of listening to the discourses of Plethon, who, like a second Plato, held disputations on the Platonic Philosophy. The eloquence of this man took such hold upon him and animated him with such enthusiasm, that he firmly resolved to found an Academy at the first favourable moment".

Soon after the conclusion of the Council, Plethon returned to his home, happily without having imparted his heathen opinions to the Italians, whom he regarded as uncultivated barbarians.

The union with the Greeks was soon followed by others, but unfortunately in most cases these were only caused by the pressure of necessity, and accordingly had no real stability. On the 22nd November, 1439, Eugenius IV had the satisfaction of concluding a treaty with the Armenian Ambassadors for the union of their Church with that of Rome. In 1443 union with a portion of the Jacobites followed. The movement among the Eastern Christians continued for the next few years. In the spring of 1442 the Council was removed from Florence to Rome, where it held two Sessions (30th September, 1444, and 7th August, 1445), principally occupied with the union of the Orientals. On the 7th August, 1445, Eugenius published a Bull giving thanks to God that, after the return of the Greeks, Armenians, and Jacobites, the Nestorians and Maronites had now also given ear to his admonitions, and had solemnly professed the immaculate Faith of the Roman Church. He declared that the Maronites and Chaldeans were no longer to be styled heretics, nor was the name of Nestorian to be applied to the latter body. A year before the date of this Bull King Stephen of Bosnia had entered the Catholic Church, and his example had been followed by his relations and by the most distinguished of the Bosnian magnates. Before the end of the Pontificate of Eugenius IV the East appeared to be almost entirely united to Rome. Unfortunately the union was more apparent than real, and was but partial; nevertheless the general success of these negotiations gave fresh support to the Papal power amid the enemies which beset it on every side.

Few Popes have done so much as Eugenius IV did for the East, and although it soon became evident that most of the Greeks had no real desire for union, he persevered in his efforts to stem the tide of Turkish encroachment, and to secure the duration of the Byzantine Empire.

Lower Hungary as far as the Theiss, Sclavonia, and the whole of the district between the Save and the Drave, were devastated with fire and sword by the Turks in the spring of 1441. The Hungarian hero, John Hunyadi, who, in acknowledgment of his faithful services, had been created Duke of Transylvania and Count of Temesvar, happily for Christendom undertook the command in the southern frontier cities of the kingdom, and by his skill and energy successfully repelled repeated attacks of the Turks. The Pope meanwhile did all in his power to promote the war against the Infidels. He wrote touching letters to the western Princes, describing the sad position of the Christians in the East and promising many favours to those who should take part in the crusade. At the beginning of the year 1442 he published an Encyclical letter, in which, after mentioning his own poverty, he exhorted and required all archbishops, bishops, and abbots to pay a tithe from all their churches, monasteries, and benefices for the prosecution of the war against the Turks; he himself, he added, would give a good example to all Christendom in this matter, which concerned the welfare of the Church, and would devote the fifth part of the whole revenues of the Apostolic treasury to the equipment of the army and fleet. He sent Cardinal Cesarini as legate to Hungary, to restore peace in that kingdom as speedily as possible; and also desired Bishop Christopher of Corona to urge all the Princes, Lords, and Cities in the adjacent Provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, Lithuania and Albania to be united amongst themselves and to do battle with their common enemy. The preparation of a fleet was begun at Venice at a great cost.

The effects of Cesarini's eloquence were soon visible in the pacification of Hungary and the preparations which were made for a great campaign against the Turks; unfortunately, however, the majority of the western Princes remained indifferent to the Pope's appeal. Poland and Wallachia alone responded by providing two auxiliary corps,

composed of infantry and cavalry, and undertaking to pay them for half a year. The lower orders manifested the utmost enthusiasm for the defence of Christendom and hastened in great numbers to Hungary, and the Pope endeavoured to forward the enterprise by subsidies.

In June, 1443, the crusading army went forth, headed by King Wladislaw and Hunyadi and accompanied by Cardinal Cesarini and George Brankowitsch, the fugitive King of Servia. The expedition began most prosperously; the army passed unopposed through Servia, defeated the Turks in a great battle at Nisch (3rd November), reached Sofia, crossed the mountain pass between the Balkan and the Ichtimanager Srdina Gora at Mirkovo, and proceeded to Zlatica. Here its progress was arrested by the Janissaries and, as winter had set in, it was decided that it should then retreat, and resume the campaign in the following year.

The terrible defeat they had experienced in the year 1443, and the consequent insurrection of the Albanians under George Kastriot (Skanderbeg), combined perhaps with the tidings that a very warlike spirit was manifesting itself in the west, induced Sultan Murad III to make proposals of peace to the Hungarians, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Cardinal Legate Cesarini, a ten years' truce was concluded at Szegedin, in virtue of which Wallachia continued in the possession of Hungary and Bulgaria in that of the Porte, while Servia reverted to Brankowitsch. Neither of the contending powers were henceforth to cross the Danube.

Before the conclusion of this peace, which politically was a great mistake, the crusading fleet had sailed for the Levant. This fleet had been brought together chiefly by the exertions of the Pope; the Venetian galleys were led by Luigi Loredano, while the command of the whole squadron was entrusted to the Apostolic Legate and Cardinal Francesco Condulmaro. The Turkish Ambassadors had hardly left Sofia when letters from the fleet arrived, urging the immediate advance of the army, inasmuch as Sultan Murad, with all his forces, had retired into Asia, and Europe was completely free from Turkish troops. The fleet expected to be able to hinder the return of the enemy from Asia, and it seemed as if the moment had come when the whole country might be subjugated by a small body of troops, and the infidels driven back to their own land. The King of Hungary was reminded of his promises to the Princes of Christendom, and the efforts which they on their side had made to fulfil their engagements.

The eloquence of Cesarini induced the Hungarians to break the truce which had just been concluded. The consequences were most disastrous, for the Sultan set out for Europe with a great army, and the Christian fleet was unable to hinder him from crossing the Hellespont. The assistance which the Hungarians had expected from several quarters, especially from Albania, failed to arrive, and their consternation was extreme. With a force of only thirty thousand men they nevertheless advanced, and in the beginning of November reached the shores of the Black Sea. Here the Sultan with his army met them, and on the 10th of November the battle of Varna resulted in the complete discomfiture of the Christians. King Wladislaw fell on the battle-field, and Cardinal Cesarini was murdered in his flight.

While these bloody wars were going on in the east of Europe, the struggle between the Pope and the Council continued in the west. The success obtained by Eugenius IV at Florence had exasperated the Assembly at Basle, which now proceeded to desperate measures. The suspension of Pope Eugenius IV, pronounced on the 24th January, 1438, was, at the instigation of the Cardinal of Arles, followed, on the 25th June, 1439, by a formal sentence of deposition, and he was declared to be a heretic, on



account of his persistent disobedience to the Council. The ambitious Duke Amadeus of Savoy was elected Anti-Pope on the 5th November, 1439, by one Cardinal and eleven Bishops, and took the name of Felix V.

Instead then, of promoting reform the Synod of Basle had brought about a new Schism. This was the necessary consequence of the attempt to change the monarchical constitution of the Church. This Anti-Pope, the last whose name appears in the History of the Papacy, failed to attain any considerable importance, although the Basle Assembly gave him a power of levying annates, such as the Roman Court had never claimed.

The guilt of the new Schism was visited on its authors. The sympathy of both princes and people was transferred from the schismatics at Basle to Eugenius. Many even who had little in common with the Pope now espoused his cause from a horror of Radicalism and disunion. From this moment the spiritual power of the Synod steadily declined. Felix V did immense injury to its adherents. Personally no one trusted him, and his rapacity alienated men's minds from him and from his party.

The attitude now assumed by the Germans and French was a very peculiar one; they recognized the Synod in its decrees of reform, which fell in with their wishes, but at the same time they acknowledged the authority of the "deposed" Pope. Both nations shrank from a Schism, but neither was disposed to give up the apparent advantages gained by the Council.

Very few princes really acknowledged Felix V. Duke Albert of Bavaria-Munich, one of the first to take this step, was influenced by his brother Dr. Johann Grunwalder, a natural son of Duke John. He was made a Cardinal by Felix V, and endeavoured to manifest his gratitude by writing in favour of the Anti-Pope and against neutrality.

Duke Albert of Austria, and Stephen, Count Palatine of Simmern and Zweibrucken, with the Dukes of Savoy and Milan also espoused the cause of Felix.

For a long time the Basle Schismatics counted on the support of King Alfonso of Aragon. This prince had quarrelled with Eugenius, because he favoured the claim of his rival, René, Count of Anjou, to the crown of Naples. Alfonso, however, did not formally acknowledge the Anti-Pope, and, while his ambassadors treated simultaneously with Eugenius IV and Felix V, watched the course of events, ready to declare himself for whichever of the two might offer him the largest concessions. In 1442 he at length gained a complete victory over René, and took possession of Naples (June 12, 1442).

This decided success compelled Eugenius IV, whose own dominions were harassed by the warlike and insatiable Condottiere, Francesco Sforza, to accede to all the conditions proposed by Alonso de Borja, Bishop of Valencia, on behalf of the crafty Alfonso, who constantly threatened to acknowledge the Anti-Pope. Accordingly a treaty was concluded by Cardinal Scarampo with Alfonso, on the 14th of June, 1443, at Terracina, and confirmed by the Pope on the 6th of July. The King hereby engaged to recognize Eugenius IV as the lawful Pope, to abstain from any interference with the liberties of the Church, to provide ships for the war with the Turks, and to furnish five thousand men for the expulsion of Francesco Sforza from the March of Ancona. The Pope, on his side, confirmed the King's adoption by Joanna II of Naples, granted him investiture of the kingdom of Naples, and the possession for life, in return for an insignificant tribute, of the cities of Benevento and Terracina, in the Papal territory. Other considerable privileges were also bestowed on the King, and subsequently (July

15, 1444) the Pope recognized the right of succession of his natural son, Ferrante. The skilful diplomacy of Alonso de Borja was rewarded by his elevation to the purple (May 2, 1444).

The Pope's position was completely altered by this treaty, which secured to him predominance in Italian affairs and superiority over the Council of Basle. Alfonso at once recalled his subjects from that Assembly, which hereby lost some of its most important members, and amongst them the learned and influential Archbishop Tudeschi of Palermo, whom Felix V had made a Cardinal. The Duke of Milan, whose prelates had already been required to leave Basle, now espoused the cause of Eugenius.

There was now no obstacle in the way of the Pope's return to his true capital. The time of trial was over, and, after an exile of nearly ten years, on the 28th September, 1443, Eugenius victoriously re-entered Rome. He was joyfully welcomed by the people, who had long since perceived what a wilderness Rome without the Pope must become. It had indeed fallen into a state of ruin and decay almost equal to that in which Martin V had found it in 1420. Its inhabitants, wearing cloaks and heavy boots, appeared to strangers like the cowherds of the Campagna. The ancient monuments were being burned for lime, and the marble and precious stones stolen from the churches. Cows, sheep, and goats wandered about the narrow, unpaved streets. In the Vatican quarter the wolves ventured by night into the cemetery near St. Peter's and dragged the corpses from their graves. The Church of San Stefano was roofless, and those of San Pancrazio and Sta. Maria in Dominica were ready to fall.

Even during his absence, the Pope had taken part in the government of the City, and on his return he at once began the work of restoration, in which he was ably seconded by Cardinal Scarampo.

About this time Eugenius had the satisfaction of seeing Scotland abandon the Synod of Basle. On the 4th November, 1443, the Parliament assented to the decree of the Provincial Council, rejecting Felix V and unconditionally acknowledging the authority of Eugenius IV. The partisans of the Schism were severely punished, and thus the dissensions which the new Schism had aroused in that country, and of which Walter Bower has left us a striking picture, were healed. The Florentines and Venetians, formerly the political friends and supporters of Eugenius, were greatly irritated by his unlooked-for change in regard to the Neapolitan question, and now became his opponents. From vindictive motives they took part with Francesco Sforza, who, after a brief period of reconciliation, was a gain in open conflict with the Pope. The struggle with the crafty Condottiere continued throughout the rest of Eugenius' pontificate, but at last he was victorious, and a few days before his death, had the satisfaction of knowing that all the March of Ancona, with the exception of the town of Jesi, had been wrested from his enemy.

The Pope also gained a complete victory over the Schismatics in Basle; the defection of the powerful Alfonso had inflicted a serious blow on the Assembly, and a death-like torpor soon crept over it. No more public sittings were held, and it only dealt with matters of secondary importance, such as disputes about benefices.

It had long been evident that the Synod could by no means reckon on the unconditional support of the two principal powers of Western Christendom, France and Germany. We have already mentioned the peculiar position which these nations had occupied since the year 1438. After the Basle Synod had, on the 24th January, 1438, pronounced a sentence of suspension against Eugenius IV, neither Germans nor French had shown the slightest inclination to take part in a proceeding which must necessarily

have thrown Christendom back into a deplorable state of confusion. But, on the other hand, they were not disposed completely to give up the Council, or its so-called decrees of reform. Accordingly, while adhering to Eugenius IV as the lawful Head of the Church, they adopted a portion of these decrees. In France this was done by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (7th July, 1438), which almost entirely deprived the Pope of any influence in the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom, and reasserted the supremacy of the Council over the Papacy.

From March, 1438, Germany also had taken up a similar semi-schismatical position, which threatened serious danger to the Papacy. In the interval between the death of Sigismund and the election of Albert II, the German Electors, assembled at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, had declared their neutrality, that is to say, their determination for the time being, to hold aloof from the contest, and neither to take part with the Pope nor the Council. They had further agreed, that, within the ensuing six months, they would, together with the future king, deliberate on the means of terminating the strife, and that, in the meantime, they would maintain the regular jurisdiction in their dioceses and territories.

This so-called neutrality of the Holy Roman Empire, which was by no means free from an anti-papal bias, was, a year later, asserted at the Diet of Mayence. It, however, accepted, with certain restrictions and additions agreeable to the German princes, a number of decrees depriving the Pope of his essential rights (26th March, 1439).

The Mayence declaration differed widely from the step which had been taken in France, and fundamentally from the Pragmatic sanction of Bourges. At Mayence a mere declaration had been made, the acceptance of the Basle Decrees, but in France, an administrative ordinance had been issued. The Ambassadors of King Charles had indeed entered into negotiations at Basle, in order to obtain the approval of the Council for the Pragmatic sanction, but even before that had been granted, Decrees with additions were everywhere promulgated, and courts and officials were instructed to see to their execution, to decide any controversies which might arise regarding them, to protect ecclesiastics and laymen in the enjoyment of the benefits they conferred, and to inflict exemplary punishments on those who should oppose them. Such executive and penal provisions, although essential to the existence of a law, have no place in the Mayence Document, and it is a great inaccuracy to apply to it the name of a "Pragmatic Sanction". The Germans also deferred making any effort to obtain the approval of the Council, which had already been asked by and granted to the French.

In the latter half of the year 1439, German neutrality took a more definite form, but it never proved to be in any way a basis for the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs. This was primarily the fault of the electors, who, instead of enforcing the observance of the policy they had adopted, both violated it themselves and suffered their subjects and the members of their families to do the same. Accordingly the proclamation which had been made with a view of preserving the Holy Roman Empire from division and confusion was thoroughly ineffectual. Factions were formed even among the Germans. In many cases, near neighbours, and even the Bishop and Chapter of the same Diocese, took different sides in the conflict between the Pope and his opponents. Several sees were claimed by two rival Bishops, and from the same pulpit discourses were frequently heard at one time against Eugenius, and at another against the partisans of the Council.

Repeated efforts were naturally made by each of the contending powers to put an end to the neutrality. The diplomatic struggles which ensued, ultimately resulted in the

victory of Eugenius, who succeeded in winning over Caspar Schlick, the powerful Chancellor of King Frederick III, and finally the King himself.

Frederick III's recognition of Eugenius was rewarded by:

1. The right to the first prayers, to a tithe from all ecclesiastical benefices in Germany, and to the patronage of a hundred benefices in the hereditary estates of Austria.

2. The right for life to make presentations, in case of vacancy, to the Bishoprics of Trent, Brixen, Coire, Gurk, Trieste, and Pedena.

3. The right for himself and his successors to propose to the Holy See fitting persons for the visitation of the monasteries in his hereditary States, and also a certain sum of money.

Having secured the adhesion of the head of the Empire, the Pope, who had a powerful supporter in Philip of Burgundy, thought that the time had come to strike a decisive blow in Germany, and so to put an end to all further hesitations. He accordingly issued a Bull, deposing the Archbishop-Electors of Cologne and Treves, who were the principal partisans of the Synod in the Empire, and bestowed their dignities on relations of the Duke of Burgundy. But this proceeding, which was hasty, and, from a political point of view, imprudent, was violently opposed by the German Electors. In March, 1446, they assembled at Frankfort-on-the-Maine and decided to call upon Eugenius to acknowledge the Decrees of Constance and Basle regarding the Supremacy of Councils, to summon one to meet in a German City within the next thirteen months, to revoke all recent measures incompatible with neutrality, and unconditionally to ratify the decisions of the Council of Basle, accepted by the Germans in 1439. In case of the failure of Eugenius to comply with their demands, the Electors threatened to recognize the authority of the Synod. A deputation, whose leading spirit was Gregory Heimburg, Syndic of Nuremberg, was despatched to Rome to make the desires of the Electors known to the Pope. This man, affecting what he wished to pass off as German honesty and plain spokenness, was unbearably insolent and rude. In a work, written about this time, he stirred up his countrymen to join the Schism and shake off the Papal yoke.

The answer returned by Pope Eugenius to the Electors was of an evasive character. He referred the decision of the matter to the Diet of the Empire, and adhered to his resolution regarding the deposition of the two Archbishops. The Diet had been summoned to meet at Frankfort on the 1st September, 1446, and the Bishops Tommaso Parentucelli of Bologna, and Jean of Liege, together with Juan de Carvajal and Nicholas of Cusa appeared there as Ambassadors from Rome, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini having in the meantime convinced the Pope of the necessity of concession. The Cardinal of Arles attended on behalf of the Basle party.

The violent anti-papal feeling which had already widely gained ground in Germany found open expression in the Imperial Diet. The position of Eugenius and even the authority of the head of the Empire seemed at the outset to be seriously endangered, for the Electors intended, in the event of the Pope's non-compliance with their demands, to declare themselves in favour of the Council of Basle, independently of the King, or even in antagonism to him.

The Cardinal of Arles deemed the victory of his party almost a certainty, when suddenly a surprising change took place to the great advantage of Eugenius. The principal author of this change was Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Secretary in the

Chancery of King Frederick III, the very man who, but a year before, had, in conjunction with Schlick and Carvajal, won his royal master to the side of the Pope.

Among the notable figures of the Renaissance age, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini is certainly one of the most brilliant and one of those best known to us. A most prolific author and indefatigable letter-writer, he has left to posterity the means of closely following every phase of his life.

He was born on the 18th October, 1405, at Corsignano, near Siena. His family belonged to the ancient nobility of that city, but had fallen into poverty, and accordingly his youth was passed amid privations. At an early age he went to the University of Siena to study law, for which, however, he had but little taste, while the classical literature fascinated him. Cicero, Livy, and Virgil were his favourite authors. He scarcely allowed himself time for food or sleep, but pored day and night over these books which he had borrowed from friends. To avoid putting them to inconvenience, he copied out the most celebrated works, and made extracts from others. After a time, he went to Florence to prosecute his studies and became the disciple of Filelfo.

When he had spent two years in Florence, he was induced by his relations to return to Siena and attend lectures on jurisprudence, the only result of which, however, was an increased aversion for lawyers. In his twenty-seventh year his talents attracted the attention of Cardinal Capranica, who was passing through Siena on his way to Basle, and he became his secretary. The circle into which he was introduced at Basle, in the spring of 1432, was one most unfriendly to Pope Eugenius IV, and this circumstance had much influence on his after-life. Capranica, who was destitute of fortune, was soon reconciled to Pope Eugenius IV, and Aeneas Sylvius passed from his service into that of Bishop Nicodemus of Freising, Bishop Bartolomeo of Novara, and finally of Cardinal Albergati. The period of his connection with the latter, although comparatively short, was one which tended greatly to polish and to direct his brilliant intellect and also brought him into contact with the noble Tommaso Parentucelli, afterwards Pope Nicholas V. He accompanied Albergati on several journeys, and was sent by him, in 1438, on a secret mission to Scotland. On his return from this dangerous expedition, he no longer found his patron at Basle, and, instead of rejoining him, determined to remain there, and was soon drawn into the violent agitation against Eugenius IV.

His happy nature, his talents, and his Humanistic culture soon won for him many friends among the members of the Council, and his eloquence attracted general attention. He was employed by the Council as Scriptor, Abbreviator, and Chief Abbreviator, was a member of the commission of dogma, and took part in several embassies. He viewed the conflict between the Pope and the Council with the indifference of an adherent of the heathen Renaissance, but used his pen against Eugenius IV.

His happiest hours were spent in Basle, in a little circle of friends, like himself, of studious tastes and of lax morality. It is impossible to say how far this atmosphere of heathen Renaissance was responsible for his opposition to the lawful Pope, but there can be no doubt that it exercised a considerable influence over him, and we have positive proof that his own moral life was deeply tainted by the corruption which surrounded him, and that he even gloried in his errors with the shamelessness of a Boccaccio. Aeneas was not, it must be observed, at this time an ecclesiastic, and, indeed, as he openly declared in his letters, had no intention of entering a state whose duties are so serious. In these same letters, the great questions of Church policy which then agitated society are treated with much levity.

When the Synod of Basle called a new Schism into existence, he took part in it, and even entered the service of the Anti-Pope, Felix V. But his keen understanding soon perceived that the position which the Synod had assumed was an untenable one, and he consequently became disgusted with his appointment, and eagerly seized the first opportunity of honourably escaping from a situation which had become intolerable. The opportunity occurred in the year 1442, when he accompanied the Ambassadors of the Council to the Diet of Frankfort. By the intervention of Bishop Sylvester of Chiemsee he was presented to King Frederick III, who offered him a place in the Royal Chancery. The offer was joyfully accepted, and his connection with Felix V came to an end. When Frederick III passed through Basle on the 11th November, 1442, on the occasion of his coronation, Aeneas joined his suite and went with him to Austria.

This step brought down upon him a torrent of abuse. The Historian of the city of Rome, however, judges it with his accustomed calmness and moderation. "A change of party", he writes, "whatever be the circumstances under which it takes place, always provokes detraction, and a man who had written so much and had been so unreserved in regard to his own personal feelings and the events of his private life, must necessarily have laid himself, in many ways, open to those who were ready to take hold of every word, even in his most confidential letters, that would swell the list of his sins. His character was by no means perfect. The versatility of his intellect must of itself have proved a danger, even if, with his poverty, his ambition, and his consciousness of talent, he had not been cast into a whirlpool which carried away many stronger natures. His subsequent confession was, whatever may be said against it, made in all good faith. He was not influenced by mere personal considerations, when, in the year 1442, he gave up his position in the service of Felix V and accepted that offered to him in the Royal Chancery. For the moment indeed he gained nothing by so doing, and later he might, like the Anti-Pope and others, have made advantageous terms with Rome".

Time worked a great change, not only in the political and ecclesiastical opinions, but also in the moral character of Aeneas: old age seems to have come upon him prematurely, and a serious view of life took the place of his former levity. For a long time he hesitated about entering the priesthood, but in 1445 he resolved on the step, and actually took it in the following year. On the 8th March, 1446, he wrote in the following terms to a friend: "He must be a miserable and graceless man who does not at last return to his better self, enter into his own heart, and amend his life: who does not consider what will come in the other world after this. Ah! John, I have done enough and too much evil! I have come to myself; oh, may it not be too late!" In the month in which these words were written he was ordained priest at Vienna.

Aeneas had formally made his peace with Pope Eugenius a year before his ordination. The Chancellor, Kaspar Schlick, had at that time sent him to Rome to confer with the Pope regarding the holding of a Council at a fresh place. Regardless of the warnings of those around him, he went in the fullest confidence to the Eternal City, and was very well received there. He could not, however, be admitted to an audience, until he had been absolved from the censures incurred as an adherent of the Synod and an official of the Anti-Pope, and he felt a certain embarrassment as to meeting Eugenius IV, whom he had at Basle so vehemently opposed. Accordingly, before fulfilling his mission, he wrote an apology which is a masterpiece of style. It has been described as the address of a vanquished king to his captor.

"Most Holy Father", he says, "before discharging the King's commissions, I will speak a little of myself. I am aware that much has been brought to your ears regarding me, which is neither good nor worthy of repetition. And those who have laid

accusations against me before you have not spoken falsely. Yes, I have, during all the time I was at Basle, spoken, written, and done many things—I deny nothing. But my intention was not so much to injure you, as to serve God's Church. I erred, who would deny it? but I erred in company with men of no small importance. I followed Giuliano, the Cardinal of Sant. Angelo, Niccolò, the Archbishop of Palermo, Ludovico Pontano, the notary of Your See. These are held to be the eyes of justice, the teachers of truth. What shall I say of the Universities and of the other Schools, the majority of which were adverse to You? Who would not have erred with such men! But when I perceived the error of the people of Basle, then also, I confess it, I did not at once hasten to You as did the greater number. I rather dreaded rushing from one error into another, for he often falls into Scylla who would avoid Charybdis, and so I joined those who were considered neutral. I would not pass from one extreme to another without consideration and without delay. For three years I remained thus with the King. But the more I heard of the disputes between the Synod of Basle and Your Legate, the less doubt remained on my mind that truth was with You. I, therefore, willingly obeyed, when the King wished by my intervention to open for himself a way to Your goodness, for I hope thus to be able to return to Your favour. Now I stand before You, and inasmuch as I have sinned in ignorance, I beg You to forgive me".

Eugenius answered, "We know that you have sinned, together with many, but it is Our duty to pardon him who confesses his error: Holy Mother Church is inexorable to one who denies his fault, but never refuses absolution to the penitent. You have now returned to the truth. Beware of ever again forsaking it, and seek Divine Grace by good works! Your position is one in which you can defend the truth and serve the Church."

Aeneas Sylvius did not disappoint the expectations of the Pope, for he succeeded in breaking up the League of Electors, which was a danger alike to the Pope and the King of the Romans. He privately persuaded the Elector of Mayence, the representative of the Elector of Saxony and two Bishops to separate themselves from the Confederacy and join Frederick III. On the 22nd September, these electors and bishops united with the Deputies of the King of the Romans in a secret declaration that the Pope's answer was a sufficient basis for the restoration of peace to the Church, and mutually bound themselves to hold fast to this opinion. On the 5th October, strengthened by the addition of fresh adherents, they held a second consultation, preparatory to the recognition of Eugenius. On the 11th October, the Imperial Diet was prorogued, a measure which, as usual, merely concealed but did not heal the existing disunion. Many more bishops and princes were won over by the unwearied efforts of King Frederick and the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, so that at the end of 1446, messengers started for Rome from all parts of Germany; sixty met at Siena and travelled together by Baccano to the Eternal City.

On the 7th January, 1447, John of Lysura, representing the Elector of Mayence, Chancellor Sesselmann, representing the Elector of Brandenburg, and Aeneas Sylvius and Procopius von Rabstein, as Delegates from the King of the Romans, arrived in Rome, and were very honourably received. The Pope at once granted them a solemn audience, and Aeneas Sylvius brought forward the claims of the Germans in so eloquent and able a manner, that all who heard him praised his power and his prudence, and foretold for him a brilliant future. "We come", he said, "to bring peace, and the German princes desire peace, but they also make certain demands, and unless these demands are granted, wounds cannot be healed, nor peace attained. The first is that a General Council, the time and place of which are still to be decided, shall be summoned. The second, that You in writing confirm that acknowledgment of the authority and pre-

eminence of General Councils representing the Church Militant, which has been made by Your Ambassadors. The third, that the grievances of the German nation be redressed; and the fourth, that the deposition of the two Electors be revoked".

The dangerous illness of the Pope and the opposition of a portion of the Sacred College, made the negotiations which ensued both tedious and difficult. A happy conclusion was, however, arrived at, and expressed in four Papal documents, bearing date the 5th and 7th February, 1447, and forming what is known as the Concordat of the Princes. The demands of Germany were, with some abatements, granted in principle, but the concessions were made in a vague and guarded manner. After the Ambassadors had received these Bulls, they gathered round the bed of the sick Pope, "who, on that day, had in some degree come to himself, and was able to attend to business"; on their knees took the oath of obedience, and afterwards, in open Consistory, solemnly repeated their declaration (7th February). Those who, by means of their plenipotentiaries, took part in this Concordat, were: the King of the Romans, acting on his own behalf and on that of the Crown of Bohemia, the Electors of Mayence and Brandenburg, the Margrave Albert, acting for himself and his brother John, Duke William of Saxony, and the Landgrave Louis of Hesse, together with the Bishops of Halberstadt and Breslau, and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order.

This event caused immense joy in Rome alike among the clergy and the populace. Although but a portion of the German nation had promised obedience to the Pope, the rejoicings were as great as if the entire Holy Roman Empire had made complete submission. All the bells of the city rang out, bonfires were lighted, and solemn processions were made to give God thanks for so great a benefit.

The submission of those German Princes, who still persisted in their opposition, was now a mere question of time, and the cause of the Synod of Basle was definitely lost in Germany. Eugenius issued a special Bull, declaring that in the concessions which he had made to Germany, moved by his anxiety for the welfare of the Church, though unable through illness to investigate the matter as thoroughly as he would have desired, he had not intended in any way to compromise the rights or the authority of the Apostolic See. On the 23rd February he died, consoled by the knowledge that the Schism had lost its power, and that the Church was again resuming her sway.

Looking back on the Pontificate of Eugenius IV, we must say, with Aeneas Sylvius, that it is marked by an uncommon measure of prosperity and of misfortune, and that the two are pretty equally balanced. Prosperity would have greatly preponderated if the Pope had shown more moderation and prudence in his proceedings. Aeneas has, in a few words, given an admirable sketch of his character. "He was magnanimous, but without moderation; his actions were guided by his desires rather than by his powers". Yet it was a time when the perplexed state of ecclesiastical and political affairs rendered prudence in a special degree necessary. Even at the moment of Eugenius' accession the position was critical enough, for the long-postponed question of Church reform cried for solution, and the Hussite heresy, which daily assumed a more alarming aspect, was not to be repressed by force of arms, and had to be rendered harmless by conciliatory means. Eugenius was partly the victim of circumstances, but it cannot be denied that, with his utter want of political experience, he often made matters worse by imprudence and obstinacy. As years went on, however, his opponents became convinced of the firmness of his principles, and from 1438 he was in many important matters successful. Considering the countless obstacles in his way, his successes are not to be estimated by an ordinary standard. He entered on the struggle for the restoration of Papal authority with but a small body of loyal adherents,



and, although without resources, and forsaken alike by ecclesiastical and temporal princes, he carried it on with unwearied energy until the victory was won. The victory was not indeed complete, but its consequences were most important. At the time when Eugenius became Pope, the Schism had diffused even among the noblest sons of the Church false doctrines regarding the Papal Primacy and a tone antagonistic to the chief Pastor of the Church; when he died, the men of most importance were on the side of Rome; the opponents of the Apostolic See and of the monarchical constitution of the Church, in short all the anti-ecclesiastical elements, had sustained a notable defeat; the attempt to change the Pope into a mere phantom-ruler, a sort of Doge, had come to nought; and the greatest conflict which a Council had ever waged against Rome, was practically decided in favour of the Holy See.

High praise is unquestionably due to Eugenius for his absolute freedom from nepotism, and his bitterest opponents have never ventured to impugn the purity of his life. His unwearied activity in works of charity is also worthy of grateful remembrance.

Eugenius IV was, in the fullest sense of the word, a father of the poor and the sick, to whom, according to Paolo Petrone, "he gave liberal alms, and he portioned many needy young maidens". St. Frances of Rome, who all this time filled the Eternal City with the splendour of her holiness, found in the Pope a generous promoter of her pious and benevolent undertakings. The Hospital of Santo Spirito, which had fallen into decay, was an object of special care to Eugenius. He rescued the institution from its pecuniary difficulties, restored the ruined buildings, and put an end to irregularities which had arisen in the Confraternity, so that he really deserves to be considered as its second founder. He plainly declared that if the Master General of the Order (at that time his own nephew, Pietro Barbo) did not fulfil his duty, he would take the burden on his own shoulders, and himself act as Master General and Superior of the Hospital, deeming such a charge by no means incompatible with the dignity of the Tiara. In order to give a fresh impulse to the Confraternity, he became a member on the 10th April, 1446, and undertook to contribute a certain sum yearly. The Pope's example was followed by many Cardinals, among whom were Francesco Condulmaro, Giovanni Tagliacozzo, Niccolò Acciapacci, Giorgio Fieschi, Bessarion, Antonio Martini, Jean le Jeune de Contay, d'Estouteville, Torquemada, Scarampo, and Alfonzo Borgia, who afterwards became Calixtus III.

The "visita graziosa", after the plan of an ancient institution in the Church, was, we are told, established in the time of Eugenius IV. Twice every month Magistrates and Overseers of the poor visited the prisoners and questioned each of them separately; when occasion offered they mitigated punishments; they brought about agreements between debtors and creditors, and, in many cases, set prisoners at liberty. The Popes, who have so often taken a prominent part in promoting the welfare of humanity, the progress of civilization and the exercise of benevolence, were also among the first to interest themselves in the improvement of prisons and the alleviation of the lot of prisoners, remembering that the proper aim of punishment is not retaliation, but the amendment of the criminal, or at least the protection of society from further injury.

One aspect of this reign demands special consideration, because it has been made the occasion of serious charges against Eugenius IV. It is true that the general reform of ecclesiastical affairs was not carried out during his pontificate, but have those who blame him asked themselves whether such general reform was possible?

A very clear-sighted contemporary, who was also a thorough friend of reform, answers in the negative. The celebrated Dominican, Master John Nider, held a general

reform of the Church in its head and its members to be a practical impossibility. He believed experience to have shown that only a partial reform was possible, and, in his chief work, the "Formicarius", he endeavoured to support this opinion. He draws a lesson from the custom of the ants who build themselves a city composed of many little dwellings, which they protect in their way from heat and from rain with sticks and leaves. "Herein", he explains, "they are the emblems of those who belong to the General Council, and especially of the Prelates; for they, as far as in them lies, have charge to reform the City of the Church Militant in its several orders, where it has suffered damage, that is to say, to instruct men in the way of serving God, to defend them from the heat of passions and the assaults of enemies, and in word and deed so to behave themselves that they may deserve to be specially led in this by the Spirit of God. Now, alas! it is all very different". The Councils of Constance and Basle, Nider continues, have made it their special business to reform the Church in its head and members. Much was said, particularly at Basle, about the Church; the Council called itself, in the title of almost all its Bulls, a Council of reform, it even established a Commission of reform, "and for, six whole years the amendment of the various ranks of the clergy has been dealt with, but we have not perceived any result". Is there any hope of a general reformation of the Church in its Head and its members? "I have", answers Nider, "absolutely none in the present time, or in the immediate future; for goodwill is wanting among the subjects, the evil disposition of the prelates constitutes an obstacle, and, finally, it is profitable to God's elect to be tried by persecution from the wicked. You may see an analogy in the art of building. An architect, however skilful he may be, can never erect an edifice unless he has suitable material of wood or stone. And if there is wood or stone in sufficient quantity, but no master-builder, there will be no proper house and dwelling. And, if you knew that a house would not be fitting for your friend, or, when built, would be a trouble to him, you certainly would be prudent enough not to build it. Apply these three instances to the total reformation of the Church, and you will perceive its impossibility. However, I have no doubt that a partial reformation of the Church in many of its conditions and orders is possible".

Eugenius IV adopted this course; he began the work of reform in the only way which was, under the circumstances, possible or profitable, by the amendment and regeneration of the Religious Orders and then of the clergy. The terrible storms which broke over the Papacy often interfered with the accomplishment of his excellent purposes; nevertheless, during the whole of his Pontificate he devoted the greatest attention to the improvement of the moral of the secular and regular clergy. Reform was constantly talked of at Basle; but very little was done to carry it out. Truly pious and priestly-minded men were wanting. The very fathers who spoke most constantly of the simplicity of the Apostolic Church were seen hunting and hawking, fully accoutred and attended by a long train of lay retainers, or feasting at sumptuous banquets. Eugenius IV took the reform of the Roman clergy in hand in 1432, and continued the work even during the time of his exile. After his return to Rome he looked closely to the maintenance of discipline amongst them. Vespasiano da Bisticci gives a detailed account of the manner in which he reformed the monasteries of Florence and its neighbourhood during his long sojourn in that city. It was Eugenius' purpose to restore strict observance in all monasteries, but adverse circumstances hindered the accomplishment of his plan. In connection with his zeal in this matter, we may mention his special affection for St. Bernardine of Siena and St. John Capistran; almost as soon as the former of these holy men had breathed his last, the process for his canonization was introduced.

Eugenius IV was not unmindful of the interests of art and artists; in fact, he gave them every encouragement possible in those troublous days.

Recent investigations have thrown much light on the Venetian Pope's relation to art, and the matter is especially worthy of attention, because in some sense he prepared the way for his great successor. Although it is a mistake to consider Eugenius IV as the first of the line of Renaissance Popes, yet it is true that he prepared the way for it, and his action in this respect is more apparent in the domain of art than in that of literature.

Like Martin V, Eugenius IV was most simple and modest in his own manner of living, but deemed no splendour too great where the worship of God was concerned. The tiara which Ghiberti made by his order must have been a very marvel of magnificence; the gold employed in it alone weighed fifteen pounds, and the precious stones and pearls five and a half more. The value of these jewels—rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and pearls (amongst which were six of the size of a hazel-nut)—was estimated by the Florentine goldsmiths at eight and thirty thousand golden florins. The exquisite workmanship of Ghiberti added to the worth of this costly tiara; the little figures and ornaments which adorned it were made by his own hand; in front our Lord was represented seated on a throne and surrounded by a choir of angels; at the back was the Blessed Virgin, also enthroned and attended by angels; four medallions contained the Evangelists, and the band at the base was decorated with cherubs. That the exiled Pope should have displayed such magnificence may be explained by the fact that the tiara was destined to be worn at the solemn ratification of the union with the Greeks, an act which was considered as an immense victory won by the Papacy, at the very moment when the Council of Basle was doing its utmost to destroy it.

In the eternal city, Eugenius IV also followed the example of his powerful predecessor by taking special care of the restoration of the churches, without, however, forgetting the other buildings, the gates, the walls of the city, and the bridges. By his command works of restoration were undertaken at St. Peter's, St. Paul's, Sta. Maria Maggiore, Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, Sta. Maria in Trastevere, Sto. Spirito in Sassia, and in the Lateran. In the last-named church the frescoes representing scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist, begun in the time of Martin V by Gentile da Fabriano, were finished by Vittore Pisanello. Even while in exile, Eugenius managed to contribute considerable sums of money for these purposes; in 1437-1438 alone, he gave more than three thousand ducats. The Pantheon, an ancient heathen building, which had long served as a church, was restored, its splendid pillars were cleared to the base, and the entrance and floor paved with Travertine marble. On this occasion were discovered two basalt lions of Egyptian workmanship, which Pius VII afterwards placed in the Egyptian Museum of the Vatican, and a wonderful porphyry basin, supposed at that time to be the Sarcophagus of Agrippa; it now adorns the splendid monument of Clement XII in the Lateran.

We have already spoken of the influence which his prolonged sojourn at Florence, the centre of the Renaissance, exercised on Eugenius IV, but to complete the picture of his life we must again return to the subject.

In Florence, Eugenius saw the first gate made by Ghiberti for the Baptistry, and it seems most probable that the sight of this masterpiece suggested to him the idea of ordering a similar work for the principal church in Rome. Accordingly the Florentine architect, Antonio Averulino surnamed Filarete, was commissioned to make new bronze gates for St. Peter's. They were put up on the 26th June, 1445, and still adorn the central entrance. Although their workmanship cannot bear comparison with that of Ghiberti,

they are worthy of notice as clearly exhibiting that evil influence of the Renaissance, of which we shall hereafter have to speak. In his work, which was destined for the principal entrance of the noblest church in the world, Filarete had, to use the mildest term, the bad taste to place, together with the figures of our Saviour, His Virgin Mother and the Princes of the Apostles, and amid representations of the great religious acts of Eugenius' Pontificate, not only busts of the Roman Emperors, but also the forms of Mars and Roma, of Jupiter and Ganymede, Hero and Leander, of a Centaur leading a nymph through the sea, and even of Leda and the swan; the composition is in keeping with the contemporary poems of the Humanists, where the names of Christian Saints and of heathen gods are promiscuously intermingled.

It is curious that the same Pope who had these gates put up at S. Peter's, took Fra Angelico da Fiesole, the most devout of Christian artists, into his service, and employed this great matter, in whose works the mystical tendency of Italian art reaches its climax, in the decoration of his new chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in the Vatican. Hardly any fact could be better calculated to modify a hasty condemnation of the encouragement given to the Renaissance by the Popes. The first period of the Renaissance was one of striking contrasts, not only in the domain of literature, but also in that of art, and from these very contrasts the Pontificate of the successor of Eugenius derives its distinctive character.

**BOOK III**

NICHOLAS V.

THE FIRST PAPAL PATRON OF LITERATURE AND THE FINE ARTS,  
1447-1455.

## CHAPTER I

## ELECTION AND CHARACTER OF NICHOLAS V

EUGENIUS IV had devoted the energies of his life to the restoration of the Papal power, but the great work was but in its beginning, and far from completion. The remnant of the Council of Basle was still in existence, and the anti-Pope was living in Switzerland. The efforts of the partisans of the Council to alter the manner of Papal elections were still fresh in the minds of many, and the political condition of Italy, especially that of the States of the Church, was one of uncertainty and confusion. In view of this threatening position of affairs, Eugenius IV had, shortly before his death, renewed the Decrees of the General Councils of Lyons and Vienne regarding Papal elections, and appointed Cardinal Scarampo commander of all fortresses in the Roman dominions. The attitude adopted by King Alfonso of Naples was the principal cause of the latter measure.

The King having, in concert with Eugenrus IV, determined on an expedition against Florence, had been, ever since the beginning of the year, encamped at Tivoli, in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, with a force of four thousand men, a circumstance which seemed seriously to endanger the liberty of the approaching Conclave. Alfonso had indeed given an assurance to several of the Cardinals that, in the event of the Pope's death, he would observe absolute neutrality, and had also promised to afford protection against any attempted pressure. But his lengthened sojourn at Tivoli, the arrival of constant reinforcements for his army, and the impenetrable obscurity in which his plans were shrouded, were little calculated to allay the apprehensions of the Sacred College and of the members of the Court.

The Republican party was again astir in Rome. Its leader, Stefano Porcaro, publicly attacked "priestly authority" and was with difficulty silenced by the Vice-Camerlengo. Suspicious-looking persons appeared in the streets, and the Camerlengo brought in troops to maintain order. Many of the dangerous individuals were required to leave the City, but the attitude of the populace was so threatening that the merchants hid their goods in secure places.

The reports of the ambassadors in Rome testify to the fear which possessed men's minds. On the 20th February, 1447, when the condition of Eugenius had become hopeless, the ambassador of the Republic of Siena writes: "May God give us a good new Pastor, and may the election take place without strife. The state of affairs here gives us cause to fear the worst. May the Almighty be with us and take care of His Holy Church". After the death of Eugenius IV, the ambassador urged his fellow-countrymen to have public prayers offered for the Election of a good Pope.

The new election, however, was happily accomplished without disturbance, and in a most regular manner. Seldom, in fact, in any election, have all the prescribed formalities been carried out with such scrupulous exactness as in the Conclave in the Dominican Convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva after the death of Eugenius IV. This was principally due to the wise precautions taken by the Cardinals, who were thoroughly convinced of the necessity, under the existing circumstances, of avoiding any flaw, or even the semblance of any flaw, in the election. Opinions regarding the different candidates for the Papacy were greatly divided in Rome; but the desire for a speedy election was general, and this desire, in effect, was not disappointed.

In the evening of the 4th March the Cardinals then present in Rome went into Conclave. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who, with the Bohemian, Procopius of Rabstein, and the ambassadors of Aragon and of Cyprus, had the honour of guarding the Conclave for two nights, has given us a full account of the proceedings.

The Sacred College at this time numbered twenty-four members. Two of these, Prospero Colonna and the noble Domenico Capranica, were the sole survivors of the Cardinals created by Martin V, and it was generally believed that the latter of the two would be the future Pope.

The composition of the Sacred College at the death of Eugenius IV bears witness to the care which he had taken to gather around him men of the greatest virtue, piety, and learning. The Spanish Cardinal, Juan de Carvajal, who, with Tommaso Parentucelli, had been created in December, 1446, was generally looked upon as the most eminent of the body.

The singular grandeur and depth of Carvajal's character have won the esteem and even the admiration of writers whose judgment is habitually severe. He was indeed an ornament to the Sacred College, to the Church, and to humanity itself. He was absolutely free from the restless ambition and self-glorification, so common amongst the able men of the Renaissance. It was his nature, on the contrary, to withdraw and wait to be sought. To Pope Eugenius IV belongs the credit of having placed this man, who seemed born for ecclesiastical diplomacy, in his proper sphere of action. As a Cardinal, Carvajal continued to live modestly without pomp or splendour. "No one", says the biographer of Aeneas Sylvius, "saw the coarse garments which he wore beneath the purple, nor witnessed his fasts and his penances. The solid foundation on which his moral purity rested, was a stern sense of duty and obedience. His only idea was the consecration of his life to the Church, and especially to the promotion of the glory and power of Christ's Vicar".

After the "incorruptible and indefatigable" Carvajal we must mention his distinguished fellow-countryman, Juan de Torquemada, who belonged to a family of note; he had entered the Dominican order, was appointed Master of the Sacred Palace in 1431, and was employed in various embassies. At Basle he defended the rights of the Pope and of the Holy See against the supporters of the false conciliary ideas with such undaunted courage, that Eugenius IV bestowed on him the glorious title of "Defender of the Faith". In the Council assembled at Ferrara and transferred to Florence, he again served the cause of the Pope with ardent zeal and keen dialectic skill, and in 1439 the grateful Eugenius raised him to the purple. Torquemada in his high position continued to wear the habit and punctually to follow the rule of his Order, and insisted on similar strictness on the part of his brethren in religion.

In regard to theology, Torquemada was undoubtedly the most learned member of the sacred College; a modern Protestant historian indeed considers him the greatest theologian of his age. This great Dominican used to say that the only abiding treasure in this life is science, which alone compensates man for the shortness of life by the prospect of immortality.

As a writer, Torquemada dealt with almost all the questions which in his day agitated the Church; he was the leader of the literary reaction in favour of the Papacy. His memory still lives in the Eternal City, in the foundation of the confraternity of the Annunciation established in 1460 for the purpose of providing dowries for poor girls. The picture of the Cardinal commending three poor maidens to the Blessed Virgin is preserved in the Chapel of the Confraternity, which he helped to build, at Sta Maria sopra Minerva. The Humanists, Tommaso Parentucelli and Bessarion, were noted for their learning and their devotion to the Church, while Cardinal Enrico de Allosio was known as the father of the poor.

There were, however, among the Cardinals many in whom the worldly element predominated; of this class were Barbo, Scarampo, and Guillaume d'Estouteville. Among non-Italian Cardinals few have in recent times attained such distinction as this wealthy Frenchman. He was connected with the Royal House of France, possessed many benefices, and lived in a style of princely splendour, but was by no means devoid of refined taste and culture. In his palace, worthy of a king, which Gregory XIII afterwards assigned to the German College, and at Sta Maria Maggiore, of which he was archpriest, the best of music was to be heard. It is very doubtful whether any foundation existed for the charges brought against his morals. The many churches which he built both in France and in Rome bear witness to a certain ecclesiastical feeling on his part, and he bestowed much care on the church of Sta Maria Maggiore, over whose high altar he erected a richly carved baldacchino with four porphyry columns. The most splendid proof of his munificence to the Eternal City is to be seen in the church of St. Agostino, whose facade, with its Corinthian columns, is a characteristic specimen of the early Renaissance architecture of Rome.

We must now consider the manner in which different nations were represented in the Sacred College, six of whose twenty-four members were, at this time, absent from Rome. Eleven of the Cardinals were Italians; four, Spaniards; two, Frenchmen; and two, Greeks; while England, Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Portugal each contributed one.

Notwithstanding the varied composition of the Sacred College, the old Roman factions of the Colonna and Orsini soon assumed antagonistic positions in the Conclave. The former of these parties was the strongest, and its candidate, Cardinal Prospero Colonna, had at the first scrutiny no less than ten votes, but he failed to obtain the two

more which would have constituted the required majority of two-thirds. Next to Colonna came Domenico Capranica and Tommaso Parentucelli. The second scrutiny gave a like result, but the votes which had been given to Capranica and Parentucelli were more divided, and votes were given outside the Sacred College, as, for example, to St. Antoninus, the Archbishop of Florence, and to Nicholas of Cusa. The final decision of the election was in great measure due to Cardinal Tagliacozzo, Archbishop of Tarento, who proposed Parentucelli, Cardinal of Bologna, as one fitted by his love of peace, his learning, and his freedom from party spirit to occupy the highest position in Christendom. On the occasion of the third scrutiny Parentucelli, who had received the red hat but two and a half months previously, and who, of all the Cardinals, appeared to have the least chance, received the required twelve votes. The sudden agreement of the Sacred College in his regard caused such surprise that Cardinal Capranica could not credit the fact until he had again looked through the votes. When the majority of two-thirds had been established beyond the possibility of doubt, the remaining Cardinals gave their assent, and accordingly in the morning of the 6th March the election was announced by Cardinal Colonna to the expectant multitude as unanimous.

Everyone marvelled at Parentucelli's election. As the Cardinal of Portugal was leaving the Conclave he was asked whether the Cardinals had chosen a Pope. "No; the Pope has been chosen by God, not by the Cardinals", was his reply. The Siense Ambassador, after exhorting his countrymen to render thanks to Almighty God that so distinguished and holy a Pontiff had been given to the Church, continued in the following words: "Truly in this election God has manifested His power, which surpasses all human prudence and wisdom".

The choice of a Cardinal who had kept aloof from all party strife caused the greatest rejoicing in Rome. "Although many", according to Aeneas Sylvius, "might have preferred a Pope of their own party, no one was hostile to him". It was a blessing to the Eternal City and to the Church at large to have a fresh outbreak of party animosity averted, and to see a man, whose worth had won the esteem of all, raised to the highest position. Parentucelli's election had, however, a far wider importance; it marks one of the chief turning points in the History of the Papacy, for with him the Christian Renaissance ascended the Pontifical Throne.

Throughout the States of the Church, as well as in Rome itself, the Cardinal of Bologna's elevation was the occasion of public festivities. As soon as the tidings reached Perugia the bells of the Palazzo Pubblico and of the Cathedral of San. Lorenzo were rung, and bonfires were lighted in the open squares. In Bologna the Palace of the Podesta was decorated with banners, and processions were made by command of the Senate for three days, in order to return thanks to God for the election of so excellent a Pastor. Brescia, Genoa, Siena, and other places beyond the limits of the States of the Church, shared the general feeling. How fully it was justified will be evident, if we glance at his character and previous life. In grateful remembrance of his former master and benefactor, the saintly Cardinal Niccold Albergati, he took the name of Nicholas V.

Tommaso Parentucelli first saw the light on the 15th November, 1397. It seems most probable that he was born at Sarzana, a small place on the coast of Liguria. His father, an upright and skilful physician, was by no means wealthy, and died when Tommaso was very young. The gifted and promising boy was early acquainted with hardship; poverty made it impossible for him to pursue his studies at the University of Bologna, where he had already won success. His mother, who was in very straitened circumstances, had in the meantime married again, and having several children by her second husband, was unable to afford him any assistance, so that he was entirely



dependent on his own exertions. Happily he obtained the situation of tutor, first in the family of Rinaldo degli Albizzi, of Florence, and afterwards in that of Palla de Strozzi, the "Nestor of the learned Florentine aristocracy". The two years spent in the City, which was at that time the centre of Humanistic studies, were of great importance in the development of Tommaso Parentucelli's powers, and especially in the formation of his literary taste; they imparted the germ of that enthusiasm for learning and for art which afterwards bore such abundant fruit, and brought him into contact with all the most celebrated scholars of the day. At the end of these two years Parentucelli had saved enough money to enable him to return to Bologna, where he took a Master's Degree in Theology. He continued in friendly relations with both the noble families, who had treated him with much distinction while in their employment as tutor. Years afterwards, when he had reached the summit of power, and his former pupils were in exile, he had the happiness of being able to be of use to them.

It says much for the disposition and for the virtues of the young scholar, that the Saintly Bishop of the City, Niccold Albergati, took him into his service. Three years later he was ordained priest, and for more than twenty years, in fact, until the death of the distinguished prelate, Tommaso was his constant companion, his confidential servant, and the Major Domo of his household and of his ecclesiastical establishment. The Historian of Humanism justly observes that "no higher testimony to the piety of Albergati's life can be given than the fact that a man so honourable and so free from all hypocrisy as was Parentucelli for years enjoyed his entire confidence. While, on the other hand, the modest and entire devotion of the future Pope to the service of his master, the filial care with which he tended his old age, and the pious gratitude which induced him, when called to fill the Papal Throne, to adopt the name of his departed benefactor, speak for him more eloquently than words could do".

After Albergati's elevation to the purple Parentucelli accompanied him to Rome, and thence to Florence, when the Papal Court migrated to that City. He was thus again brought into contact with the representatives of the Christian, as well as of the heathen Renaissance. Vespasiano da Bisticci has left us a pleasant picture of their social gatherings in Florence. "Every morning and evening", he says, "Lionardo and Carlo of Arezzo, Giannozzo Manetti, Giovanni Aurispa, Gasparo of Bologna, Poggio, and many other learned men, used to assemble in the open air, in the vicinity of the Papal Palace, for friendly and literary conversation. Tommaso Parentucelli always joined them. After leaving his Cardinal at home, he used to come, riding rapidly on a mule and accompanied by two servants, to take his part eagerly in their disputations". Parentucelli also often visited the Academy of Santo Spirito, in order to discuss philosophical and theological questions with the pious Master of Theology, Vangelista of Pisa; and he was even more frequently to be seen with the booksellers in Florence, into whose hands any money that he could spend found its way

Parentucelli appears to have first attracted the attention of the Court at the period of the negotiations with the Greeks, when his knowledge of Holy Scripture and of the Fathers, as well as his skill in argument, came into play. Eugenius IV rewarded the services which he rendered to the Church on this occasion by appointing him Apostolic Subdeacon, with a yearly income of three hundred ducats. In 1443 he lost his friend and patron, Albergati, but he soon found a new and more powerful protector in the Pope, who made him Vice-Camerlengo, and on the 27th November, 1444, conferred upon him the Bishopric of Bologna. The City was at the time in a state of revolt, and Parentucelli was unable to take possession of his See, as the steps taken by Eugenius in January, 1445, proved fruitless. To so poor a man the matter was serious, yet in the end it was the

occasion of his further advancement, for the Pope, having had sufficient proof of his skill in diplomatic affairs, both during his connection with Albergati and when he acted independently at Florence and Naples, twice entrusted him with important missions to Germany. On the latter of these occasions he was successful in breaking up the League of the Electors which constituted a serious danger to Rome, and was rewarded by a Cardinal's Hat (16 and 23 December, 1446)

The important position which the Cardinal of Bologna, as Parentucelli was now called, soon attained in the Sacred College, is evident from the remarkable fact that the Sienese Ambassadors, in one of their despatches, speak of him as a second Pope. Pope Eugenius IV is said to have foretold his elevation to the Papal throne; and his biographers mention many other similar predictions, to which, however, we must not give too much weight.

The outward appearance of the man who had thus rapidly risen from poverty and obscurity to the highest dignity in Christendom—who had, in the course of three short years, become Bishop, Cardinal, and Pope—was anything but distinguished. Contemporaries describe him as small and weakly, with sharply-cut features, and keen black eyes, a pale complexion, and a powerful voice. The plain but intellectual countenance of Nicholas V may still be recognized in his modest effigy in the crypt of the Vatican. His disposition was lively, impatient, and hasty; he was extremely exact in all he did, and expected to be understood at a glance. In these and in other respects he was a complete contrast to his predecessor, who was grave, dignified, and silent. He was wont to speak much and rapidly, and dispensed with all irksome ceremony. Dissimulation and hypocrisy were hateful to his open-hearted nature. He was affable, obliging, and cheerful; he showed himself to the people more frequently than Eugenius had done, and gave audiences at all hours of the day. His servants were all Germans or Frenchmen; the Italians, he thought, had their minds always set upon higher things, while Frenchmen and Germans contented themselves with the employments entrusted to them, did not trouble themselves about other matters, and were satisfied and faithful in the lowest service. His table was simple, and he was very temperate; he drank wine largely mixed with water; choice wines were only served for the prelates and great personages from France, Germany, and England, with whom he had become acquainted in his travels, and to whom he delighted to show hospitality when they came to Rome. Alike as Bishop, Cardinal, and Pope, he was so kind and affable to all comers that no one went away unsatisfied. He loved peace; probably no prince of the time had so profound a horror of war. A signal proof of his benevolence was furnished by the foundation of the great Papal Almshouse near the Church of the German Campo Santo, where on Mondays and Fridays about two thousand poor people received bread and wine, and every day a dinner was given to thirteen.

The remembrance of past hardships was no doubt one of the sources of these virtues which long made the name of Nicholas V to be blessed. Nothing in Florence struck him as so noble as the splendour with which science and art were clothed; it seemed to him a disgrace that learned men and artists should starve. He used, even in those days, to say that if ever he had wealth, he would spend it on two things: books and buildings. His defects were irritability and impetuosity. His contemporaries greatly over-estimated his intellectual powers. He was well-versed in theology, in the Holy Scriptures, and in the Fathers; he was gifted with a good memory, great quickness of apprehension, and singular eloquence; but his mind was one essentially receptive in its character, and although capable of keen enjoyment in literary pursuits, it was devoid of productive power. He had, however, considerable talent for collecting, arranging, and

editing. When a young man, he spent his money almost entirely on books, and, like a genuine collector, would have them well written and tastefully bound; he did not look to the price, and often gave more for them than he could well afford. He enriched his books with marginal notes, and his hand-writing, which was a transition between the ancient and modern style, was greatly admired by good judges. He was most keen in the search for new works, ransacking the libraries wherever he went, looking for fresh treasures. Both in Germany and in France he made valuable discoveries, and, from every journey which he took with Cardinal Albergati, brought back literary spoils. The future founder of the Vatican Library gradually became one of the first connoisseurs of his day in books, and was looked upon as a great authority among bibliographers and book collectors; but not so great among scholars and literary men. No one so well knew how to prepare and arrange a library. The plan of a monastic library which he drew up for Cosmo de Medici is still preserved, and was often made use of, especially, according to the Pope's well-informed biographer, Vespasiano da Bisticci, in the Libraries of St. Mark at Florence and the Abbey at Fiesole, and in those of the Duke of Urbino and of Alessandro Sforza of Pesaro. Nicholas V is not, however, to be looked upon as a literary specialist: he had no favourite line of study, but was a well-informed dilettante, wandering at will wherever his fancy led him. The laudatory words of Aeneas Sylvius are to be understood in this sense when he writes, "from his youth he has been initiated into all liberal arts, he is acquainted with all philosophers, historians, poets, cosmographers, and theologians; and is no stranger to civil and canon law, or even to medicine".

A man whose intellectual sympathies were so many-sided was well fitted to be the patron of scholars. Nicholas V—a great part of whose life had been spent in close companionship with a saint—was also sincerely pious. He was equally devoted to ecclesiastical and profane literature. No sooner had he found in Germany a copy of Tertullian's complete works, than he at once sent the precious treasure to Niccolo de' Niccoli at Florence. According to Vespasiano da Bisticci, he was the first to bring into Italy the sermons of St. Leo the Great, and St. Thomas' commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew. But his special favourite was the great St. Augustine, whose influence on his own and subsequent ages has surpassed that of any other doctor of the East or West. In his days of poverty the works of St. Augustine, in twelve costly volumes, adorned his bookshelves, and he was unwearied in his efforts to collect from various manuscripts the letters of the Saint.

This fact seems worthy of note, and is a proof amongst many that Parentucelli was a Christian Humanist. Almost all the representatives of the Christian Renaissance movement had a special veneration for this Father, who, after working his way through the contradictions of heathen culture, gathered up in his immortal works all the philosophical and theological truths acquired and prepared for future ages by Christian antiquity. This reverence for St. Augustine had a special fitness at the period of which we are speaking, for the patristic learning which reached its climax in the works of the great Bishop of Hippo had grown up in the midst of the ancient literature, in living contact with it, and was the fruit of controversy and criticism. It was therefore especially adapted to meet and combat the false heathen Renaissance.

Nicholas V had the genuine humility which became a representative of the Christian Renaissance. All his contemporaries bear witness that modesty, the chief ornament of the scholar, was one of the virtues which distinguished this most affable Pope. A German chronicler of the Popes, writing in the fifteenth century, says, "Nicholas V was a good, peaceful man, of whom I never heard any harm said, and in

many things he showed himself gentle and lowly, and did not much exalt himself, however wise, and learned, and mighty he became".

The manner in which Nicholas V looked upon his high position was in perfect keeping with his noble and Christian sentiments. His old friend, Vespasiano da Bisticci, the Florentine bookseller, has handed down to us a conversation which he had with the Pope, and which may here find a fitting place. "Not long after the elevation of Nicholas V", writes Vespasiano, "I attended on the day appointed for public audiences in the Papal Palace. I had hardly entered the audience chamber when the Pope observed me, and said aloud that I was to wait, as he would speak with me alone. He soon concluded the audience, and I was led to him. When we were alone, he said, with a smile: 'Vespasiano, have not certain proud lords been greatly surprised, — have the people of Florence been able to believe that a priest who formerly rang the bells has become Pope?' I replied that the people will believe that it was on account of the virtues of His Holiness and in order that Italy may again be at peace. Thereupon the Pope said: 'I pray God to give me grace that I may accomplish that which fills my soul: that is to say, that I may restore peace, and throughout my Pontificate use no other weapon save that one which Christ has given me for my defence, namely, His Holy Cross!'"

In his great schemes for the promotion of art and science, Nicholas V always had the welfare of the Church, whose head he was, before him as his first object. To exalt the mystical Bride of Christ by these means was the chief aim of his Pontificate. All the magnificent works which he undertook were for her adornment, but this pious and cultivated Pope was not spared to see them completed.

## CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST YEARS OF THE REIGN OF POPE NICHOLAS V.  
SETTLEMENT OF ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS

Political and ecclesiastical affairs were alike in a state of extreme confusion at the time when Nicholas V ascended the Pontifical throne. France and England were at war; in Germany the authority of King Frederick III, on whose fidelity he could rely, was thoroughly shaken, and a great part of Bohemia was severed from the Church. The condition in the East was yet more deplorable. The national antipathies of the Greeks and the craftiness of their Theologians had stifled the Union proclaimed at Florence, and ever since the disastrous day of Varna (1444) the advance of Islam had been unceasing. In Italy there was disquiet, and perils threatened the Papacy. The temper of the most powerful of Italian Princes, King Alfonso of Naples, may be gathered from his favourite saying, which had special reference to the Head of the Church. "Blows", he said, "have a better effect on priests than prayers". Milan was governed by Filippo Maria Visconti, whose "cruel egotism" stopped at nothing. The States of the Church were in unspeakable misery, the country was devastated by war, the cities were desolate, the streets beset by bands of robbers, more than fifty villages had been razed to the ground or completely pillaged by the soldiery; and a number of the free inhabitants had been sold as bondsmen, or had died of starvation in dungeons. Added to all this, the Papal vassals were openly or secretly endeavouring to make themselves independent; Rome was impoverished, and the Papal Treasury empty.

In ecclesiastical matters, the prospect, if not equally hopeless, was gloomy enough. In Savoy, Switzerland, the Tyrol, and Germany, especially in the free cities, the party of the Council still numbered many adherents. The death of Eugenius IV had re-awakened their hopes, and they thought the moment had come when the anti-Pope, Felix V, whom they had raised up to oppose him, might be put in his place, and the triumph of their principles be thus secured. The anti-Pope himself went so far as to write a querulous letter, requiring "a certain Tommaso of Sarzana, who has presumed to mount the Apostolic Chair, and call himself Nicholas V" at once to renounce his usurped position, and to appear before the Tribunal.

The conciliatory and prudent dispositions with which the new Pope prepared to meet all these difficulties, are evidenced by his own words, which we have already cited. On his election, he at once appeared in the character of a Prince of Peace, after the example of Him by whom the keys were given to St. Peter; these keys, Nicholas V, who had no family coat of arms, adopted as his armorial bearings, adding to them the beautiful motto, "My heart is ready, O Lord". His predecessor had waged a stern and deadly warfare with the foes of the Church. Nicholas V deemed that the work, which had been begun by force, could be best completed by gentle measures. Eugenius IV had made the Papacy dreaded. Nicholas V wished to manifest its power of healing and reconciliation.

The pacific disposition of the Pope, which the ambassadors at once made known in terms of praise, contributed more than anything to lessen existing troubles and to hasten his general recognition. Opposition was to be apprehended from King Alfonso and from the German princes. Nicholas V succeeded in winning them all. On the very day after his election Cardinals Condulmaro and Scarampo went, at his desire, to the Neapolitan monarch, who, by their means, was induced to send four ambassadors to Rome on the 18th March, for the purpose of coming to an agreement with the Holy See and of taking part in the ceremonies of the Pope's coronation. When the German ambassadors congratulated him on his elevation, the Pope gave them assurances calculated to set all misgivings completely at rest. "I will", he said, "not only approve and confirm whatever my predecessor agreed upon with the German nation, but will also hold to it and carry it out. The Roman Pontiffs have stretched their arms out too far, and have left scarcely any power to the other bishops. And the Basle people have crippled the hands of the Apostolic See too much. But these things had to be. Whoever does what is unworthy must also make up his mind to suffer injustice; he who seeks to straighten a tree that is leaning to one side easily bends it to the other. It is my firm purpose not to impair the rights of the bishops who are called to share my cares, for I hope the better to uphold my own jurisdiction by not assuming that which is foreign to me".

The German ambassadors, by the Pope's particular request, took part in the ceremony of his Coronation, which was performed with great pomp, on the 19th March, 1447, by Cardinal Prospero Colonna in front of the Vatican Basilica. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, as deacon, carried the cross before the Pope in the procession. On the Coronation day Nicholas V promised King Frederick III that he would observe the treaty concluded between him and his predecessor, and declared his intention of carrying on the work which Eugenius had begun, while he expected the King on his part to continue to protect the Apostolic See, and engaged to send him the confirmation of the public convention by special legates. Immediately after his Coronation, according to ancient usage, the Pope solemnly took possession of the Lateran. Piccolomini has given a brief and graphic account of the procession. "It was headed" he says, "by the Blessed Sacrament, surrounded by numerous lighted torches. The Pope was preceded by three banners and an umbrella; he rode on a white horse, bore the golden Rose in his left hand, and blessed the people with his right. The ambassadors of Aragon and the Barons alternately led the Pope's horse. At Monte Giordano the Jews delivered to him their law, and he condemned their interpretation. After the conclusion of the ecclesiastical function in the Lateran, gold and silver medals were given to the cardinals, prelates, and ambassadors. The banquet next took place; the Pope was served in the Palace, and all the others in the House of the Canons. We," continues Aeneas Sylvius, who, together with Procopius of Rabstein, was acting as ambassador of Frederick III, "were the guests of Cardinal Carvajal".

It was long since Rome had seen such festal days as those by which the Coronation of Nicholas V was celebrated. Ambassadors came from all parts of Italy, and afterwards from Hungary, England, France, and Burgundy to promise obedience to the Holy See.

Poland also, which up to this time had continued neutral, sent ambassadors to profess submission. As early as July, 1447, King Casimir had entrusted Wysota of Gorka, the Provost of Posen, and Peter of Szamotdl the Castellan of Kalisz with this mission, charging them, however, to demand for him the collation to all benefices not in the gift of the Ordinaries, the grant, for a period of six years, of a tenth of all tithes in

the country, and finally the revenue of Peter's pence for several years. The Pope conceded to the King the right of collation to ninety benefices, and, instead of the tenth of the tithes for six years and the Peter's pence for several years, granted to Poland the sum of ten thousand ducats charged on the ecclesiastical revenues.

Of all these embassies none was received with greater distinction than that of the Florentines, for Nicholas V wished to manifest the value which he attached to the continuance of his personally friendly relations with the Republic and with Cosmo de' Medici. Vespasiano da Bisticci tells us with patriotic pride how the ambassadors of his native city made their solemn entrance into Rome with a hundred and twenty horse, and were received by the Pope in a public consistory. The hall was crowded, and Gianozzo Manetti made an address, which lasted for an hour and a quarter. The Pope listened, with closed eyes, in perfect stillness, so that one of the attendant chamberlains thought it well to touch him many times gently on the arm, believing him to have fallen asleep. But, as soon as Manetti had finished, Nicholas V at once arose, and, to the astonishment of all, answered every point of the long discourse. The circumstance made a great impression, and tended materially to extend the fame of Nicholas V. In order to understand this, we must remember how the idea of the Roman Senate and the speeches made there had at this time taken possession of men's minds. In the Renaissance Age a speech might be an event; it is said, indeed, that the discourse which Tommaso Parentucelli pronounced at the obsequies of Eugenius IV decided the Cardinals to elect him Pope.

The able manner in which Nicholas V answered the addresses of the different ambassadors who came to pay him homage produced the greatest effect. "A report soon went forth through the various countries, that Rome had as Pope a man of incomparable intellect, learning, amiability, and liberality, and these were truly the qualities which won for Nicholas V. the appreciation of the world".

The happy results of the new Pontiff's policy of peace and reconciliation were soon visible. An agreement was made with King Alfonso of Naples, who might have been a most dangerous enemy to the Papacy, and, on the 24th March, 1447, his ambassadors, in a public consistory, promised true and perfect obedience to the Pope.

The German Empire was not to be so quickly won. King Frederick III and a few of the Princes had provisionally recognized the Pope, and by their ambassadors promised obedience, but the general acknowledgment of the Electors and the other Princes had still to be obtained, and it was not improbable that they might be tempted to take the opportunity of again bringing ecclesiastical affairs into question and favouring the adherents of the Synod of Basle, who, with Duke Louis of Savoy, son of the anti-Pope, were making all possible efforts to find powerful patrons and protectors. They hoped much from King Charles VII of France, whom Nicholas was also endeavouring to win. The Basle party so far succeeded that the king summoned a new congress, at which the envoys of the Synod and those of the Duke of Savoy were to appear. The electors of Cologne, Treves, the Palatinate, and Saxony, who had not yet acknowledged the Pope, joined France. It was not anxiety for the reform of the church, but private interests of various kinds, which induced these electors to take part with a foreign power in opposition to their own King and to the German Princes, who had already declared themselves for Eugenius IV and Nicholas V. In union with these Electors, and the ambassadors of Savoy and of England, and a few members of the Synod of Basle, Charles VII, in June 1447, opened a numerous assembly at Bourges, which was subsequently transferred to Lyons. It was then decided that Felix should resign, and that Nicholas should make many concessions to the Basle Schismatics and summon a

general Council as soon as possible to meet in a French city. Neither Nicholas nor Felix, however, assented to this plan.

Almost at the same time King Frederick convened those German Princes, who had broken up the anti-Roman League of Electors, to meet at Aschaffenburg. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, on whom Nicholas V had recently conferred the Bishopric of Trieste, and the Royal Counsellor Hartung von Cappell, represented the King. Nicholas of Cusa appeared on behalf of the Pope, though without instructions. The assembled princes decided that Nicholas V should be proclaimed throughout Germany as the lawful Pope, and that on his part he should confirm the Concordat entered into by his predecessor. For the perfect adjustment of all differences a fresh Diet was shortly to be held at Nuremberg, and, unless the matter were in the meantime settled with the Pope's Legate, it was to decide the long standing question of compensation to be given to the Pope for diminution of income, in accordance with a promise already made by the Basle party. King Frederick III now proceeded to take decided measures in favour of Nicholas V. He required the Schismatics of Basle to dissolve their assembly, and withdrew the Royal safe conduct previously granted; on the 21st August, 1447, he issued an edict commanding everyone in the empire to acknowledge Nicholas V as the true Pope and to reject all other orders. Frederick solemnly repeated his declaration of obedience to the Pope, in his own name and that of his country, in St. Stephen's Cathedral at Vienna.

But on this very occasion the want of real unity was manifested. The King desired to give all possible importance to this public recognition of Nicholas V by the presence and assent of the University of Vienna, but the opposition which he encountered was so violent that he was obliged to enforce his commands by threats of deprivation of benefices and emoluments and other penalties. The jurists and physicians then yielded, and finally the faculties of theology and arts made up their minds, under compulsion and by constraint, to accede to the Royal desire. Some time afterwards, when Cardinal Carvajal came to Vienna as Legate from Nicholas V, the adhesion of the University to the Council, to which both King and Pope were adverse, showed itself anew. Many in Germany shared the sentiments of the University, and if Rome ultimately gained the victory it was in no small degree due to the skill with which her envoys conducted the difficult negotiations, which at last resulted in the submission of the Count Palatine Louis, the Dukes Otho and Stephen of Bavaria, the Count of Württemberg, the Bishops of Worms and Spire, and the Electors of Cologne, Treves, and Saxony.

These separate agreements prepared the way for the Concordat, concluded at Vienna on the 17th February, 1448, between the Holy See and the King of the Romans, and confirmed by Nicholas V on the 19th March in the same year.

The Concordat of Vienna begins with the words: — "In the name of God, Amen. In the year 1448, on the 17th February, the following Concordat was concluded and accepted between our Holy Father and Lord, Pope Nicholas V, the Apostolic See, and the German nation, by the Cardinal Legate Juan Carvajal and King Frederick, with the assent of most of the electors and other spiritual and temporal princes of the nation". Then follow the several decisions by which the rights of the Apostolic See were considerably extended. The Concordat of Constance between Martin V and the German nation serves as a foundation for that of Vienna, which literally embodies a great many of the conditions established on the former occasion. The Vienna Concordat recognizes the reservations of ecclesiastical benefices contained in the Canon law as well as those introduced by John XXII and Benedict XII; the appointment to bishoprics by free election, subject to the Pope's right of confirmation, and also, in case of manifest



reasons, the nomination of more worthy and fitting persons to such posts with the advice of the Cardinals; the arrangement in virtue of which all canonries and other benefices becoming vacant in the alternate months were to be filled up by the Pope, and finally the Annates, which were to be discharged in moderate amounts and in instalments payable every two years.

This Concordat, no doubt, temporarily guarded the Holy See from being suddenly, and without any adequate compensation, despoiled of a great part of its necessary revenues, and yet the great evil from which the Church suffered in Germany was by no means checked. If the exercise of patronage from so great a distance and with insufficient knowledge of persons and of local circumstances had its drawbacks, yet in view of the pride of birth and the distinctions of caste which became more and more dominant in the German chapters during the fifteenth century, its tendency was beneficial. Nevertheless, the good that might have resulted was greatly marred by the imperfect education of a portion of the German clergy, and the want of discipline which prevailed, and also by the recklessness with which many succeeding Popes exercised their right. Thus seventy years later, when the storm of the new doctrines burst over the country, hundreds of incumbents who held their preferments from Rome fell away like the withered leaves from a tree in autumn.

The next thing to be accomplished was the recognition and promulgation of the Vienna Concordat throughout the several parts of the empire. The Pope brought this about very gradually by means of separate negotiations with the individual German Princes, the most powerful of whom had to be won over by important concessions. The Archbishop of Salzburg was the first to assent to the Vienna agreement (22nd April, 1448); the Elector of Mayence followed his example in July, 1449, and the Elector of Treves in 1450. Cologne held out for some time, and the Concordat was not accepted by Strasburg, its last opponent, until 1476.

The Vienna Concordat not only established a new order of ecclesiastical affairs in Germany, but also virtually annihilated the Synod of Basle, which had latterly become a real scourge to the Church. We may say that the death-knell of this assembly was sounded on the 17th February, 1448. The fact that the city of Basle still continued for some time to defy the authority of the King of the Romans is characteristic of the position of the empire. In 1448 Frederick III was compelled to threaten it with an interdict, and at last the Senators felt it necessary to require the members of the Phantom Council to depart. On the 25th June they determined to transfer themselves to Lausanne, and on the 4th July, accompanied by troops, left for that place. The Bishop of Basle, the city, and the whole diocese then made their submission to the Pope, who, in a Bull dated 13th July, 1448, restored them to favour.

The anti-Pope and his adherents now felt that all further opposition to the authority of Nicholas V would be fruitless, and that a seemly retreat was the only thing to be thought of. By the intervention of France this course was made easy.

In the summer of 1448, Charles VII sent a brilliant embassy to Rome to make solemn profession of obedience to the Pope, and to propose measures for the termination of the Schism. Nicholas V entered into negotiations with the Archbishop of Rheims, the chief of the French ambassadors, and shortly afterwards Felix V expressed his willingness to renounce the papal dignity. On the 18th January, 1449, Pope issued a Bull revoking all confiscations, suspensions, excommunications, and penalties affecting Felix V, the Synod of Basle and its adherents, their possessions and dignities. In the further course of the negotiations for union the pacific Nicholas V carried concession to

its utmost possible limits; with his approval, the anti-Pope, before his abdication, issued three documents confirming all disciplinary decrees promulgated during his pontificate, removing all censures pronounced against Rome and its adherents, and again ratifying all privileges and favours which he had granted. Finally, the Pope consented that Felix V should resign his usurped dignity into the hands of the Council of Lausanne (7th April, 1449). After the dismissal of its Pope, the moribund Council was also induced, in its third session, April 10th, 1449, to revoke its former censures, and in the fourth, on the 19th April, acting on the fiction of a vacancy of the Holy See, it elected as Pope, Tommaso of Sarzana, known in his obedience as Nicholas V. In the next session, on the 25th April, the assembly formally dissolved itself.

Though appearances were thus saved, the triumph of the true Pope was complete, and he could now hope that the jubilee to be celebrated in the following year would be attended with peculiar splendour. The tidings of the final suppression of the Schism awakened the greatest joy amongst the Roman clergy and people. At nightfall horsemen scoured the streets, bearing torches in their hands and loudly cheering Nicholas V. Processions in token of thanksgiving were made through the Borgo by his order.

In fulfilment of the promise made by his ambassadors, the Pope published three Bulls at Spoleto, in June, 1449, revoking, by the first, all censures pronounced against the partisans of the Synod of Basle, by the second, confirming all nominations to benefices made by it and the anti-Pope, and by the third, restoring all who had been deprived of their positions during the time of the Schism. He bestowed on the late anti-Pope the dignity of Cardinal of Sta Sabina, made him Papal Legate and Vicar for life of Savoy and the territory belonging to Berne, in the Diocese of Lausanne, and conferred on him a pension from the Apostolic Chamber. Felix retired to the solitude of Ripaille, on the Lake of Geneva, and died there on the 7th January, 1451. Since his days no anti-Pope has arisen, and his case is a further proof of the old truth that the evil of a Schism in the Church is greater than any evil which that Schism professes to correct. From the time that the assembly at Basle became schismatical all hope of the long desired Church Reform grew dim, and the way was opened for a reaction calculated to bury in oblivion not only the false and revolutionary projects of the Synods of Constance and Basle, but even those which were just and moderate. The Council of Reform, which was a condition of the Frankfort Concordat of the Princes, and which was again promised in the Vienna Concordat, never took place. The period of Councils was past and was succeeded by one of Concordats, a season of restoration and of reaction. It became more and more evident that the deplorable issue of the Synod of Basle had dealt a severe blow to the theory which it represented.

The Spanish theologian, Rodericus de Arevalo, in a work dedicated to Cardinal Bessarion in the time of Paul II, observes, "Men have now none of that respect and love for Councils which some suppose. We know that the nations of Christendom were put to great trouble and immense expense in maintaining their ambassadors and prelates at Basle and all to no purpose. What did that assembly procure for the Christian world save strife and schism? No one who looks back to its results can desire that the unity which the Church now enjoys should be again, to the detriment of Princes and people, disturbed by a similar assembly".

The name of "Council", which had wrought such confusion, began gradually to lose its magic power. But ideas which have taken a deep hold upon the human mind are not quickly dispelled, and worthy men who were bent on reform, even after the sad failure of the Basle Synod, clung to the hope that the Parliamentary principle would yet

assert itself in the Church; among those who cherished aspirations of this nature, we must mention the celebrated Carthusian, Jakob von Jüterbogk.

After peace had been restored to the Church, when the Schism was at an end, and Nicholas V was universally acknowledged to be the lawful Pope, this ardent reformer addressed a memorial on the subject to him. The multitude of abuses, Jakob von Jüterbogk declares, had impelled him, unworthy though he was, to raise his voice and cry for reform, and to proclaim its urgent necessity. The Synods of Siena, of Constance, and of Basle having failed to accomplish that which the faithful expected, and the Schism being now at an end, the cry must, he says, again be raised, and to whom can it better be addressed than 'to him who sits in the chair of Peter, who is possessed of the highest Apostolic dignity, and is the one vicar of Christ?' Thanks to the vigilance of former Pastors, decisions, decrees, and canons abound; new laws are not required, but the old ones ought to be obeyed. It is the duty of the Pope to feed the sheep of the Lord, and to see that the precepts of the Church are observed.

The author proceeds to animadvert with much freedom on many abuses in the government of the Church, and to remind the Pope of his duties. His observations allude rather to the period from 1434-1447 than to Nicholas V himself, for whom he had a great esteem, and by whom several of his works were approved. "If Christ were again on earth", he asks, "and occupied the Apostolic See, would He approve the present practice of that See in regard to benefices and to the Sacraments of the Church; the many reservations, collations, annates, provisions, expectancies, and benefices which are given for money; the revocations, annulations, nonobstantia, especially in regard to the power of election and appointment by which those, who have a canonical right, are excluded". The Pope's authority is conferred upon him that he may build up, not that he may destroy, and he must exercise it according to the will of God. Jakob then proceeds to consider the office of the Pope, whom he views as the head of the many members of the Church. He is the ruler of the Church, but he is himself bound to take the will of God and the decisions of Councils for his rule. Further on he complains of the simony then dominant, and brings forward the instance of the recent simoniacal practices of two bishops in Germany. Finally, he calls on the Pope to remove abuses by means of a General Council lawfully summoned Jakob of Jüterbogk lived at Erfurt, and was connected with its university, the only one in Germany which maintained the false conciliar theories.

It cannot be a matter of surprise that the German Carthusian's commendation of Parliamentary Church government found little favour with the Pope; but it must be regretted that the reforming zeal of the early days of his Pontificate gradually cooled down. The fault lay not so much with the learned and virtuous Pope as with the Italians surrounding him, whose incomes, in great part, depended on abuses, and who, accordingly, like a leaden weight, impeded every movement in the direction of reform, Jakob von Jüterbogk complains bitterly in his treatise on the seven stages of the Church, that "no nation in Christendom offers such opposition to reform as Italy, and this from love of gain and worldly profit, and fear of losing its privileges". The passionate pessimism of this work contrasts unfavourably with the tone of his memorial, while his exaggerated exaltation of the authority of Councils, and his assertion of their right to depose the Pope, were little calculated to promote the cause of reform, and tended rather to reawaken the schism that had so lately been set at rest

It was well that these sentiments were not shared by the majority of Jakob's contemporaries. The violence of his language in this treatise is probably due to his vexation at the collapse of the Council, and its proved inability single-handed to

accomplish the work of reformation. Geiler von Kaysersberg, a distinguished man, whose zeal for reform was in no way second to that of Jakob, at a somewhat later period, expressed his firm conviction of the impossibility of carrying out a "general reformation in Christendom by means of parliamentary assemblies alone. The whole Council of Basle", he says, "was not sufficiently powerful to reform a convent of nuns when the city took their part. How then can a Council reform the whole of Christendom? And if it is so hard to reform a convent of women, what would it be to reform one of men, especially if it contains none that are single-minded, and they have many partisans? This is why the reformation of all Christendom, or of any class of men therein, is so difficult. Therefore, let each one hide his head in his own corner, and see that he keeps God's law and does what is right, that he may save his soul".

No Council ever pursued so suicidal a course as did that of Basle. The suppression of the schism by the Council of Constance did more than anything to win men's minds to the conciliar views, whereas at Basle squabbles about the limitations of its powers took the place of the urgently-needed work of reform, and ended by reviving the dreaded schism. The aversion to Councils increased, as it became more evident that, in spite of all the great hopes and expectations it had called forth, the Basle Synod had brought schism and revolution into the Church instead of reform. The old constitution was now more firmly established than before.

The change in the tide of opinion, which in some cases had been very sudden, is strikingly manifested in the speech of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the former champion of the supremacy of Councils, at the coronation of Frederick III by the Pope in the year 1452. Speaking in the name and in the presence of the newly-crowned Emperor, he observes that another Emperor would have demanded a Council, but that Frederick holds the Pope with his Cardinals to be the best Council.

The bugbear of a General Council was indeed repeatedly brought forward by the party opposed to the Papacy, but it proved to be a mere empty threat. The utter hopelessness of the cause was fully manifested in the next generation, when an adventurous prelate, whose person "and fate are veiled in obscurity, but who is known by the name of Archbishop of Carniola, made attempt to resuscitate the Council of Basle. Even the support afforded by Lorenzo the Magnificent was powerless to do anything towards the realization of what a modern historian has well called a delirious dream, so thoroughly had the Holy See in the meantime regained its ancient authority.

Many circumstances tended to favour the re-establishment of Papal power. The fruitlessness of all the efforts made on behalf of ecclesiastical parliaments had naturally produced weariness and exhaustion. The reigning Pontiff was, moreover, peculiarly fitted to bring about a reconciliation between the Papacy and its opponents. The first measures of his reign tended towards this result, to which, besides, the influence of the theological literature of the day, with its brilliant vindication of the Papal system, materially contributed.

In the foremost rank of the champions who took up their pens on behalf of the Holy See we must name the great Spanish canonist, Cardinal Juan de Torquemada. The "Summa against the enemies of the Church" which he wrote in 1450, is the most important work of the later mediaeval period on the question of the extent of the Papal power. In his preface he gives the following explanation of the aim of his book: — "If ever it was incumbent on Catholic doctors, as soldiers of Christ, to protect the Church with powerful weapons, lest many, led astray by simplicity, or error, or craft and deception, should forsake her fold, that duty devolves upon them now. For, in these

troublesome times, some pestilent men, puffed up with ambition, have arisen, and, with diabolical craft and deceit, have striven to disseminate false doctrines regarding the spiritual as well as the temporal power. With these they have assailed the whole Church, inflicting grievous wounds upon her, and proceeding to rend her unity, to tarnish the splendour of her glory, to destroy the order established by God, and shamefully to obscure her beauty; they have undertaken to crush the Primacy of the Apostolic See and maim the supreme authority conferred on it by God; they have so poisoned the whole body of the Church that hardly any part of her seems to be free from stains and wounds. The sacrilegious accusations of these godless men against the Church and the Holy See are shamelessly published everywhere. Thus not only is evangelical truth attacked, but the way is prepared for divisions and errors, dangers to souls, dissensions between princes and nations, and it is evident to all that the assaults of these persons are aimed not only at a portion of the Church, but at the very foundations of the Christian religion. Catholic scholars should hasten to oppose these antagonists with the invincible weapons of the faith. Therefore, incited by zeal for it and for the honour of Christ's Bride, I have written a book, with the title of 'Summa against the enemies of the Church and the Primacy'. I have here, as it seems to me, by passages from Holy Scripture and by the irrefragable decisions of the Fathers, sufficiently refuted the assertions of these unprincipled men, and shown that they are to be eschewed by all faithful Christians". These introductory words manifest the polemical character of the work, in which the Cardinal, who was firmly attached to the Thomistic tradition, strongly upholds the Papal power against the tendencies of the Synod of Basle.

The importance of Torquemada's work, which is distinguished by its learning and by the keen logic of its arguments, became more and more appreciated as time went on, and even in the eighteenth century it was looked upon as a literary arsenal by the defenders of the Holy See.

Another Spaniard, the Canonist Rodericus Sancius de Arevalo, at this time dedicated to Nicholas V a book which, like that of Torquemada, combated the ecclesiastical parliamentarianism of the schismatics of Basle.

Rodericus Sancius, while serving as ambassador from the King of Castile at the Court of Frederick III, did his best to put an end to the neutrality of Germany, which constituted a serious danger to Rome. In a discourse which he pronounced in Frederick's presence, he urged him to promote the restoration of ecclesiastical unity by a simple adhesion to the lawful Pope. The "Dialogue regarding remedies for the schism", dedicated by Rodericus to Garcia Enriquez, Royal Councillor and Archbishop of Seville, belongs to this period. The first part of this treatise, which has never yet been printed, deals with the authority of the Holy See in general. In the four chapters which compose the second part, Rodericus shows that the so-called neutrality and withdrawal of obedience are in all cases forbidden, that they lead to heresy and schism, and that the ecclesiastical dignitaries who adopt such dangerous measures lose the powers conferred upon them, because they sever themselves from the centre of unity. Rodericus de Arevalo was one of the most distinguished opponents of the Council theory. Subsequently, under Paul II, in a work dedicated to Cardinal Bessarion, he controverted the errors of those who were never weary of exalting Councils as a panacea even for the threatened *Turkish peril*. The beautifully-written original manuscript of this treatise, ornamented with exquisite miniatures, once in Cardinal Bessarion's possession, is now preserved in the library of St. Mark's at Venice. The author begins by attacking exaggerated views of the importance of Councils, and justly observes that in the primitive Church their occurrence was not so frequent as some people supposed.

Reforms, he says, will always be needed in the Church; if they can only be accomplished by Councils, it follows that they must sit perpetually. Here, in fact, we have the real question at issue. If the fanatics of the party could have had their way, there can be no doubt that the Council, considering itself equal in authority to the Pope, would, under pretext of reform, have gradually assumed the whole government of the Church, and the Holy See would have been no longer necessary. How, then, are reforms in ecclesiastical affairs to be carried out? Rodericus answers the question in the second part of his work. In the first place, he says, let due obedience be rendered to the Apostolic See; then let good and loyal bishops be elected, prelates and clergy filled with the spirit of Christ appointed everywhere, and, above all, let visitations be extensively made, for the discovery and remedy of existing evils.

The celebrated preacher, St. John Capistran, who had written a great volume against the Fathers of Basle in the reign of Eugenius IV, now produced a treatise "on the authority of the Church", in opposition to the false Council theories, and dedicated it to Pope Nicholas.

Although we cannot enumerate all the champions who at this time came forward to defend the rights of the Holy See, the name of the Venetian, Piero del Monte, pupil of Guarino, and Bishop of Brescia from the year 1442, must not be passed over. This remarkable man continued, in the days of Nicholas V, to display the same zeal which had characterized him under that Pontiff's predecessor. The work which he dedicated to Nicholas V is divided into three books; it does not, as its title might seem to imply, attempt to meet all the errors then prevalent in regard to ecclesiastical matters, but only those which prevailed in certain countries under the semblance of measures of reform. The fact that Piero del Monte is one of the few Humanists who took part in the contest between the adherents of the Council and the defenders of the Holy See, gives a special interest to his work, which, unfortunately, has never been printed.

The renewed vigour of the Papal power was manifested during this Pontificate by stringent measures for the eradication of heresy. Nicholas V made special use of the Minorite friars in this matter, and his zealous care was extended to Bosnia and to Greece, in which countries respectively the Patarines and the Fraticelli were leading many astray. His efforts to repress the latter sect in Italy were continued for most of his remaining life; but they were not crowned with complete success.

The restoration of the Papal authority was materially promoted by Nicholas V's perfect freedom from nepotism, and by the care which he generally exercised in the creation of Cardinals; amongst other excellent appointments we may mention that of the gifted Nicholas of Cusa, who united moral worth with intellectual qualities of the highest order.

From the middle of the fifteenth century the position of Papacy manifestly regained solid strength. The attempts of the Basle party to revive the disastrous schism had produced a reaction throughout the whole Church. Multitudes turned with horror from the anti-Papal theories, which had become predominant at Constance and Basle, to the ancient doctrines regarding the monarchical constitution of the Church and the inalienable rights of the Holy See. Respect for the Papacy rose as the hopes founded on the action of Councils sank lower and lower, destroyed by the excesses of the Synod of Basle. The movement had begun in the time of Eugenius IV, and it continued under his successor, Nicholas V., who was able to do away with the remains of the schism, and the revolutionary tone, which had prevailed in the fourteenth and the early part of the fifteenth century, gave place, as time went on, to a very different feeling.

In Germany, however, we cannot say that reunion with the Holy See at once produced general contentment, or laid the agitation for reform to rest. The billows of a troubled sea are not so easily calmed, but the efforts for reform became less and less radical in their character, and the Holy See regained much of the influence which had been lost in the time of Eugenius IV. It was well, too, for Germany that in the following years men filled with the Spirit of God arose in her midst, and sought to remove the many existing evils and to impart new life to ancient ecclesiastical institutions and individual souls, by the use of the means of grace and salvation which Christ has entrusted to His Church. Passionate opponents of the Papacy have falsely represented the course of events as one of increasing alienation from the ancient Church, until the severance became complete; but the attentive observer cannot fail to discern the presence of the earnest and deeply religious feeling which finds expression in the well-known "Imitation of Christ". The immense impulse given to the life of the German people at this period made itself felt in the ecclesiastical sphere. Large and handsome churches were built, and adorned with loving care. The foundations for altars and masses were numerous, and, although a vast number of religious houses already existed, new ones arose. The richly ornamented prayer-books, the countless pictures and other works of art, and the woodcuts destined for the uneducated, all bear witness to the existence of the same pious spirit. The coarse satire of former days is hushed, or vents itself only on the mendicant friars and subordinate objects. "Our holy Father, the Pope", is everywhere spoken of with reverence, and is represented in all his glory in pictures.

And yet the anti-Papal spirit in Germany was not thoroughly subdued; it appeared, indeed, less often at the surface, but its hidden influence was not the less real. In a letter of the 25th November, 1448, Aeneas Sylvius, with his keen insight into affairs, writes the following words to the Pope: "A time of peril is before us; storms are threatening on every side, and the skill of the mariners will be proved in the bad weather. The Basle waves are not yet calmed, the winds are still struggling beneath the waters and rushing through secret channels. That consummate actor, the devil, sometimes transforms himself into an angel of light. I know not what attempts will be made in France, but the Council still has adherents. We have a truce, not a peace. 'We have yielded to force', say our opponents, 'not to Conviction; what we have once taken into our heads we still hold fast'. So we must look forward to another battlefield and a fresh struggle for the supremacy".

The efforts made by Nicholas V to restore and maintain peace in Rome and in the States of the Church were crowned with the same success which had attended his great measures of ecclesiastical policy. The revolutionary aspirations of the Romans were appeased by the concession of a privilege which secured to them the right of self-government. All magisterial and municipal appointments were given into the hands of four Roman citizens, together with the entire control of the taxes. At the same time, the Pope endeavoured to guard against any possible revolt, as well as against attacks from without, by rebuilding the city walls and erecting fortifications. We shall speak of these works later on. He conciliated the Roman Barons, and restored Lorenzo Colonna, the Savelli, Orso Orsini, and the Count of Anguillara, to favour. Lorenzo and Stefanello Colonna received permission to rebuild Palestrina, which had been destroyed by Vitelleschi, on condition that the town should not again be fortified. This condition, suggested by the strategical importance of the position, was subsequently restricted to the castle (May 13, 1452), and by degrees the present town arose, where walls dating from the fifteenth century are still to be seen, and fortifications, especially on the southern side, of all styles and periods, beginning with the ancient cyclopean polygon.

Other feudatories of the Holy See were appointed to or confirmed in the vice-regencies of Urbino, Pesaro, Forli, Camerino, Spello, Rimini, and the territories belonging to them, and thus peace was restored, although, of course, the Papacy was not absolutely secured from possible hostility on their part. The ancient Constitutions of the March of Ancona, the City of Fermo, and other places, were confirmed, and new privileges granted. The City of Jesi, the only one in the March of Ancona under the dominion of Francesca Sforza, was surrendered by him in consideration of the sum of 35,000 florins. In July, 1447, Nicholas V recovered the Castle of Spoleto, and three years later Bolsena. The frequent visits of the Pope to Umbria and the Marches contributed in no small degree to the maintenance of a good understanding with those provinces.

The bloodless restoration of peace and order to the States of the Church must ever be viewed as one of the chief glories of the Pontificate of Nicholas V. In order fully to appreciate his success, we must recall to mind the condition of the country at the time of his accession. After ten years of incessant warfare, it was almost completely in the power of wild, mercenary troops. Nicholas V, who was no mere pedant, happily accomplished the work of pacification, and completely healed the wounds inflicted on the States of the Church during the troubled reign of Eugenius IV. Against the leaders of revolt, as, for example, Ascanio Conti, he proceeded with severity, fearing that the turbulent Barons might again be roused by evil example. In general it was his principle, where his spiritual authority proved insufficient, rather to repress the lust of conquest and plunder by the erection of fortresses, than by the introduction of undisciplined mercenary bands, and he left no means unemployed to obviate the recurrence of disturbances. His conciliatory disposition is strikingly displayed in his treatment of Stefano Porcaro, who had endeavoured, while the Conclave was sitting, to revolutionize Rome. Instead of inflicting condign punishment he sought to win him by promotion.

The satisfactory condition of the Apostolic Treasury tended materially to promote respect for Nicholas V. He had always a certain number of troops in readiness, and they punctually received their pay, so that they had no need to depend on plunder and booty. It must be regretted that the Pope's anxiety for the peace of his own dominions led him to pursue a policy towards his neighbours which cannot be justified. In order to divert all disturbances from the States of the Church, he, as we shall see, secretly favoured complications in the other Italian provinces. By such means alone was he successful in maintaining that tranquillity at home, which was an indispensable preliminary to his grand efforts for the promotion of learning and art.

More than once, indeed, did a great conflict seem to be imminent, as, for instance, in the first year of his Pontificate, when King Alfonso, of Naples, made hostile advances against Tuscany, and again in the August of 1447, when Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, died without legitimate male issue. Besides the grasping Republic of Venice, four claimants to the Duchy of Milan came forward, *viz.*, King Alfonso, who, in virtue of a very doubtful will, maintained that he had been constituted heir to Filippo Maria; the Duke of Savoy; the Duke of Orleans, who was the son of a Visconti; and, finally, Francesco Sforza, the husband of Bianca Maria, who, although illegitimate, was the last scion of the house of Visconti. The complication seemed to be of the most threatening character, and we cannot wonder at the extreme consternation of the Pope when, on the morning of the 20th of August, a letter from his friend and banker, Cosmo de Medici, announced the death of the last of the Visconti, for King Alfonso, who, according to the report of an ambassador, had let his horse graze at the very gates of Rome, had even, since the conclusion of peace, been a cause of anxiety to



the Pope. Untold dangers threatened the Papacy if the will of Filippo Maria should take effect, and the ambitious and war-like king should become ruler of the northern as well as of the southern portion of the Italian peninsula. Nicholas V sought by every means in his power to counteract a combination which would have pressed him hard on both sides.

For a time no one of the four claimants was successful. The ancient republic of Milan was revived, but at the end of three years the Milanese found themselves compelled to yield to the successful general whom they had called to their aid.

Francesco Sforza, the son of a peasant of Cotognola, made his solemn entry into the famine-pressed city as her Duke, on the 25th March, 1450.

Milan had, however, no cause to complain, for the period of Francesco Sforza's rule was among the happiest in her history, and this martial duke restored peace to Italy which had been kept by his unwarlike predecessor for thirty years in a state of conflict. The Pope, too, had reason to be satisfied, for the re-establishment of the Duchy of Milan restored the balance of power in Northern Italy, and formed a barrier against the rapacity of the Republic of Venice.

The submission of Bologna after its protracted resistance was a great triumph for Nicholas, who had a special affection for the city in which a great part of his life had been spent, and where he had found generous patrons in his time of need. He not only loved the Bolognese, but thoroughly understood their temper and circumstances, and was convinced that violent measures would be fruitless in overcoming their opposition to the Papacy. Accordingly, from the beginning of his reign, the city was treated with the utmost leniency and consideration, and, on the 23rd March, 1447, one of its citizens, the canonist, Giovanni di Battista del Poggio, was appointed bishop. This nomination was so acceptable that the Ancients ordered a general holiday in token of rejoicing. All the church bells were rung and public processions celebrated the event.

This was shortly followed, on the nth April, by the despatch of an embassy to Rome to treat for a reconciliation with the Holy See. The Pope was, as Francesco Sforza's ambassadors declared, much disposed for peace, but in consequence of the excessive demands of the Bolognese it was not finally concluded until the 24th August, 1447. The conditions were most favourable to the city, for Nicholas carried concession to its utmost possible limits. Bologna continued to be a Republic in reality, if not in name. The Papal Legate took part with the Municipal Council and the Magistrates in the Government. The city retained its right to elect the latter, the control of its militia and its revenues, while it was to be defended from foreign foes by the Papal troops. The Holy See only claimed the recognition of its suzerainty, the right of its Legate to a certain share in the patronage of public offices, and a tribute similar to that paid by the other Republics in the States of the Church and by the feudatories of the Pope.

It cannot be denied that the relations now established between Bologna and the Church were such as might easily have given rise to complications. Thanks to Sante Bentivoglio, who was at the time all-powerful in Bologna, and, on the other hand, to the Pope, nothing of the kind occurred. Nicholas V prudently continued to treat the Bolognese with great indulgence and to increase the obligations which already bound them to him by bestowing many fresh favours, more especially by the restitution of sundry castles and possessions which had formerly belonged to the city, but had, during the troubles of the preceding half-century, been annexed by Papal officials or others. In the same year which witnessed the restoration of peace between Bologna and the Church, the Pope conferred a fresh token of favour on the city by elevating its bishop to

the dignity of Governor of Rome, and appointing his own half-brother, Filippo Calandrini bishop in his stead. In the following year both the bishop and Astorgio Agnesi, the Governor of Bologna, were promoted to the Sacred College. The historian of the city, Ghirardacci, gives a full account of the splendid feast which took place on the 6th January, 1449, when Agnesi received the hat sent by Nicholas V. Nevertheless, in that very year threatenings of disturbances amongst its excitable population induced the Pope to appoint Cardinal Bessarion Legate for Bologna, Romagna, and the March of Ancona (1450, February 26). In his Brief, addressed to the Bolognese, the Pope says that he sends this distinguished man to them as an angel of peace, and confidently hopes that he will succeed in governing Bologna well and happily. The great Humanist did not disappoint these expectations, the troubled city was calmed, and in a short time he had won the affections of its people.

On the 16th March, 1450, Bessarion entered Bologna, where he was received with the greatest honour, and continued to govern it for the remainder of this pontificate. During the five years of his rule the Greek Cardinal managed, by his prudence and moderation, to avoid conflicts and greatly to improve the general condition of the city. As a Humanist, he naturally devoted special attention to the once-famous university, which had fallen into decay during the troubles of the first half of the fifteenth century. He provided for the restoration of its buildings and for the appointment and fitting remuneration of excellent professors. A little intellectual court gradually gathered around the learned Cardinal, who had now become the hope of the Humanists.

Bessarion's impartiality was in great measure the cause of his success at Bologna. A Greek by nationality, he kept aloof from Italian complications, and could be perfectly just towards all. The authority of law and equity was reasserted. He did everything in his power to calm popular passions, and to repress the occasional attempts to shake off the Papal rule. He punished the originators of revolt, and prosecuted the malefactors who had long been masters of the unhappy city. His diligence, his fidelity to duty, and his moral purity were most exemplary. His singular prudence enabled him always to preserve the most amicable relations with Sante Bentivoglio, who was, however, the chief power in Bologna, and whose position there may be estimated by the regal splendour with which his marriage to Alessandro Sforza's daughter was celebrated in May, 1454.

The results of Bessarion's labours were very soon visible, for tranquillity and order were restored to the city, and its inhabitants again turned their attention to the arts of peace. Their confidence in him was such that he was often chosen as umpire in their disputes. From the very first he made it his aim by all possible means to re-establish law and justice, and at any personal sacrifice to defend the cause of the oppressed. Even stern critics, like Hieronymus de Bursellis, extol his remarkable love of justice, which was combined with extreme affability; his door was ever open to the poorest people. He issued a severe edict against the luxury which had at that period assumed terrible proportions in Bologna, as well as throughout Italy, and he also reformed the statutes of the city. The celebrated pilgrimage church of the Madonna di San Luca was restored by him, and he caused other churches, as, for example, that of the Madonna della Mezzarata, to be adorned with beautiful frescoes. The Bolognese honoured Bessarion's memory by an inscription in which he is praised as the benefactor of their city. This grateful affection is the best proof of the wisdom displayed by Nicholas V in entrusting to him the government of the city.

In looking back upon the earlier years of Nicholas V's Pontificate we cannot fail to be struck by his great zeal in the cause of political and ecclesiastical order. In Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, Bosnia, Croatia, and even in Cyprus, he endeavoured to promote the peace of the Church. In Bohemia, indeed, he was completely unsuccessful, although the indefatigable Carvajal spared no effort to bring affairs to a happy conclusion. But Nicholas V had the consolation of seeing great results soon follow from his policy of peace. The pacification of the States of the Church, the recovery of the City of Bologna, which had for centuries been deemed, after Rome, the brightest jewel in the temporal crown of the Popes, and, above all, the termination of the disastrous schism, were successes which won the just admiration of his contemporaries.

## CHAPTER III.

THE JUBILEE OF 1450 AND THE LABOURS OF CARDINAL NICHOLAS  
OF CUSA IN THE CAUSE OF REFORM IN GERMANY AND THE  
NETHERLANDS,

1451-1452.

The restoration of peace to the Church, after so protracted a period of conflict and confusion, was deemed by Nicholas V a fitting occasion for the proclamation of a Universal Jubilee. A pilgrimage of the faithful of every country to the centre of ecclesiastical unity seemed to be the most splendid and appropriate celebration of the termination of the Schism and of the victory gained over the party of the Council, while it was also well calculated to give fresh vigour to the conservative element throughout Christendom.

The obstacles presented by the war in Italy and the pestilence which followed, were not sufficient to deter the Pope from his project, and, on the 19th January, 1449, in presence of the assembled Cardinals, he solemnly imparted his benediction, after which a French Archbishop read aloud the list of all the Jubilees ever celebrated in the Church, and then proclaimed the new one. All who, during a given time, should daily visit the four principal churches of Rome — St. Peter's, St. Paul's, the Lateran Basilica, and Sta. Maria Maggiore — and confess their sins with contrition, were to gain a plenary indulgence, that is to say, remission of the temporal punishments due for those sins from whose guilt and eternal punishment they had been absolved.<sup>t</sup>

Throughout the whole of Christendom the Pope's proclamation was received with rejoicing, and the joy was intensified by the fact that the discord which had for so long weighed heavily on the hearts of all who loved the Church was at an end, and that Nicholas V was universally acknowledged as the true Vicar of Christ. The feelings of the faithful were eloquently expressed by Dr. Felix Hemmerlin, Provost of the Ursus Monastery at Soleure, who, at the conclusion of his work on the approaching holy year, adopts the words of Simeon, and says: "Now dost Thou dismiss Thy servant, O Lord, according to Thy word, in peace, because my eyes have seen the glorious advent of salvation. Now I know in truth that this is the desired time, this is the day of salvation : for the glorious days of Thy Jubilee surpass all earthly beauty and salvation. O, the depth of the riches, of the wisdom, and of the knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are His judgments, and how unsearchable His ways! O Lord, whose mercy is unbounded, perfect Thy grace in us that, as Thou didst fulfil the expectation of Simeon, and he did not see death until it had been granted to him to see Christ the Lord, so we may not taste death until we have enjoyed the benefits of Thy salutary and most happy year of Jubilee!"

The "golden year" opened on the Christmas Day of 1449. The concourse was immense. Then began a pilgrimage of the nations to the Eternal City, like that which had taken place a century before. All the miseries of recent years, the bereavements which war and plague had wrought, the manifest tokens of Divine wrath, were a call to serious reflection and self-examination. Some deemed a pilgrimage to be the best means of averting further chastisements and obtaining future benefits. Others undertook it in order to show forth their gratitude for preservation from dangers, and to implore a continuance of the favours they had enjoyed. All hailed it as an opportunity of becoming partakers of the rich spiritual treasures opened by the Church to those who should visit the tombs of the Apostles.

The pilgrims flocked from every country in Europe; there were Italians and "Ultramontanes", men and women, rich and poor, young and old, healthy and sick. As Augustinus Dathus says in his history of Siena, "Countless multitudes of Frenchmen, Germans, Spaniards, Portuguese, Greeks, Armenians, Dalmatians, and Italians were to be seen hastening to Rome as to the refuge of all the nations of the earth, full of devotion, and chanting hymns in their different languages". The terrible calamities through which they had just passed had touched the hearts of many, and turned them from earthly to heavenly things, and awakened a spirit of devotion. Moreover, the personal affability of the Pope may have induced many to undertake the long and difficult journey.

An eye-witness likens the thronging multitudes of pilgrims to a flight of starlings or a swarm of ants. The Pope did everything in his power to render their passage through Italy easy and safe; in Rome itself he made the most extensive preparations, and especially sought to secure an adequate supply of provisions. But the pilgrims arrived in such overwhelming masses that all his efforts proved insufficient. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini estimates at forty thousand the number of strangers who daily arrived in the city. Even allowing for considerable exaggeration in this estimate, there can be no doubt that the crowds were enormous. The chroniclers and historians of the period seem to be at a loss for words to describe the concourse. Cristoforo a Soldo, chronicler of the city of Brescia, says, "A greater crowd of Christians was never known to hasten to any Jubilee; kings, dukes, marquesses, counts, and knights, in short, people of all ranks in Christendom, daily arrived in such multitudes in Rome that there were millions in the city. And this continued for the whole year, excepting in the summer, on account of the plague, which carried off innumerable victims. But almost as soon as it abated at the beginning of the cold season the influx again commenced".

One of the special attractions of this Jubilee was the Canonization of St. Bernardine of Siena, the most popular saint who had for centuries appeared in the Italian Peninsula, and the founder of a religious order which had increased so rapidly that it sent more than three thousand delegates to the General Chapter held at this time in the convent of Araceli.

The process for his canonization had been introduced in the time of Eugenius IV, at the instance of the Sienese, of the inhabitants of Aquila, amongst whom St. Bernardine had found his last resting-place, and of King Alfonso of Naples. St. John Capistran, who afterwards became so celebrated as a preacher, laboured most energetically in the matter, and the Pope entrusted the examination into the life, death, and miracles of the holy man to Cardinals Niccolò Acciapacci, Guillaume d'Estouteville, Alberto de Albertis, and on his death to Pietro Barbo. These cardinals in their turn employed two bishops, who, having made careful inquiries, presented a detailed report, which was considered in Consistory; but the illness and death of the

Pope, at this point, brought the proceedings to a standstill. The delay, however, was not of long duration, for immediately after his accession Nicholas V took the matter in hand. On the 17th June he charged Cardinals Tagliacozzo, Guillaume d'Estouteville, and Pietro Barbo to examine St. Bernardine's miracles. The bishops, to whom they delegated the task, found more miracles than had been mentioned in the first Process. On the death of the Cardinal Tagliacozzo, Bessarion was nominated in his stead, and Angelo Capranica, Bishop of Rieti, was sent to Aquila, Siena, and many cities in which St. Bernardine had laboured. The slow and cautious procedure of Rome was little to the taste of the cities which cherished the great preacher's memory and eagerly longed for his canonization. Notwithstanding supplications and importunities from various quarters, Rome refused to be unduly hurried, and it was not till the 26th February, 1450, that sufficient progress had been made to enable the Pope to promise the Sienese ambassadors that the canonization should take place at Whitsuntide. A substitute for Cardinal Bessarion, who was about to proceed to Bologna, had been appointed in the person of the Vice-Chancellor. There was, therefore, nothing further to delay the ceremony, and the Pope, whose family subsequently entertained a special devotion to St. Bernardine, had preparations made on a magnificent scale.

St. Peter's was beautifully decorated on Whit-Sunday, the 24th of May; a lofty throne was erected in the middle of the church for the Pope, who was surrounded by all the cardinals then in Rome, as well as by many bishops and archbishops. Every detail of the rite of canonization was carried out with the greatest exactness, solemnity, and splendour, the Pope himself pronouncing the panegyric. Two hundred wax-lights burned in the church; the cost of the vestments worn by the Pope and the cardinals, and of other things used on this occasion, was estimated at seven thousand ducats, and was borne by the inhabitants of Siena and Aquila.

During these days of festal solemnity crowds of pilgrims went up to the Convent of Araceli, now transformed into a hospital, where eight hundred monks devoted themselves to the service of the sick of their own and other lands. The sight was one well calculated to awaken in the dullest soul some zeal for self-sacrifice and prayer. The Spaniard, Didacus, who was afterwards canonized, here distinguished himself by his heroic charity in tending the sick.

Throughout all Italy an outburst of joy and of devotion was elicited by the canonization of St. Bernardine; churches sprang up under his invocation, preachers everywhere praised his holy life; solemn functions in his honour took place even in the smallest towns; those which took place in Perugia, Bologna, Ferrara, Aquila, and Siena were particularly magnificent, and in the last-named city his canonization was represented in a series of pictures.

While the Pope remained in Rome he frequently took part in the solemnities of the Jubilee, and was seen to walk barefoot to visit the stations. The Roman chronicler Paolo di Benedetto di Cola dello Mastro has left us a description of the Jubilee, written with little literary skill, but full of life and fidelity. "I recollect", he says, "that even in the beginning of the Christmas month a great many people came to Rome for the Jubilee. The pilgrims had to visit the four principal churches, the Romans for a whole month, the Italians for fourteen days, and the 'Ultramontanes' for eight. Such a crowd of pilgrims came all at once to Rome that the mills and bakeries were quite insufficient to provide bread for them. And the number of pilgrims daily increased, wherefore the Pope ordered the handkerchief of St. Veronica to be exposed every Sunday, and the heads of the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul every Saturday; the other relics in all the Roman churches were always exposed. The Pope solemnly gave his benediction at St. Peter's

every Sunday. As the unceasing influx of the faithful made the want of the most necessary means of subsistence to be more and more pressing, the Pope granted a plenary indulgence to each pilgrim on condition of contrite confession and of visits to the churches on three days. This great concourse of pilgrims continued from Christmas through the whole month of January, and then diminished so considerably that the innkeepers were discontented, and everyone thought it was at an end, when, in the middle of Lent, such a great multitude of pilgrims again appeared, that in the fine weather all the vineyards were filled with them, and they could not find sleeping-place elsewhere. In Holy Week the throngs coming from St. Peter's, or going there, were so enormous that they were crossing the bridge over the Tiber until the second and third hour of the night. The crowd was here so great that the soldiers of St. Angelo, together with other young men—I was often there myself,—had often to hasten to the spot and separate the masses with sticks in order to prevent serious accidents. At night many of the poor pilgrims were to be seen sleeping beneath the porticos, while others wandered about in search of missing fathers, sons, or companions; it was pitiful to see them. And this went on until the Feast of the Ascension, when the multitude of pilgrims again diminished because the plague came to Rome. Many people then died, especially many of these pilgrims; all the hospitals and churches were full of the sick and dying, and they were to be seen in the infected streets falling down like dogs. Of those who with great difficulty, scorched with heat and covered with dust, departed from Rome, a countless number fell a sacrifice to the terrible pestilence, and graves were to be seen all along the roads even in Tuscany and Lombardy".

The chronicler, as he pursues his narration, vainly endeavours to find language sufficiently forcible to depict the horrors of the plague and the terror which had seized upon him and all who were in Rome. The general panic surpassed any which had been experienced on previous occasions. "The Court of Rome", writes the envoy of the Teutonic Order, "is sadly scattered and put to flight; in fact, there is no Court left. One man embarks for Catalonia, another for Spain, everyone is looking for a place where he may take refuge. Cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, and all sorts of people, without exception, flee from Rome as the apostles fled from our Lord on Good Friday. Our Holy Father also left Rome on the 15th July, retreating from the pestilence, which, alas!—God have mercy!— is so great and terrible that no one knows where to dwell and preserve himself. His Holiness goes from one castle to another, with a little court and very few attendants, trying if he can find a healthy place anywhere. He has now moved to a castle called Fabriano, in which he spent some time last year, and has, it is said, forbidden, under pain of excommunication, loss of preferment and of Papal favour, that anyone who has been in Rome, whatever his rank, should come within seven miles of him, save only the cardinals, a few of whom, with four servants, have gone to the said castle and are living there".

Even in the previous year the Pope had, on the outbreak of the plague, fled from Rome with some few members of the Court and gone first to the neighbourhood of Rieti, and then to the castle of Spoleto, whence he was driven by the malady. In August he was at Fabriano, where the air seemed to be particularly pure. No one was admitted within the city without necessity; the aged Aurispa was the only one of the secretaries whom the Pope retained about him; business was mostly suspended, so that there was but little to be done; many members of the Court succumbed to the pestilence, Poggio mockingly declared that the Pope wandered about after the manner of the Scythians. The same thing happened when the plague revisited the Eternal City in the summer months of 1451 and 1452.

It has been suggested that Nicholas V's extreme fear of death was due to an excessive love of life, but another explanation seems more probable. In the year 1399, when the plague was raging in Lucca and the physicians had forsaken the city, the Pope's father was appointed physician by the remaining citizens. He accepted the perilous post, but soon afterwards died, most likely stricken down by the terrible malady in the exercise of his calling. May not this circumstance account for the apprehensions of Nicholas, who was timid by nature, and at the time in indifferent health? It must also be observed that at this period the idea of contagion was gaining ground among the doctors. The black death and subsequent epidemics had afforded but too ample opportunities for the study of the subject, and the plague was much better understood than it had been. Natural science had made considerable progress, and enlightened physicians in the fifteenth century took little account of the influence of the stars, and directed their chief attention to the laws of contagion. Isolation consequently came to be regarded as the most essential of preventive measures, and it is impossible to estimate the number of human lives that may have been thus preserved during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, even though it was very imperfectly carried out.

When the pestilence ceased with the first cold of winter the Pope returned to Rome. Pilgrims again began to pour in, their journeys being facilitated by the peaceful condition of Italy. "So many people came to Rome", according to an eye-witness, "that the city could not contain the strangers, although every house became an inn. Pilgrims begged, for the love of God, to be taken in on payment of a good price, but it was not possible. They had to spend the nights out of doors. Many perished from cold; it was dreadful to see. Still such multitudes thronged together that the city was actually famished. Every Sunday numerous pilgrims left Rome, but by the following Saturday all the houses were again fully occupied. If you wanted to go to St. Peter's it was impossible, on account of the masses of men that filled the streets. St. Paul's, St. John Lateran, and Sta. Maria Maggiore were filled with worshippers. All Rome was filled, so that one could not go through the streets. When the Pope gave his solemn blessing, all spaces in the neighbourhood of St. Peter's, even the surrounding vineyards, from which the Loggia of the benediction could be seen, were thick with pilgrims, but those who could not see him were more numerous than those who could, and this continued until Christmas".

Among the strangers of note who visited Rome during the Jubilee of 1450 we must give the first place to an artist, the celebrated painter, Roger van der Weyden, or Ruggiero da Bruggia, as the Italians call him. Many of his works had already been purchased by Italian princes and patrons of art, and were greatly esteemed. It was probably as he passed through Florence on his way to Rome that this great master received from the Medici the commission to paint the picture of the Madonna with the Holy Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, and the physicians, Saints Cosmas and Damian, which is now one of the treasures of the Städel Gallery of Frankfort-on-Maine. The influence of Italy is evident in this beautiful work, and in others from the hand of the same master, especially in a charming picture representing St. Luke taking the portrait of the Blessed Virgin while she suckles the Divine Infant (formerly in the Boisserée Collection, and now in the Munich Pinakothek), and again in the Middelburg Tryptick, now at Berlin. A modern writer on art is probably correct in his idea that the journey of 1450, although undertaken solely from motives of devotion, was an artistic revelation to the Flemish painter, who, by a comparison with foreign schools, learned to form a more correct estimate of his own talents and needs, and of those of his country. From this time he gave up painting life-sized figures and violent effects and gold back-grounds.



He still chose striking and dramatic subjects, but the surroundings of his figures are now real, and they stand forth from an architectural perspective or a sunlit landscape full of graceful details. This was an approach to the manner of his predecessor, Van Eyck, and, moreover, a return to that of his own earlier days and to the mild harmonious tone most congenial to the piety and artistic sense common to himself and his fellow-countrymen. His best works were produced at this period, and he initiated a school, which, as compared with that of Van Eyck, manifests marked progress. It would be impossible to say how many of the other painters, artists, and scholars, who went as pilgrims to the capital of Christendom in 1450, were touched by the like influence.

Jakob von Sirk, Archbishop of Trèves, once the most ardent partisan of the Council was amongst the princes of the Church who were seen at Rome in the Jubilee year. He came, accompanied by a hundred and forty knights, to make his peace with the Holy See. Cardinal Peter von Schaumburg, Bishop of Augsburg, and the Bishops of Metz and Strasburg were also there, with other German prelates. Many saintly personages, too, were pilgrims, as, for example, St. Jacopo della Marca, St. Didacus, and the celebrated St. John Capistran. It was, moreover, at this time that Jacopo Ammannati Piccolomini, afterwards the famous Cardinal, turned his steps to the Eternal City, where he subsequently entered the service of Cardinal Capranica, the friend of all learned men.

Numerous princes made the pilgrimage in 1450; the Pope welcomed the Duke Albert of Austria, gave him at Christmas a blessed sword, and granted him many spiritual favours in token of his affection for the House of Austria. It is probable that many Austrian nobles accompanied the Duke; the aged Count Frederick of Cilli was certainly in Rome this year. We must also mention the Margravine Catherine of Baden, Landgrave Louis of Hesse, and Duke John of Cleves, who visited the seven principal churches on foot, and was received with great honour by the Pope, Johannes Dlugoss, "the first Polish historian who wrote in the grand style" and Nicodemus de Pontremoli, the trusted Ambassador of the Duke of Milan.

This would seem the fitting place to remark that the Jubilee year gave birth to a little literature of its own, a portion of which has since been printed, while a good deal more exists only in manuscript. We have the two editions of a treatise by the Canonist, Giovanni d'Anagni, a man distinguished by the love of God and of his neighbour. Jakob von Jüterbogk and the Dominican, Heinrich Kalteisen, dealt with the subject of indulgences from the ecclesiastical point of view, and Johann von Wesel wrote against them. St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, wrote concerning the pardon of the "golden year", at a date later than 1450. Provost Felix Hemmerlin, of Soleure, in Switzerland, composed a dialogue between the Jubilee year and the Cantor Felix, in which the former successfully answers all doubts and prejudices regarding the validity of the Jubilee indulgence, and explains the conditions on which it may be gained by sinners of every position and degree. Hemmerlin's tone is grave and devout, and the dialogue contains many interesting passages which throw a vivid light on evils existing in the ecclesiastical life of Switzerland. He is unsparing in his denunciation of the Beguines, of mendicant friars who hunt after benefices and money, and of ecclesiastics neglectful of their duty. "Canons", he says, "who are not present in choir and yet receive remuneration for fulfilling this duty, are no better than thieves and robbers, and must, even if they be prelates, make restitution of their revenues, or they will not be partakers of the graces of the Jubilee year". Hemmerlin also speaks at length, and with great force, against concubinage.

A description of Rome, written by Giovanni Rucellai, a Florentine merchant, who made the pilgrimage in 1450, has lately been published, and is full of interesting matter. Amongst other things, he speaks of the catacomb beneath the church of St. Sebastian as always open, and constantly visited by the pilgrims.

"Perhaps", says the chronicle of Forli, "it may have been in order to moderate the Pope's joy at the unwonted and extraordinary concourse of pilgrims, and to preserve him from pride, that an event was fated to occur which caused him the deepest sorrow". A very beautiful German lady of rank, who had undertaken the pilgrimage to Rome, was, in the district of Verona, set upon and carried away by soldiers. Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini was generally looked upon as the instigator of this crime, which caused great excitement in Italy, but notwithstanding the careful inquiries at once set on foot by the Venetians, the mystery was never cleared up. The disaster, was all the more distressing to the Pope, inasmuch as it was calculated to deter many rich and distinguished personages from setting forth on a journey which was already deemed in itself most perilous.

Nicholas V was yet more deeply affected by a terrible calamity in the Holy City itself. On the 19th December a greater crowd than ever had assembled in St. Peter's to venerate the holy handkerchief and receive the Papal benediction. At about four o'clock in the afternoon the Pope sent word that, in consequence of the lateness of the hour, the benediction would not be given that day, and all the people hurried home by the bridge of St. Angelo, which was encumbered with shopkeepers' booths. On the bridge the crowd unfortunately came in contact with some horses and mules, which had taken fright, and a block ensued. A great many of the pilgrims were in a moment thrown down and trodden under foot by the advancing masses, or else pushed into the Tiber. Meanwhile, the multitudes, who filled all the streets leading from St. Peter's, pressed onward in utter ignorance of what had taken place, and, but for the presence of mind of the Castellan of St. Angelo, the catastrophe might have been yet more appalling in its extent. He caused the bridge to be closed, and brave citizens held back the advancing throng, but the fatal crush on the bridge continued for a whole hour. Then the citizens began to carry the dead into the neighbouring Church of San. Celso. "I myself carried twelve dead bodies" writes the chronicler, Paolo dello Mastro. More than a hundred and seventy corpses were laid out in the church, and this number, of course, does not include such as had fallen into the river. According to most of the contemporary accounts the victims exceeded two hundred, and this estimate cannot be far from the truth. Some horses and a mule also perished. People who escaped with their lives had their clothes torn to pieces in the crowd. "Some were to be seen", says an eye-witness, "running about in their doublets, some in shirts, and others almost naked. In the terrible confusion all had lost their companions, and the cries of those who sought missing friends were mingled with the wailing of those who mourned for the dead. As night came on, the most heartrending scenes were witnessed in the Church of San. Celso, which was full of people up to 11 o'clock; one found a father, another a mother, one a brother, and another a son among the dead. An eye-witness says that men who had gone through the Turkish war had seen no more ghastly sight". "Truly", writes the worthy Paolo dello Mastro, "it was misery to see the poor people with candles in their hands looking through the rows of corpses, and as they recognized their dear ones their sorrow and weeping were redoubled". The dead were for the most part Italians from the neighbourhood of Rome, chiefly strong youths and women; there were but few old people or children among them, and scarcely any persons of high rank. At midnight, by command of the Pope, a hundred and twenty-eight were carried to the Campo Santo,

near St. Peter's, where they were left all the Sunday for identification. The rest of the bodies were either brought to Sta. Maria della Minerva or buried in San. Celso. Their garments were laid together in one part of the church. "My father", says Paolo deilo Mastro, "was appointed to take charge of them : many persons, who did not know if they had to mourn for one belonging to them, hastened there, and were assured of their loss."

This terrible event inflicted a deep wound on the paternal heart of the Pope. He could not, indeed, attribute any blame to himself, for he had done all that was possible to maintain order in Rome, and had caused its narrow streets to be widened — yet the tragedy took such hold upon him that he fell into a kind of melancholy.

In order to guard against the possible recurrence of such an accident, Nicholas V had a row of houses in front of the bridge cleared away, so as to form an open space before the Church of San. Celso. In the following year two chapels, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen and the Holy Innocents, were erected at the entrance of the bridge, and mass was daily offered for the souls of the victims. These chapels remained until the time of Clement VII, who replaced them by the statues of the Apostles, which now stand there.

The Pope's rejoicing in the glories of the Jubilee year was marred by yet another circumstance; the French ambassador demanded that a General Council should be summoned to meet in France; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who was at the time in Rome to obtain the Pope's permission for the coronation of Frederick III, soon afterwards, in a solemn consistory, made request in the name of his King that it should be held in Germany, inasmuch as Frederick did not mean to consent to its meeting in any other country. This silenced the French and delivered Nicholas V from a serious difficulty.

Immense sums of money poured into Rome during the Jubilee Year, especially at its beginning and at its close, when the concourse of pilgrims was greatest. A chronicler mentions four classes as chiefly benefited: First, the money-changers; secondly, the apothecaries; thirdly, the artists, who painted copies of the holy handkerchief; and fourthly, the innkeepers, particularly those in the large streets and in the neighbourhood of St. Peter's and of the Lateran.

On this occasion, as in previous Jubilees, the pilgrims brought an immense number of offerings. Manetti, the Pope's biographer, says that an exceedingly large quantity of silver and gold found its way into the treasury of the Church, and Vespasiano da Bisticci tells us that Nicholas V was able to deposit a hundred thousand golden florins in the bank of the Medici alone. From the Chronicle of Perugia we learn that money was dear at this time, and could only with difficulty be obtained, because "it all flowed into Rome for the Jubilee".

The Pope thus became possessed of the resources necessary for his great schemes, the promotion of art and learning; the poor also had a share of the wealth.

The moral effect of the Jubilee, in its bearing on the Papacy, was even more important than its material advantages.

The experience of all Christian ages has shown that pilgrimages of clergy and laity to the tombs of the Apostles at Rome are a most effectual means of elevating and strengthening the Catholic life of nations, and of uniting them more closely to the Holy See; and, moreover, that every movement of the kind is in many ways fraught with blessings. The great pilgrimage to Rome, the perennial fountain of truth, had a peculiar

value in an age still suffering from the consequences of the schism. Faith seemed to gain new life, and the world saw that the Vatican, whose authority had been so violently assailed, was still the centre of Christendom, and the Pope its common Head.

"It was striking", says Augustinus Dathus, "to see pilgrims come joyfully from all lands, most of them with bundles on their backs, despising the comforts of their own country and fearing neither heat nor cold, that they might gain the treasures of grace. The remembrance of those days still rejoices my heart, for they made manifest the magnificence and glory of the Christian religion. From the most distant places many journeyed to Rome in the year 1450 to visit the Head of the Catholic Church and the tombs of the Princes of the Apostles. Truly this Jubilee year is worthy to be remembered throughout all ages".

The Jubilee was the first great triumph of the ecclesiastical restoration, and it was the Pope's desire that its renovating influence should be felt in every part of Christendom. The idea was in itself a fresh evidence of the right understanding and goodwill of Nicholas V, and in order to carry it into effect he decided to send special Legates to the nations which had been most affected by the troubles of the last decade. These Legates were to labour for the establishment of a closer union with Rome, and for the removal of ecclesiastical abuses, and to open the spiritual treasures of the Jubilee to the faithful who were unable to visit the Eternal City. The Jubilee Indulgence was also extended by the Pope to those countries for which no Legate was appointed. A visit to the Cathedral of their Diocese, and an alms to be offered there, were generally the conditions substituted for the pilgrimage, which to many was an impossibility.

"In all countries and in every direction" as one of Cusa's biographers justly observes, "men had been for a long time sinning much and grievously. It was fitting then that the reconciliation should be general. The awakening of a sense of sin was to be for all classes — for clergy as well as laity — for high and low, a solemn recall to duty, and a means of moral restoration; and when hearts were thus changed, there was room to hope that the reformation of ecclesiastical life, which had been so long desired and so solemnly guaranteed, might at last become a reality."

In August, 1451, the Pope sent Cardinal d'Estouteville to France, with a special mission to undertake the reform of the Cathedral Chapters, and of the Schools and Universities. The edicts issued by him on this occasion for the University of Paris manifest the skill and zeal with which he fulfilled his trust.

D'Estouteville remained in France until the end of 1452, without, however, accomplishing the principal end of his mission, which was the restoration of peace with England; to his honour it must be recorded, that he initiated the proceedings by which justice was done to the memory of the Maid of Orleans.

Before the end of December, 1450, Nicholas V had sent, as Legate to Germany, Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, a prelate renowned for learning and purity of life, who had already done much to promote the general peace of the Church, and the reconciliation of Germany with the Holy See. He was now commissioned to publish the Indulgence of the Jubilee, and to labour for the pacification of the kingdom, especially for the conclusion of the contest between the Archbishop of Cologne and the Duke of Cleves, and for the reunion of the Bohemians. The chief object of his mission, however, was to raise the tone of ecclesiastical life and thoroughly to reform moral abuses in Germany, where the Council of Basle had found so many partisans, and where the years of neutrality had produced great confusion in the affairs of the Church, and allowed religious indifferentism to assume serious proportions. The Pope granted the most

ample powers to the German Cardinal, and even authorized him to hold Provincial Councils.

Little attention has been paid to the remarkable fact, that Cusa's appointment encountered violent opposition from certain parties in Germany, who, untaught by the events of the previous ten years, still adhered to the un-Catholic principles of the Council of Basle. Although the assembly had given convincing proofs of its absolute incapacity to correct ecclesiastical abuses, there were still pedants who would accept reform only from a Council, and to whom any measure of the kind, proceeding from the Pope, appeared utterly obnoxious, even if carried out by so eminent and distinguished a man as Cusa. Others were anti-Roman to such a degree, that the dignity enjoyed by the Legate as a member of the Sacred College created a feeling of distrust in their minds. Yet all might have been proud to welcome the zealous and sagacious Cardinal who came speaking their own tongue, and was thoroughly acquainted with all the concerns and the needs of the Fatherland; and, as time went on, it became evident that Cusa discharged the duties of his important office in the spirit of a genuine reformer, and for the good of his country.

He looked on the work of ecclesiastical reform as one "of purification and renovation, not of ruin and destruction, and believed that man must not deform what is holy, but rather be himself transformed thereby". And, therefore, first of all and above all, he was a reformer in his own person. His life was a mirror of every Christian and sacerdotal virtue. Justly persuaded that it is the duty of those, who hold the chief places in the Church, to exercise the office of preachers, he everywhere proclaimed the Word of God to both clergy and laity, and his practice accorded with his preaching. His example was even more powerful than his sermons. Detesting all vanity, he journeyed modestly on his mule, accompanied only by a few Romans, and scarcely to be recognized, save by the silver cross which the Pope had given him, and which was mounted on a staff and carried before him. On arriving in any town his first visit was to the church, where he fervently implored the blessing of heaven on the work he had taken in hand. Many princes and rich men brought him splendid presents, but he kept his hands pure from all gifts. Amongst his companions was the holy and learned Carthusian, Dionysius van Leewis, a man filled with the most ardent zeal for the renovation of monastic life.

Nicholas of Cusa, who left Rome on the last day of the year 1450, began his arduous labours, in February 1451, by holding a Provincial Synod at Salzburg. We have unfortunately, but scanty details regarding this assembly ; it is, however, evident that a renewal and strengthening of communion with Rome and a restoration of the relaxed discipline of religious houses were, together with the proclamation of the Jubilee Indulgence, its principal objects. The Cardinal thoroughly understood the root of the malady with which the Church in Germany was afflicted. A real change for the better could only be accomplished by a strengthening of the slackened bonds which bound Northern and Southern Germany to Pope Nicholas V, whose general recognition was but of recent date, and by a thorough reform of the relaxed religious orders. The decrees of the Synod over which Cusa presided are framed with these purposes. "Every Sunday henceforth", it was ordained, "all priests are at Holy Mass to use a prayer for the Pope, the Bishop of the Diocese, and the Church". By this rule, not only each bishop, but each individual priest, was obliged weekly to renew his solemn profession of communion with the Pope, and the consciousness of ecclesiastical unity was thus rendered more vivid. The decree was, within a month, to be published in every Diocese of the Province

of Salzburg, and thenceforth to be binding on all priests. An indulgence of fifty days was granted for its exact observance.

It is hardly necessary to dwell on the great importance of this opening act of Cusa's career as Legate in Germany. It bound the clergy of this vast ecclesiastical province by the closest ties to the Holy See, and formed a powerful check against any schismatical movement. The need which existed in Southern Germany for measures of this character was amply proved by the opposition of the Brixen Chapter, when the Pope appointed Cusa bishop of that Diocese.

The subject of monastic reform, which next engaged the attention of the Synod of Salzburg, was equally urgent. The spring-time of monastic institutions was past. In many convents the spirit of strict observance and the cultivation of learning had sunk very low. At Salzburg the cardinal had only time to sketch out the plan of his future work in this field, for he was anxious to proceed on his journey so as to meet the King of the Romans at Vienna. Frederick III granted him the official investiture of the See of Brixen, with all the customary formalities, and confirmed, by a special diploma, his episcopal privileges and immunities in the beginning of March, at Wiener-Neustadt.

On the 3rd March Cusa issued a circular letter from Vienna to all Benedictine abbots and abbesses of the province of Salzburg, informing them, that, in virtue of the Papal commission, he had appointed Martin, abbot of the Scotch Foundation in Vienna; Lorenz, abbot of Maria-Zell; and Stephan, prior of Melk, apostolic visitors of their order. Having God before their eyes, and without regard to any other consideration, they were carefully and exactly to investigate and report upon the condition of the convents. In the event of resistance they were to invoke the aid of the secular arm, and to apprise the Legate, so that he might take all proper proceedings. They were, above all things, to insist on the strict observance of the three essential vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Dispensations accorded in former visitations were, without exception, revoked as contrary to the rule. A plenary indulgence, on condition of the performance of an appointed penance, was to be granted to those religious who, by their lives, showed themselves worthy of it. The document concludes by exhorting all concerned to receive the visitors with honour, and unreservedly to make known everything to them. All, without distinction of rank, were to be regarded as excommunicate, and their monasteries as under an interdict, in cases of disobedience, after the lapse of the three days following the service of the monition, required by the canons. The apostolic visitors at once set about their difficult, and in many cases thankless, task. Stephan von Spangberg, the Prior of Melk, being shortly promoted to a bishopric, was replaced by Johann Slitpacher, a monk from the same house, and King Frederick III granted letters of safe-conduct to the visitors, each of whom was accompanied by a chaplain and a servant. Abbot Martin generally made the opening address; Abbot Lorenz questioned the religious individually, examined churches, abbeys, cells, farm buildings, etc., and drew up the instrument of reform; and Slitpacher acquainted the monastic chapter with its several clauses.

The Archduchy of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, the Province of Salzburg, and a part of Bavaria were visited, and about fifty houses of both sexes reformed.

Much about the same time the Cardinal turned his attention to the reform of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, entrusting the visitation of their houses to Provost Nicholas of St. Dorothy's, in Vienna, Peter zu Ror, and Wolfgang Reschpeck.

The negotiations with the Chapter of Brixen in regard to Cusa's appointment having been, by the mediation of Archbishop Frederick of Salzburg, brought to a

satisfactory conclusion, the Legate proceeded by way of Munich, Freising, Ratisbon, and Nuremberg to Bamberg, where he held a Diocesan Synod in the Cathedral. His labours were directed in the first place to the reform of the religious orders. A deplorable contest prevailed at this time in the Diocese of Bamberg between the Mendicant Friars and the Secular Clergy, and, with the full consent of the Synod, he decided to bring the discord to an end by the publication of a canon of the Lateran Council of 1215. Everyone, whether exempt or non-exempt, who failed to worship in his parish church on Sundays and festivals, was to be deprived of communion and refused admission to the church. And, on the other hand, inasmuch as Mendicant Friars, lawfully admitted by the Bishop to the cure of souls, could give valid absolution, even in cases reserved to the Pope, similar punishments were to be inflicted on those who disputed their powers. Furthermore, the Bishop of Bamberg was required to publish in the principal places in his diocese, on the first Sunday in Lent, for the information of the people, the names of the Friars entrusted with the cure of souls, and a list of the cases reserved to the Bishop or the Pope. All controversy on the subject was to be discontinued, and any differences were to be referred to the decision of competent judges.

Regulations for the reform of houses and various ordinances concerning processions, confraternities, and the Jews, were also promulgated by the Bamberg Synod, and the Salzburg decree, prescribing the prayer for the Pope and for the Bishop of the Diocese at mass, was reiterated.

In the latter part of the month of May, Nicholas of Cusa, together with four abbots, presided at the fourteenth Provincial Chapter of the Benedictines, which was held in the convent of St. Stephen at Würzburg. On this occasion he commanded that the rule of St. Benedict should be observed in all its original strictness, approved the Bursfeld reform, and strongly recommended it to all the abbots. This Chapter was very numerously attended; seventy abbots from the Dioceses of Mayence, Bamberg, Würzburg, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Eichstadt, Spire, Constance, Strasburg, and Augsburg were present, and amongst them Abbot Johann Hagen, the worthy founder of the celebrated congregation of Bursfeld. The Cardinal himself celebrated solemn High Mass, and each abbot individually came up to the altar and bound himself by vow to carry out the reform within the space of a year. To ensure the success of the good work, the disused custom of annual Provincial Chapters was re-established, and Abbot Hagen was appointed visitor, together with the Abbot of St. Stephen at Würzburg. Thus was the good seed widely sown by the Cardinal Legate, for the seventy abbots bore back to their several houses the impulse received at Würzburg; no mere passing emotion, such as is wont to touch the heart for a moment, and then leave it unchanged, but a steadfast, earnest purpose of reform. It is possible, indeed, that, through human weakness, or on account of insurmountable obstacles, some of the abbots may have failed to fulfil their promise within the appointed time, but there can be no doubt that the Würzburg Synod brought forth excellent fruit.

From Würzburg the Cardinal-Legate, riding on a mule, proceeded through Thuringia to Erfurt, which, on account of its numerous churches, chapels, and convents, was called Little Rome. Of the eleven religious houses in this city, three only were reformed, and in one of these, the Benedictine Abbey of St Peter, Cusa took up his abode. St. Peter's was at the time one of the most important monasteries of the Bursfeld congregation, and subsequently became its chief centre. On the very day after his arrival (30th May), the Legate began to preach. Hartung Kammermeister, in his Annals, gives the following description of his labours as a preacher, and of his sojourn at Erfurt: "On

the Saturday after *Cantate* (4th Sunday after Easter), anno Dom. 1451, Nicholas of Cusa, the Cardinal sent by Pope Nicholas, came to Erfurt, when the Council decided that its chief man, Count Henry of Glichen, with some of

its servants, friends, and citizens, should ride to meet him and receive him. They had also arranged that the monks from the monastery, and also the university, with the students, in procession, should await his arrival at the outer gate towards Tabirstete, there receive him and escort him to the toll bridge. On the aforesaid bridge the Canons of both Chapters met him, and the Cardinal dismounted from his horse and followed them on foot, in procession, to the Church of Our Lady, and both there and at St. Severin there was grand music in the choir and on the organ. Afterwards the Cardinal again mounted his horse and rode to the Petersberg, where the Canons met him with their relics, and he got off his horse at the steps, and gave the kiss of peace, and followed them on foot, in procession, to the monastery, and those who had ridden forth to meet him followed him on their horses, and afterwards everyone rode home again.

"Now at midday of *Voce[m] jucunditatis* (5th Sunday after Easter), the same Cardinal made a good and beautiful sermon from the pulpit of St. Peter's, where a great multitude came together, and he informed the people why and in what manner our Holy Father the Pope had sent him, and he did the same in presence of all. Again on the Day of the Ascension of our Lord, the Cardinal preached from the stone pulpit at the Kaffate, and a great crowd came, for the people heard him gladly.

"Furthermore, on *Exaudi Sunday* the Cardinal preached from the pulpit of St. Peter's, and very many came from the country into the town, wishing to hear his discourse, and the throng was so great that some men were crushed and many fainted, and it was supposed that more than two thousand persons were present".

Nicholas of Cusa also visited all the religious houses of Erfurt, and appointed a special commission, with ample powers of reform. Among its members was the excellent Provost of the Augustinians, Johannes Busch, whose labours have been brought to light by recent researches. Cusa's solicitude also extended to many Benedictine monasteries in Thuringia, and not being able to visit them all personally, he deputed Abbot Christian of St. Peter to act as his substitute, and the Abbot, in his turn, sought the aid of Provost Busch.

In the beginning of June the Cardinal went to Magdeburg, where monastic reform as well as renovation of life among clergy and laity were making the happiest progress under the auspices of the admirable Archbishop Frederick. It is worthy of note that Cusa deviated from the direct road to Magdeburg, in order to pass through Halle and make acquaintance with Johannes Busch, the principal promoter of monastic reform in Northern Germany, with whom he desired to confer regarding the great work in hand. He entered Magdeburg on Whit-Sunday (June 13) in the morning, and remained there until the twenty-eighth of June, devoting the first week of his stay to preaching and the visitation of religious houses, and the second to holding a Provincial Synod. "This same Cardinal", to quote the Municipal Chronicle of Magdeburg, "granted to all people in our Lord of Magdeburg's Cathedral, in that year of graces, or golden year, the same Indulgences that were granted in Rome in the fiftieth year. The Canons had caused a new pulpit to be made, and when he wished to preach, the pulpit was ornamented with golden hangings. Many came to the sermon. There, on the Sunday after Corpus Christi, the Cardinal went with our Lord of Magdeburg in the procession, which every year is wont to be made with the Holy Sacrament, and the Cardinal himself bore it. It never before had been heard that a Cardinal from Rome had gone in procession here. Two



Counts of Anhalt accompanied the Cardinal, and the canopy over the Sacrament was borne by the two Counts and other distinguished persons. Our Lord of Magdeburg bore the Holy Cross, and the Abbot of Berge and the Provost of Our Lady's Church also carried relics. At this time so many people came to Magdeburg that all the streets were thronged. In the afternoon, when it is customary every year to show the relics, the Cardinal and our Lord of Magdeburg went up the aisle and stood beside the priest who showed them, as long as this was going on. Then the Cardinal gave the Benediction to the people".

The Provincial Synod, in which the Bishops of Brandenburg and Merseburg, as well as the zealous Archbishop Frederick, took part, was held by the Cardinal in the choir of the magnificent Cathedral of Magdeburg. The Jubilee Indulgence and the reform of the religious orders were the principal subjects which occupied its attention, and Cusa appointed for the several towns and monasteries special confessors, who were empowered to absolve from all sins and ecclesiastical censures, even in cases reserved to the Bishops or to the Pope. The measures resolved upon for the reform of the monasteries were stringent. On the 25th June he issued a Bull, requiring, under pain of deprivation of all privileges and of the right of electing superiors, that, within the space of a year, all religious houses in the whole ecclesiastical province should be reformed, and charging all Bishops to publish these decisions as soon as possible, and to aid in their execution. Special attention was next devoted to the reform of the Augustinians, and, in this respect, the Magdeburg Synod was the counterpart to that of Wurzburg, which dealt in like manner with the Benedictines. The excellent Provost Busch was honoured as he deserved to be. The Cardinal declared that Pope Nicholas V had, in his solicitude for the Order of St. Augustine, given him a commission to visit all its convents within the limits of his Legation. Being unable to accomplish this in person, he intended to nominate deputies, who, in their character of visitors and Legates of the Holy See, were to enjoy all the dignities and rights of an Apostolic Legate, and whose commands were in all particulars to be obeyed by the houses. Provost Johann Busch was appointed in the first place as visitor by Cusa, and with him was associated Provost Doctor Paulus Busse, and all Augustinian convents of the province of Magdeburg, and of the dioceses of Halberstadt, Hildesheim, and Verdun, its suffragans, were to be subject to their jurisdiction. Cusa charged the visitors to begin with the superior of each house, and to go through all its members to the very lowest, and then to give an accurate account in writing of the result of their inquiries. "They were to correct everything found to be at variance with the rule of the Order and the Hildesheim Statutes, approved by Pope Martin V at the Council of Constance. In case of grave transgressions, and towards incorrigible offenders, they were to use strong measures, and even to invoke the aid of the secular arm for the eradication of crimes and scandals". Finally, all houses that accepted the reform were to participate in the benefit of the Indulgence. Both the visitors were fully empowered to give absolution in reserved cases and from ecclesiastical censures, and to grant dispensations for all irregularities. They were, moreover, authorized to remove the interdict, and in cases where they were worthy, to confirm provosts and priors who had obtained their prelacies by simony, and to set them free from the obligation of restitution in regard to revenues which they had unjustly enjoyed. Any convent refusing to admit the visitors incurred interdict, and its inmates fell under the greater excommunication, both of which censures were reserved to the Cardinal Legate and the Apostolic See. By the grant of these powers the work of reformation, which had hitherto depended only on the goodwill of the religious houses and the efforts of the bishops, received Papal authorization.

The labours of the Provincial Synod of Magdeburg were not yet at an end; a long list of resolutions for the reform of ecclesiastical affairs was drawn up; regulations were made regarding the carrying of the Blessed Sacrament, the office in choir, and the Jews, and finally a severe edict against concubinage was published. The decree requiring prayers for the Pope and for the Bishop of the Diocese to be said during Holy Mass, issued for the Province of Salzburg at the beginning of Cusa's Legation, was now enacted at Magdeburg, and is a fresh example of the great Cardinal's care for the promotion of ecclesiastical unity.

A cheering token of the revival of piety in Northern Germany appears in the zeal, with which the Bishop and the secular authorities promulgated and carried out the decisions of the Magdeburg Synod. The visitors of the religious houses spared no trouble in the accomplishment of their difficult task, and the fact that they devoted nearly seven weeks to Erfurt bears witness to the thoroughness of their labours in the cause of monastic reform. The convents of St. Thomas at Leipzig and St. John at Halberstadt were also visited and reformed this year.

To this period belongs the Cardinal's well-known prohibition of the veneration of bleeding Hosts, a matter regarding which the result of recent investigations is by no means unanimous. From Halberstadt, whence this order was issued, the Cardinal went to Wolfenbüttel and Brunswick, and then turned his steps towards Hildesheim. In this town he at once deposed the Abbot of St. Michael's, who had obtained his dignity by means of symony and was averse to the reform, putting in his place a monk from Bursfeld, and thus ensuring the strict observance of the rule. Here, as elsewhere, Cusa made the religious instruction of the people his care. An interesting memorial of his solicitude is preserved in the Hildesheim Museum in the form of a wooden tablet, bearing the paternoster and the ten commandments, which he caused to be hung up in St. Lambert's, the parish church of Neustadt, as an aid to catechetical instruction.

The Cardinal left Hildesheim about the 20th July, probably spent some days in the ancient and celebrated convent of Corbie, and then remained in Minden uninterruptedly from the 30th July until the 9th August, labouring with great zeal at the arrangement of ecclesiastical affairs. His activity is shown by the list of rules by which he sought to amend the deplorable condition of the diocese. The convents of the city of Minden were subjected to a searching visitation, especially the Benedictine Abbey of St. Simon, where discipline had become very relaxed. Here, as in other places, he preached and said Mass in the Cathedral. He also inquired minutely into the condition of the Secular Clergy and the laity, and published ordinances for the better celebration of Divine Service and a severe edict against concubinage among the clergy. As this edict did not at once produce the desired effect, he caused a decree to be affixed to the church doors, threatening any beneficed ecclesiastic, who took back his concubine or kept her elsewhere, with the loss of his income and exclusion from public worship. Should the priest of any church permit an ecclesiastic, reasonably suspected of this sin, to enter his church or take part in the worship of God, the whole city of Minden was to incur an interdict which could only be removed by the Cardinal himself, or by the Apostolic See. The erection of new confraternities or congregations was prohibited, lest the laity should be encouraged to trust in a fallacious piety, consisting solely in externals and nominal membership in many brotherhoods.

While Nicholas of Cusa was thus labouring in Northern Germany to reform the Church from within, the celebrated Minorite, St. John Capistran, was energetically prosecuting the same work in the southern and eastern parts of the kingdom. King Frederick III had, through the intervention of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, induced the

Pope to send this great preacher to Germany, charged with the double duty of reforming his own order, and of combating the religious indifference, the sensuality and the spirit of insubordination, which had long prevailed among the people.

The Papal mandate, desiring St. John Capistran to proceed to the north, found him at Venice, where he was preaching the Lent.

He immediately started on his journey to Wiener-Neustadt, passing through Carinthia and Styria, where the mountaineers welcomed him with the greatest enthusiasm. "Wherever he arrived", says Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini in his History of Frederick III "priests and people met him with the holy relics, received him as ambassador of the Pope and preacher of truth, as a great prophet and messenger from heaven. The people flocked down from the mountains as if St. Peter or St. Paul, or some other of the Apostles were passing by, desiring to touch even the hem of his garment, and bearing their sick, many of whom are said to have returned healed. He was about sixty-five years old, small of stature, thin, withered and worn, mere skin and bone, but always cheerful, powerful in intellect, unwearied in work, very learned and eloquent. He preached every day, treating of high and important matters to the joy and delight of learned and unlearned; to all he gave satisfaction, and persuaded them as he would. From twenty to thirty thousand people came every day to his sermons, and although they did not understand what he said, listened to him with more attention than to the interpreter, for it was his custom first to pronounce his whole discourse in Latin, and afterwards he let the interpreter repeat it. It was long before he could reach Vienna, and when at the prayer of the Viennese he at last came to their city, they thronged to him in such crowds that the streets were too narrow to hold them. Men and women pressed one upon another, and when they saw him they shed tears of joy, raised up their hands to heaven and praised him, and those who could come near him kissed his garments, and greeted him as a messenger from heaven. He took up his abode with the Minorites, his brethren in religion, and was supported at the expense of the city. The rule of life which, together with his brethren, he observed was the following: he slept in his habit, rose at daybreak, and after much prayer said holy Mass. He then preached publicly to the people in Latin, from a high platform erected for him near the Carmelite Church on the Square, because elsewhere there was not room. A few hours later, when the interpreter also had finished, he returned to his convent, and after spending some time in prayer, went to visit the sick, laying hands on some, and touching others with the biretta of St. Bernardine, and the blood which had flowed from his nose after death. These visits occupied a long time, inasmuch as the sick were seldom fewer than five hundred, and the Saint prayed devoutly for them all. Towards evening he took food, gave audiences, said vespers, and returned to the sick and engaged in devotional exercises with them until after night had set in. After more prayer he at last allowed his body some repose, but his sleep was very short, for he stole from it time for the study of Holy Scripture. Thus did this man lead on earth what may be called a heavenly life, spotless, blameless, and sinless; I boldly say sinless although people were not wanting who accused him of vain ambition".

Preaching penance wherever he went, St. John Capistran proceeded from Vienna through a great part of Germany. At Ratisbon, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Weimar, Jena, Leipzig, Dresden, Halle, Magdeburg, Erfurt, Breslau and many other places, he was unwearied in proclaiming the Word of God, and won thousands to a better life. In Moravia he battled with the Hussite heresy and reconciled many to the Church, but the hostility of Podiebrad closed Bohemia to him. The Cardinal of Cracow and King Casimir invited him to Poland, where he continued his labours.

His own order derived great benefits from his untiring energy. He knew how to arouse the zeal of the German Princes and cities. In most of the places where he preached he either founded a new convent, or obtained for his Observantines possession of one which required reform. It was his special care to fill these houses with learned novices who had been won, by his preaching, from among the undergraduates and students in the university towns. He strove earnestly in his innumerable discourses to awaken among the people a spirit of true penance and moral reformation. Success crowned his efforts, and in many places men and women brought their dice, cards, false hair, paint, and such like to the public market place and there burned them. "In the year 1454", says an Augsburg chronicle, "Brother John Capistran, of the bare-footed Order, preached here in the church of our Lady, after Mass in the morning about the sixth hour, from the pulpit which had been erected for him, and he did this for eight days together. The men all had to sit on one side and the women on the other, and after dinner, towards evening, he touched all sick people in the court with the Relic of St. Bernardine. Many tresses of false hair and a pile of gambling tables and cards were burnt in the market place".

In many places St. John's preaching produced effects which, though supported by ample testimony, appear almost incredible. In Leipzig, for example, after he had preached on death with a skull in his hand, nearly a hundred and twenty students sought admission into different Religious Orders, about half the number being clothed by the preacher himself with the habit of St Francis. Fifty young men were won for his Order in Vienna, and a hundred and thirty in Cracow, and many of these were students. The Pope showed his esteem for this marvellous preacher by bestowing on him special faculties and granting indulgences to all who should attend his sermons. He was popularly known as the "holy man" or "ghostly father".

Meanwhile the zealous Nicholas of Cusa had in the brief space of six months traversed the most important districts of his native land, leaving everywhere traces of his presence in beneficent reformatations which encouraged the good and were a terror to the evil. He now turned his steps to the spot whence monastic reform in Northern Germany had, in the first instance, proceeded, and where many of the happy days of his youth had been spent. Amid general rejoicings he entered Deventer on the 12th August, and took up his abode with his beloved brethren in religion. It was his delight to share the common life of those virtuous religious; he ate with them, though occupying a special seat in conformity with his dignity, and observed the monastic rule in every particular. In the afternoon, when the brethren were assembled in choir, he delighted them with an edifying discourse. While here the Cardinal also visited Windesheim, where he first delivered a striking sermon, and then proceeded to the church, solemnly celebrated Pontifical High Mass, and imparted to all present the Indulgences of the Jubilee. Cusa spent more than two months in the Low Countries, visiting Deventer, Zwolle, Utrecht, Haarlem, Leyden, Arnheim, Nymwegen, Ruremonde, Maastricht, Ltege, Brussels, and most other places of importance. His attention was everywhere devoted not only to monastic reform, but also to that of the people. Van Heilo, his contemporary and assistant, writes: "He not only everywhere admonished and punished ecclesiastics, and required them to amend, but also in his sermons instructed the other members of Christian society in all things necessary, so that many, of high as well as of low estate, laity as well as clergy, were greatly moved in spirit by his words".

Cusa then passed through Luxembourg to enjoy, at his own beautiful home, and among his own people, a short period of well-earned repose. It is related that when his

sister Clara came to welcome him at Treves, at the end of October, in festal array, he would not receive her until she had resumed her simple ordinary dress.

A foundation, whose origin dates from the Cardinal's sojourn with his family, still keeps alive the memory of his charity and of his affection for his home. He entered into an agreement with his brother John, the parish priest of Bernkastel, and his sister Clara for the establishment at Cues of a hospital where, in honour of the thirty-three years of our Lord's life, thirty-three poor people were to be provided for. The means required for the foundation were to be derived from the property of the family and from the Cardinal's revenues. "Perhaps", says one of Cusa's biographers, "this was the noblest of the fruits brought forth by the Church's summons to penance and satisfaction. The offering of this Christian family at Cues, with the preacher of the Jubilee in its midst, is in the genuine spirit of Christianity, and has been richly blessed by God".

The conclusion of Cusa's labours in Germany is marked by the great Provincial Councils of Mayence and Cologne, which brought the blessings of reform within the immediate reach of his own home.

The Provincial Council of Mayence was opened in the middle of November, 1451, and lasted for several weeks. The resolutions which it framed may be summed up as follows:—The edict of the Council of Basle regarding the holding of Provincial and Diocesan Synods was adopted. In these Synods the treatise of St. Thomas Aquinas, on "the Articles of Faith and the Holy Sacraments" was to be explained to those entrusted with the cure of souls and to be recommended as a useful handbook. A decree was passed dealing with the usurious practices of the Jews, and another regarding concubinage amongst the clergy, who were to be made subject to the penal laws passed at Basle. The holding of markets on Sundays and festivals and the abuse of Indulgences were forbidden, as also the erection of fresh confraternities to the prejudice of the public worship in the parish churches. The sentence of interdict was limited by a very wise resolution. In order to keep up respect for the most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. It was to be exposed only on the festival of Corpus Christi and during its octave. Other decrees had reference to abuses in nomination to posts in cathedrals and collegiate churches, and others again prescribed monastic reforms.

An important mission now removed Cusa for a time from the scene of his labour. Bulls from Rome commanded him in August, 1451 to proceed to England, and also to visit the territories of the Duke of Burgundy, and there, as well as in the adjacent countries, to endeavour to establish that peace which the ever-increasing danger of Turkish invasion rendered so necessary to Christendom. In one of these Bulls, Nicholas V expresses his confidence that Cusa will, by the exercise of that circumspection and prudence which God has bestowed on him, bring about the much desired peace and become worthy to receive the palm of glory by which God rewards peacemakers. But national animosity was too powerful, and a truce was the utmost that could be obtained. Having returned to Germany he resumed his work by summoning a Provincial Synod to meet at Cologne. This assembly sat from the 24th February until the 8th March. Its decisions were substantially the same with those of the Synod of Mayence, and Cusa joined to their publication the following beautiful words, "By the influence of Divine love and the power of the Apostolic Spirit, which, according to the testimony of St. Jerome, never forsakes the chair of St. Peter, and at the present time devotes itself with special solicitude to feeding the flock of Christ, it has come to pass that our Holy Father, Pope Nicholas V, has cast his eyes on this great province of Cologne, and has sent us, although the least of all the Cardinals of the Sacred College, here, to see how you, brethren, his beloved sons, advance in the way of the Lord. Let us, therefore, thank

God, who has collected us together for the promotion of holiness, and in order that by mutual consultation things may take a better direction. And as you are here assembled, most worthy Archbishop Dietrich, together with the honourable chapter and the representatives of the Suffragans, the worthy Abbots, Provosts, Deans, Canons, and other religious learned Priests and Masters in great number, it appears to me that the moment has come when from deliberate, ample, and common consultation a profitable result may ensue. For the sake of a better understanding, I think it well to premise that by these resolutions we do not in any way prejudice any apostolic ordinances published by ourselves or other Legates, nor repeal any provincial or diocesan decrees and laudable customs whatever they may be (in so far as they shall not be amended or limited by the decisions we are now about to publish) nor allow the authority of the Holy See or its Legate, or of the Metropolitan and his Suffragans, or any rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities to be in any way impaired. We shall study to maintain the proved right of each one. Moreover, for the sake of carrying some measure of reform into the affairs of the Church, until God grants us more fitting time for more careful consultation, we, Nicholas, Cardinal and Legate, etc., in virtue of our ample power presiding over this Holy Provincial Council, according to the express consent of the worthy Lord and Father in Christ, Lord Dietrich, Archbishop of Cologne, presiding conjointly with us, of his reverend Chapter and his Suffragans, and the unanimous approval of the whole Synod conclude and ordain as follows," etc.

The work done by Cardinal Cusa as Legate in Germany and the Low Countries may be looked upon as the most glorious of his well-spent life, and all honour is due to the Holy See for the selection of an instrument so well-fitted to accomplish a task of rare difficulty. Truly to use the words of Abbot Trithemius, "Nicholas of Cusa appeared in Germany as an angel of light and peace, amidst darkness and confusion, restored the unity of the Church, strengthened the authority of her Supreme Head, and sowed a precious seed of new life. Some of this, on account of the hardheartedness of men, has not grown up, some has brought forth blossoms which from sloth and negligence have quickly disappeared, but a good part has borne fruit in which we still rejoice. Cusa was a man of faith and of love, an apostle of devotion and knowledge. His mind embraced all provinces of human knowledge, but all his knowledge was from God, and its sole object was the glory of God and the edification and amendment of men".

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE LAST IMPERIAL CORONATION IN ROME,

1452.

The same pontificate which witnessed the abdication of the last anti-Pope, and the healing of the Schism of Basle, witnessed also the last coronation of an Emperor in Rome. Ever since the conclusion of the Concordat at Vienna, Frederick III had set his heart on a visit to Rome. He desired that the reconciliation thus effected between himself and the Pope should be sealed by his solemn coronation as Emperor in the Holy City. In spite of the almost universal contempt for authority of every sort which had prevailed for the last ten years and more perhaps, indeed for that very reason, a reaction in favour of the Empire seemed setting in amongst a certain portion of the nations. Thus, the less Frederick felt himself personally strong enough to assert his rights and bring his surroundings into subjection, the more eagerly did he seek compensation in the prestige that the coronation would confer on him. It was towards the close of the year 1449 that the thought of his journey to Rome began first to be seriously entertained at the Royal Court; but nothing was done. Frederick's position was such as to render his absence from Germany inexpedient, and the disturbed condition of northern Italy, consequent on the death of the last of the Visconti, was not inviting. The execution of the plan was therefore deferred, but it was not relinquished.

Later on the project of a marriage between the king of the Romans and Donna Leonora, daughter of the King of Portugal, was added to that of the coronation. In September, 1450, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini was despatched to Italy to enter into negotiations with King Alfonso, Leonora's maternal uncle, for this alliance, and with the Pope for the coronation. With his accustomed dexterity, Aeneas Sylvius successfully accomplished both commissions, and then Frederick began in good earnest and with unwonted energy to make his preparations both for the journey and for the reception of his bride. He issued an invitation and requisition to the Princes of the Empire, the Imperial cities, and all the nobles and loyal subjects in his hereditary dominions, in compliance with ancient usage, to attend him on his journey to Rome. The place of meeting was to be Austria for the Austrians and Bohemians, Carinthia for the Hungarians and Bavarians, Ferrara for the Suabians, the inhabitants of the Rhenish provinces, and the Saxons. Accordingly in his invitation to the Imperial cities, Cologne, Frankfort, and Strasburg, Frederick says that it is his will to proceed to Rome in order there to receive the Imperial Crown, and requests the above-named cities to provide him with an escort such as "their laudable ancient customs bind them to supply to the King of the Romans". He will himself so as to be at Ferrara by St. Catherine's day (November 25th), from which city he purposes to start on his progress to Rome. He therefore requests, and "in virtue of his authority as King of the Romans, solemnly enjoins and

commands", that the said escort shall be sent by that day to Ferrara, "thoroughly equipped and well provided", as is fitting "in order to accompany him on the said journey, for the honour of the Holy Roman Empire and his own".

In March, 1451, Frederick sent two of his court chaplains, Jacob Motz and Nicholas Lanckmann, to Lisbon, to effect the formal ratification of his marriage contract. They were also commissioned to conduct the future Empress as far as the Tuscan part of Telamone, where a royal envoy would meet and receive her.

But, when it became evident that Frederick was seriously intending to proceed to Italy, the obstacles to the realization of his purpose multiplied daily. Not only were there symptoms in Austria of a dangerous agitation against his wardship of the young King Ladislas Posthumus, but the commotion stirred up in Italy also by the news of his impending arrival was amazing. So great was the alarm of the timid Pope Nicholas V that he entreated Heinrich Senfleben, then on his way to Germany, to do his utmost to persuade Frederick to desist from his purpose. But the King now displayed that singular stubbornness in his nature which made him blind to all dangers until they were actually upon him. Regardless of the embarrassments he might be leaving to his counsellors, and of anything that might happen when his back was turned, he set his face Romewards more resolutely than ever, and all attempts to dissuade him were still further frustrated by the changed attitude of the Pope, who, reassured by the representations of Aeneas Sylvius, and perhaps also influenced by other considerations, now favoured his project. He sent him a safe conduct and a cordial letter, warmly expressing the pleasure he felt at the prospect of soon greeting the King in Rome. Meanwhile the worst news continued to arrive from Austria. Aeneas Sylvius in his narrative emphasizes the fact that several of those who accompanied Frederick urgently besought him to put off his journey and return at once to Vienna to nip the impending insurrection in the bud. But the King was determined to cross the Alps. It was at Canale, 1st January, 1452, that his foot first pressed the soil of Italy. The young King Ladislas rode by his side, and the Bohemians, the Hungarians, and his brother, Duke Albert, with his Suabians, had already joined the Royal party at Villach.

Frederick's suite was neither numerous nor brilliant. In all he had not more than two thousand two hundred men, and of these only Albert, Ladislas, and the Bishops of Ratisbon, Gurk, and Trent were of princely rank. Nevertheless, to avoid all possible occasion of umbrage, even this insignificant force was divided, and advanced in separate bands! The alarmists in Italy, who had hitherto expressed so much consternation at the prospect of his royal progress, were silenced perforce, and in fact the reception accorded to the harmless pilgrim was everywhere both friendly and splendid. The republic of Venice, through whose territory Frederick first entered Italy, spared no pains to welcome the future Emperor with befitting honours. Gaspard Enenkel, the imperial councillor, says that the King crossed all the canals from Tervis to Padua on new bridges erected by the republic expressly for the occasion. There was the King right worshipfully entertained by all the people, clergy and laity, rich and poor, men, women, and children, all falling on their knees, praising him and doing him homage; truly if God Himself had come down from heaven they could hardly have done Him more honour, and all the King's costs were defrayed by the Venetians, till he came to the country of the Marquess of Verona.

His reception in Ferrara by the Marquess Borso d'Este was exceptionally magnificent. This wealthy prince hoped that Frederick would make him a duke, and to display his liberality he not only defrayed all the King's own expenses during his stay in Ferrara, but also those of the Suabians, Franconians, and Germans from the Rhenish



Provinces, who had preceded him there. The entertainment of the envoys from the city of Strasburg gives a specimen of the splendour of his hospitality. He sent sixteen different kinds of wine, as much bread as two servants could carry, ten chests of confectionery, three of wax lights, thirty capons, two live calves, and provender enough to load ten men. The chiefs of the party, Burkhardt von Mülnheim and his son, received each a splendid gold ring set with gems, and a costly rosary. From the moment of Frederick's arrival on the 19th January a succession of various entertainments, pageants, balls, tournaments, etc., began, and were uninterruptedly continued.

In the midst of these festivities a less agreeable event occurred in the unexpected arrival of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, eldest son of the Duke of Milan, whose title Frederick had refused to recognize. This was on January 23rd. He was accompanied by his uncle Alessandro Sforza, and a brilliant retinue of Lombard nobles. He brought rich presents from his father of horses and weapons for the future Emperor, and saluted him in a speech "as long as two chapters of St. John's Gospel". The Duke of Milan had instructed Filelfo, a man in high repute for his skill in such compositions, to prepare this address, and gave him minute directions as to its length, matter, and arrangement. Galeazzo's audience took place on the 24th. The Duke's little son delivered his oration so admirably that not only the Germans, but the Italians also were amazed. "One would have thought", wrote Alessandro Sforza to his brother, "that one was listening to a practised orator of thirty, and he is but eight years old. Everybody wondered at the child, and the King himself expressed his satisfaction". Alessandro assured Frederick of his brother's loyal devotion, and besought him to visit Milan on his homeward journey. The King declined the invitation, but courteously, for he knew only too well that he had no power to enforce his imperial rights against Sforza's usurpation.

"After this" (24th January), says Enenkel, "the King proceeded to Bologna, which is a great and strong city belonging to the Pope, who has a legate there who is a cardinal, and resides in the palace with many retainers. There is also a bishop there, and an old university having many students, and a broad and handsome square with great gates. The cardinal with all his retinue, and the bishop, with his clergy, and the university, and the burghers and all the people rode forth to meet the King, and received him with the greatest honour, and placed his throne under a canopy in the bishop's court. Also they supplied him with more than enough of everything that he could want, and he had free quarters at all the inns".

From Bologna Frederick crossed the Apennines to Florence. Aeneas Sylvius draws a vivid picture of the rapture of the Germans at the enchanting loveliness of the landscape on which they gazed from these heights, and especially of their appreciation of the stately beauty of the city. The reception here was even more magnificent than at Ferrara and Bologna. The Florentines received him right royally. There were upwards of a thousand horsemen splendidly attired in silk and gold, velvet and scarlet; and all knelt before him and gave him the keys of their gates, humbly declaring themselves and all their goods to be the King's, and that he might do, and ordain, and command there as he willed, being their rightful and natural lord, since they belonged to him and to the Holy Roman Empire. The clergy came to meet him outside the city, bearing the Host, and all knelt, and with them noble ladies and maidens, all decked out and adorned in the best that they had, and all received the King on their knees, and with them a multitude of the common folk, men, women, and children.

We see how great was the reverence still felt for the Roman Empire; but Frederick was, neither in power nor character, a fitting representative of the highest temporal dignity in Christendom. This fact did not escape the notice of the Italian

envoys who accompanied him. On this point we have most interesting testimony, drawn from this very sojourn in Florence. Sceva de Curte, Sforza's ambassador, who was commissioned to invite the King to Milan, there to receive the crown of Lombardy, found it extremely difficult to obtain an audience; it seemed more important to Frederick to choose presents for his bride than to attend to public affairs. He spent all his time in looking at pearls and jewels, gold and velvet dresses, silken and woollen stuffs, "as if he had been a pedlar." "He buys little or nothing", says this ambassador, "and meanwhile he keeps the Signoria of this noble city, the Lord Carlo di Arezzo, many burghers, the ambassadors from Siena, and the Marquess of Ferrara waiting from morning till night, so that all Florence laughs at him, which I much lament."

It was in Florence, also, that the Papal Legates, charged with the Holy Father's greetings, joined the King; one was Calandrini, step-brother to the Pope, the other Frederick's old acquaintance, Carvajal.

Siena was the next stage in the journey, and it was there that the future Emperor and his bride met for the first time. After a long and perilous voyage she had arrived at Leghorn on February 2nd. In front of the Porta Camullia a marble pillar, bearing the arms of the Roman Empire and of Portugal, still marks the spot where the scene took place, which, later, was immortalized by Pinturicchio's pencil. Aeneas Sylvius witnessed, and thus describes it: "When the Emperor first caught sight of his bride in the distance, he turned pale, for her stature appeared to him too low. But when she drew near, and he beheld her beautiful countenance and dignified bearing, his colour returned and he smiled, for he saw that he had not been deceived, and that his bride was even more lovely than report had made her. She was sixteen years of age, of middle height, with an open brow, black and sparkling eyes, a very white neck, and a faint colour in her cheeks. Her form was perfect, but her beauty was eclipsed by the gifts of her mind."

All the resources of that festive art in which the Italy of the Renaissance so excelled were displayed for the entertainment of the noble pair during their stay in Siena.

At first sight the alarm displayed by Nicholas at the approach of so pacific a guest seems incomprehensible. By his command all the defences of the city were set in order, the guards were doubled at the gates, the Capitol, and the Castle of St Angelo, and in addition to this, the Pope had sent for two thousand mercenaries and appointed thirteen district marshals to keep watch over all parts of the city. Why all these precautions? Was the Pope really afraid of Frederick? It seems more probable that what Nicholas feared was not Frederick, but certain dangerous elements in Rome itself, where the republican party was again beginning to stir. An Emperor who would be almost always absent was a more acceptable master to these people than a Pope whose rule, however mild, was an ever present restraint. Thus it appears likely that the motive, which induced the Pope to desire his Legates to obtain from Frederick at Siena a sworn promise that he would respect the Papal rights, was rather mistrust of the loyalty of the Romans than any doubt of the Emperor's good faith. Nicholas knew the weakness of his character, and hoped thus to guard against the danger of the pressure which might be put upon him from certain quarters to induce him to assume the government of the city. We shall still better understand the Pope's anxiety if we consider that the idea of the old Roman Empire was far from being extinct. It was but quite lately that Valla, in his refutation of the gift of Constantine, had declared that it was absurd to crown as Emperor a prince who had abandoned Rome; that in truth the crown belonged to the Roman people.

The reception of the future Emperor was as splendid as the Pope could make it; he told the Milanese Ambassadors that he wished to show extraordinary honour to Frederick, and was prepared to spend from forty to sixty thousand ducats for the purpose.

Frederick travelled from Siena by Acquapendente, Viterbo (in which city he was scared by an unseemly brawl in the streets) and Sutri. It was during this journey that, as they were gazing together on the "billowy Campagna with its girdle of shimmering heights", the King prophesied to Aeneas Sylvius his elevation to the Papacy

On the evening of March 8th he drew near to the Eternal City, and was met by the deputation sent out to welcome him. First appeared the greater portion of the nobility, the Colonna and Orsini, with a host of retainers, then the Pope's treasurer with the militia of the city, finally the Papal Vice-Chamberlain, with the Roman senators and the most eminent of the citizens. From Monte Mario he beheld that marvellous panorama of the valley of the Tiber, and Rome spread out before him, looking like a sea of houses, which Dante describes as overpowering. There he lingered awhile, asking questions, and hardly able to tear himself away from the enchanting spectacle of the seven-hilled city, with all her monuments and towers, lighted up by the evening sun. The German knights were equally delighted; this view of the true capital of the whole world was enough in itself, they declared, to repay them for all the toils of the journey. At the foot of the hill Frederick found the Cardinals assembled to greet him. The King was given to understand that this honour had not been accorded to former Emperors; whereat those who, like Aeneas Sylvius had read history, could not help remembering that there had been a time when the Pope himself came out as far as Sutri to meet the Emperor. "But", he adds, "all earthly power is subject to change; in former days the majesty of the Empire eclipsed all lesser dignities, now the Pope is the greater".

An ancient custom forbade Frederick to enter the city on the night of his arrival, and he passed it outside the walls in the villa of a Florentine merchant. Donna Leonora was lodged in another villa. The royal suite encamped in the meadows of Nero, where the Pope had provided gorgeous silken tents, blue, red, and white. Many, however, with the King's permission, entered the city. Among these was Aeneas Sylvius, who at once hastened to the Pope, again to repeat in the most solemn manner his assurances of the loyalty of Frederick's intentions. Nicholas, however, still thought it wisest to be on his guard.

On the following day, March 9th, all the bands composing the royal escort were summoned for a grand review in the meadow opposite the Porta di Castello. But when the counts and knights and also the mercenaries of the free cities appeared each with their own banner, on a sudden came an order from the King that these should be "put away, and all march under the royal standard alone. "At which" says the Strasburg narrative, "there was great demur on the part of all the soldiers and burghers, but more especially from the captain of the Company of St. George, who said that it was an unheard of thing that the flag of St. George should be thus slighted, and that though he were under the very walls of Rome he would return home with all his men, unless the banner of this honourable and illustrious Company were permitted publicly to enter the city; and that in the memory of man no Emperor or King had ever refused this". However, all opposition was in vain; there was much murmuring amongst the knights and men-at-arms and burghers, but in the end all had to submit, and march into Rome under the Imperial standard alone. This ensign, a single-headed eagle on a banner of cloth of gold hung on a gilt staff, was borne by the Burgrave Michael of Magdeburg, and the naked sword of the King was carried by the Marshal von Pappenheim.

The bride followed at some distance behind the King; her horse was covered with a golden cloth, and she wore a beautiful mantle of gold and blue, and a costly gold necklace. The Papal horsemen, three thousand strong, in gorgeous armour, with bright helmets adorned with plumes, closed the procession, followed by a rear guard of two hundred Roman mercenaries on foot. Each division was accompanied by a band of trumpeters, to the intense delight of the populace, which had flocked in from all quarters to witness the pageant, and money was scattered amongst them.

At the Porta di Castello the King was received with great pomp by all "the clergy and prelates, and numbers of bishops, abbots, provosts, and other religious men with their holy symbols and ornaments, under canopies hung with gold and silk. Truly it was a glorious sight, and if God Himself, made Man, had come down upon earth they could not have revered Him more, for they had a cross and censers, and they sang with joyous voices: *Ecce ego mitto Angelum meum vobis qui praeparabit viam ante me*. The chamberlains who went before him threw much money among the people, and the mayor of the city carried a splendid sword behind him, and all the burghers and noble Romans, and a great number of noble ladies and damsels, knelt down before the King and welcomed him, as did also the common folk, of whom there was so vast a multitude that it was a wonder to see; and all kept holiday on that day and on the two following ones as though it had been Easter Day or Christmas". "The King and Queen rode under two canopies to the minster of the Prince of the Apostles, St. Peter; there the King alighted at the foot of the steps, and some of the cardinals went down to meet him, and led him up to where the Holy Father sat on his throne, surrounded by his clergy and officers. Then the King kissed his foot and offered him gold, whereupon the Pope stood up and gave the King his hand, who kissed it, and at the third time the Pope embraced the King and gave him the kiss of peace on one cheek; then the King knelt down before him and the Pope bent over him for a space, and after that he made the King sit down by his side".

On the following day Nicholas fixed the 19th March for Frederick's coronation, that being the anniversary of his own coronation. The intervening time was spent by Frederick in visiting the objects of interest in the city, and in frequent interviews with the Pope. In these the King's Austrian difficulties, in which he desired the support of Nicholas, were discussed, and also the affair of the crown of Lombardy, which he wished to receive from the hands of the Holy Father, his relations with Sforza in Milan being such as to make it impossible to accept it from him. The Milanese ambassadors did their utmost to dissuade the Pope from granting the iron crown, but in vain; they had to content themselves with a protest.

This coronation and the celebration of the royal marriage were arranged to take place together. On the 16th of March, after hearing a solemn Mass, the royal pair kneeling before the high altar in St. Peter's, received their costly wedding rings from the hands of the Pope, and the nuptial benediction from his lips. Then, after a second Mass, Frederick knelt again at the feet of Nicholas, and was crowned King of Lombardy with the iron crown which he had brought to Rome for the purpose.

On the following Sunday {*Laetare*, March 19th) the imperial coronation took place, with the insignia brought from Nuremberg. The Pope was seated on his throne in front of the high altar in St. Peter's, on his right the college of cardinals, on his left the bishops and prelates. Outside the sanctuary two tribunes were erected for the King of the Romans and his consort. First of all Frederick had to take the oath which Louis the Pious was supposed to have sworn, and was then admitted into the college of the Canons of St. Peter's and clad in the imperial robes. Then, before the altar of St.

Maurice, first the King and then the Queen were anointed on the shoulder and right arm with the holy oil. From thence they returned to their tribunes to hear the solemn coronation Mass. "Then they began to sing the Mass", says Enenkel, "and after the gloria, the Pope read the collects, first that for the day, and then the collect for the Emperor, who sat close by on his chair clad in the sacred robes of the Emperor Charles, a thing which had not for many hundred years happened to any Emperor, and which was accounted a very great honour and singular grace of God. After the gospel the Emperor and Empress, were led by the Pope before St. Peter's altar, there the Emperor knelt down and the Pope read for some while over him, and put the holy crown of the Emperor Charles upon his head; and he said all to him in Latin. Then he put the holy sword of Charles, bare, into his hand, and thus made the Emperor a knight of St. Peter; he girded on the sword, drew it and waved it, and put it back into its scabbard.

"After that the Pope put the holy sceptre into his right hand, and the royal orb into his left hand, all with goodly collects.

"When all this was ended, he kissed the Pope's foot and seated himself again in his chair; then his brother, Duke Albert, and other princes, lords, knights, and men, also those of the imperial cities, knelt before him and wished him joy and all happiness.

"After this the noble King Ladislas and the Duke of Teschen led forward the fair young Queen; she was richly attired, her head was bare and her hair very lovely to behold, falling in waving tresses over her neck behind; thus she was brought before St. Peter's altar and anointed, and many collects were said over her. Then the costly crown which had been specially prepared for her was put upon her head, and she was led back to her chair".

When all the ceremonies were done, the Emperor and Empress received Holy Communion from the hands of the Pope. At the conclusion of the service the Empress returned to her palace, while the Emperor remained to perform the duty of holding the Pope's stirrup and leading his horse from the church door. This done, he mounted his own, and both rode together to the Church of Sta. Maria Traspontina, where, after giving him the Golden Rose, the Pope took leave of the Emperor. Then Frederick rode to the bridge of St. Angelo, where he bestowed the honour of knighthood on his brother Albert, and more than two hundred nobles, many of whom, however, were not soldiers, and had never drawn a sword. When these ceremonies, which occupied about two hours, were concluded, the Emperor rode to the Lateran, where the solemnities of the day were closed by the great coronation banquet.

On the following day several of the Ambassadors presented congratulatory addresses, in high-sounding words, which but little corresponded with the truth, for in the political world the Imperial coronation passed almost unnoticed, though to Frederick personally it was the most brilliant moment in his life.

The newly-crowned Emperor remained in Rome until the 24th March, on which day he started for Naples to visit his relative King Alfonso. During this interval the two heads of Christendom again met frequently. These interviews resulted in a series of bulls in Frederick's favour; he received numerous indulgences and privileges, and a bull of excommunication was launched against the Austrian rebels.

The journey of the Imperial pair to Naples was like a triumphal procession. In all the places through which Frederick was to pass, the pageant-loving Alfonso had given orders for the most magnificent receptions, and provided with lavish prodigality for

every want. Naples itself was like a fairy city, drowned in a giddy whirl of theatrical performances, tournaments, sports, dances, and festivities of all descriptions.

From these festive scenes the Emperor was suddenly torn by the news of the attempted flight of his ward Ladislas, whom he had left behind at Rome. In consequence he started at once for that city and arrived there on April 22nd; the same evening he had a long interview with the Pope. In an open consistory he again thanked the Holy Father and the cardinals for the honourable reception they had given him. It was in this assembly that Aeneas Sylvius made that fiery speech against the Turks, in which those remarkable words about the council, which have already been quoted, occur. Then Frederick set out on his homeward journey, now become urgent owing to the state of things in Austria, where a resort to arms to contest his wardship of Ladislas was imminent. "Yesterday mornnig", says one of the Sienese envoys on April 27th, the Emperor left the Eternal City. Both he and his suite were loud in their expressions of satisfaction at the noble reception given them by the Pope. Nicholas V, who through his representatives Cardinals Calandrini and Carvajal conducted his guest as far as the frontier, was no less pleased that the coronation had passed off peacefully and without disorder.

The Emperor did not venture to return through Milan, rightly judging that Francesco Sforza was not to be trusted; and in fact the Duke of Milan, already allied with France, had also come to an understanding with Frederick's enemies in Hungary and Vienna. He, therefore, chose the route by Florence and Ferrara, in which latter place, with great pomp, he bestowed on Borso d'Este the title of Duke of Modena and Reggio. This was the only imperial act of any importance that Frederick performed during this expedition to Rome. The negotiations begun in Ferrara, for the restoration of peace in Italy, never got beyond the first preliminaries; the ambassadors of Aragon held aloof, and the Emperor was too much taken up with the troubles in Germany to pursue them any farther. From May 21st to June 1st Frederick remained at Venice, where, as before, a series of entertainments were offered to him. But all this pageantry could not conceal the political insignificance of the empire. When the Emperor attempted to speak to the Doge of Venice about the pacification of Italy, the Doge replied that the Venetians had just declared war against Sforza with good hopes of success; consequently, under present circumstances the honour of the republic forbade any such negotiations. "We are sensible" said the Doge "of the respect due to the most exalted of earthly dignities, and that the Emperor should not be put off with words; therefore, we have at once announced our decision, which is irrevocable". Thus Frederick had not long to wait for an opportunity of testing the value of his new dignity. Before he left he again visited the shops, (but in disguise, that he might not be called upon to pay imperial prices), and made more purchases.

Under the circumstances we cannot be surprised at the severe judgment passed upon Frederick's expedition to Rome by the usually indulgent Archbishop, St. Antoninus of Florence. "Nothing appeared in him of the majesty of an Emperor, neither liberality nor understanding, for he almost always spoke by the mouth of another. But everyone could see how greedy he was, how he loved gifts and sought for them. At last he went home, leaving behind him a sorry impression of his rapacity". In fact Frederick had traversed the Italian peninsula not as Emperor and lord, but merely as a tolerated guest, under the safe conduct of the Princes and cities. Of outward show there had been enough and to spare, and his reception everywhere had been respectful, but all this thinly veiled the mistrust with which he was regarded by more than one of the Italian States. Without any increase of power the newly-crowned Emperor returned to his

hereditary dominions, where the insurrection broke out immediately. In vain did Nicholas threaten the insurgents with the severest penalties of the Church; they answered by an appeal to a future Council. They compelled the helpless Emperor, whose Empire did nothing for him, to release King Ladislas. But the details of these occurrences belong to the history of the Empire.

Frederick III was the first Emperor of the illustrious house of Hapsburg who was consecrated and crowned in Rome. He was also the last King and Emperor to whom this honour was vouchsafed.

## BOOK IV

NICHOLAS V AS PATRON OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ART AND  
LITERATURE.— ALBERTI. — FRA ANGELICO DA FIESOLE. — FOUNDING OF  
THE VATICAN LIBRARY

## CHAPTER I.

## PATRONAGE OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ART.

For the history of the world, the true significance of the reign of Pope Nicholas V is not to be found in the political and ecclesiastical events that we have hitherto been recording. Full of confidence in the vitality and force of the Christian idea, this highly cultured Pontiff ventured to place himself at the head of the Renaissance both in art and in literature; and it is in this that the real importance of his Pontificate consists. In thus lending the resources and authority of the Holy See for the promotion of learning and art, he inaugurated a new era both in the history of the Papacy and in that of culture.

In the learned and literary world the elevation of the poor professor of Sarzana was greeted with exultation. All who had ever come in contact with the new Pope were aware of his ardent love for learning and for the ideal in all its forms. "He would wish", he once said, "to spend all he possessed on books and buildings". Francesco Barbaro, like Nicholas, a votary of the Christian Renaissance, in his graceful congratulatory letter, quoting Plato, counts the world happy, since now the wise are becoming its rulers, or its rulers are becoming wise. All eyes turned hopefully towards Nicholas, expecting the dawn of a new era, and these hopes were not disappointed. Hitherto he had had nothing but his health and his time to offer to the cause of learning; now it soon became evident that the Pope was resolved to devote all his means and his influence to its service.

Nicholas's plan was to make Rome, the centre of the Church, a focus of literature and art, a city of splendid monuments, possessing the finest library in the world, and in so doing to secure in the Eternal City an abiding home for the Papacy.



It is of essential importance that the Pope's motives in this undertaking should be rightly appreciated. He has himself declared them in the Latin speech which, on his death-bed, he addressed to the assembled Cardinals. This speech, preserved by his biographer Manetti, is the expression of his last wishes, and explains the guiding principle of all his actions and the end at which he aimed.

"Only the learned", says the Pope, "who have studied the origin and development of the authority of the Roman Church, can really understand its greatness. Thus, to create solid and stable convictions in the minds of the uncultured masses, there must be something that appeals to the eye; a popular faith, sustained only on doctrines, will never be anything but feeble and vacillating. But if the authority of the Holy See were visibly displayed in majestic buildings, imperishable memorials and witnesses seemingly planted by the hand of God Himself, belief would grow and strengthen like a tradition from one generation to another, and all the world would accept and revere it. Noble edifices combining taste and beauty with imposing proportions would immensely conduce to the exaltation of the chair of St. Peter". The learned Pope fully realized what an important influence the visible presence and past memories of the Capitol had exercised on the history of the Roman people.

The fortifications erected in Rome and in the Papal States were intended, the Pope explains, to serve as defences against both external and internal enemies. If his predecessors had protected themselves in a similar manner, against the Romans more especially, they would have been spared much tribulation. "If", said Nicholas, "We had been able to accomplish all that We wished, our successors would find themselves more respected by all Christian nations, and would be able to dwell in Rome with greater security both from external and internal foes. Thus it is not out of ostentation, or ambition, or a vain-glorious desire of immortalizing Our name, that We have conceived and commenced all these great works, but for the exaltation of the power of the Holy See throughout Christendom, and in order that future Popes should no longer be in danger of being driven away, taken prisoners, besieged, and otherwise oppressed."

It has been asserted that love of fame was the ruling motive which guided Nicholas in all his actions, and that this is the true explanation of the splendour of his court, his buildings, his libraries, his liberality towards learned men and artists. It is evident from these words, spoken on the brink of eternity, that this assertion is false. A man, to whose detestation of all untruthfulness and hypocrisy both friends and foes alike bear witness would not have lied thus upon his death-bed. No doubt Nicholas may not have been wholly insensible at all times to the seductions of fame, but a selfish desire for his own glory was never with him the first motive. This has been admitted even by some who heartily detest the Papacy. "All that Nicholas undertook", writes one, "was directed towards the exaltation of the Holy See; the one object of his ambition was to increase its dignity and authority by the visible splendour of its monuments, and the intellectual influence it would exert, by making it the centre of the learning of the world".

The great architectural undertakings which the Pope thus justified partly on practical and partly on ideal grounds consisted of new buildings and of restorations. In the latter he only continued the works begun by his two immediate predecessors, to repair the neglect which had wrought such havoc in the city during the absence of the Popes at Avignon, and the disastrous period of the schism. But in the former he struck out wholly new paths.

Manetti, enumerating all the Pope's undertakings with the minuteness of a loving biographer, zealous for the honour of his hero, classes them under three heads, according as they were intended for defence, for sanitation or embellishment, and finally for piety. "The Pope had five things at heart, all great and important works, to rebuild the city walls and restore the aqueducts and bridges; to repair the forty churches of the stations; to rebuild the Vatican Borgo, the Papal Palace, and the Church of St. Peter's". It has been justly remarked that the three last named projects are closely connected together and differ essentially from the two first. They are, in fact, the offspring of the new era, conceived in the genuine spirit of the Renaissance, while the others do not depart from the traditional lines of the medieval Popes.

The restorations of Nicholas are very extensive and embraced an enormous number of buildings, both religious and secular. His first care was for the forty churches in which, during Lent, the stations were held. The little church of San. Teodoro, at the foot of the Palatine hill, was twice in the hands of his workmen. The interesting church of San. Stefano Rotondo, which had been seen by Flavio Biondo, in 1446, roofless, with its mosaics in ruins, and its marble slabs cracked and peeling from the walls, underwent a thorough renovation. By order of the Pope restorations of various kinds were executed in the churches of the Holy Apostles, San. Celso, Sta. Prassede, Sta. Maria in Trastevere, Sant. Eusebio, Sta. Maria Rotonda (the Pantheon). At the same time those already commenced in the great Basilicas were continued, and new works begun. The restoration in the Churches of Sta. Maria Maggiore, San. Paolo, and San. Lorenzo fuori le mura were especially extensive and important. On the Capitol Nicholas rebuilt the palace of the Senators, and erected a new and beautiful edifice for the conservators. The papal palaces, adjoining the churches of Sta. Maria Maggiore and the Holy Apostles, were also restored.

One of this Pope's greatest merits was the attention he bestowed on the water supply of the city. Nothing perhaps shows more plainly the state of decay in which Nicholas found it, than the fact that the majority of its inhabitants were dependent for water on the Tiber and the various wells and cisterns; the only aqueduct which, though out of repair, still remained serviceable was that of the Acqua Vergine. Nicholas restored this, and thus made habitable that part of the city which was more distant from the river. An ornamental fountain, to which the name of Trevi was given, was erected at the mouth of this aqueduct in 1453; it was probably designed by the famous Alberti.

Rome also owed to Nicholas much clearing away of ruins and masses of rubbish, which in many places had made the streets impassable, and he began to pave them and make them more regular. But his plans for improving and embellishing the city went much further than this. By his command Alberti had prepared designs for pavilions and colonnades, which were to be erected for protection from the sun on the bridge of St. Angelo and other exposed places in Rome. The reopening of the abandoned parts of the city also occupied his attention. Very soon after his election, on May 23rd, 1447, in order to check the growing desertion of the extensive district called de' Monti, he issued an edict granting special privileges to all who should build houses in that region. This enactment, which was confirmed a year later, was, however, not more successful in producing the desired effect than the earlier efforts of the magistrates, or those of Sixtus V, in later times. The district "de'Monti" is to this day, in proportion to its size, the most thinly peopled part of Rome.

With a just appreciation of the needs of the times, the indefatigable Pope also turned his attention to the improvement and protection of the approaches to the city. The wooden central arch of the Milvian Bridge (Ponte Molle) was replaced by a stone one;

and at its entrance, on the right bank of the river, a strong tower was begun, which was finished by Calixtus III, whose arms, the ox of the Borgia, it bears. The other bridges in the neighbourhood of Rome, such as Ponte Nomentano, Ponte Salaro, Ponte Lucano, were repaired and fortified. The bed of the Anio was cleared and made navigable, so that it could be utilized for the transport of the large stones from the Travertine quarries.

In 1451 the Pope's apprehensions on the occasion of the visit of Frederick III hastened the restoration of the city walls, which in many places were in ruins. Along the whole boundary of the city proper, from the Flaminian gate by the river as far as the Ostian gate, we still trace the handiwork of Nicholas, whose name appears on the mural tablets more frequently than that of any other Pope.

But all this shrinks into utter insignificance when compared with his colossal designs for the rebuilding of the Leonine city, the Vatican, and the Church of St. Peter's.

No part of Rome had suffered more than the Leonine city, which had always formed a separate town in itself. Eugenius IV had opened a road through the ruins and rubbish to the bridge, and had endeavoured to attract inhabitants to it by remitting all taxes within its precincts for a period of twenty-five years. Nicholas proposed, in close connection with the plans for the new Vatican Palace and Church of St. Peter's, to rebuild it altogether in the style of the Renaissance, and thus create a monumental residence for the Holy See.

Manetti's minute description of this vast project transports the imagination of the reader to Eastern lands, where such vast palaces and temples are reared for the habitations of gods and kings.

The tomb of St. Peter, actually situated at the one extremity, was to be the ideal centre of this grandiose plan. The opposite extremity was to be formed by a large square in front of the Castle and Bridge of St. Angelo. From this square three straight and broad avenues were to start, and terminate in another vast open space at the foot of the Vatican hill; the central avenue was to lead to the Basilica, the one on the right to the Vatican Palace, that on the left to the buildings facing it. These streets were to be flanked with spacious colonnades to serve as a protection against sun and rain, and the lower stories of the houses were to be shops, the whole street being divided into sections, each section assigned to a separate craft or trade. The upper stories were to serve as dwelling-houses for the members of the Papal Court; architectural effect and salubrity were to be equally considered in their construction.

The principal square, into which these three streets were to run, and of which the right side was to be formed by the entrance to the Papal palace, and the left by the houses of the clergy, was to measure five hundred and fifty feet in length and two hundred and seventy-five in breadth. In its centre there was to be a group of colossal figures representing the four Evangelists, which was to support the obelisk of Nero; and this again was to be surmounted by a bronze statue of the Saviour, holding a golden cross in His right hand. "At the end of this square", continues Manetti, "where the ground begins to rise, broad steps ascend to a high platform, with handsome belfry, adorned with splendid marbles, on the right hand and on the left. Between and behind these is a double portico having five portals, of which the three central ones correspond with the principal avenue coming from the bridge of St. Angelo, and the two side ones with the two other streets. This quasi-triumphal arch leads into a court surrounded with pillars and having a fountain in the centre, and finally through this into the church itself".

All that the progress of art and science had achieved, in the way of beauty and magnificence, was to be displayed in the new St. Peter's. The plan of the church was that of a Basilica with nave and double aisles, divided by pillars, and having a row of chapels along each of the outermost aisles. Its length was to be 640 feet, the breadth of the nave 320, the height of the dome inside 220; this was to be richly decorated, and the upper part of the wall was to be pierced with large circular windows, freely admitting the light. The high altar was to be placed at the intersection of the nave and transepts, and the Papal throne and the stalls for the Cardinals and the Court within the apse. The roof was to be of lead, the pavement of coloured marbles, and behind the church was to be a Campo Santo, where the Popes and prelates should be interred, "in order that a temple, so glorious and beautiful that it seemed rather a Divine than a human creation, should not be polluted by the presence of the dead". An immense pile of buildings at the side was destined for the accommodation of the clergy.

The Papal city, which, by its natural site, was detached from the rest of Rome, was to be fortified in such a manner, says Manetti, that no living thing but a bird could get into it. The new Vatican was to be a citadel, but at the same time to contain all the elegance and splendour of a palace of the Renaissance. A magnificent triumphal arch was to adorn the entrance. The ground floor, with spacious halls, corridors, and pavilions, surrounding a garden traversed by cool rivulets and filled with fruit trees and flowers of all sorts, was to be the summer habitation. The first floor was to be furnished with all that was required to make winter agreeable; while the airy upper story was to serve as a spring and autumn residence. The Papal palace was also to include quarters for the College of Cardinals, accommodation for all the various offices and requirements of the Papal Court, a sumptuous hall for the coronations of the Popes and the reception of Emperors, Princes, and Ambassadors, suitable apartments for the Conclave, and for keeping the treasures of the Church, several chapels, and a magnificent library.

Some modern writers have looked upon this project as chimerical; it would, they say, have required the lifetime of twenty Popes and the treasures of a Rameses to carry it into execution. The contemporaries of Nicholas judged otherwise, and justly, for the Pope, at the time of his election, was only forty-nine; and with all the resources that he could have accumulated during his peaceful Pontificate, what might he not have accomplished if, instead of only lasting eight years, it had continued for fifteen or twenty! What he actually achieved during the short period granted him is amazing. Almost all the absolutely necessary restorations and an immense number of new buildings had already been completed when death overtook him, just at the moment when he would have been free to concentrate all his powers on the creation of the Papal city. At fifty-seven, life was not too far advanced to make the building of a new palace, or a church, even on a magnificent scale, or the rebuilding of a quarter of a city impossible tasks for a man who had talent, materials, and money at his disposal in lavish profusion.

A modern writer of considerable acumen in regard to all that relates to the history of art has taken great pains to ascertain to whom the intellectual proprietorship of this vast architectural scheme, thus minutely described by Manetti, should be assigned. After a careful comparison between Manetti's description and the doctrines laid down in Alberti's work on architecture, he has come to the conclusion that the whole plan, not only in its general conception, but also in all its details, can be ascribed to no other mind.

Matteo Palmieri, in his brief chronicles of the year 1452, says: "The Pope, wishing to build a more beautiful church in honour of St. Peter, had laid the foundations, and already carried the walls, (in the apse of the choir only), to a height of 52 feet; but this great work, in no wise inferior to that of olden times, was first interrupted by the advice of Leon Battista, and finally stopped altogether by the untimely death of the Pope. Leon Battista Alberti, a man of a most sagacious spirit, and well versed in all the arts and sciences, laid before the Pope his learned works on architecture".

The above-named writer drew from these words an extremely probable conclusion. Nicholas had at first no intention of pulling down the venerable Cathedral of St. Peter's. The works mentioned in his account books, such as the restoration of the portico, the repaving of the floor, renewing the mosaics, doors, and roof, and filling the windows with stained glass, manifest, on the contrary, that his object was to repair and secure the ancient sanctuary and preserve it as long as possible. It was only the choir that he purposed actually to rebuild. Then the great Alberti, the humanistic architect, appeared before the humanistic Pope, and presented to Nicholas his ten books on architecture, the compendium of all his science and all his aspirations. The impression produced was instantaneous, profound, convincing. A comparison between Palmieri's statement, the testimony of the earlier account books, and Manetti's description places the matter beyond doubt. Clearly the perusal of this book, further supported by the eloquence of its gifted author, was the turning point with Nicholas in his building plans. The earlier conservative designs were discarded by Leon Battista's advice and the new colossal scheme adopted.

The unsafe condition of the old Basilica, of which we shall speak presently, may have had an important influence on this decision. But before a single step had been taken towards the rebuilding of St. Peter's, all was stopped by the premature death of the Pope. Later on, the project was resumed by Julius II, immediately upon his accession to the Papal throne, but on different designs.

To many the thought of pulling down this venerable temple, which had witnessed the rise and growth of the Papacy, and the first grasp of Christianity on the ancient world, was painful. In later times, also, the same sentiments have provoked some severe judgments on Nicholas for his action in this matter. But in the opinion of one who has carefully gone into its whole history, the rebuilding of St. Peter's had become an absolute necessity. "It was", he affirms, "only a question of sooner or later. Before fifty years were out this most interesting building must either have fallen of itself or else have been pulled down. From an architectural point of view the plan of the ancient Christian basilica is perhaps the most daring that exists. Its three upper walls, pierced with windows, rest on slender columns unsustained by buttresses or supports of any kind, and when once they have in any notable degree fallen out of the perpendicular, the case of the building is hopeless, it must be pulled down. This can easily be understood by anyone, and needs no special knowledge of the rules of architecture. Two unexceptional witnesses testify that this was the case with the old St. Peter's. Leon Battista Alberti states that the southern wall leant outwards to the extent of three braccia (4 ft 9 in.), and he adds, "I am convinced that very soon some slight shock or movement will cause it to fall. The rafters of the roof had dragged the north wall inwards to a corresponding degree". The testimony of the archivist, Jacopo Grimaldi, is perhaps still more telling, because unintentional. He says that the paintings on the south side are practically invisible, from the dust which gathers upon them on account of its slant,

while those on the north wall can be seen; he estimates the deflection at five palms (3ft. 1'1/2 in).

If, however, we may acquit Nicholas of having needlessly laid hands on the venerable basilica of Constantine, we cannot hold him guiltless in regard to the other ancient buildings from which he ruthlessly purloined the materials for his own. In doing so he only followed in the footsteps of his contemporaries and predecessors. Nevertheless it seems strange that a Pope, who so highly appreciated the literature of the ancients, should have shown so little regard for their other creations. The account books of his reign are full of notices of payments for the transport of blocks of marble and travertine from the great Circus, the Aventine, Sta. Maria Nuova, the Forum, and, most of all, the Coliseum. More than two thousand five hundred cart loads were carried away from this amphitheatre in one year alone. Similar recklessness was, unfortunately, displayed in the destruction of a precious memorial of Christian antiquity, the mortuary chapel of the Anician family, built against the apse of St. Peter. Had not the humanist Maffeo Vegio, as he says, by accident, found his way into the abandoned and forgotten "Templum Probi", popularly called the house of St. Peter, before it was demolished, we should have known nothing of the interior of this most interesting mortuary chapel, or of the epitaphs of Anicius Probus and Faltonia Proba. In justice, however, it must be said that on other occasions Nicholas showed great reverence for the relics of the old basilica, and was really careful to preserve the work of his predecessors. Thus he replaced the tomb of Innocent VII, and had the slabs of porphyry, which formed the ancient pavement, kept together and laid by. When the workmen employed in building the choir of St Peter's found some Christian graves, he was so delighted that he presented them with ten ducats apiece. He caused a chalice to be made out of the gold ornaments found in these tombs.

Notable alterations were made by Nicholas in the Vatican Palace. The account books show that these were commenced in the first year of his reign, and a special "architect of the Palace" appointed. The Pope began by causing one set of rooms to be restored and decorated, and then proceeded to the execution of the plan described by Manetti. Thus, by his command, the new library, the hall for the equeries, the Belvidere, and the new chapel of St. Laurence were successively built. According to Panvinius Nicholas also built a new chapel dedicated to his own patron Saint. Walls and towers rose rapidly around the restored papal citadel; one of the latter is still in existence. The building, which was being thus transformed, dated from the time of Nicholas III. If we ascend the great staircase of Pius IX, says one who knows Rome thoroughly, and thus enter the court of Damasus, the old building will be on our left, the greater part of its front concealed by the loggie of Bramante, and its longer side touching the great court of Julius II. In its present state the ground-floor dates from Alexander VI, the first-floor belongs to Nicholas V. The famous "stanze", whose walls were covered a little later with Raphael's paintings, together with those adjoining them and the so-called chapel of St. Laurence, remain, for the most part, architecturally unaltered, but, with the exception of the chapel, have been entirely repainted. The chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, on the other hand, built by Eugenius IV, and decorated by Nicholas V, was destroyed in the course of the alterations made by Paul III. The proportions of these "stanze" are singularly noble and harmonious, while the expanse of unbroken surface which their walls present and the semi-circular spaces above them corresponding with the intersecting arches of the ceilings make them peculiarly adapted for the reception of large compositions.

In his choice of artists and architects Nicholas fully maintained the cosmopolitan traditions of the Papal Court. Martin V had bought the little portable altar, now in Berlin, painted by Roger van der Weyden; Eugenius IV. had sat for his portrait to Jean Fouquet; Nicholas, whose ambition it was to make Rome the capital of the world, drew artists of all sorts thither from every part of Italy, and from Germany, the Netherlands, France, and Spain. The exuberant artistic life of Florence, and Nicholas's former relations with that city easily account for the preference accorded in general to Florentine masters. Alberti has been already mentioned. Associated with him we find the celebrated Bernardo Gamberelli, surnamed Rossellino. Before them another Florentine, Antonio di Francesco, had already entered the service of Nicholas. From the year 1447, his name appears in the account books as architect of the Palace, and he retained this post until the death of the Pope. His salary was liberal, ten gold florins a month; Rossellino received fifteen; Fioravante, also an architect, only from six to seven ducats. The fact that this Fioravante degli Alberti, a Bolognese, who, for his versatility, was nicknamed Aristotle, was employed by the Pope, has only been discovered quite recently. It was he who, in 1452, transported four gigantic monolith pillars from an old edifice behind the Pantheon, and placed them in the choir of St. Peter's. And there is no doubt that he was the person selected to put into execution the Pope's design of placing the obelisk on the four colossal figures of the Evangelists.

The architects appointed by the Pope had a number of clerks of the works under them, whose business it was to test the materials supplied, and measure the work done, under contract. Amongst those employed in this subordinate capacity, we find the names of artists of considerable merit. For the execution of the works three different systems were employed. Under one, the architects and workmen were paid fixed salaries monthly or daily, and had all materials found for them. Under a second, the work was paid by the piece. Finally, under the third, the whole building was put into the hands of a contractor, who provided both labour and material, and must consequently have been a man of considerable means. The most notable of these was a Lombard from Varese, Beltramo di Martino, to whom was entrusted the choir of St. Peter's, a portion of the new city walls, and the fortress of Orvieto. In some years the reimbursements received by him from the Pope on account of these works amounted to from twenty-five to thirty thousand ducats. "It is easy to see", says a modern writer, "what a population of workmen all these new buildings and their accompaniments must have drawn into Rome, and how rapidly an artisan class of citizens must have sprung up in the midst of the medieval herdsmen".

The capacity displayed by Nicholas in harmonizing the various branches of art, and assigning to each its proportionate place, was even more admirable than his largeness of conception and refinement of taste. With true insight, he made architecture the queen to whom all the rest were subordinate. If sculpture seems less favoured by this art-loving Pope, the cause is to be found in the circumstances which interrupted his work and left it unfinished; in the completed designs an ample part was assigned to it. Nicholas did much to promote and encourage the art of marquetry (Intarsia). The chapel of the Madonna della Febbre and his own study were richly ornamented with inlaid woods. Finally, painting was extensively employed in the decoration both of St. Peter's and the Vatican, and, amongst the many painters of whose services Nicholas availed himself, the foremost place must undoubtedly be given to the unique genius of Fra Giovanni Angelico da Fiesole (1387-1455).

This "charming master of inspired simplicity" brought religious painting to a height of perfection that it had never hitherto attained, possibly to the greatest which it

is capable of attaining. "In his work the medieval ideal in response to the new life infused into it by the bracing air of the Renaissance, bursts forth into gorgeous blossoms; through him we see exactly how the kingdom of heaven, the angels, the saints, and the blessed were represented in the devout thoughts of his time, and thus his paintings are of the highest value as documents in the history of religion".

"If", says the biographer of Fra Bartolommeo della Porta, 41 Giotto, at times, in his force and depth resembles the prophets of the Old Testament or the Psalmist pouring forth his soul-stirring lays, or the face of Moses resplendent with the reflection of the Deity, Fra Angelico is the image of the Disciple of love. He is the painter of eternal love, as Giotto and Orcagna are the painters of the faith. For him, as for St. Francis of Assisi, the whole universe is a hymn, and in all things he sees the reflection of the uncreated love of their Divine Maker. The world lies bathed in those golden beams which diffuse light and warmth throughout all creation. Like St. Francis he dwells in a region so far removed from all the discords of this world that with him some rays of light reflected from the sun of spirits fall even on the bad. Through all the heavenly circles his gentle spirit yearns upwards to the throne of infinite pity, from thence he looks down upon the world; he is the herald, the prophet, the witness of the Divine mercy". Thus the pictures of the lowly Dominican impress us almost like a vision.

No one more truly appreciated Fra Angelico than Nicholas V. The relations between the Pope and the devout artist, who never took up his pencil without prayer, soon ripened into friendship their acquaintance had probably begun in Florence. Those wonderful paintings in the cloister of St. Mark's, which to this day are the delight of all lovers of true art, belong to the time when Nicholas was a student in that city. The frescoes begun by Fra Angelico in the Vatican for Eugenius IV, and, alas! destroyed under Paul III, were its most precious ornament at the time that Nicholas ascended the Papal throne. While still occupied with these he had other work also to do for the Pope. The account books of 1449 make mention of a study built for Nicholas in the Vatican, decorated with *Intarsia* work and gilt friezes and cornices, and in one it is positively stated that some paintings were executed in this chamber by Fra Giovanni da Firenze (Fiesole) and his pupils. We gather further from these accounts that Fra Giovanni di Roma who was a painter on glass, furnished two windows for this room, one representing the Blessed Virgin and the other Sts. Stephen and Lawrence. But to this day we find paintings by Fra Angelico of the lives of these saints, in good preservation, on the walls of the chapel of St. Laurence. Hence the inference almost amounts to a certainty that this celebrated chapel and the study mentioned in these books are identical, the latter having afterwards been converted into a private oratory for the Pope. The three walls of this chamber are covered with a double row of paintings, depicting the principal scenes in the lives of St. Stephen and St. Laurence. Fra Angelico thus gives visible expression to the popular custom of uniting the names of these two heroes of the Christian faith in a common invocation, which had prevailed ever since the time when their venerated remains had been deposited together in the same tomb, in the old basilica of San Lorenzo fuori le mura.

The charm of these pictures is indescribable and unailing, however often they may be visited. Though past sixty when he painted them, as in Orvieto, Fra Angelico's freshness of conception and mastery of art show no traces of failure or decay. The ordination of St. Stephen, the distribution of alms, and, above all, the picture of St. Stephen preaching, are three paintings which are as perfect in their way as the best examples of the greatest masters. It would be difficult to imagine a group more admirable in its composition, or more graceful in contour, than that of the seated and



listening women in the last named picture. In that of the stoning there is, no doubt, some weakness in the delineation of the fanatical rage of the executioners, but this defect was inseparable from those qualities which are the painter's chief glory. His imagination, habitually dwelling in a region of love and devout ecstasy, was out of its element in such scenes of hatred and fury.

But, beyond this, the paintings in this room possess also a special interest, because they show, besides an increase in perfection and power in his own line, how far Fra Angelico was from turning away from the progress of his time, as one might, perhaps, have expected him to do. In many of these compositions the influence of the antique is unmistakably evident. The beautiful basilica in which St. Laurence stands while distributing alms shows how quickly Fra Angelico had grasped the principles of the new architecture: its proportions are as chaste as they are noble. The picture of the same saint before the judgment seat of the Emperor Decius is an archaeological restoration. Above the hall the Roman eagle is represented, surrounded by a laurel wreath. The only reminiscence of the Gothic is seen in the Baldacchini over the Fathers of the Church, everywhere else the classical style is supreme. But like his patron and friend, Pope Nicholas, Angelico joined to his appreciation of the antique an intense love for Christianity. Hence in all these compositions the influence of the classical ideal is never permitted to interfere with the Christian spirit which pervades them. He has thus proved that even in the domain of art, the Renaissance, rightly understood, was capable of leading to a higher perfection.

Many other eminent painters were also attracted to Rome by Nicholas. From Perugia came Benedetto Buonfiglio, one of the most distinguished of Peruginos predecessors, from Foligno Bartolommeo da Foligno, the master of Niccolò Alunno. The latter, according to the account books, painted a hall in the Vatican between 1451-1453. His salary was high, seven ducats a month, with board. In 1454 we find Andrea del Castagno in the Pope's service, and, according to Vasari, Piero della Francesca and Bramantino were also employed by Nicholas. Their names do not appear in the books, but there is a long list of others from Rome and its neighbourhood. Of these the most eminent, judging by his pay (eight ducats a month), would seem to have been Simone da Roma; he was at work in the Vatican during almost the whole reign of Nicholas. A German and a Spaniard also appear amongst those who received commissions from the Pope.

Nicholas followed his own judgment in the distribution of their tasks, as freely as he did in the choice of the artists he employed. Thus, from Piero della Francesca he only required historical pictures; not a single altar-piece or religious painting of any kind was entrusted to him. His pictures contained portraits of Charles VII, the Prince of Salerno, and Cardinal Bessarion, and were placed in the hall in which we now see the miracle of Bolsena and the liberation of St. Peter. Nicholas V seems to have had a special partiality for stained glass. Not only St. Peter's, but also all the chief rooms in the Vatican, had painted windows. The humanist Maffeo Vegio is loud in his praises of their beauty and brilliancy.

The minor arts were equally encouraged by this Pope. "For many hundred years", says a contemporary writer, "so much silken apparel and so many jewels and precious stones had not been seen in Rome". To this large-minded Pope also belongs the honour of having founded the first manufacture of tapestry in Rome. He brought Renaud de Maincourt from Paris, and gave him four assistants and a fixed salary to weave tapestry. The goldsmiths and gold embroiderers were unable to fulfil all the commissions of the Pope; the resources of Rome and Florence were soon exhausted, and the workshops of

Siena, Venice, and Paris were called into requisition. The account books are full of orders for tiaras, copes, and other vestments, censers, reliquaries, crosses, chalices, and ornamental vessels of all sorts for the services of the Church. In this, according to Manetti and Platina, the purpose of the Pope was the same as in his architectural undertakings. The pomp and magnificence displayed in the celebration of the Holy mysteries were equally a means for exalting the dignity and authority of the Holy See. Even in all the lesser details of its accessories and ornaments, the Church was to reflect the splendour of the Heavenly Jerusalem.

But the indefatigable energy of Nicholas, which astonished his contemporaries, did not exhaust itself in his plans for Rome; the whole Papal States were to be equally efficiently protected and embellished. With a just sense of the dignity of the head of Christendom, this great Pope was determined that the heritage of St. Peter should no longer be at the mercy of the insults and attacks of turbulent vassals. What had been done for Rome by the restoration of the walls and the forts of St. Angelo was to be done also for all the principal places throughout the Papal States. Everywhere ruined walls were rebuilt, churches restored, public squares enlarged and beautified. Assisi, Civita Vecchia, Gualdo, Narni, Civita Castellana, Castelhuovo, Vicarello were fortified and embellished by Nicholas. In Spoleto the magnificent castle of Cardinal Alborno was completed; in Orvieto the Episcopal Palace, the aqueduct, and the walls were restored. At Viterbo the Pope built baths for the sick on a princely scale. In Fabriano, which was famous for its pure air, and where the Pope resided for some time on account of the plague which had broken out in Rome, he rebuilt the Franciscan Church and enlarged the principal square, which he surrounded with a wall.

In fact, since the Carolingians, no Pope had built so much as Nicholas; the fresh eager enthusiasm of the early Renaissance is personified in him. "The works of Nicholas" said Aeneas Sylvius, "are as far superior to anything that the modern world has produced as are the castle of St. Angelo and the buildings of the old empire; they now lie scattered around us like gigantic ruins, but had they been completed the new Rome would have had nothing to fear from a comparison with the old". From his earliest youth Nicholas had loved and delighted in letters; it was but natural now that he had the powers that, much as he did for art, he should do still more for them. Under him Rome had seemed transformed into a huge building yard, an immense workshop and studio; it became also a vast literary laboratory. For, if architecture was the Pope's hobby, writing and translating and collecting books and translations in libraries was his passion. The humanists had good reason to rejoice at the election of Tommaso Parentucelli. Insignificant and poor as he seemed, and comparatively young for a Pope, for he was only forty-nine, they knew well, most of them from personal acquaintance, how fully bent he was upon throwing the whole weight of his influence and position as head of the Church into the scales on the side of learning.

Poggio, the humanist, who was in a certain sense the Nestor of the republic of letters at that time, in his letter of congratulation to the new Pope, gives eloquent expression to the hopes and wishes of his party. "I beseech you, Holy Father", he says, "not to forget your old friends, or suffer your care for them to grow slack because you have many other cares. Take measures to increase the number of those who resemble yourself, so that the liberal arts, which in these bad days seem almost extinct, may revive and flourish again. From you alone we hope for what has so long been neglected by others. To you is entrusted the glorious mission of restoring philosophical studies to their former honour and pre-eminence, and resuscitating the nobler arts". These words found a glad response in the breast of Nicholas; they reflected his own sentiments.

"All the scholars in the world," says Vespasiano da Bisticci, "came to Rome in the time of Pope Nicholas, partly of their own accord, and partly at his request, because he desired to have them there". This, of course, is not literally true, but in point of fact it was the Pope's wish to bind the revival of classical literature as closely as possible to Rome and the Holy See, and with this object, from the very beginning of his reign, he did his utmost to attract all the learned and literary men of his day to his Court. Rising talent was sought out and encouraged, and there was hardly a single literary man of any note who did not receive some recompense or favour from Nicholas. When Maecenas heard that there were still some distinguished writers in Rome, who lived in retirement, and for whom he had as yet done nothing, he exclaimed, "If they are worth anything why do they not come to me, who am willing to encourage and reward even mediocrity". Had it been possible Nicholas would have been glad to have transported the whole of Florence to the banks of the Tiber.

The golden age of the humanists now began. Not satisfied with those whose services had already been secured by his predecessors, Nicholas summoned a host of new literary celebrities to the Eternal City. In a very short time he had instituted there a veritable court of the muses, composed of all the most distinguished scholars of the day: Poggio, Valla, Manetti, Alberti, Aurispa, Tortello, Decembrio, and many others.

The first thing that strikes the eye in glancing over the names of this brilliant company is that, like the artists employed by Nicholas, they are almost all strangers. There is but one Roman amongst them. The Eternal City seems strangely barren. Here and there we hear of a scholarly cardinal or prelate, but there is no mention of any improvement in the education of the people, or of intellectual tastes, with one or two exceptions, amongst the nobility, no literary activity in the convents, and no foundations except for theological studies. To appreciate the full merit of this Pope we must take this state of things into consideration. It was he who, single-handed, turned the capital of Christendom into that brilliant centre of art and learning that it became. How much less difficult was the task of Cosmo de Medici, who was not obliged to begin creating an intellectual atmosphere.

Amidst the crowd of learned and literary men who quickly gathered around the Pope the Florentines naturally were admitted to the closest personal intimacy. Here again the noble figure of Alberti is the first to catch the eye; but unfortunately just as in Florence his personality is obscured by the throng of humanists who surround him, so also in Rome no details concerning him are extant. Giannozzo Manetti was the most intimate of all with Nicholas. As a Christian humanist he was truly "the man after the Pope's own heart", and in 1451 Nicholas made him Apostolic Secretary, and gave him a magnificent establishment when in 1453 he came to reside in Rome. Manetti's admirable biography of his generous patron attests his gratitude.

The bookseller Vespasiano da Bisticci was on very intimate terms with Nicholas. His excellent memoirs and sketches of character, which are invaluable to the student of the culture of his time, proclaim him to have been a man of warm heart, vigorous intellect, and sound judgment. The good Giovanni Tortello, the first librarian of the Vatican, also enjoyed a large share of the Pope's confidence.

Unfortunately in his selection of the men who seemed to him to be necessary for his work Nicholas displayed a readiness to overlook much that was seriously objectionable, which can hardly be justified. Personally the Pope was undoubtedly loyal to the Christian Renaissance, but he was so far carried away by the enthusiasm of the time as to be almost wholly blind to the dangers that were to be apprehended from the

opposite side. Thus he accepted from the unprincipled Poggio the dedication of a pamphlet in which Eugenius IV was almost openly accused of hypocrisy, and did not scruple at raising his salary so as to enable him to live entirely by his muse. When the cynical sceptic was called away to Florence to become a member of the Chancery there, Nicholas took leave of him with regret, and allowed him to retain a nominal secretaryship as a token of regard. Filelfo, a perfect master in the art of scurrilous vituperation, was invited to Rome, and loaded with favours when he got there. The early death of the semi-pagan Marsuppini alone prevented his being brought thither, and provided for in such a manner as to enable him to give his undivided attention to the translation of Homer.

Nothing affords a more striking proof of the indulgence with which the humanistic movement had come to be regarded in Rome than the attitude assumed by the dissolute satirist Valla, to whom nothing was sacred. In common with the majority of the adherents of the false Renaissance, Valla was far from being a fanatical sceptic. Even under Eugenius IV he had written an obsequious letter retracting his former publications, and praying for an appointment. But the Pope very justly refused to be propitiated. Even Nicholas did not go so far as formally to invite to Rome and heap preferments on the author of the book "De voluptate", the declared enemy of the temporal power, the bitter satirist of the religious orders. But he tolerated the presence of such a man at the Papal Court, and even made him apostolic notary. The task of translating Thucydides into Latin was entrusted to Valla.

Most of the learned men thus summoned to Rome were employed in translating Greek authors into Latin. This was the Pope's especial delight. He read these translations himself with the greatest interest, liberally rewarded the translators, and honoured them with autograph letters. Vespasiano da Bisticci gives a long list of translations which owed their existence to this noble passion of Nicholas V. By this means Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Diodorus, Appian, Philo, Theophrastus, and Ptolemy became now for the first time accessible to students. The delights of drinking in the wisdom of Greece from the source itself was inexpressible, "Greece", writes Filelfo, referring to these translators and to Nicholas's collection of manuscripts, "has not perished, but has migrated to Italy, the land that in former days was called the greater Greece".

At a time when the knowledge of Greeks was confined to such a small number of students, these translations were most valuable; they were regarded as a branch of literature to which the most distinguished men did not disdain to devote their energies. Nothing can be more unjust than to speak slightly of this band of eager workers, whose activity was perpetually kept at fever heat by the admonitions and rewards of the Pope, and call them mere operatives in a great translation-factory. The most eminent humanists of the day — Poggio, Guarino, Decembrio, Filelfo, Valla — laboured at these tasks. Their productions were much admired by their contemporaries, and royally rewarded by Nicholas, who was determined, as far as it was possible, to render all the treasures of Greek literature accessible to Latin scholars. Valla received for his translation of Thucydides, of which the original manuscript is preserved in the Vatican Library, five hundred gold scudi. When Perotti presented his translation of Polybius to the Pope, Nicholas at once handed him five hundred newly-minted Papal ducats, saying that he deserved more, and should receive an ampler reward later. He gave a thousand scudi for the ten first books of Strabo, and offered ten thousand gold pieces for a translation of Homer's poems.

When we compare these sums with the payments made to artists, we begin to realize how enormous they were. At that period the latter were held in far less esteem than scholars and professors. The same Pope who thought nothing of making a present of five hundred gold florins to two humanists, and bestowed on Giannozzo Manetti an official salary of six hundred ducats, paid Fra Angelico at the rate of fifteen ducats a month only, and gave Gozzoli but seven.

Learned and literary men were the Pope's real favourites; to them he gave with both hands. Vespasiano da Bisticci says that he always carried a leathern purse containing some hundreds of florins, and drew from it liberally on all occasions. And his manner of giving made the gift itself more efficacious. When he insisted on the acceptance of a present he would represent it as a token of regard rather than a recompense of merit. He would overcome the scruples of modest worth by saying with playful ostentation, "Don't refuse; you may not find another Nicholas". Often he actually forced his rewards on learned men. When Filelfo, conscious of some disrespectful expressions, was afraid to ask for an audience, Nicholas sent for him, and in the most gracious manner reproached him for having been so long in Rome without coming to see him. When he took leave he presented him with five hundred ducats, saying, "This, Messer Filelfo, is for the expenses of your journey". Vespasiano da Bisticci, who relates the story, exclaims enthusiastically, "This is liberality indeed".

In fact Nicholas was the most generous man of a lavish age. "In the eight years of his Pontificate", says the historian of the Eternal City in the Middle Ages, "he filled Rome with books and parchments; he was another Ptolemy Philadelphus. This noble Pope might have been well represented with a cornucopia in his hand, showering gold on scholars and artists. Few men have had ampler experience of the happiness of giving towards worthy ends."

If Nicholas had been permitted to accomplish his design of familiarizing the Italians with the literature of Greece, the consequences would have been in the highest degree beneficial. The main evil of the early Renaissance was its ignorance of Greek. The efforts of Nicholas to correct this deserves the highest praise. Had the culture of the humanists been derived directly from Greek sources rather than from the degenerate Roman civilization, the whole later development of the movement would have been different. This, as we know, he was unable to achieve. But much was done by the band of scholars whom Nicholas assembled in Rome to promote and diffuse the knowledge of the Greek language and literature, the value and importance of which in the history of culture he so fully appreciated. The writings of Aristotle, disencumbered of the veil thrown over them by the Arabs and schoolmen, were now for the first time really understood. Greek history, hitherto only learnt from compendiums, was now studied in the original writings of its own historians. Herodotus, Thucydides, and many others were by the middle of the century either wholly or partially translated. These translations often left much to be desired both in regard to accuracy and latinity; nevertheless, such as they were, they formed a notable accession to the materials of learning, and were an enormous intellectual gain, especially in stimulating the desire for further conquests.

But, while fully admitting the value of the literary activity thus fostered by the Pope's liberality, we must not shut our eyes to the dark side. We have already pointed out how little discrimination he exercised in the selection of the scholars whom he invited. It stood to reason that scandals must arise. Like Florence in Niccoli's time, only to a still greater degree, Rome became an arena for literary squabbles and scandalous

stories of authors. Bitter feuds were carried on for years together between the Latins and the Greeks, and between individuals, even within both parties.

The air was thick with the interchange of accusations and abusive epithets. Sometimes they even came to blows. One day in the Papal Chancellery George of Trebizond, in a fit of jealousy, hit the old Poggio two sounding boxes on the ear; then the two flew at each other, and were, with the greatest difficulty, separated by their colleagues. The Pope himself was obliged to interfere, and George, whose translations had proved worthless, was banished.

Equally disgraceful was the quarrel between Poggio and Valla. "They abused each other", says the historian of the humanists, "like a couple of brawling urchins in the streets. Poggio raged and stormed, as in former days he was wont to do against Filelfo, accusing his adversary of treachery, larceny, forgery, heresy, drunkenness, and immorality, and seasoning his accusations with scurrilous anecdotes and coarse epithets. Valla, whose motto was : 'It may be a shame to fight, but to give in is a greater shame', twitted Poggio with his ignorance of Latin and of the rules of composition, quoting faulty passages, and altogether affecting to look upon him as already in his dotage".

But even apart from these scandals the position of the humanists in the Court under this Pope cannot but appear anomalous. Nicholas embraced every opportunity for introducing learned men, who, as Platina remarked, occupied themselves much more with the library than with the Church, seriously compromising that ecclesiastical character which the Court of the head of the Church should display. Under Eugenius, the highest dignities had always been bestowed on monks, now none but scholars or translators were promoted. Not only lucrative, but also responsible posts were conferred upon them; thus Giuseppe Brippi, a poet, was placed at the head of the Papal Archives; and another humanist, Decembrio, was made chief of the abbreviators. This state of things made it possible for Filelfo, whose ambition after the death of his wife turned towards ecclesiastical preferments, to solicit the necessary dispensation from the Pope in hexameters! In this production, to which the Pope of course returned no answer, Filelfo declares that from early youth he had cherished a desire of devoting himself wholly to Christ, "the ruler of Olympus. It does not appear that this epithet shocked anyone; it was regarded as a Latin turn of expression or a harmless piece of pedantry.

The fact was that the votaries of the false Renaissance had not as yet openly broken with the Church. Doubtless many propositions are to be found in their writings which it would be hard to reconcile with Christian dogma, or the Christian point of view. But these were only *obiter dicta*, which those who uttered them would have been ready to explain away or retract as lightly as they were spoken. This alone can account for the fact that truly pious men like Nicholas — he was the first Pope who carried the Blessed Sacrament in procession on foot — could regard these things as mere harmless play.

It is evident that the encouragement given to the humanists was a cause of scandal to many at this time, as was also the money spent by Nicolas on his buildings, which it was thought would have been better employed against the Turks. These foes of the Renaissance were very numerous in the religious houses. At the same time a treatise composed by Timoteo Maffei, the pious prior of the regular Canons of Fiesole, is interesting as evidence of the revolution in opinion which the labours of this large-minded Pope was gradually effecting. He denies the assertion that "saintly ignorance" is becoming in those who are called to the religious life, and that humanistic studies are the ruin of piety. On the contrary, he shows by many quotations, from both sacred and

profane authors, how much profit monks, as well as other men, may derive from classical knowledge, and ends with a reference to the Pope, to whom he says nothing could be more agreeable than the pursuit of such studiesf

Ecclesiastical literature was no less dear to Nicholas, who had taken a lively interest in it long before he could have anticipated that he should ever be called to occupy the Papal chair.

Here, then, were many deficiencies, and some of them very important. The open-handed Nicholas followed the example of Alexander when he set forth to conquer Asia. He promised a reward of five thousand ducats to any one who would bring him the Gospel of St. Matthew in the original tongue. This, of all possible discoveries, was the one he prized most. Gianozzo Manetti was commanded to translate the "Preparation for the Gospel" of Eusebius, together with various writings by Sts. Gregory Nazianzen, Cyril, Basil, and Gregory of Nyssa. The translation of the eighty homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the Gospel of St. Matthew appeared to the Pope especially desirable. This work was entrusted to George of Trebizond, who here again proved utterly incapable. Original works in this department were also desired by the Pope. Gianozzo Manetti was commissioned to write an apologetic treatise against jews and heathens, and also to translate the whole Bible from the original Greek and Hebrew texts. Unfortunately Nicholas died before this great work was completed, so that he was unable to reward it as he would have wished, and the plan was never carried out in the manner originally intended. The famous Dominican Cardinal Torquemada dedicated to him two treatises on canon law. Antonio degl' Agli, a Florentine, afterwards Bishop of Fiesole and Volterra, wrote a book for him on the lives and acts of the Saints. In the preface to this interesting work the author declares that, having laid it aside, he resumed it at the express desire of the Pope. He also explains its object. Unfortunately, he says, most of the legends of the Saints were full of fables, and written in an uncouth or affected style, which disgusted the humanists and made them despise Christianity. This he hopes to remedy. He has drawn from the best patristic sources, and especially the old Latin Manuscripts, which are more trustworthy than the Greek, as the Popes had early taken pains to verify the acts of the martyrs. The learned Ambrogio Traversari had already perceived the need of such a work, and begun to supply it. For himself he has done his best to make his book worthy of a place in the Papal library; to others he leaves the task of praising Rome's worldly heroes; his only ambition is to celebrate the heroes of the Church. To conclude, the labours of Nicholas V as a collector of books were indefatigable and most productive. In his penurious days he had spent every farthing he could spare on the purchase of manuscripts, and even been drawn into debt by his literary voracity; it is easy to imagine with what energy he would proceed now that he found himself in possession of such ample resources.

A noble library was to form the crowning glory of the new Vatican. The idea of this library, by means of which Nicholas hoped to make Rome the centre of learning for all the ages to come, was perhaps the grandest thought of this great Pope, who was as admirable for his genuine piety and virtue as for his many-sided culture. He wished to place all the glorious monuments of Greek and Roman intellect under the immediate protection of the Holy See, and thus to hand them down intact to future generations.

The zeal displayed by the Pope in the prosecution of this undertaking was unexampled. Not satisfied with collecting and copying the manuscripts that were to be found in Italy, he had agents at work in almost every country in Europe. He sent emissaries to Greece, to England, and to the grand master of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, to discover and buy, or copy all the hidden literary treasures that could be found

in these countries. The influence which the Holy See possessed throughout all Christendom was exerted by Nicholas far more for the organization of books than of power. No expense was to be spared; the more spoil his agents brought back the better pleased was the Pope. A rumour reached him of the existence of an exceptionally perfect copy of Livy in Denmark or Norway, and he at once sent the well-known Alberto Enoche of Ascoli, with ample commendatory letters, to procure it. Apparently he was not successful in bringing back anything of much value. The private agents who were in his service in Greece and Turkey, both before and after the fall of Constantinople, were more fortunate in procuring new manuscripts, which were immediately copied and corrected in Rome. Armies of transcribers, many of whom were Germans and Frenchmen, were perpetually employed in this work. When in 1450 the plague in Rome obliged the Pope to retire to Fabriano, where at that time the best paper was made, he took his translators and copyists with him for fear of losing them.

Nicholas V, himself a calligraphist, required all manuscripts to be well executed. The few specimens still existing in the Vatican library are bound with exquisite taste, even when not illuminated. The material was almost always parchment, and the covers mostly of crimson velvet with silver clasps.

By means of these strenuous exertions the Pope succeeded, in a comparatively very short space of time, in bringing together a really unique collection of books. "Had Nicholas V been able to carry out his intentions", says Vespasiano da Bisticci, "the library founded by him at St. Peter's for the whole Court would have been a really marvellous creation". It was to have been a public institution, accessible to the whole learned world. Besides this Nicholas collected a private library of his own, the inventory of which is still to be found in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. This mostly consists of profane authors.

The care of this library was confided by the Pope to Giovanni Tortello, a quiet and unassuming scholar, absorbed in his books, and as well versed in theology as in classics. Few librarians have had so free a hand in regard to expense; his purchases were always sure of a welcome, and the more books he procured the better pleased was his patron. It has been estimated that Nicholas spent more than forty thousand scudi altogether on books.

The numbers of the volumes in the Papal libraries have been very variously stated, and the discrepancies between writers who had the means of knowing accurately are extraordinary. Tortello, who had drawn up a catalogue, now unfortunately lost, reckoned, according to Vespasiano da Bisticci, nine thousand volumes. Pope Pius II estimated it at three thousand; the Archbishop St. Antoninus of Florence, only one thousand. On the other hand, Manetti and Vespasiano da Bisticci, in the biographies of Nicholas V, distinctly state that at the time of the Pope's death the catalogue numbered five thousand volumes. This estimate is considered by the latest writers to come nearest the truth.

Possibly, however, even this may still be too high. In the Vatican Library there is an inventory of the Latin manuscripts belonging to Nicholas V, which was taken before the coronation of his successor, Calixtus III, on the 16th of April, 1455. That this inventory is complete seems evident, since it includes the private library of the deceased Pope. The Greek manuscripts are not mentioned, but the Latin are numbered up to eight hundred and seven. This was a large collection for those days; the most famous libraries were hardly more numerous. That of Niccoli, the largest and best in Florence, only contained eight hundred volumes; that of Visconti, in his castle at Pavia, nine hundred



and eighty-eight. Cardinal Bessarion, in spite of his influential connections and lavish expenditure, could only succeed in bringing six hundred manuscripts together. Duke Frederick of Urbino's library, which consisted of seven hundred and seventy-two manuscripts, was said to have cost him thirty thousand ducats. The other Italian collections are all under three hundred volumes. Even the Medici in 1456 possessed only one hundred and fifty-eight, and in 1494 about a thousand manuscripts.

According to this inventory the Latin manuscripts in the library of Nicholas V were contained in eight large chests. The contents of the first chest were mostly biblical, those of the second consisted of the works of the Fathers of the Church. The Pope's favourite author, St. Augustine, had sixty volumes, St. Jerome seventeen, St. Gregory six, St. Ambrose fifteen. The third chest contained forty-nine volumes by St. Thomas Aquinas, and six by Albert the Great. In the fourth were twelve books by Alexander of Hales, the same number by St. Bonaventure, twenty-seven by Duns Scotus. In the fifth, amidst many theological and historical works, we first encounter some of the heathen classics, amongst these the gorgeously-bound translation of Thucydides, presented to the Pope by Valla. The interesting treatise by Timoteo Maffei mentioned above is also to be found here. The eighty-five volumes which filled the sixth chest consisted almost exclusively of works of theology and canon law. The seventh was devoted mostly to heathen classical authors, Florus, Livy, Cicero, Juvenal, Quintilian, Virgil, Claudian, Statius, Catullus, Terence, Ptolemy, Seneca, Apulian, Vegetius, Frontinus, Macrobius, Sallust, Valerius Maximus, Zenophon, Silvius Italicus, Pliny, Horace, Ovid, Homer in a translation, Justin, Columella, Euclid, etc. The eighth chest contained a miscellaneous collection of profane and ecclesiastical writers.

No other Pope was ever such a genuine book-lover as the former professor of Sarzana. "It was his greatest joy", says the historian of humanism, "to walk about his library arranging the books and glancing through their pages, admiring the handsome bindings, and taking pleasure in contemplating his own arms stamped on those that had been dedicated to him, and dwelling in thought on the gratitude that future generations of scholars would entertain towards their benefactor. Thus he is to be seen depicted, in one of the halls of the Vatican Library, employed in settling his books, and this, indeed, is his place by right, for he it was who founded that noble collection of manuscripts which still maintains its European reputation.

As the founder of the Vatican Library the influence of Nicholas V is still felt in our own times in the learned world to a greater extent perhaps than that of any other Pope; this library alone is enough to immortalize his name.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE CONSPIRACY OF STEFANO PORCARO, 1453.

STRANGELY contrasting with the glories of the Jubilee and of the Imperial coronations comes the conspiracy which at the very outset of the year 1453, threatened, not only the temporal sovereignty, but even the life of Nicholas V, and there is something peculiarly tragic in the fact that the would-be murderer of the very Pope who had striven to render Rome the centre of the literary and artistic Renaissance was one of the false humanists. The great patron of humanism was himself to taste the fruit produced by that one-sided study of classical literature which, while it annihilated the Christian idea, filled men's minds with notions of freedom and with a longing for the restoration of the political conditions of ancient times.

It would be a mistake to look on the attempted revolt of Stefano Porcaro as an isolated event. In Italy the period of the Renaissance was the classic age of conspiracies and tyrannicide. Such assassinations were for the most part closely connected with the one-sided Renaissance which revived the heathen ideal. Even Boccaccio openly asks: "Shall I call a tyrant King, or Prince, and keep faith with him as my Lord? No! for he is our common enemy. To destroy him is a holy and necessary work in which all weapons, the dagger, conspiracies, treachery, are lawful. There is no more acceptable sacrifice than the blood of a tyrant". In Boccaccio's mouth, indeed, this is little more than a rhetorical phrase, like the pathetic declamations against tyrants often borrowed, especially in the early days of the Renaissance, from Latin authors, and used without any serious conviction or any practical effect. But as time went on, Brutus and Cassius, the heroes of the humanists, found living imitators in many places.

Pietro Paolo Boscoli, whose conspiracy against Giuliano, Giovanni and Giulio de' Medici (1513) was unsuccessful, had been a most enthusiastic admirer of Brutus, and had protested that he would copy him if he could find a Cassius, whereupon Agostino Capponi associated himself with him in this character. We are told that the unfortunate Pietro, the night before his execution, exclaimed: "Take Brutus from my mind, that I may die as a Christian". In the case of Olgiate, Larapugnani and Visconti, the murderers of Galeazzo Sforza of Milan, we have remarkable evidence of the manner in which the ancient estimate of the murder of tyrants had been adopted. These misguided students of the past held fast to an ideal Republic, and defended the opinion that it was no crime, but rather a noble deed to remove a tyrant, and by his death to restore freedom to an oppressed people. Cola de Montani, a humanist teacher of rhetoric, incited them to commit the crime. About ten days before it was accomplished, the three conspirators solemnly bound themselves by oath in the Convent of St. Ambrose: "then", says Olgiate, "in a remote chamber, before a picture of St. Ambrose, I raised my eyes and besought

his aid for ourselves and all his people". So terribly was the moral sense of these men perverted that they believed the holy patron of their city and also St. Stephen, in whose church the crime was perpetrated, would favour the deed of blood. After the Duke of Milan had been slain (1476), Visconti repented, but Olgiati, even in the midst of torture, maintained that they had offered a sacrifice well-pleasing to G'od. A little before his death he composed Latin epigrams, and was pleased when they turned out well. While the executioner cut his breast open he cried out, "Courage! Girolamo! You will long be remembered! Death is bitter, but glory is eternal!" We learn from the annals of Siena that the conspirators had studied Sallust, and Olgiati's own words furnish indirect evidence of the fact. A close observation of his character shows that it bore much resemblance to that of Catiline, "that basest of conspirators, who cared nothing for freedom".

The man, who sought the life of the noble Pope Nicholas V, had a nature akin to that of Catiline; he had been trained in the heathen school, and was filled with the spirit of the false Renaissance.

Stefano Porcaro belonged to an ancient family, which is mentioned as early as the first half of the eleventh century and was probably of Tuscan origin. The ancestral mansion, with its punning crest — a hog in a net — is still to be seen near the Piazza of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, in the Vicolo delle Ceste. The day and year of Stefano's birth are unknown, and it would be difficult to obtain certain information on the subject. There is no doubt that he devoted himself at an early age, and with enthusiasm, to classical studies. His intellectual capacity and humanistic culture won for him, in 1427, the honourable position of captain of the people in Florence, and the Republic was so pleased with him that, on the recommendation of Martin V, his appointment was renewed the following year. His sojourn at Florence exercised an important influence on his mental development, for he was there admitted into a circle of celebrated humanistic scholars, and became intimate with Poggio, Manetti, Niccoli, Ciriaco of Ancona, and especially with the Camaldolese monk, Traversari, who had a high opinion of him, and was apparently quite ignorant of the change which had come over his spirit. The classical studies of the Roman knight had filled him with the utmost admiration for the ancient power and glory of the Roman Republic and the virtues of her citizens, and his head had been turned with the idea of her former freedom. Florence then produced a deep impression on his soul, as is witnessed by the eloquent Italian speech which he made as captain of the people, and which was, like the popular discourses of Bruni and Manetti, so widely circulated that copies of it are to be found in almost all the libraries of Italy. In this speech he declared that Florence seemed to him the ideal of perfect civil and political life, and that the grandeur, the beauty, and the glory of the Florentine Republic dazzled and bewildered him. The establishment of a similar Republic in Rome became the dream of his ambition. The temper of his mind is shown in his ostentatiously changing the family name from Porcari to Porci, giving out that it sprang from an old republican race, doubtless with the object of suggesting a reminiscence of Cato.

Like most of the humanists, Porcaro loved travelling; he visited France and Germany, and in 1431 returned to his native city, in company with his brother, Mariano. He must at this time have carefully concealed his republican leanings, for in 1433 Pope Eugenius IV appointed him Podesta in the turbulent city of Bologna, where he manifested considerable ability in restoring order and quiet. Traversari wrote of him, "All men admire him, and praise his zeal to an incredible degree; the pacification of the

factious city is mainly due to him. Both parties trust him, and rejoice in the calm which has succeeded the tempest".

It is uncertain whether Porcaro had any part in the Roman Revolution of 1434; we know him in that year to have voluntarily undertaken the task of mediation between the Romans and the Pope, and to have gone to Florence for the purpose (September, 1434). His efforts failed, for Eugenius IV absolutely, and, as events soon showed, wisely rejected his proposal that the Castle of St. Angelo should be confided to a Roman. Sick and disheartened, Porcaro turned his back upon Florence. As yet, however, he made no attempt to form a party, but managed to keep the Pope in ignorance of his discontent. This is evident from the recently ascertained fact that Eugenius IV in this very year appointed him Rector and Podesta of Orvieto. Here, again, he left a very favourable impression; even the stern Cardinal Vitelleschi highly commended his government, and the citizens acknowledged his services by a present to the value of sixty ducats.

The next ten years of Porcaro's life are still veiled in obscurity. It seems scarcely possible that he should have lived in Rome under the severe rule of Vitelleschi and Scarampo; perhaps during this period he became poor and embarrassed in his circumstances, and joined himself to companions of doubtful character. His aversion to priestcraft may naturally have been intensified by the ridicule which the humanists heaped upon the clergy and monks, and Valla's pamphlet against the temporal power of the Pope probably had a decided influence on the progress of his opinions, for during the vacancy of the Holy See after the death of Eugenius IV he reappears on the scene in a new character.

Such periods were apt to be a time of trouble in Rome, and Stefano meant to turn the favourable opportunity to account. He assembled in Araceli a band of men ready for any enterprise, made an inflammatory speech declaring that it was a shame that the descendants of ancient Romans had sunk to be the slaves of priests, and that the time had come to cast off the yoke and recover freedom. The fear of King Alfonso, who, with his army, was encamped at Tivoli, alone prevented the outbreak of a revolution.

There can be no doubt that Porcaro had actually rendered himself guilty of high treason. The new Pope, however, magnanimously forgave him, and appointed him governor-general of the sea coast and the Campagna, with Ferentino for his headquarters, hoping by this means to win a gifted and dangerous adversary, and reconcile him with the existing state of things. The hope proved delusive, for, having returned to Rome, Porcaro renewed his revolutionary agitation, and, with characteristic audacity, went so far as to say: "When the Emperor arrives we shall regain our liberty". A tumult which occurred in the Piazza Navona, on the occasion of the Carnival, gave the ambitious man an opportunity of inciting the populace openly to resist the Papal authority.

Nicholas V was now compelled to take action, but he did it in the mildest manner. Porcaro was sent away from Rome to Germany on pretext of an Embassy, and, as fresh tumults broke out on his return, he was afterwards honourably exiled to Bologna. Cardinal Bessarion, the friend of his literary associates, was here appointed to take charge of him, and Porcaro was required to appear in his presence every day. The generous Pope granted the exile a yearly pension of three hundred ducats, and Bessarion added, from his own private resources, a hundred more — no inconsiderable sum for those days.

Porcaro repaid these benefits by plotting from Bologna against the Pope. Any determined man could always find instruments ready to his hand in Rome. The Eternal City contained a multitude of needy nobles and so-called knights, of partisans of the Colonna and Orsini in their feuds, of bandits, robbers, and adventurers of all sorts; and genuine political enthusiasts might also be found in the motley crowd. The cowardly rabble could be counted on wherever plunder was to be had.

When Porcaro had completed the necessary preparation for action he eluded the daily supervision of Cardinal Bessarion by a feigned illness, and then stole away from Bologna in disguise. Accompanied by but one servant, he rode in hot haste towards Rome, hardly ever dismounting. In Forli, however, he was unwillingly delayed, as the custom house officials would not allow him to proceed, though he declared that he would rather lose his baggage than spend the night in the city. By the aid of an acquaintance he managed to come to terms with them, and hastened on his way at nightfall, regardless of all warnings of danger from the bad condition of the roads. This incident induced him to avoid towns for the future, and in four days he had accomplished the long journey to Rome which at that period generally occupied twelve. On the 2nd of January he dismounted at the Porta del Popolo, went to the Church of Sta. Maria del Popolo, and then hid himself, until the first hour of the night, in a vineyard belonging to the church. The servant gave notice of Porcaro's safe arrival to his nephew, Niccold Gallo, a Canon of St. Peter's, who came and took him from his place of concealment, and they then went together to the family mansion of the conspirator, where another of his nephews, Battista Sciarra, awaited them. The three then repaired to the dwelling of Angelo di Maso, Porcaro's brother-in-law.

Porcaro, his brother-in-law and his two nephews were the heads of this conspiracy, and from their connections in the City were able without difficulty to make their preparations. On pretence of taking military service, Battista Sciarra engaged mercenaries, while the wealthy Maso collected stores of weapons, and kept in his house a number of men on whom he could rely; they were well entertained but knew nothing of the business in hand. One evening, when all were seated at a splendid banquet in Maso's house, Porcaro appeared amongst them in a rich, gold-embroidered garment, "like an Emperor". "Welcome, brothers," he said; "I have determined to free you from servitude, and make you all rich lords", and he drew forth a purse containing a thousand golden ducats, and distributed a share to those present. All were greatly astonished, but as yet learned nothing further of the plot.

It is impossible now to ascertain the exact number of those won over by the conspirators. Porcaro afterwards declared that he had hoped to muster more than four hundred armed men; he counted also on the aid of the greedy populace, for after the downfall of "Priestcraft" the "Liberators" were to be allowed to plunder freely. It was expected that the Papal Treasury, the Palaces of the Cardinals and of the officials of the Court and the vaults of the Genoese and Florentine merchants, would, when thus brought under contribution, yield more than seventy thousand gold florins.

The plan of the conspirators was to cause general confusion by setting the Palace of the Vatican on fire on the Feast of the Epiphany, to surprise the Pope and the Cardinals during High Mass, and, if necessary, to put them to death, then to take possession of the Castle of St Angelo and the Capitol, and to proclaim the freedom of Rome with Porcaro for tribune.

Porcaro's scheme was by no means an impracticable one, for in the tranquil city there were hardly any troops save the scanty guards of the Palace and the police. Piero

de Godi, a contemporary, reckons them altogether at fifty, and the disparity of forces would have been yet more extreme if the hopes of external aid probably entertained by the insurgent party had been realized.

Had the conspirators acted at once, it is not at all unlikely that they would have succeeded in carrying out their purpose, but the delay occasioned by Porcaro's extreme fatigue after his hurried journey proved the salvation of the Pope.

The accounts of the event differ in some particulars. It is certain that Cardinal Bessarion immediately informed the Pope of Porcaro's suspicious disappearance, and Godi says that some Romans who had been invited to take part in the treason revealed the plot to Cardinal Capranica and to Niccolò degli Amigdani, Bishop of Piacenza, who was at the time Papal Vice-Camerlengo. An anonymous Florentine writer asserts that the Senator Niccolò de Porcinari himself warned Nicholas V of the impending danger. According to others, the Camerlengo Scarampo was the first to apprise the Pope of its existence, and went at once to the Papal Palace, which was a scene of confusion and consternation, to persuade Nicholas V of the necessity of immediate and decisive measures, inasmuch as every moment was a gain to the conspirators. A portion of the Palace Guard and of the garrison of St. Angelo, accompanied by the Vice-Camerlengo, who was also governor of the city, proceeded without delay to the house of Angelo di Maso, and encircled it. Most of the besieged made a brave resistance, but, being cut off from the rest of their adherents, they were compelled to yield to superior force. Battista Sciarra, however, who, during the conflict, frequently raised the cry of "People and Freedom!" fought his way out with a few followers, and got away from Rome. Porcaro, with less courage, had managed to escape in the confusion, and to hide himself in the house of his brother-in-law, Giacomo di Lellicecchi. A price being set upon his head, it was impossible for him to remain here, and his friend Francesco Gabadeo offered to help him in his extremity. They both went in haste to Cardinal Orsini, in the hope that he would afford them refuge in his palace, the House of Orsini being apparently at this time at variance with the Pope. But the Cardinal was by no means disposed to assist the conspirator. He caused Gabadeo, who had entered his presence, to be at once arrested and taken to Nicholas. Stefano, who was waiting downstairs, became suspicious at Gabadeo's non-appearance, and fled to his other brother-in-law, Angelo di Maso, who lived in the quarter of the Regola. Meanwhile Gabadeo, in his prison, had betrayed Porcaro's probable place of shelter. About midnight, between the 5th and 6th of January, armed men entered Angelo's house; at their approach, Porcaro sprang from the bed where he was lying in his clothes, and got into a chest, on which his sister and another woman seated themselves, but the hero's hiding-place was discovered. As he was being led to the Vatican he kept exclaiming, "People! will you let your deliverer die?" But the people did not respond.

After offences so manifest and repeated, Pope Nicholas showed no further mercy. He regretted the fate of the gifted man, but decided to let justice take its course. Stefano Porcaro was taken bound to the Castle of St. Angelo, and on the 7th of January made a tolerably ample confession. He related his flight from Bologna and his meeting with the conspirators in the house of Angelo di Maso, as we have described them, and further declared that he had personally summoned his friends to assemble the night before the Feast of the Epiphany, and had intended, with them, and the armed men collected by them, to the number, as he hoped, of four hundred, to pass through the Trastevere to St. Peter's. Here they were to conceal themselves in the small uninhabited houses near the church, and to divide into four separate bands. As soon as the Pope's arrival in St. Peter's was announced, three of these bands were to take possession of the

different entrances, while the fourth was to occupy the open space in front of the church. He had commanded these armed men to put to death anyone, in the church or out of it, who should offer resistance, and to make the Pope and the Cardinals prisoners. If they resisted, they also were to be slain. Porcaro further said that he had entertained no doubt of being able, after the imprisonment of the Pope, the Cardinals, and other lords, to seize the castle of St. Angelo, in which case the Roman citizens would have joined him. He would then have proceeded to make himself master of the strongholds in the neighbourhood of Rome, to demolish the Castle of St. Angelo, and adopt whatever other measures might appear necessary.

Porcaro's statement is corroborated by the evidence of well-informed contemporaries, and there is no doubt that the sentence of death pronounced by the Senator Giacomo dei Lavagnoli was a just one. He was hanged on the 9th January on the battlements of St. Angelo. He was dressed entirely in black, and his bearing was resolutely firm and dignified. His last words were: "O, my people, your deliverer dies today!" A number of his associates suffered the same penalty, but they were executed at the Capitol. A reward of a thousand ducats was offered for the apprehension of Battista Sciarra, or five hundred for his head.

The question naturally arises as to what Porcaro intended to do with the Papacy in the event of a successful issue to his enterprise. The conspirator's confession furnishes no definite answer, but most writers of the day affirm that he meant to remove the Holy See from Rome. Had the plot been carried out, Christendom would again have fallen a prey to the calamities from which she had so recently been delivered, and the papacy would have been exiled from Italy. An interesting passage in relation to this subject is to be found in Piero de Godi's Dialogue. To the objection that, after the assassination of Nicholas V a new Pope would have been elected, and Rome would have again been conquered, the partisan of Porcaro replies: "Perhaps an Ultramontane would have been elected Pope, and would have gone to the other side of the mountains with the Court and left Porcaro in peace at Rome". The consternation caused at the Papal Court by the conspiracy was so great that Alberti and others expressed their desire to quit the unquiet City. But after all, if the attempted revolution had been accomplished, and the Papacy again transferred to France, would not the Romans have very soon begun to pray for its return, as in the Avignon days? In the beginning of the Pontificate of Eugenius IV, when the revolution had triumphed in Rome, a few months of a liberty which brought nothing but anarchy had sufficed for the citizens, and they had besought the Pope to come back. A similar result would now have ensued, and all the more surely, because many of Porcaro's associates were men of the worst character. If his contemporaries compared him to Catiline, we cannot ascribe their words to vindictiveness and party prejudices, for his blood-thirsty and covetous followers were but too like the companions of the ancient tyrant.

Porcaro's conspiracy caused great excitement throughout Italy; it is mentioned by most of the contemporary chroniclers but not always condemned. The judgment of history is adverse to its author, but Roman opinion seems to have been greatly divided on the subject. "When I hear such people talk", writes the gifted Leon Battista Alberti, referring to those who found fault with the Pope, "their arguments do not touch me in the least. I see but too clearly how Italian affairs are going. I know by whom all has been cast into confusion. I remember the days of Eugenius, I have heard of Pope Boniface and read of the disasters of many Popes. On the one side I have seen this demagogue surrounded by grunting swine and on the other side the Majesty of the Holy

Father. That cannot surely have been right which compelled the most pacific of Popes to take up arms".

There were some in Rome who looked on Porcaro as a martyr for the ancient freedom of the city. Infessura, the Secretary to the Senate, makes the following entry in his diary: "Thus died this worthy man, the friend of Roman liberty and prosperity. He had been exiled from Rome unjustly; his purpose was, as the event proved, to risk his own life for the deliverance of his country from slavery".

The attitude of the humanists in the Court of Nicholas V is a matter of some interest. The conspiracy was to them a most painful event, for it was not impossible that the Pope might look on them with suspicion. A connection might be traced between the ridicule and scorn which Valla, Poggio, and Filelfo had heaped upon the clergy and monks, and Porcaro's enmity to the temporal power. The danger, however, was averted by their almost unanimous condemnation of Porcaro's attempt, and it did not occur to the Pope to hold the study of antiquity responsible for the immoderate lust of liberty. Yet there can be no doubt that the conspiracy was the outcome of the republican spirit which that study fostered, and which now rose against everything that it deemed to be tutelage or tyranny.

Other writers living in the Pope's vicinity, but not belonging to the humanistic ranks, also produced polemical works in both prose and verse against Porcaro. Piero de' Godi, whom we have often mentioned, wrote at Vicenza a history of the conspiracy, which has but lately become known in its entirety. It is in the form of a dialogue between a Doctor Bernardinus, of Siena, and Fabius, a scholar. The latter relates the event, speaking as an eyewitness, while the doctor, who had arrived in Rome subsequently, makes reflections on the Providence of God and the excellent government of Nicholas V, adducing a multitude of passages from Holy Scripture. The little work is in many ways worthy of notice; it is valuable as an authority, and, notwithstanding its manifestly Papal and party character, is perfectly trustworthy. The author vigorously asserts that Rome alone can be the seat of the Pope, and warmly upholds the temporal power of the Holy See. Considering that many among the Romans desired its removal from Rome, and that others shared the views regarding the annihilation of the Pope's temporal power lately expressed by Lorenzo Valla, it seems possible that Godi's Dialogue was an official production, intended by its popular form to counteract these widespread errors.

A similar tone of feeling pervades the long Lamentation of Giuseppe Brippi, who bitterly reproaches the Romans with their unpardonable ingratitude, and reminds them of the benefits which the Popes in general, and Nicholas V in particular, had conferred upon the city. Notwithstanding the bombastic style of the poet — if, indeed, Brippi is worthy of such a name, — some of his remarks are extremely just, as, for example, when he points out to the Romans that the Papal rule has always been much milder than that of the other municipal governors in Italy. Brippi merely makes some general observations on the conspiracy, but he gives the Pope some good advice, recommending him to complete the fortification of his Palace, to be attended by three hundred armed men when he goes to St. Peter's, and to allow no other armed men to enter the church; furthermore, to seek to gain the affection of the Romans, to support the poor, and especially impoverished nobles, because the love of the citizens is the best defence of a ruler.

Friendly powers hastened to congratulate the Pope on the failure of the conspiracy; the Sieneſe Ambassador was the first to arrive. He had an audience on the



6th of January and again on the 14th, when he offered the Pope all the forces of the Republic in case of need, and also mentioned that the city contemplated the erection of a palace for the Pope. The idea that the Pope would leave his unquiet capital was evidently general, and Siena wished to make sure of the honour and advantage of a Papal residence; a similar effort was subsequently made in the time of Pius II. The Republic of Lucca likewise sent letters to the Pope and his brother Cardinal Calandrini, expressing the deepest horror of Porcaro's crime. The Cardinal's answer to the authorities of Lucca, dated 4th February, 1453, is worthy of note. He declares that there was no question of plunder or of the freedom of the city, but that the object of the conspiracy was to drive the Christian religion out of Italy. These words probably refer to Porcaro's intention of banishing the Pope from the country.

It is extremely difficult to estimate the proportions attained by Porcaro's conspiracy. On this occasion, as on others of a similar nature, there was no lack of conflicting accusations. Suspicions existed that Milan and Florence were implicated, and the Florentines endeavoured to cast blame on King Alfonso and the Venetians. Some of the conspirators certainly fled to Venice and Naples, but after the failure of the plot those powers handed them over to the Pope, and they were executed. Other accounts speak of members of the Colonna family as taking part in the affair. It is impossible to arrive at any absolute certainty on the subject, because much information must naturally have been suppressed. Too much importance accordingly is not to be attached to the statement of the Sieneſe Ambassador, who, in a despatch of the 14th January, 1453, declared, as the result of his inquiries, that neither the Roman barons nor any foreign powers were concerned.

The terrible event exercised a most injurious influence on the excitable and impressionable nature of the Pope. Immediately after the discovery of the plot, Nicholas V displayed considerable courage by going to St. Peter's, of course with a strong escort, and celebrating High Mass on the Feast of the Epiphany. But from the moment that the phantom of the ancient Republic arose, threatening destruction to his life, his authority, and all his magnificent undertakings on behalf of art and learning, his peace of mind was gone. He became melancholy, reserved, and inaccessible. It is said that he brought a great force of troops to Rome, and was always henceforth attended by an armed escort when he went out. His agitation and disquietude were increased by the knowledge that although the city continued tranquil, there were many Romans who, like Infessura, admired Porcaro. All the benefits conferred by the Pope, his just and excellent government, his promotion of Romans to many ecclesiastical posts, the advantages derived from the presence of the Papal Court, and the freedom and prosperity enjoyed by Rome above all other cities of Italy, had not sufficed to banish the old disloyalty. Naturally, suspicion and distrust became more and more deeply rooted in his soul, casting a gloom over his once cheerful temper and undermining his health, which had already been shaken by serious illness.

Nicholas V had hardly recovered from the shock occasioned by Porcaro's conspiracy when another terrible blow fell upon him in the tidings that Constantinople had been taken by the Turks.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE ADVANCE OF THE TURKS AND THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

The dogmatic differences between the Greek and Latin Churches had been removed by the Council of Florence, where Eastern and Western theologians had measured their strength, and the re-establishment of actual communion with Rome seemed to be the only means of healing the grievous wounds from which the Oriental Church, like every other severed from the common centre of Christendom, was suffering, and of imparting new life and vigour to the Byzantine Empire.

But when the Greeks returned home from Florence they found it very hard to carry into effect that which had been agreed upon at the Council, and the Union met with violent opposition. Marcus Eugenicus soon produced his polemical letters, and Sylvester Syropulus his "True History of the False Union", a work which still constitutes the chief polemical arsenal of the Oriental schismatics. Gennadius and numerous other writers followed in the same line, and as they fostered the national enmity of the Greeks against the Latins, their works produced more effect than those of the friends of the Union, many of whom, however, were distinguished and worthy men. The celebrated Cardinal Bessarion, for example, laboured indefatigably in the cause to the end of his days, and the Protosyncellus Gregory, Archbishop Andrew of Rhodes, and Bishop Joseph of Methone are also worthy of honourable mention.

On this occasion, however, as it generally happens, the defensive party was at a disadvantage. The excellent men whom we have mentioned were unable to silence the calumnies of the schismatics, whose champion, Marcus Eugenicus, combined great talent and learning with extreme vehemence of character. He did everything in his power to stir up monks, clergy, and laity against the peace which had been concluded between Rome and Constantinople. The friends of the Union were treated with contempt and scorn, and called azymites, traitors, apostates, and heretics. The opposition of the majority of the clergy and of the populace to any tokens of fellowship with those who acknowledge the authority of Rome daily increased, while the Emperor hesitated to express his will in such decided terms as might have given a firm basis to the Union. Carried away by the prevailing tone of feeling, many even of those prelates who had taken part in the negotiations at Florence now repented of their co-operation, and openly proclaimed their regret that they had allowed themselves to be persuaded into signing the act of Union.

Antagonism to the West was so deeply rooted that it was absolutely impossible for the Union to gain any ground. When Metrophanes, the new Patriarch of Constantinople, took decided measures against the violent opponents of ecclesiastical unity, the three patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem issued a strong protest, commanded the clergy appointed by Metrophanes, under pain of excommunication, to

resign their posts, and threatened the Emperor that unless he abandoned the dogmas imposed at Florence his name should be omitted from their prayers.

In Russia also the attempt at Union had proved ineffectual. The metropolitan of Kiew, Isidore, on his return to his country as cardinal and legate for the North had been cast into prison. In 1443 he managed to escape, and afterwards attained important ecclesiastical offices in Rome. It had been hoped that the whole of the Russo-Greek Church would by his means have been brought back to unity, but only the metropolitan province of Kiew, with its suffragan dioceses of Brjansk, Smolensk, Peremyschl, Turow, Luzk, Wladimir, Polotsk, Chelm and Halitsch, was reconciled to the Holy See, and Russia proper, with its metropolitan see of Moscow, continued in schism.

Under these circumstances the tidings of the terrible defeat of the Christian army at Varna (10th November, 1444) had a disastrous effect on public feeling at Constantinople by destroying the hope that the alliance with Rome might bring about deliverance from the Turks. A few years after the battle Sultan Mahomet, in a deadly conflict of three days' duration on the plain of the Amsel (Kossowo, 1448), wrested from the noble Hunyadi of Hungary most of the laurels he had won.

The Turkish forces were now directed towards the Peloponesus in the South and Albania in the West, and Hungary also was seriously threatened. It was natural therefore that these countries should engross the principal attention of Europe, while the Greeks were comparatively neglected. Moreover the attitude of the Court during the recent calamities had been one of shameful inaction, a circumstance which was calculated to increase the indifference of the West and to confirm the growing impression that Hungary rather than the Greek Empire, was the "shield against the Turks".

This view was shared by Nicholas V, who, from the beginning of his pontificate, had taken a lively interest in Eastern affairs and endeavoured directly and indirectly to support the operations against the Turks.

The defeat of Kossowo greatly alarmed the timid Pope, and, by means of his Legate, he made known to the Hungarians his opinion that, for the future, they would do well to confine themselves within the limits of their own kingdom. Hunyadi and his people, however, would not hear of such a course, and only reiterated their petitions for the co-operation of the Holy See. These were not in vain, for on occasion of the Jubilee, the Pope issued a Bull, by which, in view of the impending danger from the Turks, he dispensed all prelates, barons, knights, and commoners of the kingdom of Hungary, who should take part in the war against the infidels, from personal appearance in Rome, and in order that they might not be deprived of the benefit of the plenary indulgence, he, in the fulness of his apostolic power, decreed that it should be extended to them on condition that on three consecutive days they should visit the Cathedral of Wardein and certain other churches in the kingdom appointed for the purpose, and should there deposit half of the money that would have been spent in their journey to and from Rome and in a sojourn of fifteen days in that city. The fulfilment of these conditions was to be deemed equivalent to fifteen days' visits to St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. John Lateran, and Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome, provided that the persons in question should not during the year leave Hungary save to make war on the infidels. Chests, furnished with triple locks, were to be placed in the churches referred to to receive the offerings, and extensive faculties, even in regard to reserved cases, were granted to all priests.

Nicholas V also rendered important service to the cause by endeavouring to compose the strife which had broken out between Hunyadi and Gislira, the captain of the kingdom, and by absolving Hunyadi, on the 12th April, 1450, from an oath not to

pass through Servia, which had been extorted from him by fear and violence. His glorious victory at Belgrade was thus rendered possible, and the defeats at Varna and Kossowo were amply avenged.

While the Pope thus favoured the Hungarians, he also supported the Albanians in their resistance to the Turkish power, and sought to induce them to make common cause with adjacent countries; of these, the most important was Bosnia, whose King, Stephen, had, as we have already related, returned to the Catholic Church in the time of Eugenius IV. Nicholas V at once took a warm interest in him, and in June, 1447, he placed him and the reconciled magnates under the protection of the Holy See, and appointed Thomas, the Bishop of Lesina, his Legate. Moreover, he did everything to promote the erection of Catholic churches in this devastated country, and took vigorous measures against the widespread sect of the Paterines. Being informed by the Bishop of Lesina that their errors were, nevertheless, gaining ground, Nicholas gave him full power to grant an indulgence and spiritual favours to those who should fight against these "unbelievers". Furthermore, in June, 1451, he sent a new Nuncio to Bosnia, with the authority of a Legate, to labour for the pacification of the country. The action of the Pope was not due solely to considerations of a spiritual nature, for the Paterines were secretly and even openly in league with the Turks, and thus, as Rome perceived, constituted a terrible danger to the country. Even members of the secular and regular clergy, among the latter some few unworthy Benedictine monks, were implicated in their treachery, and, counting on the Sultan's favour, endeavoured to lay hands on the property of the Church. The Pope commanded his Nuncio first to admonish these offenders in a friendly manner, but afterwards to proceed to ecclesiastical penalties, and eventually to invoke the assistance of the civil authorities.

The names of Hunyadi and Skanderbeg are generally coupled together on the roll of heroes who in the fifteenth century made a valiant warfare against the ancestral foes of Christendom. We shall speak of Skanderbeg later on, when we come to deal with the history of Calixtus III, and must only here observe that Nicholas V gave every support in his power to "this champion and buckler of Christendom against the Turk"s, who defeated them in an important engagement in the year 1449.

The action of the Pope against the Turks was not limited to the cases we have mentioned. He carefully watched each phase of the struggle for Rhodes, and in various ways assisted the Knights of St. John in their gallant resistance. In 1451, when the Island of Cyprus was seriously menaced by the infidel power, he showed the utmost solicitude for its defence, and addressed an urgent appeal for assistance, coupled with the grant of an indulgence of three years not only to the Emperor but to the whole of Christendom; to France, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, England, Scotland, Castile and Leon, Aragon, Portugal, and Navarre, as well as to the different Italian States. At a later period Nicholas gave half of the offerings received from France to the King of Cyprus to enable him to rebuild the citadel of Nicosia.

The facts which we have adduced sufficiently prove with what injustice the Pope has been charged with neglecting the war against the infidels. The statement that he did as little as possible for the deliverance of the Greeks is equally false. It is perfectly true that Nicholas made the fulfilment of the terms of the Union agreed upon at Florence a condition of his assistance, and this was evidently his duty as Pope, for it was incumbent on him to resist the encroachments of the schismatical Greek propaganda.

The prospects of the Union were most gloomy in the Byzantine Empire. The new Emperor, Constantine, the last of the Palaeologi, was unable to withstand the fanaticism

of the people, and sent a special ambassador to Rome in the year 1451 in order to appease the Pope for the non-fulfilment of the agreements Nicholas replied in a long and incisive brief dated October 11th, 1451.

"The matter in question", Nicholas V declares, "is the unity of the Church, a fundamental article of the Christian confession of faith. A united Church is an impossibility unless there is one visible head to take the place of that Eternal High Priest whose throne is in heaven, and unless all members obey this one head. Where two rulers command there can be no united empire. Outside the Church's unity there is no salvation; he who was not in Noe's ark perished in the deluge. Schism has always been punished more severely than other crimes. Core, Dathan and Abiron, who sought to divide the people of God, were punished more terribly than those who had defiled themselves by idolatry.

"The Greek Empire itself is a living witness to this truth. This glorious nation, once so rich in learned and holy men, has now become the most miserable of all nations; almost the whole of Greece is given into the hands of the enemies of the cross. What is the reason of this heavy judgment of God? The once chosen people of God were sorely chastened by Him for two crimes. They were led into captivity in Babylon for idolatry; and for their putting to death our Redeemer Jesus Christ they were wholly given over into the power of the Romans, the city of Jerusalem was destroyed, and until this very hour the whole nation is scattered in exile throughout the world. Now we know that since the Greeks received the Catholic Faith they have never committed either of the above-mentioned crimes, on account of which the wrath of God might have given them into Turkish bondage. Some other sin must have provoked the Divine Justice, and this sin is the schism which was begun under Photius, and has since lasted for five hundred years. Full of sorrow and with a heavy heart do we make this complaint, and we would willingly have buried it in everlasting silence, but if a remedy is to be applied the wound must be laid bare. For almost five hundred years Satan, the author of all evil, and especially of division, has seduced the Church of Constantinople into disobedience to the Roman Bishop, the successor of St. Peter and representative of our Lord Jesus Christ. Innumerable negotiations have meanwhile been undertaken, a great many Councils have been held, countless embassies have been sent to and fro, until at last Emperor John and the Patriarch Joseph of Constantinople, accompanied by numerous prelates and great men, met Pope Eugenius IV, the Cardinals of the Roman Church, and a considerable body of Western Prelates at Florence in order, with the blessing of God, to put an end to the schism and establish unity.

"These negotiations were carried on before the eyes of the whole world, and the decree of Union drawn up in Greek and Latin and signed by all present has been made known to the whole world. Spain, with its four Christian kingdoms, Castile, Aragon, Portugal, and Navarre; Great Britain, Ireland, and Scotland, the great islands lying beyond the continent; Germany, inhabited by numerous nations, and extending over far countries; the kingdom of the Danes, Norway, and Sweden, situated towards the extremest north; Poland, Hungary, and Pannonia; Gaul, which stretches between Spain and Germany from the western ocean to the Mediterranean, are its witnesses. All these countries possess copies of the decree of Union by which that ancient schism is at last removed, according to the testimony of the Greek Emperor, John Palaeologus, of the Patriarch Joseph, and of all the others who came from Greece to the Council of Florence, and by their signatures sanctioned the Union.

"And now so many years have already passed during which the decree of the Union has been disregarded by the Greeks, and there appears no hope of any readiness

to accept it, the matter is put off from one day to another, and the same excuses are always brought forward. The Greeks cannot really believe the Pope and the whole Western Church to have lost their senses so as not to perceive the meaning of these constant excuses and delays. They understand it perfectly, but bear with it after the example of the Eternal Chief Pastor, who gave the barren fig tree two years more to bring forth fruit.

"Be it known to your Imperial Highness", continues the Pope, "that we also will wait until this letter of ours has received your consideration, and if you, with your great men and your people, think better of it, and accept the decree of the Union, you will find us, the Cardinals and the whole Western Church always ready for you and well disposed towards you. But should you and your people refuse this, you compel us to do that which is demanded by your welfare and our honour". The Pope then lays down as conditions of peace that the Emperor should recall the Patriarch Gregory and reinstate him in all his dignities, that the name of the Pope should be inserted in the Diptychs, and that prayers should be offered for him in all the Greek Churches. Should any persons be in doubt regarding the decree of the Union the Emperor was to send them to Rome, where they would be honourably treated and every care taken to remove their doubts.

The Papal letter of the 11th October, 1451, is also interesting, inasmuch as it implies that Rome had recognized the utter fruitlessness of the often repeated public disputations at Constantinople, where the excited populace not only supported the speakers opposed to the Union, but from the beginning rendered any concession to the Latins impossible.

Meanwhile, the danger which, during more than a generation, had been threatening Constantinople and the whole of the East, seemed to be averted. Sultan Mahomet, instead of attacking Cyprus, as had been apprehended, directed his forces against the ancient enemy of his kingdom, the Mahometan Prince of Karamania.

The Greeks, seeing their most dangerous adversary thus occupied in Asia, were deluded enough to adopt a tone of menace towards him, and sent an embassy to his camp to inform him that unless the pension, paid for Urchan, the Sultan's nephew, who was being brought up at Constantinople, were doubled, they would put him forward as claimant to the throne. Mahomet answered this preposterous demand in a furious speech, hastily made peace with the Prince of Karamania, and satisfied the Janissaries with money, so as to be able, without annoyance from internal or external foes, to turn his whole power against Constantinople. As soon as he reached Adrianople he refused to pay to the Emperor the revenue of the region on the Strymon, which was destined for Urchan's maintenance, and then began to take measures for the subjugation of the capital. Early in the winter of 1451-1452 he sent orders throughout the different provinces of his kingdom, requiring that a thousand builders, with a corresponding number of hodmen and bricklayers, should be sent, and the necessary materials prepared for the erection of a fortress on the Bosphorus above Constantinople. The tidings caused the greatest consternation among the Christian population in that city, in Thrace, and in the Archipelago. "The end of the City has come" they exclaimed, "these things are the forerunners of the downfall of our race; the days of anti-Christ are upon us. What will become of us? Rather let our lives be taken from us, O Lord, than that the eyes of Thy servants should see the destruction of the City, and let not Thine enemies say 'Where are the saints who watch over it?'" The Emperor Constantine despatched ambassadors to Adrianople to remonstrate against the building of the proposed fortress. The Sultan's answer was a declaration that he would have anyone, who again came to him about this

business, flayed. The fortress was begun in the spring of 1452, the Sultan himself having made the plan and selected the site at the narrowest part of the Bosphorus, where a strong current drives vessels from the Asiatic to the European side, on the promontory of Hermaeum.

Here, then, a fortress rapidly arose, with walls from two-and-twenty to five-and-twenty feet thick, and towers with leaden roofs, sixty feet high. The Turks gave it the name of Bogaz Kessen, which means cutter off of the Straits and also cutter-off of the neck. As master of this castle and one opposite to it, named Anatoli Hissar, which had been built by Bajazet, the Sultan had it in his power to cut off all communication between the republics of Genoa and Venice and their colonies on the Black Sea, and also to deprive the city of Constantinople of the access to that Sea which was absolutely necessary to its inhabitants.

During the progress of the work disputes arose with some of the inhabitants of Constantinople who had corn-fields in the neighbourhood, and bloodshed ensued. The Greek Emperor then addressed a grave and dignified letter to the Sultan, who vouchsafed no other reply than a declaration of war (June, 1452), and caused the messengers who brought it to be beheaded. Mahomet was, however, too wise immediately to begin hostilities; for the time being, he merely reconnoitred the walls, trenches, and gates of Constantinople, and on the 1st September retired to Adrianople.

The following winter passed by in quietness, but preparations were vigorously carried on on both sides for the decisive struggle. The Emperor again showed himself disposed for Union with the Latins, no doubt with the view of obtaining their assistance against the Turks. Whether in this matter he acted in perfect good faith may be left an open question; but even granting that his purpose was sincere, it would have been impossible for him to carry it into effect in face of the fanatical opposition of his people. This must have become evident at Rome, where the long-cherished hope that the whole Greek Church would accept the Union effected at Florence had now died out. It was necessary, however, in order not to make too light of the Pope's dignity, that appearances should be kept up, and that his rights, which had been acknowledged at Florence, should be officially recognized at Constantinople, for on no other grounds could he be held bound to afford material assistance to the Greeks.

The question of helping the Greeks was warmly discussed in Rome, where great differences of opinion prevailed on the subject. An anonymous treatise written there in the December of 1452, gives us some interesting details, and endeavours, with the learning and rhetoric peculiar to the humanists, to show that the preservation of Constantinople was a necessity for Christendom. Conflicting opinions prevailed in Rome as to the line of conduct pursued towards the Greeks. Starting from the principle that no communication is to be held with heretics, schismatics and excommunicated persons, one party was absolutely opposed to the idea of giving them any assistance, and held that the impious schismatics would but meet with due punishment. This view is strongly condemned by the author of the treatise who adduces passages from the fathers of the Church, and from Aristotle, Sallust, Valerius Maximus, Seneca, and other classical writers. He then appeals to the principle of Christian charity, and to the love of sinners inculcated by our Saviour, and maintains that, notwithstanding their schism and their ingratitude, the Greeks ought to be helped. Should assistance be refused, there is, he continues, reason to fear that the conquest of Constantinople may be followed by a general massacre of the Christians. If it be said that the Greeks will persist in their schism, this is indeed true with regard to many of them, but not to all, for amongst them are distinguished and religious men. No one knows what course these will take; we need

not trouble ourselves about the future; for the present the first thing to be done is to grant the prayer of those who are so hardly beset by the enemies of the Christian name. He then urges the glorious past of the City of Constantinople. Men remarkable for their learning, their piety, and purity of life have dwelt within her walls, which contain countless relics of the Saints and richly adorned churches; moreover for the sake of the great Emperor Constantine to whom the Christian people and the Roman Church are so deeply indebted, it is, he declares, a duty to preserve his city from falling into the hands of the unbelievers.

He then proceeds to point out the motives which render it incumbent on the Pope to take measures for the preservation of Constantinople, making honourable mention of the exertions of Eugenius IV against the Turks; he gives a lively picture of the threatening peril, enumerates the horrible cruelties practised by the infidels, and insists on the necessity of re-establishing peace, if only in a temporary manner, in Italy. In view of the dangers which threaten Constantinople, Cyprus, and the shores of the Mediterranean, Christian kings and princes, and especially all prelates and ecclesiastics, are bound, he concludes, to arm themselves for the defence of Christendom.

Warnings of this nature, as a modern historian has observed, coupled with the well-grounded apprehension that the Turks might, after the conquest of the Greek Empire, attack Italy, produced their effect in Rome, and greatly promoted the favourable consideration of the ceaseless petitions for aid, especially as the Emperor accepted the conditions proposed by the Pope. In May, 1452, Cardinal Isidore, an enthusiastic Greek patriot, was sent as Legate to Constantinople. He was accompanied by about two hundred auxiliary troops, and by Archbishop Leonard of Mytilene, who has left us an account of the siege of Constantinople. The selection of Isidore as Legate was a most excellent one, and if the reconciliation was not effected, he certainly cannot be held responsible for its failure. The great majority of the Greeks were not even now in earnest in the matter, and the solemn function in honour of the Union celebrated on the 12th December, 1452, in the church of St. Sophia, with prayers for the Pope and the exiled Patriarch Gregorius, was a mere farce.

Many Greeks did not shrink from openly expressing their sentiments. "Once we are rid of the Turkish dragon," they said, "you shall see whether we will hold with the Azymites or not". Both laity and clergy conspired to frustrate the Union, and a wild outburst of fanaticism ensued while the Turks were actually approaching the very walls of Constantinople. The schismatic clergy, incensed by the Emperor's open adherence to the decrees of the Council of Florence, solemnly anathematized all its partisans, refused absolution to those who had been present at the function held in honour of the Union, and exhorted the sick rather to die without the sacraments than receive them from a Uniate priest. The populace cursed the Uniates, the sailors in the harbour drank to the destruction of the Pope and his slaves, and emptied their cups to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, shouting, "What need have we of the help of the Latins?" The friends of the Union were naturally too weak to hold their ground against the violence of popular feeling, and succumbed in their unequal conflict with the national will, which, impotent in all besides, proved itself obstinate and unbending on the one point of opposition to Rome. The Union was again rent asunder, and St. Sophia, which the schismatics called a cave of demons and synagogue of Jews, became a mosque. This furious antagonism to Rome extended to the highest classes of Byzantine society. The Grand Duke Lukas Notaras, the most powerful man in the powerless empire, was not afraid to say that he would rather see the Turkish turban in the city than the Tiara of Rome.



It is not surprising that the Latins showed but little zeal on behalf of a nation so hopelessly deluded, and that both in Rome and elsewhere some were found to maintain that no help ought to be given to the schismatics. The violently anti-Latin temper of the Greeks explains, and in some degree excuses, the fact that the Western Powers did not render the speedy assistance which might have saved the glorious capital of the East.

Besides the Pope and the King of Naples, the Republics of Venice and Genoa were the only Christian Powers who helped the Greek Emperor, and their help was given from mercenary motives. The Venetians and Genoese were well aware that their own interests would be seriously affected by a Turkish occupation of the Greek capital. Constantinople and its suburbs had become a second home to many of their citizens. Within its walls the two republics possessed much valuable property, both public and private, and its fall would involve the severance of their connection with their colonies on the Black Sea, and their consequent loss. Genoa and its colony of Chios accordingly sent war material and a considerable body of soldiers, and, unlike their vacillating fellow-countrymen in Pera, devoted themselves heart and soul to the cause.

The powerful Republic of Venice displayed far less zeal. Twice in the year 1452 did the Ambassadors of the Greek Emperor repair to the city, earnestly imploring counsel and aid against the threatened attack of the Turks; but no decided promise was made to them, for the interest of the principal personages was at this time concentrated almost exclusively on the war against the Duke of Milan. Material considerations alone induced the Signoria to send some few ships to Constantinople, but the despatch of a fleet was postponed until the 7th May, 1453, because it was feared that it would have to act in concert with the ships promised by the Pope and King Alfonso. The ten vessels commanded by Jacopo Loredano, whose arrival had been so eagerly desired by the besieged, naturally came too late. Indeed, the following instructions, given to Jacopo Loredano, are calculated to awaken some misgivings as to the real intentions of the Venetian Republic. "On the way to Constantinople you are not in any way to cause any injury to the cities, troops, or vessels of the Turks, inasmuch as we are at peace with them. For although we have prepared this fleet for the honour of God and the defence of the City of Constantinople, we will not — if it can possibly be avoided — involve ourselves in war with the Turks".

Regarding the assistance afforded by Pope Nicholas V, the accounts which have reached us are unfortunately very defective, and in some cases contradictory. The diary of Infessura, the Secretary to the Senate, a somewhat untrustworthy document, informs us that the Emperor's ambassadors were detained in Rome, and were unable to obtain a decided answer. St. Antoninus of Florence says in his Chronicle, that Nicholas V directly refused them a grant of pecuniary assistance. As, however, the fact that this Pope sent money in the year 1452 for the purpose of fortifying the walls of Galata, is proved by an inscription, these accounts cannot be correct. We have, moreover, the testimony given by the Pope himself when on the very brink of eternity.

Nicholas V informed the Cardinals assembled around his death-bed that, on receiving the tidings of the siege of Constantinople, he had at once determined to help the Greeks to the best of his power. He was, however, well aware that his own unassisted resources were insufficient to oppose an adequate resistance to the immense armies of the Turks. He had, therefore, openly and plainly, declared to the Greek ambassadors that his money, his ships, and his troops were at the disposal of the Emperor, but that, inasmuch as this help was inadequate, his Majesty ought without delay to seek the assistance of other princes; assuring them of the support of the Papal forces. The Ambassadors had departed, well pleased with his answer, but, after making

unsuccessful application to many princes, had returned to Rome, whereupon he had given them his help, such as it was.

Accordingly, on the 28th April, Nicholas V commanded the Archbishop of Ragusa, Jacopo Veniero of Recanati, to proceed as Legate to Constantinople, with the ten Papal galleys and a number of ships, furnished by Naples, Genoa, and Venice. The united Italian fleet did not, however, come into action, for on the 29th of May the fate of the city was decided.

On the 23rd March, 1453, Mahomet II left Adrianople, and on the 6th April took up his position within a mile of Constantinople. According to the lowest, and therefore most probable estimate, his army numbered a hundred and sixty thousand men. To meet this powerful, rapacious, and fanatical host, the Emperor had, in all, four thousand nine hundred and seventy-three Greeks, and about two thousand foreigners, Genoese, Venetians, Cretans, Romans, and Spaniards.

The siege, of which we have details from a number of eye-witnesses, began immediately. Besides fourteen batteries, which were planted opposite to the walls of the city, the Sultan had twelve large pieces of artillery destined for special positions, and discharging stone cannon-balls of from two hundred to five hundred pounds' weight. One giant cannon, made by a Hungarian, is perhaps the largest mentioned in history, and its stone balls weighed from eight hundred to twelve hundred pounds.

It was evident that the city, with its slender garrison, would ultimately be compelled to yield to such a force. The catastrophe was delayed by the position of Constantinople, which rendered it very difficult of assault, and by the personal courage of the Emperor and of some few other Greeks. But the chief credit of the defence is due to the skilful tactics of the Italian ships, and to the foreign troops and the Venetian Catalan, and other colonists, together with the Genoese, who had secretly come from Pera. They ceaselessly repaired the breaches made by the enemy's artillery, and brilliantly repelled many Turkish attacks. Moreover, under the direction of a German engineer, countermining was carried on with such success that the Turks finally abandoned their mines. A dangerous bastion constructed by the infidels was destroyed in a single night, and the astonished Sultan exclaimed, "Never could I have believed the Giaours capable of such great deeds, not even if all the Prophets had assured me of the fact!"

The greater number of the Greeks, however, played a pitiful part during the siege. Instead of fighting, they consoled themselves with the foolish predictions of their monks, wept and prayed in the churches, called upon Our I Lady to deliver them, never considering that God is wont to help those who exert themselves, and at the same time humbly place their confidence in Him. A historian justly observes, "They loudly confessed their sins, but no one confessed his cowardice, the unpardonable sin of a nation devoid of patriotism". The Emperor alone distinguished himself by his courage, but one man could not save a nation, many of whose members, from their bigoted hatred of the Latins, preferred quiet and toleration under the Turkish sway.

The cowardice of the Greeks was equalled by their avarice, which kept them from employing the number of troops required for the defence of the widely extended walls of their city. The unreasoning covetousness which had been the proximate occasion of this terrible siege now contributed in great measure to bring about the final catastrophe. The small force of defenders could no longer hold the long chain of fortifications, partly ruined as they were by the enemy's artillery, and on the 29th of May the Janissaries made another desperate attack. The Emperor, with a great many of

his faithful followers, fell. Cardinal Isidore, who was not recognized, was sold as a slave. Thousands of the Greeks who escaped death shared his fate, especially all those who had taken refuge in the church of St. Sophia. An ancient prophecy had foretold that the Turks would advance as far as the Pillar of Constantine, but would then be driven by an angel from heaven not only out of the city but back to the Persian frontier. As soon accordingly as they had entered the city, crowds pressed into the great church, which, with all its vestibules, corridors, and galleries, was densely thronged, multitudes who, ever since the feast held in honour of the Union had scorned the spiritual graces which they might there have found, now seeking within its walls to save their lives. "Had an angel really descended from heaven at this moment", says the Greek historian Dukas, "and brought them word to accept the Union, they would not have acknowledged it, and would rather have given themselves up to the Turks than to the Roman Church."

The infidels, meanwhile, had become masters of the city, and had slain some thousands of its inhabitants before the idea of making gain out of them as slaves arrested the work of bloodshed. On reaching the church of St. Sophia they burst open the doors and dragged the helpless fugitives off to slavery. The beautiful church was desecrated by all sorts of horrors, and then turned into a mosque. A crucifix was borne through the streets, with a Janissary's cap on its head, while the miscreants shouted, "Behold the God of the Christians".

The Sultan did not compel the Greeks to conform to Islam, but rather sought to win their priesthood to his side by espousing the cause of the enemies of the Union. He brought about the election to the Patriarchate of Gennadius, a zealous member of the orthodox party and a violent opponent of the Latins. The ceremony of installation took place on the 1st of June, and the procession passed through streets still stained with blood. The Sultan, adopting the ancient custom of the Byzantine Emperors, delivered a golden staff to the newly-elected Patriarch, in token of investiture. The last traces of the Union were thus obliterated in the great Turkish Empire. Henceforth it survived only in Lithuania and Poland, in some Mediterranean Islands subject to the Latin rule, and in the isolated Greek communities in Italy, Hungary, and Sclavonia. The Sultan jealously claimed for himself all privileges enjoyed by the Emperors, especially the power of granting confirmation and investiture to the Patriarchs, and it soon became the custom for each Patriarch to pay a considerable sum of money for his investiture, and thus to purchase his high dignity from the infidel ruler. As time went on, other Turkish magnates also received tribute from the Patriarch; money was the only means of obtaining anything at the Porte, and yet its magic power was not always a certain defence from bitter humiliations, from ill-treatment and plunder. Turkish despotism and Greek corruption brought the Patriarchate to the lowest depths of degradation to which the head of a Church with such a history could fall.

The tidings of the great victory of the Turks over the "Christian dogs" were borne on the wings of the wind throughout the East. Success was now on the side of Mahomet II, and the consequences were more immediately disastrous there than in the West. The Oriental Christians at once felt the shock of the great blow which had fallen on their cause in the Bosphorus. In their first panic the whole population of these districts thought of nothing but speedy flight, and flocked to the seaside in order to embark for the West, on the first appearance of the Turkish flag. Slowly but surely was the way prepared for the complete closing up and barbarizing of the glorious lands bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. No pause in the victorious advance of the Turks was to be expected, although for a time the Sultan retired with his army to Adrianople, and sent his fleet to the harbours of the Asiatic shore.

Soon indeed it became clear that, not content with victory on land, the Porte aspired to supremacy in the Archipelago and the Black Sea. Mahomet II spared no pains to create a formidable fleet, and Constantinople and Gallipoli afforded him every facility for his operations. No resource remained to the terrified Christians on these shores but to purchase the permission to exist by the payment of a heavy tribute. The Sultan was not slow to take advantage of their distress. On his return to Adrianople he announced to the ambassadors, who came to congratulate him, that for the future Chios must pay six thousand instead of four thousand ducats, and Lesbos three thousand as a tribute. Thomas and Demetrius, the cowardly Byzantine despots of the Peloponesus, who had meditated flight to Italy, laid a present of a thousand gold pieces at his feet, and received in return empty promises of peace and friendship. The Emperor of Trebizond was required by the Porte to pay the annual tribute of two thousand gold pieces for himself and the neighbouring shores of the Black Sea, and also to appear at an appointed time every year in the Sultan's Court. The despot of Servia had to purchase Mahomet's good will by a tribute of twelve thousand ducats a year.

It would be difficult to describe the terror of Western Christendom on learning that "the centre of the old world and the bulwark which protected European civilization from Asiatic barbarism" had fallen into the hands of the infidels. Men felt the event to be a turning point in the history of the world. In the downfall of the Byzantine Empire, which united Eastern Europe with Asia, and which had been so instrumental in the civilization of the Slavonic races, the ruin of all that the first great medieval period had accomplished was begun. The Christian conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 was tardily avenged by the foundation of a Turkish Empire on European soil, which had the effect of paralyzing the whole political system of Europe. All common action on the part of Christian nations was crippled, and Stamboul became that smouldering centre of discord which it still continues to be in the Eastern question of the present day. In face of the constant danger from the Turks the reforms, social as well as ecclesiastical, so urgently needed by Christendom, were neglected, and the Holy Roman Empire, second only in prestige to that of Byzantium, was drawn into the vortex of revolution.

"The Kingdom of Mahomet II" according to a modern historian, "was for the first time thoroughly consolidated by the conquest of that magnificent central position uniting the great lines of communication between the Adriatic and Mesopotamia, and Belgrade and Alexandria, and carrying with it the sovereignty of the Empire of the Caesars and the Constantines. The magnitude and danger of the Eastern question dates from this event".

The Republic of Venice was the first among the Western powers to learn that Constantinople had fallen, and that the bravest of the Palaeologi had died a hero's death. The tidings came on the 29th June, when the great Council was sitting; Luigi Bevazan, the Secretary of the Council of Ten, read the letters in which the Castellano of Modone and the Bailo of Negroponte announced the calamity. The consternation and grief which overpowered all present were so great that no one ventured to ask for a copy of the terrible news.

From Venice it soon spread in all directions. On the 30th June the Signoria sent word to the Pope, adding that they deemed it likely that His Holiness would have already heard of the disaster by some other means.

On the 8th July it was known in Rome. The celebrated preacher, Fra Roberto of Lecce, told the populace, who broke out into loud lamentations. As it was a long time before any other accounts arrived to confirm those received from Venice, and as

Constantinople was known to be well-provisioned, many persons both in Rome and Genoa considered them to be false. Later on some maintained that the city had been reconquered in a marvellous manner. "This", wrote Cardinal d'Estouteville, on the 19th July, "is possible but not probable". The consternation at Rome was increased by a report that the Papal ships had been captured by the infidels, and that the Turks were preparing, with a fleet of three hundred vessels, to follow up the conquest of New Rome by that of the ancient city.

All writers agree in stating that the Pope and the Cardinals were overwhelmed at the tidings of the fate of Constantinople. The dominant feeling, however, in the mind of Nicholas V and throughout the West was rather apprehension of further advances of the infidels than pity for the Greeks, who, by their dishonesty in regard of the Union and by the hatred which they never failed to manifest for the Latins had alienated the sympathy of the rest of Christendom. Moreover, the rich Greeks had been as unwilling to make material sacrifices for the defence of their metropolis as they were to put aside their animosity. The well-informed chronicle of Bologna expressly attributes the fall of Constantinople to their avarice in not furnishing money for the payment of the troops, and St. Antoninus of Florence declares that in the year 1453, the Pope was extremely indignant at their again beseeching the impoverished Italians to give them pecuniary aid, although themselves possessed of hoards of wealth which would have amply sufficed to pay for troops.

The Pope's first measure on hearing of the calamity was to despatch legates to the different Italian powers in order to put an end to the internecine wars which raged amongst them. The excellent Cardinal Capranica accordingly left Rome for Naples on the 18th of July, and two days later Cardinal Carvajal started on his mission to Florence, Venice, and the camp of the Duke of Milan. Nicholas V also ordered five triremes to be equipped at Venice at his expense (the cost amounted to seventeen thousand three hundred and fifty-two Venetian gold ducats); and the Genoese, Angelo Ambrogini was sent with three galleys to the Greek waters. He found the Mediterranean already swarming with Turkish ships, and had great difficulty in making his escape.

On the 30th September the Pope addressed a Bull of Crusade to Christendom in general. In it he declared Sultan Mahomet to be a forerunner of anti-Christ, and to restrain his diabolical arrogance called upon all Christian princes to defend the faith with their lives and their money, reminding them of their Coronation Oath. A plenary Indulgence was granted to everyone who should for six months, from the 1st February of the following year (1454), personally take part in the holy war, or send a substitute. Every warrior was, as in former times, to wear the cross on his shoulder. The Church aided the cause by contributing money. The Apostolic exchequer devoted to the Crusade all the revenues which it received from greater or smaller benefices, from archbishoprics, bishoprics, convents, and abbeys. The cardinals and all the officials of the Roman Court were to give the tenth part of their whole income, and anyone who should be guilty of fraud or fail to pay this tenth was to be excommunicated and deprived of his post. A tithe was also imposed on Christendom at large under pain of excommunication, and anyone who should treacherously provide the infidels with arms, provisions, or materials of war was to be severely punished. Furthermore, that the undertaking might not in any way be hindered, the Pope, acting under the authority of Almighty God, determined and commanded that there should be peace throughout the Christian world. Prelates and dignitaries of the Church were authorized to mediate between contending parties, and, if possible, effect a reconciliation. In any case a truce was to be concluded. The refractory were to be punished by excommunication, or, in the

case of whole communities proving obstinate, by interdict. "Western Europe", to quote the words of the historian of Bohemia, "now witnessed a renewal of the scenes which had taken place at the beginning of the Hussite war. Missioners were preaching, distributing crosses and indulgences, collecting tithes, holding popular assemblies, and promoting warlike preparations, but the indifference was greater, and the results smaller than they had previously been, for the institutions and symbols which had once been able to inflame the world with ardent zeal in the cause of the Holy Sepulchre and the Promised Land had now but little power over men's minds." The states of Europe were too much divided and too much occupied with their own internal affairs to rise up and unite in resisting the Turk. The great political unity of the Middle Ages was broken, Christendom as a corporate body had ceased to exist. Clear-sighted contemporaries were fully alive to the melancholy fact. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini bitterly complained that Christendom had no longer a head who could command general obedience. "People", he says, "neither give to the Pope what is the Pope's, nor to the Emperor what is the Emperor's. Respect and obedience are nowhere to be found. Pope and Emperor are considered as nothing but proud titles and splendid figure-heads. Each State has its particular Prince, and each Prince his particular interest. What eloquence could avail to unite so many discordant and hostile powers under one banner? And if they were assembled in arms, who would venture to assume the general command? What tactics are to be followed? What discipline is to prevail? How is obedience to be secured? Who is to be the shepherd of this flock of nations? Who understands the many utterly different languages, and is able to control and guide the varying manners and characters? What mortal could reconcile the English with the French, the Genoese with the men of Aragon? If a small number go to the Holy War they will be overpowered by the infidel, and if great hosts proceed together, their own hatred and confusions will be their ruin. There is difficulty everywhere. Only look at the state of Christendom." Under these circumstances Hungary, whose danger was the most imminent, had to undertake alone the war with the terrible enemy.

The decision arrived at by the Parliament assembled at Buda in January, 1454, corresponded to the urgency of the case. The celebrated Hunyadi was chosen General for a year, and a summons was issued declaring that not merely the landed proprietors, great and small, but also the Prelates were bound to perform military service. Nobles who, without adequate cause, should leave the camp were to be punished by the confiscation of their property, and commoners by death. Nevertheless, Hunyadi could not but see that his army was far too weak to gain complete success.

After Hungary the Republic of Venice was undoubtedly the power exposed to greatest danger. The Sultan had offered her a direct insult by causing the Venetian Bailo at Constantinople to be executed, and imprisoning upwards of five hundred Venetian subjects. Added to this was the serious loss of merchandise, estimated by Sanudo at two hundred thousand ducats. Immediately on receiving tidings of the fall of Constantinople, Cardinal Bessarion had addressed an urgent letter to Francesco Foscari, the Doge, calling upon him to defend the cause of Christendom. If we may credit Filelfo the appeal was not in vain. He says that the Doge made an impressive speech, declaring that no time was to be lost, but that hostilities with the Turks ought at once to be commenced in order to avenge the affronts offered to the Republic at Constantinople.

During the consultations at Venice, however, the opinion that every effort should be made to arrive at some kind of understanding with the Sultan prevailed. The threatening attitude of Milan, solicitude for the five hundred captives, the increasing financial difficulties of the Republic and the mercantile interests which overruled

everything, all tended to confirm this decision. The merchants well knew what the fall of Constantinople implied; they were perfectly aware that their rich possessions in the East were in the most serious danger, and that the Italian Peninsula itself might next be imperilled. Yet, with their usual short-sighted egotism, their first thought was to save anything that might at this critical moment be saved, to gain an undue advantage over all other naval powers by securing the favour of the Porte, and to maintain their mercantile importance at the high point which it had reached before the catastrophe at Constantinople.

We cannot, therefore, be surprised to find that the words of the Papal Legate fell upon deaf ears. Instead of beginning the holy war, the Signoria recognized the peace which formally existed with the Sultan, and employed Bartolomeo Marcello to open negotiations for the release of the captive Venetians and the renewal of friendly relations with the Porte, and also to prepare the way for the conclusion of a commercial treaty. Jacopo Loredano was in the meantime sent with twelve galleys to protect Negroponte.

Marcello was successful in his mission, and on the 18th April, 1454, concluded a treaty with the ruler of the infidels, which served as a basis for all subsequent relations between Venice and the Porte. The first paragraph of this shameful compact runs as follows: — "Between Sultan Mahomet and the Signoria of Venice, including all its present and future possessions, as far as the banner of St. Mark floats, henceforth, as formerly, there is peace and friendship". Another article expressly lays down that Venice shall not in any way, by ships, weapons, provisions, or money, support the Sultan's enemies in their undertakings against the Turkish kingdom. "And thus", indignantly exclaims the historian of Turkey, "the Republic of Venice was the first Christian power which, after the fall of Constantinople, neglected all other considerations, and, simply for its own advantage, entered into a treaty of peace with the Sultan, and secured for itself freedom of commerce throughout the whole Turkish Empire and the right of employing its own representatives to look after the interests of its subjects settled there.

It cannot be said that the Signoria was unconscious of the shameful nature of this proceeding, for, before the conclusion of peace with the Sultan, it addressed a somewhat confused letter of apology to Nicholas V.

The Republic of Genoa, which, next to Venice, was the naval power of Italy most interested in Eastern affairs, also endeavoured to enter into friendly alliance with the Sultan. The tidings of the fall of Constantinople had caused unexampled alarm and discouragement amongst her inhabitants, and here, as elsewhere, many had clung to the hope that they were false. It was at once decided in Council that all available ships should be made ready, that ambassadors should immediately go to King Alfonso, and that if the terrible report were confirmed, an envoy should be sent to all States of Christendom to bring about a general peace, inasmuch as the loss of the whole of the Levant and of the Archipelago appeared in such a case to be imminent.

But these good resolutions ended the matter, and the Genoese, weakened by internal dissensions and by the war with Naples, took no decisive step; indeed, in their utter helplessness and despondency they would have nothing more to do with their possessions on the Black Sea, and on the 15th November, 1453, made them over by a formal contract to the Bank of St. George. This great financial company, which by its immense pecuniary resources, the well-known rectitude and solidity of its administration, its considerable landed possessions, and its widely extended foreign

connections, had acquired the position of a State within the State, seemed alone able to accomplish that which the exhausted Republic could no longer undertake. But even the Bank of St. George was unable to prevent Caffa, the chief emporium on the Black Sea, from becoming tributary to the Porte.

The cause of the crusade found no better support from King Alfonso of Naples than from the Republics of Venice and Genoa. This crafty politician was, indeed, lavish of fair words, and in the spring of 1454 he seemed ready to come forward as the champion of Italy and the avenger of the terrible disgrace which the conquest of Constantinople had brought upon Christendom. By his example, he wrote to the Cardinals, he hoped to incite the other Christian princes to an expedition which should drive the Turks completely out of Europe. But his professions were not followed by action. He cared for nothing but his own exaltation and that of his dynasty, and never struck a single blow for the defence of Christendom.

The conduct of the Duke of Milan was equally unworthy. Delighted to see his enemies, the Venetians, fully occupied by Eastern affairs he caused his troops to advance into the territory of Brescia. This circumstance must be taken into account in extenuation of the attitude of the Venetian Republic.

The Republic of Florence, allied as it was with the Duke of Milan in opposition to Venice and Naples, shared his sentiments. From reliable sources we learn the almost incredible fact that in the blind hatred of Venice the Florentines viewed the terrible blow dealt to the Christian cause in the East with satisfaction. Nicodemus of Poutremoli, Francesco Sforza's Ambassador to Florence, when announcing the disaster, wrote: "I also wish that it may go ill with the Venetians, but not in this manner to the detriment of the Christian faith. I doubt not that your feeling is the same. Would to God that Pope Nicholas had built less and had believed me! How often have I told him that, besides its other innumerable advantages, the pacification of Italy would greatly tend to the honour of His Holiness".

While the Italians, to quote the words of a contemporary chronicler, were thus tearing each other to pieces like dogs, most of the other Western States held aloof from the proposed crusade. None of them, indeed, openly refused assistance; on the contrary, all the princes formally professed themselves ready to take part in the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, but when it came to the point not one was prepared to act. Aeneas Sylvius openly admits that nothing was to be expected from the northern kingdoms. England was a prey to perpetual civil wars, and Nicholas V vainly endeavoured to restore her to peace and unity. We shall have to relate the utter failure of the crusading projects of the powerful Duke Philip of Burgundy, and all through the great kingdom of France the Pope's summons was almost unheeded. The French King, Charles VII, had not even deigned to answer Filolfo, who, before the fall of Constantinople, submitted to him the plan of an expedition. The Emperor Frederick III, who, according to the medieval view, was above all other princes bound to defend the Christian cause, was not, as the following pages will show, the man to make up his mind to such an undertaking. Portugal was perhaps the only power, with the exception of Hungary, which made serious preparations for war against the infidels. Its King, Alfonso, promised to maintain twelve thousand soldiers at his own expense for a year, and at a considerable cost and amid many complaints from his people made ready for action, but obstacles of various kinds made it impossible for him to accomplish his purpose.

The words-which Aeneas Sylvius had written to the Pope were but too true; discord was rampant in Europe, and the different nations hardly ventured to move



against the common foe of Christendom. Moreover, the tranquillity of the past months had persuaded them that the danger which threatened from the East was not so imminent as it had seemed in the first shock of the catastrophe. The Papal summons to the Holy War failed to evoke a sympathetic response throughout Europe, and it became evident that the bond which in the great medieval ages held princes and peoples together had grown slack.

## CHAPTER IV.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE IN ITALY— THE CRUSADE IN GERMANY  
— SICKNESS AND DEATH OF THE POPE

While consultations were being held throughout Western Christendom as to the means of repelling Turkish aggression, a cause for which no one was ready to make any real sacrifice, envoys arrived from Cyprus and Rhodes. They implored assistance, bearing witness to the magnitude of the peril which threatened Europe, and unanimously asserting that no cessation of Turkish hostilities was to be expected. These envoys were accompanied by Cardinal Isidore of Russia, some Franciscans of Bologna, and a few other Italians, who had escaped from the massacre at Constantinople or from bondage among the infidels. The Cardinal, more fortunate than Cesarini, had escaped the terrible massacre which followed the victory of the Turks, by dressing a corpse in his own clothes and taking those of the dead man. Unrecognized in this disguise, he had been captured and sold as a slave, but at length succeeded in making his escape, at first at the Peloponesus, and thence to Venice, where he arrived in the end of November, 1453, as one returned from the dead. He and the Franciscans were the first to make known the full details of the catastrophe of the 29th May, 1453.

Cardinal Isidore gave a terrible account of the cruelties practised by the Turks, and declared that they were determined to conquer Italy. The danger was, he believed, imminent, and the necessity for the union of Christians imperative. He thought the forces at the Sultan's command more numerous than those of Caesar, Alexander, or any other conqueror, and the pecuniary resources at his disposal to be equally enormous. The Turkish fleet already consisted of two hundred and thirty ships, the cavalry was thirty thousand strong, and there seemed to be no limit to the numbers by which the infantry might be increased. Calabria would probably be the spot selected for the first incursion of the infidels, and it was possible that Venice might also be attacked. According to the report of the Sieneese ambassador in Venice, the Cardinal was firmly persuaded that unless within six months peace was restored another year and half would see the Turks in Italy.

It was evident that serious measures against the Turks could not be contemplated until concord had been re-established in the Italian peninsula, and accordingly Nicholas summoned the ambassadors of all the Italian powers to a Peace Congress in Rome. The matter was pressing, and the Pope's messengers were despatched in all haste towards the close of September. About a month later the ambassadors began to appear in the Eternal City. On the 24th of October, 1453, envoys from the Republic of Florence and Venice arrived; the latter were specially charged to excuse the Signoria for their negotiations with the Turks.

The Duke of Milan, who believed that the Venetians were merely endeavouring to gain time for fresh warlike preparations, reluctantly resolved to take part in the Congress. The delay of his ambassadors created a most unfavourable impression in Rome, and the Pope and his cardinals bitterly complained of Francesco Sforza. On the 10th November the long-expected envoys at length arrived, and business accordingly could begin. The despatches which have come down to us regarding this Congress are unfortunately of a very fragmentary character, and those of the Venetian and Neapolitan envoys are altogether wanting. It is, therefore, impossible to give a clear account of these complicated proceedings, but there can be no doubt that the greatest difficulties arose in the way of a satisfactory settlement. All parties, indeed, were profuse in professions, but when their proposals were brought forward it became evident that the pretensions of each Power were so extravagant as to render the restoration of peace almost hopeless.

King Alfonso of Naples demanded from the Florentines the repayment of the sums which the war had cost him; the latter, far from being disposed to pay anything, called upon the King to deliver up to them Castiglione della Pescaja in the Maremma. The Venetians insisted that Sforza, for whose assassination they had, on the 14th September, 1453, promised a hundred thousand ducats, should restore all his conquests in the territories of Brescia and Bergamo, evacuate Cremona, and consider the banks of the Po and the Adda as the boundary of his States. Sforza, however, instead of making any concession to the Republic of St. Mark, asked that Crema, Bergamo, and Brescia should be restored to him. He had not the least intention of concluding peace so quickly, and his ambassadors complained of the pretensions of Naples and Venice to rule over Tuscany and Lombardy. Each one of the hostile powers brought violent accusations against his adversary before the Pope. The envoy of the Marquess of Mantua assured Nicholas that Venice, if victorious, would strive to make the Pope her chaplain, adding that his master would rather fall into the hands of the Turks than into those of the Venetians!

If anything had been wanting to render a favourable result of the Congress impossible, the deficiency was supplied by Nicholas. He had already endeavoured secretly to foment the dissensions of the other Italian powers, with the object of diverting hostilities from his own dominions and securing for them alone the blessing of peace, and to this line of policy he continued to adhere. Impossible as it is to justify the Pope's conduct, we nevertheless take into account the circumstances which partially excuse it. Had the States of the Church been involved in the conflicts of the period, all that he had accomplished at immense cost, and by the labour of years, in the hope of making Rome the centre of art and of learning, would have been undone. This idea took such possession of his mind that all other considerations had to give way. Moreover, the relations which existed between him and King Alfonso of Naples were of a character unfavourable to the success of the Congress. The King did everything in his power to complicate the negotiations and hinder Nicholas from taking any step which might have tended to peace. If we may credit the ambassador of Francesco Sforza, Alfonso, even in the month of July, had threatened to ally himself with the revolutionary party in Rome in the event of the Pope adopting a policy at variance with his wishes. The monarch had supporters in the Court, his influence over the timid Pontiff had for years been excessive, and Nicholas yielded unduly, carrying on the negotiations, as even his eulogist Manetti admits, in a lukewarm and indifferent manner. The state of his health no doubt had much to do with his timidity; at the end of August he was ill, and in December he was confined to his bed with so severe an attack of gout that for a long

time even the Cardinals were not admitted to his presence. After a short period of improvement, the malady returned at the end of January with fresh intensity, and for fully a fortnight Nicholas V was again unable to grant any audiences. A secret Consistory, which had been fixed for the 29th January, 1454, had, on account of the Pope's condition, to be held in his bedroom. The reports of the Florentine ambassadors enable us accurately to follow the history of Nicholas's illness. After announcing on the 6th of February that the Pope was again holding receptions, they had, five days later, to say that the gout had returned. In the beginning of March they speak of a fresh attack, and so it went on, for he never again rose from his sick bed. Can we wonder that in the midst of such suffering, and oppressed by ceaseless anxieties, he had not sufficient energy for vigorous and determined action?

The Congress finally arrived at the end which had been foreseen. On the 19th March, 1454, the Sieneſe ambassadors announced to their Republic the utter failure of the negotiations, and on the 24th the Florentine envoys left Rome; the assembly effected nothing, and its members parted in mutual dissatisfaction.

A simple Augustinian friar, Fra Simonetto of Camerino, accomplished that which the Congress had been unable to effect. The Venetians, whose finances were exhausted, and who were in need of peace, sent him as a secret messenger to Francesco Sforza to treat with him personally and lay fair proposals before him. The unquiet state of Sforza's own camp made him willing to accede to these, and Cosmo de' Medici, who alone was in the secret, favoured the negotiations. He knew that the intolerable burden of taxation was causing increasing discontent among the Florentines, and that there was a general longing for peace throughout the city. Francesco Contarini, the Venetian ambassador to Siena during the years 1454 and 1455, repeatedly informs the Signoria of the general feeling which prevailed at Florence. "The citizens", he writes in April, 1454, "had raised a great outcry against the new taxes, and used strong language against Cosmo and the others who desired war".

Fra Simonetto's negotiations were brought to a conclusion at Lodi on the 9th April, 1454, when Sforza agreed to restore to the Venetians all his conquests in the territories of Bergamo and Brescia, with the exception of a few castles, only laying down the condition that those who had espoused his cause should remain unpunished. The Duke of Savoy and the Marquess of Montferrat were, if they desired to share in the benefits of peace, to deliver up the places which they had taken in Novara, Pavia and Alessandria; in the event of their refusal the Duke of Milan held himself free to recover them by force. The Lords of Corregio and the Venetians were to give back to the Marquess of Mantua the part of his territory which they had annexed, and he was to restore to his brother Carlo his inheritance; finally the Castle of Castiglione della Pescaja in Tuscany, which King Alfonso had conquered, was to be retained by him on condition that he should withdraw his army from the rest of the Florentine States. All the Italian powers were called upon to give in their adhesion to the peace within an appointed time if they desired to partake of its benefits.

The peace of Lodi did not at once produce the effects expected by the States, which were longing for tranquillity. Venice and Milan had kept the matter so secret that, with the exception of Florence, no power had been aware of what was going on. Accordingly the announcement that a treaty had been concluded on the 9th April was a surprise to all, and especially to King Alfonso of Naples. He had hitherto imagined that, as the most important of Italian princes, he could at his will impose peace, and now found himself treated as a secondary power, and invited to subscribe to an agreement framed without his knowledge. He expressed his indignation in no measured terms to

the Venetian Ambassador, Giovanni Moro, and endeavoured, as it proved, in vain, to hinder his allies, the Sienese, from becoming parties to it.

On the 30th August Venice, Milan, and Florence entered into a League for five-and-twenty years for the defence of their States against every attack, but Alfonso, in his anger, held aloof for nearly a year, and tedious negotiations, prolonged by dread of France, ensued. The Pope, who had at first resented his exclusion from the compact of Lodi, brought these to a happy conclusion by sending Cardinal Capranica, the most distinguished among the members of the Sacred College, to Naples as his legate, with the special mission of persuading Alfonso to join the League. The Cardinal was successful, and, on the 30th December, 1454, Sforza was informed by his ambassadors at Naples that the King had determined publicly to proclaim peace, and to enter into the alliance on the approaching Feast of the Epiphany. "On the Feast of the Epiphany, when the solemnity of the Three Kings takes place, Alfonso, after the example of those Three Kings who offered Gold, Frankincense, and Myrrh, will bring as an offering to God — first, peace for all Italy; secondly, the League for greater quiet and security; and thirdly, the League against the enemy of Jesus Christ for the defence of our holy Faith. On that day the Papal Legate will celebrate Mass, and this holy Peace, the League and Alliance will be proclaimed, if God permit and your Highness consent". The peace was, however, actually confirmed by the Neapolitan Monarch on the 26th January, 1455, but with the condition that the Genoese, whose ancient offences Alfonso could not pardon, and Sigismondo Malatesta, who had deceived him, should be excluded from it. By a further compact the Pope, Naples, Florence, Venice, and Milan bound themselves by an offensive and defensive alliance for five-and-twenty years. The Pope ratified this great Italian League on the 25th February, 1455, and it was solemnly published in Rome on the 2nd March. The happy event was celebrated with splendid festivities by the command of Nicholas V in that City and throughout the States of the Church.

There was good cause for these rejoicings, for now Italy might be considered as at peace, and the peace seemed likely to prove permanent. In Upper Italy, Milan and Venice, and in Lower Italy the Pope and the King of Naples counterbalanced each other. Florence was determined to maintain the political equilibrium, and never to join those who evidently desired to impair it. The eyes of all were anxiously turned towards the East. Many of the lesser princes were ardently devoted to the interests of art and learning, and the rest, if not exempt from the vices of tyrants, were at least capable of appreciating the general intellectual revival which distinguished the age. Venice, Genoa, and Florence, with their rich commerce, were naturally averse to the continuance of war. Accordingly with Fra Simonetto's peace begins the most flourishing period of the Italian Renaissance. King Alfonso, Duke Francesco Sforza, Cosmo de Medici and the Republic of Venice, together with Pope Nicholas V, constituted the intellectual aristocracy of Italy, and the lesser princes followed them.

While the negotiations for the pacification of Italy were thus successful, the deliberations which took place in the Holy Roman Empire in 1454 and 1455 regarding the means of defending Europe from the Turk came to little good. It soon became sadly evident that the solidarity of Christendom as opposed to Islam had ceased to exist.

Frederick III had summoned a great diet to meet at Ratisbon on St. George's Day (23rd April), 1454, "to deliberate concerning the defensive and offensive measures to be taken against the enemies of Christ in order that these should be punished, the sufferings of the martyrs avenged, the friends of God and Christian men consoled, and the faith upheld in an honourable and suitable manner, since all those who help this cause

become partakers of the grace of God in the Papal indulgence for the health of their souls and obtain everlasting life."

Frederick III promised himself to be present unless prevented by some special hindrance. The imperial letter of invitation was addressed, not merely to the German States, but to all princes and republics of Christian Europe, so that it was generally supposed that a Congress of Christendom, like the Council of Constance, was about to assemble. But when the time drew near the disappointment was immense. The Emperor did not come in person, but only sent a representative. The Pope sent Bishop John of Pavia as his legate, and an embassy came from Savoy, but otherwise the Italian powers were unrepresented. The only foreign prince who came to Ratisbon was the Duke of Burgundy, and of all the many princes of Germany none but the Margrave Albert Achilles of Brandenburg and Duke Louis of Bavaria appeared. Stranger still, no one came on behalf of the young King of Bohemia, for whom the help of Christendom had been in a special manner invoked. In February there was a prospect of his presence at the Diet, but intrigues among those about him probably kept him away. In Buda a plan was made for the removal of Hunyadi from the government, in view of his appointment as General of the whole Christian forces against the Turks; but there is no doubt that the real object of this scheme was to keep him at a distance.

The empire never appeared to less advantage than at this Diet, and the result of the Emperor's appeal was all the more deplorable at a moment when the nation was in a state of anxious and alarmed expectation. The intestine divisions of Germany, and the weakness of its ruler, were patent to all, and we cannot wonder that even the fiery eloquence of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini failed to bring the Diet to any important decision. It was merely resolved that peace should be maintained in all countries, and that about Michaelmas another, and, if it pleased God, a more numerous and effective assembly should be held. In the event of the Emperor appearing in person, Nuremberg was selected as the place of meeting, otherwise it was to be Frankfort. The blustering Duke of Burgundy declared that if the other princes would likewise take part in the expedition he would proceed against the Turks with a force of sixty thousand men. The Diet assembled at Frankfort-on-Maine in October, 1454, was somewhat more numerous than that of Ratisbon. Albert of Brandenburg, together with the Margrave of Baden, represented the Emperor; Aeneas Sylvius and the Bishop of Gurk appeared as his ambassadors; the Bishop of Pavia, who was engaged in the collection of the ecclesiastical tithes in Germany, was commissioned to act as the Pope's plenipotentiary; Jakob of Treves and Dietrich of Mayence alone of the German electors were present; Archduke Albert, who arrived after the proceedings had commenced, was the only one of the temporal princes to answer the summons. A tone of drowsy indifference characterized the Diet. Many of its members openly expressed their aversion to a crusade, and their contempt for Emperor and Pope. Both of these lords, they said, "merely want to extort money from us, but they will find themselves mistaken, and learn that we are not so simple as they imagine". The discourses of Capistran and of Aeneas Sylvius, and the urgent prayers of the Hungarian envoys, were powerless to evoke any zeal for the common cause of the West. "The lords had no good will in the matter", says a chronicler. The energy and exertions of the Margrave of Brandenburg alone saved the deliberations of the Diet from complete failure, and at least kept up a respectable appearance". A German force of thirty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry was to be sent the following year to assist the Hungarians, but it was necessary that a fleet should at the same time proceed against the Turks from the Italian ports. The fleet was to be provided by the Pope, the King of Naples, and the

Republics of Venice and Genoa, while the Emperor was to come to an agreement with the German princes at Vienna to furnish the land forces. The Diet of Vienna accordingly was the consequence of that of Frankfort, which in its turn had been the result of one held at Ratisbon. The witty saying of Aeneas Sylvius, in the year 1444, that the German Diets could not be accused of sterility, since each was the parent of a new one, was thus again verified.

The Vienna Diet was even more pitiful than its predecessors. The Empire was so scantily represented that practically it consisted only of the Emperor himself and the Electoral College. Its leader and ruler was the crafty Jakob of Treves; he personally represented four electors, and the others were his puppets. They came, commissioned to evade the Turkish question, and to urge on the Emperor their projects of reform; and, notwithstanding the speeches made by Aeneas Sylvius, Capistran and Johannes Vitez of Zredna the proxy for King Ladislas, adhered to their purpose. Vexatious explanations ensued, and the Turkish question remained unsettled. On the 12th April the tidings of the death of Nicholas V arrived, and were far from unwelcome to this miserable assembly, furnishing, as they did, a decent pretext for the departure of its members, who agreed to put off to the following year further consultations regarding the crusade.

The health of Nicholas V had always been indifferent. Even as a boy he had dangerous illnesses, and there can be no doubt that the fatigues and privations of his youth, as well as the wearing labours of his maturer years, had told on his weakly constitution. His nervous anxiety about his health is thus easily accounted for. The pressure of work and of care had been greatly increased from the time that he wore the tiara, yet, during the earlier years of his pontificate, he seems to have enjoyed a fair amount of health and to have displayed immense energy.

In the year 1450 we hear that a sudden and severe illness attacked Nicholas V at Tolentino, and that his physician, the celebrated Baverio Bonetti of Imola, had no hopes of his life. Nevertheless, the Pope very soon recovered, but in December of the same year he again fell ill, and from this time forth he never seems to have been really well. A great change was remarked in his disposition; his former expansiveness gave place to excessive reserve. Francesco Sforza's ambassador, Nicodemus, whom we have often mentioned, wrote, on the 7th January, 1453, to the Duke, that during the previous year an extraordinary change had taken place in the Pope, and that one of its causes was his sickness.

The year 1453 was in every way a disastrous one to Nicholas V. It opened with Porcaro's conspiracy, and the tidings of the fall of Constantinople arrived when its course was half run. The account, which says that grief for this event killed Nicholas V, may be an exaggeration, yet there can be no doubt that the agitation and anxieties, which were its inevitable consequence, must have had a most injurious effect. The Pope had a bad attack of gout soon after Porcaro's conspiracy, and another before the year was over. From the end of August, 1453, until June, 1454, he was, with short intervals, confined to his bed, hardly ever able to give audiences and altogether incapable of taking part in the great feasts of the Church. In August, 1454, he was again suffering acutely from the gout, and the baths of Viterbo failed to give him any relief. In the early part of November he was afflicted with gout, fever, and other maladies, and the ambassadors contemplated the possibility of his decease. The sickness which was consuming the Pope's life manifested itself in his countenance, for his brilliantly clear complexion had become yellow and dark brown.

His physical sufferings were aggravated by disappointment and anxiety. From the beginning of his reign he had attached the greatest importance to the maintenance of peace in the States of the Church, and had been successful in re-establishing it. But from the time of Porcaro's conspiracy serious changes took place. Not only did the revolutionary party gain strength in Rome, but a dangerous agitation prevailed throughout the States of the Church. "The whole of the States of the Church are in commotion", writes Contarini, the Venetian ambassador in Siena, on the 14th May, 1454, "and messengers are sent from all sides, especially from the Marches to Rome". Troops of disbanded soldiers, who had taken part in the war of Lombardy, overran the defenceless country. The Pope was soon convinced that many, even among his own people, were unworthy of confidence. The auditor of the governor of the patrimony of St. Peter was imprisoned as a suspicious character.

Towards the end of the reign of Nicholas V great troubles broke out in the patrimony and the adjacent portion of Umbria. They originated in a quarrel between the cities of Spoleto and Norcia, in which Count Everso of Anguillara espoused the cause of Spoleto. The Pope, hoping to bring about a reconciliation between the hostile cities, forbade the Count to take part in the contest, and also endeavoured to hinder Spoleto from entering into an alliance with Everso. Neither party, however, heeded the Papal behest, and accordingly Nicholas was constrained to intervene with an armed force. Spoleto submitted, but the Count, aided by the treachery of Angelo Roncone, managed to escape. The Pope punished the traitor with death. Fresh tumults also occurred in Bologna.

The following spring brought no alleviation to the Pope's sufferings. From the beginning of March he grew daily worse; he was perfectly aware of his state, and, as we learn from the Milanese ambassador in a letter of the 7th March, spoke of the place where he wished to be buried, and seriously prepared for death. On the 15th of the month he received the sacrament of extreme unction; on the previous day he had ordered that briefs should be sent to the chief cities of the States of the Church, requiring them in all things to obey the Cardinals until God should give the Church a new Pope.

With a view of making a good preparation for death Nicholas V summoned to his presence Niccolo of Tortona and Lorenzo of Mantua, two Carthusians renowned for their learning and sanctity; these holy men were to assist him in his last hours, and accordingly were to remain constantly with him. Vespasiano da Bisticci has given us a minute description of the last days of the Pope. He tells us that Nicholas was never heard to complain of his acute physical sufferings. Instead of bewailing himself he recited Psalms and besought God to grant him patience and the pardon of his sins. In general his resignation and calm were remarkable. The dying man comforted his friends instead of needing to be comforted by them. Seeing Bishop John of Arras in tears at the foot of his bed he said to him, "My dear John, turn your tears to the Almighty God, whom we serve, and pray to Him humbly and devoutly that He will forgive me my sins; but remember that today in Pope Nicholas you see die a true and good friend". But the Pope also passed through moments of deep dejection, in which his terrible bodily sufferings and his anxieties regarding the disturbances in the States of the Church almost overwhelmed him. At such times he would assure the two Carthusian monks that he was the most unhappy man in the world. "Never", he said, "do I see a man cross my threshold who has spoken a true word to me. I am so perplexed with the deceptions of all those who surround me, that were it not for fear of failing in my duty I should long ago have renounced the Papal dignity. Thomas of Sarzana saw more friends in a day



than I do in a whole year". And then this Pope, whose reign was apparently so happy and so glorious, was moved even to tears.

As Nicholas felt that his last hour was close at hand, his vigorous mind roused itself once more. When the Cardinals had assembled around his dying bed he made the celebrated speech designated by himself as his will. He began by giving thanks to God for the many benefits conferred upon him, and then, in the manner which has already been related, justified his action in regard to the great amount of building which he had undertaken, adding the request that his work might be completed. He then spoke of his measures for the deliverance of Constantinople, because complaints had been raised against him by a great many superficial men unacquainted with the circumstances. After a retrospect of his early life and of the principal events of his Pontificate, Nicholas continued: "I have so reformed and so confirmed the Holy Roman Church, which I found devastated by war and oppressed by debts, that I have eradicated schism and won back her cities and castles. I have not only freed her from her debts, but erected magnificent fortresses for her defence, as, for instance, at Gualdo, Assisi, Fabriano, Civit& Castellana, at Narni, Orvieto, Spoleto, and Viterbo; I have adorned her with glorious buildings and decked her with pearls and precious stones. I have provided her with costly books and tapestry, with gold and silver vessels, and splendid vestments. And I did not collect all these treasures by grasping avarice and simony. In all things I was liberal, in building, in the purchase of books, in the constant transcription of Latin and Greek manuscripts, and in the remuneration of learned men. All this has been bestowed upon me by the Divine grace, owing to the continued peace of the Church during my Pontificate". The Pope concluded by exhorting all his hearers to labour for the welfare of the Church, the Bark of St Peter.

Then Nicholas raised his hands to heaven and said: "Almighty God, give the Holy Church a pastor who will uphold her and make her to increase. I also beseech you and admonish you as urgently as I can to be mindful of me in your prayers to the Most High". Then, with dignity, he raised his right hand and said, in a clear, distinct voice, "Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus". Soon after this Nicholas, whose eyes were to the last fixed on a crucifix, gave back his noble soul to Him whose place he had filled on earth.

"It was long", says Vespasiano da Bisticci, "since any Pope had passed in such manner into eternity. It was wonderful how he retained his perfect senses to the last. So died Pope Nicholas, the light and the ornament of God's Church and of his age."

Nicholas V was laid in St. Peter's, near the grave of his predecessor. The costly monument erected in his honour by Cardinal Calandrini was transferred in the time of St. Pius V to the Vatican grotto, where some parts of it are still to be seen. Here is also the modest effigy of the great Pope, with the four-cornered white marble urn which contains his mortal remains. His epitaph, composed by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, is the last by which any Pope was commemorated in verse.

#### EPITAPH ON NICHOLAS V.

Hie sita sunt Quinti Nicolai antistitis ossa,  
Aurea qui dederat saecula, Roma, tibi.  
Consilio illustris, virtute illustrior omni,  
Excoluit doctos, doctior ipse, viros.

Abstulit errorem quo schisma infecerat orbera,  
Restituit mores, moenia, templa, domos.  
Turn Bernardino statuit sua sacra Senensi,  
Sancta Jubilei tempora dum celebrat.  
Cinxit honore caput Friderici et conjugis aureo,  
Res Italas icto foedere composuit.  
Attica Romans complura volumina linguae  
Prodidit. Heu! tumulo fundite thura sacro.

## BOOK V

CALIXTUS III, THE CHAMPION OF CHRISTENDOM AGAINST ISLAM,  
1455-1458

## CHAPTER I.

ELECTION OF CALIXTUS III.— HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE  
RENAISSANCE— HIS CORONATION AND THE EMBASSIES SENT TO DO HIM  
HOMAGE.

FROM the beginning of March, 1455, by which time the death of Nicholas V was looked upon as imminent, the question of the Papal election engaged the attention of all parties in the Eternal City. On the 13th March we find that the Cardinals assembled in the greatest haste to take counsel regarding the situation. "God grant", wrote the Bishop of Chiusi to Siena, "that the election of the Supreme Pastor of the Church may take place in peace and without obstacle, a matter on which grave doubts here prevail".

These apprehensions were not groundless. Considerable agitation again prevailed in Rome; the republican antipapal party was astir, and it was fortunate that its gifted and eloquent leader, Porcaro, was no longer among the living. The masses became daily more and more turbulent, and the Cardinals prudently brought troops into the City. On the 24th March Nicodemus of Pontremoli, the Duke of Milan's ambassador, wrote as follows: — "The whole city is in an uproar, and the population are ripe for revolt". Another element of danger was added by the disturbances in Bologna and Romagna, stirred up by the Venetian Condottiere Jacopo Piccinino and other leaders, like himself thrown out of employment by the peace of Lodi.

After the death of Nicholas V, which took place in the Vatican in the night between the 24th and 25th of March, the ceremonies usual on such occasions were carried out, and meanwhile the Sacred College laboured unremittingly. Letters were

despatched to the rulers of all the cities in the States of the Church, exhorting them as "quiet, peaceable, good and devoted sons of the Church" to persevere in their wonted obedience, and at the same time the necessary preparations were made for the election of a new Pope. Everything was duly accomplished, so that on Thursday, April 3rd, the solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost was sung. The preliminaries had been hastened, because the next day was Good Friday. According to custom, a Prelate then delivered a Latin discourse to the Cardinals, exhorting them to give Christendom a worthy Supreme Pastor.

On the morning of the 4th April all the Cardinals present in Rome, preceded by the Papal Cross, went, while the Vent Creator Spiritus was sung, "peacefully and with great reverence and piety" from St. Peter's to the Chapel of the Vatican, in which the conclave was to be held. The adoration of the Cross customary on Good Friday and the exposition of the Holy Handkerchief had already taken place, and the conclave began that day. The custody of the place of election was entrusted to six Bishops, of which four were foreigners, and six laymen; pre-eminent among the latter were Pandolfo Savello, Marshal of the Church, and Nicodemus of Pontremoli, Francis Sforza's ambassador, a portion of whose admirable account of the proceedings of the conclave is still preserved in the State Archives at Milan.

At the death of Nicholas V, the Sacred College was composed of twenty members, of whom six were absent, namely, two Germans, Peter von Schaumburg, Bishop of Augsburg, and Nicholas of Cusa, the Hungarian, Dionysius Széchy, the Greek, Bessarion, Jean Rolin, Bishop of Autun, and Guillaume d'Estouteville, both of whom were French; the last mentioned had been for nearly a year acting as Legate in France, and did not return to Rome till the 12th of September, 1455. Of these six Cardinals, Bessarion alone was able to arrive in Rome in time for the election. The Sacred College accordingly assembled in Conclave to the number of fifteen members. Two of these, the noble Capranica, and the aged Prospero Colonna, had been created by Martin V; while five, namely, the learned and open-hearted Antonio de la Cerda, Latino Orsini, Alain, the former Bishop of Sitten, Guillaume d'Estaing, and Filippo Calandrini owed their elevation to Nicholas V. The remaining eight had been nominated by Eugenius IV on different occasions. Scarampo and Pietro Barbo, two men of diametrically opposite characters and purposes, occupied the most prominent position among the Cardinals.

Italy furnished but seven of the fifteen electors; these were Fieschi, Scarampo, Barbo, Orsini, Colonna, Capranica, and Calandrini; of the eight foreigners, two, Bessarion and Isidore, were Greeks; two, Alain and d'Estaing, French, and the remaining four, Torquemada, Antonio de la Cerda, Carvajal and Alfonso Borgia, Spaniards. But in the election of 1455, as in the previous one, nationality was of comparatively little account. The opposing factions of the Colonna and Orsini formed the centres of the different parties.

"The majority of the Cardinals were", Nicodemus of Pontremoli informs us, "at first inclined to favour the election of the Colonna Cardinal, who would no doubt have become Pope had Nicholas V died at the commencement of his illness. But its long continuance gave Cardinal Orsini time to counteract this feeling, and to enter into negotiations with the ambassadors of King Alfonso and of the Republic of Venice. Consequently — unless God should order otherwise — either Barbo or Scarampo will obtain the Papacy. The Orsini party, with the assistance of King Alfonso, is able to dispose of five votes, one of which would be absolutely required by the Colonna candidate to give him the necessary majority of two-thirds". According to another

despatch from the same ambassador, the wealthy, business-like Cardinal Orsini originally himself aspired to the tiara, and won over the Venetian ambassadors who lodged in his palace to his side; but in case his own hopes should be disappointed, he brought forward Cardinal Pietro Barbo, who subsequently became Paul II.

The two opposing parties adopted different modes of action. The Colonna sought to gain adherents by prudence and affability, while the Orsini strengthened their material power. The prospects of Cardinal Orsini seem to have been rapidly clouded, for on the 20th March, Nicodemus writes that Pietro Barbo is as likely as any other candidate to fill the Papal Throne.

An old Roman proverb declares that "he who enters the Conclave a Pope leaves it a Cardinal", and the truth of the saying was exemplified in the case of Pietro Barbo.

Regarding the proceedings in the Conclave, our information is derived from the report of Aeneas Sylvius, some scanty particulars in isolated despatches of ambassadors, and a notice in Vespasiano da Bisticci's work. From these authorities it appears that the Cardinals were greatly divided, and that three scrutinies failed to give any decided result. For a time it seemed as if Domenico Capranica, after Carvajal the most worthy among the members of the Sacred College, would be Pope. Christendom might, indeed, have been congratulated had the majority of votes been given to a Prince of the Church so distinguished for piety, learning, decision of character, and political ability. But Capranica was a Roman, and favourably disposed to the Colonna, and therefore unacceptable to many. The Colonna desired the election of an Italian, the Orsini that of a French Pontiff, and as neither party was able to carry the day, a neutral candidate was sought. In this capacity the learned Cardinal Bessarion had much to recommend him; as a born Greek, he had held aloof from Italian complications, he had no enemies, and was justly and generally esteemed for his learning and for his beneficent labours as Legate to Bologna. No one, moreover, seemed more likely to give a fresh impulse to the crusade than this distinguished representative of Greece. Eight Cardinals declared themselves in his favour, and on the Easter Sunday and Monday there was reason to think that he would be unanimously elected, and at once acclaimed Pope. Favours were asked of him as if the matter were already settled. Roberto Sanseverino, in a letter to the Duke of Milan, expressed his conviction that "if the Greek Cardinal had exerted himself more the tiara would have been his". According to the account given by Aeneas Sylvius it was Alain, the Cardinal of Avignon, who prevented the election of the great humanist, who would undoubtedly have carried on the work of Nicholas V. The French Cardinal represented to his colleagues that it was not becoming to place at the head of the Roman Church a neophyte, a Greek, who still wore his beard in Oriental fashion, and had but lately ceased to be a schismatic. These words seem scarcely credible, and the truth probably is, that the pride of some Italian Cardinals was wounded by the prospect of an Eastern, a member of the hated Greek nation, occupying the chair of St. Peter, while the worldly-minded amongst them, like Scarampo, dreaded Bessarion's austerity.

When this name had ceased to figure in the list of candidates, the former perplexity again returned. The crowds assembled in front of the Vatican grew impatient, and the ambassadors who kept watch over the Conclave were urgent for a decision, representing to the Cardinals the unsettled condition of Rome, and the danger threatened by Piccinino.

In this difficulty, each party being strong enough to hinder the election of the opposing candidate, and yet too weak to secure that of its own, the electors cast their

eyes upon a man who was not a member of the sacred college, the Minorite Antonio de Montefalcone, but he also failed to obtain the requisite majority of votes. Finally — as it were to postpone the contest — all agreed in electing an old man, whose life was almost at an end. Accordingly, mainly through the exertions of Scarampo and Alain, on the morning of the 8th April a Spanish Cardinal, the aged Alonso (Alfonso) de Borja (Borgia) was elected by accession, and took the name of Calixtus III. Those who had even before the beginning of the Conclave foretold that the discord of the Italians would result in the election of an "Ultramontane", now saw their predictions verified. Instead of Bessarion, the Greek humanist and philosopher, a Spanish canonist mounted the Papal throne.

No one had hitherto contemplated the elevation of Alfonso Borgia as a possibility, but when once it became known, a prophecy of St. Vincent Ferrer was called to mind. It was said that this Spanish Dominican, while preaching at Valencia, remarked a priest among the crowds who commended themselves to his prayers, and addressed him in the following words: "My son, I congratulate you; remember that you are called to be one day the ornament of your country and of your family. You will be invested with the highest dignity that can fall to the lot of man. I myself, after my death, shall be the object of your special honour. Endeavour to persevere in your virtuous course of life". The priest to whom the saint spoke was no other than Alfonso Borgia. From that moment, with the tenacity which belonged to his character, he had firmly believed in the prediction and frequently repeated it to his friends. Now that it had been accomplished, one of the first acts of his pontificate was to raise St. Vincent Ferrer to the altars, and his solemn canonization took place at Rome on the 29th June, 1455.

The old Catalan race of the Borja, or Borgia, as the Italians pronounced the name, had brought forth many remarkable men. Nature had been lavish in her gifts, and endowed them with beauty and strength, with intellect, skill, and that energy of will which compels fortune. Alfonso, who was no less gifted than the other members of his family, was born, at Xativa, in Valencia, on the last day of 1378, the year which witnessed the outbreak of the great schism. At a very early age he studied jurisprudence at the University of Lerida, and became a doctor of civil and canon law. Subsequently he successfully taught these subjects at Lerida, and was nominated to a canonry in the Cathedral of that city by Pedro de Luna, afterwards known as Benedict XIII. His relations with King Alfonso were the means of diverting Borgia from the career of learning on which he had entered. The monarch recognized his diplomatic capabilities and drew him into his service, where, as private secretary and confidential counsellor, he amply justified the trust reposed in him, displaying the greatest skill and activity in the conduct of ecclesiastical and political negotiations. Borgia also rendered important service to the Papacy in the time of Martin V, and the abdication of the anti-Pope Clement VIII was in great measure due to his exertions. The lawful Pope, Martin V, rewarded him in that very year by conferring on him the Bishopric of Valencia (1429).

As Bishop, Alfonso took part in the most important affairs of Church and State. In the reorganization of the kingdom of Naples, which had long been distracted by war and tumult, he rendered special services to King Alfonso, and the institution of the celebrated tribunal of Sta. Chiara was his work. His prudence and his spirit of perfect loyalty to Rome were manifested in the fact that he refused to act as Alfonso's ambassador to the Council of Basle, which was antagonistic to Pope Eugenius. He afterwards laboured most zealously to bring about a reconciliation between the King and the Pope, and, after it had been accomplished, was raised to the purple, and took his title from the picturesque old Basilica of the Quattro Incoronati which stands on a spur

of the northern Caelian hill. Alfonso could not but accede to the Pope's desire that he should remain at his Court, and he there gained the reputation of being incapable of flattery or party feeling. There was but one opinion in Rome regarding the moral purity, the integrity, the capacity for business, and the knowledge of canon law which distinguished the Cardinal of Valencia, as Alfonso was now commonly styled.

His health, unfortunately, was weak; severe study and unceasing activity had told upon his strength, and this circumstance, together with the familiar relations existing between him and King Alfonso, awakened considerable anxiety in Italy. The Republics of Venice, Florence, and Genoa were, as we learn from many contemporary letters, dissatisfied with the election, although their official documents expressed sentiments of a very different character.

The choice of a foreigner for the Papal dignity was a severe blow to the national feeling in Italy. It was by some even deemed probable that a great schism would break out, and that a number of Cardinals would leave the Papal Court, where, in the days immediately succeeding the election, Scarampo and Alain exercised an excessive influence. Fears were entertained, especially by the Republics, that the already too great influence of King Alfonso would be still further increased, and that the hated Catalans would be unduly promoted. The latter of these apprehensions was, as we shall see, but too well justified. But the idea that King Alfonso would now, through his former Secretary, rule the Holy See, happily proved unfounded.

Calixtus III was certainly regarded in Rome as a right-minded and just man. "The new Pope", wrote the Procurator of the Teutonic Order on the 3rd May, 1455, to the Grand Master, "is an old man of honourable and virtuous life and of excellent reputation". His previous life had been blameless. Austere towards himself, he was amiable and indulgent to others. As Bishop and as Cardinal he had declined all other preferment. The poor and needy never sought comfort and help from him in vain. The Sienese, Bartolommeo Michele, who had been previously acquainted with him, praised him in the highest terms. On the day after the election he wrote to his native city: "He is a man of great sanctity and learning, a friend and adherent of King Alfonso, in whose service he has been. He has always shown himself well disposed towards our city. His nature is peaceable and kindly". Michele, in this letter, exhorts the Sienese to send the most splendid embassy possible to Rome, and to select for it eminent and worthy men, inasmuch as the Pope was very clear-sighted and learned.

A letter addressed by St. Antoninus, the great Archbishop of Florence, to Giovanni, the son of Messer Domenico of Orvieto, in Pisa, gives a good idea of the fears awakened by the election of Calixtus, and of the favourable change in public opinion which soon took place in his regard. "The election of Calixtus III", says St. Antoninus, "at first gave little satisfaction to the Italians, and this for two reasons. First, inasmuch as he was a Valencian or Catalan, they felt some apprehension lest he might seek to transfer the Papal Court to another country. Secondly, they feared that he might confide the strongholds of the Church to Catalans, and that it might eventually be difficult to recover possession of them. But now the minds of men have been reassured by more mature reflection, and the reputation which he bears for goodness, penetration, and impartiality. Moreover, he has bound himself by a solemn promise — a copy of which I have seen — to devote all his powers, with the advice of the Cardinals, to the war against the Turks, and the conquest of Constantinople. It is not believed or said that he is more attached to one nation than to another, but rather that as a prudent and just man he will give to everyone his due. The Lord alone, whose providence rules the world, and especially the Church, and who in His infinite mercy brings good for her out

of evil, knows what will happen. Meanwhile we must always think well of the Holy Father, and judge his actions favourably, even more so than those of any other living being, and not be frightened by every little shock. Christ guides the bark of Peter, which, therefore, can never sink. Sometimes He seems to slumber in the storm: then must we wake Him with prayers and good works, of which there is much need".

The whole demeanour of Calixtus III was marked by great simplicity ; splendour and pomp were most distasteful to him. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini bears witness that he greatly surpassed his predecessor in the patience with which he gave audiences. He himself dictated the letters sent to Kings and to friends, and countersigned petitions with pleasure. He loved to converse upon legal matters, and was as familiar with laws and canons as if he had but just left the University. Nicholas V had delighted in conversation, but Calixtus was chary of his words. Nowhere, however, was the contrast between the Spanish Pontiff and the great patron of the Renaissance so striking as in the domain of literature and art.

But in order to correctly estimate Calixtus III in this matter we must begin by discarding the passionate and exaggerated denunciations of the humanists of his day, one of whom went so far as to declare that "Calixtus III was a useless Pope". Their golden age certainly closed with the life of Nicholas V. Indeed, if we consider the prominent position occupied in his days by men either indifferent or actually antagonistic to the Church, we must admit that a reaction was inevitable. The violence of this reaction — which, from the ecclesiastical point of view, was a salutary one — was greatly exaggerated by the humanists. Calixtus III, the quiet, dry, legal student, was not directly inimical, but simply indifferent, to the Renaissance movement. In his reign its victorious course was checked for a time, but it was not violently arrested.

The extraordinary favour shown by the Pope to the humanist Valla has never been sufficiently explained. He was appointed Papal Secretary, and canonries were freely bestowed upon him, but he died on the 1st August, 1457. His monument in the Lateran, rescued from destruction by a great German historian, was removed to another place in the most recent restoration of the Church.

It is interesting to note the manner in which the humanists conformed themselves to altered circumstances. In the Vatican Library there is still preserved a petition for a pension, addressed to Calixtus III by a learned man, who endeavours to recommend himself to the Pontiff by an allusion to the Eastern question, in which the latter took so deep an interest. When they saw that it was in vain to hope for anything from this Pope they avenged themselves by calumnies.

One of the chief of these was that propagated by Filelfo and Vespasiano da Bisticci, which accused Calixtus of dispersing the Vatican Library. The account of Vespasiano runs as follows: "When Pope Calixtus began his reign, and beheld so many excellent books, five hundred of them resplendent in bindings of crimson velvet with clasps of silver, he wondered greatly, for the old canonist was used only to books written on linen and stitched together. Instead of commending the wisdom of his predecessor, he cried out as he entered the Library: 'See, now, where the treasure of God's Church has gone! Then he began to disperse the Greek books. He gave several hundred to the Ruthenian Cardinal, Isidore. As this latter had become half childish from age the volumes fell into the hands of the servants. That which had cost golden florins was sold for a few pence. Many Latin books came to Barcelona, some by means of the Bishop of Vich, the powerful Datary of the Pope, and some as presents to Catalan nobles". There are serious grounds for disbelieving this narrative. If the dispersion of



the books had been so complete, how could Platina, the Vatican Librarian under Sixtus IV, have admired their splendour? Isolated volumes may, as often happens after the death of a Pope, have found their way into other hands, but this cannot have been at all a general case, for a large portion of the collection of Nicholas V, is at the present moment in the Vatican.

The next testimony which we shall adduce is of itself almost sufficient to decide the question. On the 16th April, 1455, even before his coronation, the Pope caused his confessor, Cosimo da Monserrato, to undertake the compilation of a catalogue of the valuable library left by his predecessor. This very fact indicates an interest in the preservation of the books, and it is not likely that a Pope who thus acted would give them away to the first comer. In this most ancient inventory of the Vatican Library we find a number of marginal notes, by means of which the humanistic statements regarding the dispersion of manuscripts may be reduced to their proper dimensions. Here it appears that Calixtus certainly gave away some manuscripts, five volumes in all, and these of no great value. Two went to the King of Naples. The fact that the catalogue was undertaken on the 16th April, 1455, does not exclude the possibility of subsequent presents having been made by the Pope, but even if this were the case the number of manuscripts so disposed of must have been very small. If he bestowed only two on King Alfonso, his intimate friend, we may rest assured that he cannot have given hundreds to Cardinal Isidore or to the Catalan nobles. The only thing that may be granted as probable is that Calixtus, who was ready to pledge even his mitre to provide funds for the Turkish war, may have sacrificed some of the gold and silver bindings for this purpose. Thus this oft-repeated tale proves for the most part legendary.

The attitude of the new Pope towards the Renaissance and its promoters doubtless formed a striking contrast to that of its enthusiastic patron, Nicholas V. It is to be accounted for, not only by his own want of taste for polite literature, but by the peril which threatened Christendom from the East. He justly deemed it to be his first duty to defend Europe from the Turk, and this care occupied his mind so completely that little room was left for more peaceful labours in the realm of literature and art.

The pontificate of Calixtus III opened ominously on the very day of his accession with a violent outbreak of the old Roman family broils. He was crowned on the 20th April. In the morning he repaired to St. Peter's, where, according to the old custom, one of the Canons of the Church reminded him of the transitory nature of all earthly greatness by burning a bundle of tow before his eyes, and saying, "Holy Father, so perishes the glory of the world!". The Pope himself celebrated Mass, Cardinal Barbo singing the Epistle and Cardinal Colonna the Gospel. The coronation afterwards took place in front of the Basilica; Prospero Colonna, as the senior Cardinal Deacon, placed the triple crown upon the pontiff's head with the words: "Receive the triple crown and know that thou art the father of all Princes and Kings, the guide of the world, the Vicar on earth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom is honour and glory for ever and ever. — Amen."

Immediately after this solemnity Calixtus took possession of the Lateran, the Cathedral Church of the Popes. He was accompanied by all the Cardinals and about eighty Bishops clad in white, together with many Roman barons and the magistrates of the city. He rode "a white horse" through the streets, adorned with tapestry, to the "golden Basilica, the mother and head of all the churches in the city and in the world". In pursuance of an ancient custom the representatives of the Jews met the Pope on his triumphal procession in the Piazza, known as Monte Giordano; they presented him with the roll of the law. He read some words from it, and said: "We ratify the law, but we

condemn your interpretation, for He of whom ye say that He will come — our Lord Jesus Christ — has come, as the Church teaches us and preaches". This ceremony was the occasion of a riot, by which the Pope's life was endangered. The populace endeavoured to seize the richly ornamented book of the Jewish law, and even laid hands on the Papal baldacchino.

Disturbances of a yet more serious character occurred on the Campo de' Fiori. Napoleone Orsini, who had a dispute with Count Everso of Anguillara regarding the lordship of Tagliacozzo, determined to avenge the death of one of his men slain by an adherent of Everso. Leaving the procession he hastened to the Campo de Fiori, where the Count lodged, and pillaged his quarters. So great was the power of the Orsini that three thousand armed men assembled on Monte Giordano in answer to the cry, "Orsini! to the rescue!". The Colonna sided with the Count, and a fierce encounter between the two factions under the very eyes of the Pope was barely prevented, and peace for the moment restored by the strenuous exertions of his messengers and of Cardinal Orsini and the Prefect, Francesco Orsini.

The Pope was greatly angered by these disturbances. He afterwards charged Cardinal Pietro Barbo, who had recently established peace in the patrimony, to bring about a cessation of hostilities for a few months. This truce was subsequently prolonged by the Pope, who endeavoured also to restore peace among the other baronial families of Rome. Happily the rest of the reign of Calixtus III was not of a piece with this ill-omened beginning, for although the feuds among the barons were not completely extinguished, the city was less affected by them.

The Pope's coronation was followed by the homage of the Christian powers, and from the latter part of April Rome witnessed the arrival of a succession of splendid embassies. That of Lucca was the first to appear, and was followed at longer or shorter intervals by those of the other cities. That of King Alfonso was exceptionally magnificent, but his attempt to begin by making terms with the Pope regarding the obedience to be promised was little calculated to maintain the good understanding which had previously existed between him and Calixtus, who met his pretensions and a similar attempt on the part of the envoys of Frederick III with a decided refusal.

The Republic of Florence which had sent humanists to do homage to Nicholas V now selected as the chief of its embassy their Archbishop, St. Antoninus, a man remarkable alike for the purity of his life and his theological learning. With him were associated Giannozzo Pandolfini, Antonio di Lorenzo Ridolfi, Giovanni di Cosimo de Medici, and the lawyer Oddone Nicolini. The ambassadors were desired without the archbishop's knowledge to request Pope Calixtus to promote him to the purple. On the 24th of May, the day of their audience, Calixtus spoke of his determination to combat the foes of the Christian faith and to reconquer New Rome, not sparing even his own life in the cause, although he deemed himself unworthy to win the martyr's crown. In conclusion, he expressed his hope that Florence, as a true daughter of the Church, would render every possible assistance in this holy undertaking. On the 28th May the Archbishop delivered in open consistory his celebrated discourse on the war against the Turks, and the Pope replied by an eulogy of Florence. Two days later in a private audience Calixtus dwelt on his earnest desire for the complete restoration of peace in Italy, and the distress caused him by the disturbances which Piccinino was again stirring up in his unfortunate country.

In the end of July, 1455, the Venetian embassy reached Rome. The message which it bore regarding the burning question of the day was not of a very satisfactory

nature. The ambassadors were the same who had already presented to Nicholas V the congratulations of the Signoria. They were instructed to reassure the Pope as to the intentions of the Republic concerning the Turkish war. They were to inform him that if the other Christian powers would proceed seriously against the Turks they would manifest the same good will as their forefathers had shown. The import of this answer was clear, and the Signoria subsequently inculcated on the envoys the necessity of adhering to it. A similar evasive reply was given to Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, when, on his passage through Venice to offer the Emperor Frederick's homage to the Pope, he, in his master's name, inquired into the intentions of the Republic regarding the Turkish question.

Their stay in Venice delayed the arrival in Rome of Aeneas Sylvius and his companion, the lawyer, Johann Hinderbach, until the 10th August. Their reception was honourable, but their attempt to treat with Calixtus regarding the Emperor's claims in the matter of reservations, tithes, nominations, and first requests, before making the profession of obedience, was frustrated, as the Pope absolutely refused to make any promise for the sake of gaining that which was his due. "We were placed in no small perplexity", Aeneas Sylvius wrote to the Emperor, "but as we saw that nothing else could be done, and that it would cause scandal if we were to depart without making profession of obedience, we decided on doing this, and then proceeding with your petition". Two days later the profession of obedience of the German nation took place in open consistory. Aeneas Sylvius made a long speech on the occasion, and congratulated the aged Pope on the fact that he was the first Pontiff since Gregory XI, that is to say, for a period of about eighty years, who had no antiPope to fear. He then proceeded to advocate the Turkish war, a matter very near the heart of the Pope, and one in regard to which the speaker's former exertions and present zeal gave weight to his words. Calixtus praised the Emperor and commended his good intention of devoting himself to the war; and, for his own part, declared that he would not shrink from any sacrifice to achieve the extermination of the infidels. During the following days the ambassadors presented the Emperor's petition in writing, and had repeated conferences concerning it with the Pope, but, as might have been foreseen, gained nothing. Hinderbach then returned to Germany, while Aeneas Sylvius remained in Rome, endeavouring to make himself of use, and eagerly seeking promotion to the purple, for which, however, he had long to wait.

## CHAPTER II.

THE HOLY SEE AND THE EASTERN QUESTION—A CRUSADING FLEET  
 BUILT IN ROME—ITS FIRST SUCCESSES — ATTITUDE OF THE WESTERN  
 POWERS TOWARDS THE DANGER WITH WHICH THE TURKS THREATENED  
 EUROPE.

The dangers to the Church and to civilization which troubled the latter days of Nicholas V had assumed yet more alarming proportions at the accession of Calixtus III. Torn by conflicting interests and internecine feuds, the West was ill-fitted to withstand the united and fanatical advance of Islam. The disastrous consequences of the fall of Constantinople had at once been felt, not only in the stagnation of trade with the East, but in the threatened hindrance by the Turks of free navigation in the Mediterranean. Servia and Hungary, Greece, the Christian Islands, especially Rhodes, and the Empire of the Comneni at Trebizond, were in imminent danger, and the colonies in the Black Sea were almost lost. Mahomet II was himself unremitting in his efforts to extend his dominion.

Nevertheless, the leading Princes and States of Europe, with scarcely an exception, displayed the most deplorable indifference to the welfare of Christendom. So grievous were their dissensions, and such the decay of zeal and heroism, that not one could rise above individual interests and animosities to gather round the banner of the Cross. The Holy See alone truly apprehended the importance of the situation, and while all others were swayed by selfish considerations, again showed itself to be the most universal and most conservative power on earth.

With her traditional wisdom, Rome appreciated the magnitude of the danger which menaced the Western world and its civilization. She also perceived that this victory of the infidel, like the loss in former days of the Holy Sepulchre, might be a means of reviving the zeal and loyalty of the faithful, and thus lead to further progress in the work of restoration already begun. The greater the spirit of dissension in the political and ecclesiastical sphere the more did it behove the Holy See to devote itself to the common interest.

Calixtus III was the man of all others to give a new and powerful impulse to the crusade. His duty and his inclination were in this matter identical. From the beginning to the end of his Pontificate, in public and in private, in his letters to Christian princes and prelates, and in his solemn Bulls addressed to all Christian people, he declared that he looked upon the defence of Christendom as the main object of his life. The crusade against the hereditary foe of the Christian name was the point upon which all his powers and efforts were concentrated.

The new Pope resolved to inaugurate his reign by a solemn vow which bound him to sacrifice everything — the treasures of the Church and, if necessary, his own life — in order to repel Islam and recover Constantinople. The words of this vow, copies of

which were circulated in almost all countries to the joy and edification of the good, have been handed down to us. They are as follows: "I, Pope Calixtus III, promise and vow to the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to the Ever-Virgin Mother of God, to the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and to all the heavenly host, that I will do everything in my power, even, if need be, with the sacrifice of my life, aided by the counsel of my worthy brethren, to reconquer Constantinople, which in punishment for the sin of man has been taken and ruined by Mahomet II, the son of the devil and the enemy of our Crucified Redeemer. Further, I vow to deliver the Christians languishing in slavery, to exalt the true Faith and to extirpate the diabolical sect of the reprobate and faithless Mahomet in the East. For there the light of Faith is almost completely extinguished. If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand be forgotten. Let my tongue cleave to my jaws, if I do not remember thee. If I make not Jerusalem the beginning of my joy, God and His holy Gospel help me. — Amen."

With the resolute tenacity of a Spaniard, the aged Calixtus laboured unremittingly to accomplish his vow.

Seven centuries of warfare with the Moors had left an indelible impress on the Spanish national character. The crusades form an episode in the history of other nations, but the very existence of the Spanish race was a perpetual crusade; and one consequence of this state of things was the development of a high-souled enthusiasm, which led each individual to look on himself as one of a chosen race, and especially called to be a champion of Christendom. That spirit of religious chivalry — which in other European countries had long since given place to more material views, or else degenerated into lawless feuds — still flourished in Spain. Like thousands of his fellow-countrymen, Calixtus III had from his earliest days imbibed sentiments of deadly hatred for the mortal enemy of the Christian name, and after his elevation to the highest dignity in Christendom he deemed it his first duty to combat that foe. The repeated declarations in his writings that, next to the attainment of everlasting life, he desired nothing so ardently as the accomplishment of his vow regarding the deliverance of Constantinople, were no mere figure of speech. He wished to make the most ample reparation for the shortcomings of his un-warlike predecessors, and as we read his fervent words we feel that years had done nothing to quell his ardent Spanish temperament. The union of Western Christendom against the power of Islam, the succour of imperilled Hungary, and the construction and equipment of a Papal fleet were the objects to be accomplished within the shortest possible space of time. With an energy which seemed to defy the advance of age, the Pope at once began to deal with the matter in all its aspects.

The history of the Papal power was materially affected by the action of Calixtus. The Papacy under Eugenius IV had been engrossed by Italian politics and contests with the Councils, and under Nicholas V it had been absorbed in literary and artistic interests. Now under Calixtus III it seemed to be roused to remorse by the fall of Constantinople, and, as in the days of Urban II to realize the magnitude of the Eastern problem, whose solution might be the means of endowing it with fresh vigour.

The warlike zeal and indomitable resolution displayed by Calixtus III, notwithstanding his age and infirmities, is justly characterized by ecclesiastical annalists as marvelous. "The Pope", writes Gabriel of Verona, "speaks and thinks of nothing but the crusade". For whole hours he used to converse with the Minorites on the subject, which seemed to him to surpass all others in importance. "Other affairs", says the historian, "he despatches with a word, but he treats and speaks of the crusade continually."

On the 15th May, 1455, Calixtus published a solemn Bull, by which all the graces and indulgences granted by Nicholas V on the 30th September 1454, to those who should take part in the crusade, were confirmed, and all other indulgences published since the Council of Constance repealed. New regulations were made concerning the tithes to be devoted to the war, and the 1st March of the following year was appointed as the day for the departure of the expedition against the common foe of Christendom.

In order to restore unity among the Christian princes, and to incite them to hostilities against the Turks, the Pope determined to send special legates to the principal countries of Christendom. The Cardinal Archbishop of Gran, Dionysius Széchy, was appointed to Hungary; the indefatigable Cardinal Carvajal to Germany, Hungary, and Poland; Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa to England and Germany; and Cardinal Alain to France. On the 8th September Calixtus III personally conferred the cross on Cardinals Alain and Carvajal, and on the Archbishop Urrea of Tarragona, who was to hasten with a naval force to the relief of the hard-pressed Christian islands in the Aegean and Ionian waters. This solemn ceremony was performed at St. Peter's. This was indeed fitting, as the place hallowed by the remains of him whom our Lord had made the rock and foundation of His Church. It was the scene of all the most important actions of the Popes, and as such it was also to witness a deed whose effects were destined to embrace the whole of Christendom. The Pope, as we learn from the Bishop of Pavia, manifested the greatest devotion on this occasion, and shed many tears. Calixtus III, he adds, is most eager to combat the Turks; anyone, who places obstacles in his way, is guilty of a great sin. As early as September 17th Alain entered on his office as legate, and a week later Carvajal left the Eternal City on his way to the North. Nicholas of Cusa apparently did not undertake the journey to England, for the negotiations with the Duke of Tyrol prove that he spent the whole of the year 1455 in his diocese of Brixen.

The deplorable issue of the Diet summoned in the time of Nicholas V to deal with the Turkish question determined Calixtus III to renounce the idea of any assembly of the kind, and to endeavour to deal directly with the individual potentates. He accordingly sent to the lesser European Princes and States, bishops, prelates, or monks who were to treat with the chief persons of the country regarding tithes, to call upon the people to contribute, to take part in the expedition, and to pray earnestly for the success of the Christian arms. He granted at the same time ample indulgences to those who should thus assist in the holy work. Anyone who has had the opportunity of looking through the thirty-eight thick volumes in the Secret Archives of the Vatican which contain the acts of Calixtus III's short Pontificate must be amazed at the immense energy manifested by the aged and sickly Pontiff.

Special envoys were despatched, not merely to the larger Italian States, such as Naples, Florence, and Venice, but also to the smaller Republics and cities, and to the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. In the Regesta of Calixtus III we, moreover, find records of the appointment of preachers of the crusade and of tithe collectors for the several provinces of Spain and Germany, for Portugal, Poland, Dalmatia, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, and an ambassador was sent even to Ireland and to the distant shores of Scotland.

Most of these envoys were chosen from among the Observantine Friars, who, as mendicants and as brethren of St. John Capistran, enjoyed the confidence of the people to a remarkable degree. The names of San Jacopo della Marca, of Roberto da Lecce, and of Antonio de Montefalcone, on whom the cardinals in conclave had for a moment fixed their attention, are worthy of special mention. But other Orders were also called upon

by the Pope to assist in the work he had at heart. Heinrich Kalteisen, a Dominican from the Rhenish province, who had already given proof of his zeal at the Council of Basle, and whom Nicholas V had appointed Archbishop of Drontheim, laboured in Germany, preaching in Vienna, Ratisbon, Augsburg, Eichstadt, Nuremberg, and finally in his own Rhenish home, and had the honour of receiving a Brief of special commendation from the Pope.

Another instance of the extent to which the Pope claimed the assistance of the religious orders in the matter of the crusade against the infidels is to be found in the command addressed on the 4th May, 1456, to the General and Provincials of the Augustinians, whereby he required them, under pain of excommunication, to immediately detain all the preachers of the Order, to give up all other undertakings, and to devote themselves entirely to preaching the crusade.

The chronicler of Viterbo enables us to form a clear idea of the manner in which it was published. "On the 8th September", he says, "a Franciscan monk began preaching the crusade in the chief square near the fountain. First of all he caused drums and fifes to be sounded, and then a silver gilt cross with a figure of the Redeemer to be set up; afterwards he brought forth the Pope's Bull and thoroughly explained it."

Calixtus III guarded against the abuses which had frequently occurred on former occasions by the most exact directions respecting the collection and keeping of the tithes to be levied on all ecclesiastics for the Turkish War. In the march of Ancona, for example, it was decreed that, subject to the advice of the Bishop, one or two collectors and treasurers should be appointed for each city, and should keep duplicate accounts of the names of the contributors and the sums paid. The Papal envoys were empowered to inflict the severest ecclesiastical penalties on the refractory, and, if necessary, to invoke the secular arm. They were, moreover, carefully to examine the preachers and to insist upon their explaining the contents and the import of the Bull of the crusade. A chest with four locks was to be placed in the sacristy of the cathedral to receive the alms; one of the keys of this chest was to be kept by the Bishop, the second by the Papal Commissioner, the third by the two collectors, and the fourth by two notable citizens to be chosen by the congregation. A notary was to write down the names of the contributors and the amount paid, so that everyone might be sure that the funds were devoted exclusively to the object of the crusade.

Nevertheless, as nothing human is perfect, serious abuses occurred. Some of the collectors retained the funds entrusted to them; false collectors arose, as they had done in the time of Nicholas V, and cheated the people out of their money. Calixtus III, when informed of these malpractices, lost no time in proceeding against the offenders, yet it was impossible for him entirely to avert the discredit brought upon the whole enterprise in many cases by their misconduct.

Not content, however, with causing collections to be made in every country for the expenses of the Holy War, the Pope, like a true Spaniard, determined to devote all the pecuniary and military resources at his disposal to the same object.

He accordingly did not hesitate to alienate jewels from the Papal treasure and even Church property in order to provide the means required for warlike preparations. The long list of gold and silver plate bought by the art loving King Alfonso of Naples from the Pope in the year 1456 is still extant, and mentions gilt amphorae and cups, a silver wine cooler, a table service for confectionery, and also a tabernacle with figures of the Saviour and of St. Thomas, chalices and instruments of the pax. It is easy to understand that such a Pontiff lost little time in dismissing the needy men of letters and

most of the artists and craftsmen who had been constantly employed by his predecessor. Those whom he still retained in his service were required to labour in the cause of the crusade. The painters and embroiderers had to devote their skill exclusively to the fabrication of banners, and the sculptors to that of stone cannon-balls.

We can hardly wonder that the records of this Pontificate do not speak of any new buildings of importance. In Rome, however, the erection of fortifications was not altogether discontinued, and the works commenced by Nicholas V at the Ponte Molle, the Castle of St. Angelo, and on the walls of the city were continued. A medal of this period represents the Eternal City surrounded with great fortifications. But the ramparts of the Vatican seem to have been left as they were, and the Tribune of St. Peter's to have remained a ruin rising scarcely twenty feet above the ground. In vain did the Poet Giuseppe Brippi conjure the Pope to continue the building of St. Peter's. He merely placed a new organ in the church, restored the windows, and repaired the circular chapel of St Andrew.

The architects who always found a welcome from Calixtus III were military engineers and ship-builders, and he willingly expended the treasure of the Church in remunerating their labours. Although the great projects of his predecessor remained in abeyance, the Pope caused some works to be undertaken in those churches of the Eternal City for which he felt some special attraction. He was not in reality indifferent to the state of the public buildings, but the war against the infidel absorbed his attention almost to the exclusion of every other subject.

A Bull is still extant in which severe penalties are pronounced against the robbers who were in the habit of removing stones and ornaments from the churches of Rome.

Calixtus III, however, took no interest in an antiquarian discovery made in July, 1458. In preparing the grave of a Penitentiary in the Church of St. Petronilla, adjoining St. Peter's, a great marble sarcophagus was brought to light, which contained a large coffin and one for a child, both made of cypress wood and lined with silver. These coffins were so heavy that six men could with difficulty carry them. The bodies, which had been wrapped in rich, gold-embroidered, silken fabrics, crumbled away when exposed to the air. As no inscription was found, many conjectures were made; some believed the remains to be those of the Emperor Constantine or of his son. Calixtus III had the coffins removed, and the gold of the embroidery, worth about a thousand ducats, was, by his desire, sent to the Mint to be made available for the Turkish war. Contemporary writers mention the circumstance without a word of disapproval; a century later the destruction of such a treasure would have elicited expressions of indignant protest.

It was the intention of the Pope to attack the Turks at once, both by land and sea, and by this combined assault he expected to recover possession of Constantinople. He mainly relied for the land forces on Duke Philip of Burgundy, who ruled the richest and most important countries of Western Europe. He had received the Cross from the hands of a Papal envoy, and accordingly had been favoured, as in the time of Nicholas V, with the grant of a plenary indulgence for his companions in arms, a tax on all reserved benefices, a tithe of the ecclesiastical revenues in his territory, and other privileges. Moreover, in order that he might devote himself without distraction to the crusade, the Pope, in July, 1455, confirmed the peace which had been concluded between Burgundy and France.

As no dependence could be placed on Venice, King Alfonso of Naples seemed pointed out as the leader of the attack by sea. His sway extended over Naples, Sicily,



Sardinia, Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, and the Balearic Isles; in fact, with the exception of Corsica which belonged to the Genoese, he commanded all the western portion of the Mediterranean, and could have done more than any other Western Prince to stay the advance of the Turks. Accordingly the Pope spared no effort to induce him to take part in the expedition, and the intimate relations, which had subsisted between them, gave good grounds for expecting his hearty co-operation. The monarch was lavish of fair promises and begged the Pope to allow him to be invested with the Cross. Calixtus III gladly consented, and the ceremony was performed with great solemnity on All Saints' Day, 1455. Many of his nobles and barons also took the Cross on this occasion, and the hopes of the Pontiff rose high, soon however to be blighted by the troubles which Jacopo Piccinino excited in Central Italy.

Deprived of his livelihood by the peace of Lodi in 1455, this Condottiere had threatened Bologna and the Romagna. The Duke of Milan, however, by sending an army of four thousand men into the field, had made it evident that insurrection in these quarters would not be tolerated, and Piccinino crossed the Appenines and directed his course towards Siena. This Republic had in the last war been hostile to Florence and Venice, and had also offended King Alfonso of Naples. These circumstances emboldened Piccinino to advance against the Sienese, who at once appealed to all the powers who had joined the league, and more especially to the Pope, imploring assistance. Calixtus granted their request all the more willingly because the renewal of hostilities in Central Italy would necessarily have hindered his preparations for the crusade. In June, 1456, he informed the Venetian ambassadors that he would offer the same resistance to Piccinino as to the Turks, and would make an example of him, deeming the maintenance of peace in Italy to be a matter equal in importance to the defence of the Christian faith, and, indeed, inseparable from it. In order to protect Siena, he despatched the Papal forces which were in readiness to make war upon the Turks. Napoleone Orsini, Stefano Colonna, and Deifobo and Ascanio, sons of Count Everso of Anguillara, accompanied these troops, and their commander was the Sicilian, Giovanni Ventimiglia. Venice and Florence also declared against Piccinino, and Francesco Sforza desired his generals, Roberto di Sanseverino and Corrado Folliano, to start in his pursuit King Alfonso alone remained passive, from which it was soon surmised that there was a secret understanding between him and the Condottiere.

The troops of the Duke of Milan joined those of the Pope near the Lake of Thrasymene. Piccinino boldly advanced and made an unexpected attack, which at first promised to be successful, but Roberto di Sanseverino soon rallied his forces and repulsed the enemy, who then fell back upon Castiglione della Pescaja. This fortress was situated between a marshy lake and the sea, and was almost impregnable. It belonged to King Alfonso, who caused his fleet to convey provisions to Piccinino. In consequence of this assistance afforded to the Condottiere by the King, and of the incapacity and indecision of Giovanni Ventimiglia the war was protracted to a disastrous length. This was exactly what the King of Naples desired, for it gave him time to place fresh obstacles in the way of the projected campaign against the Turks, and involved Calixtus III and his allies in great expense. Yet the Pope seems to have hoped that the influence of their ancient friendship would have enabled him to persuade Alfonso to second his efforts for the defence of Christendom. The King's pretensions on behalf of Piccinino were, however, little calculated to encourage such hopes. He required that the Italian league, into which he had entered, should consent to support a common army, and that Piccinino should be its general, and be always in readiness to resist the Turks. The Italian powers were called upon to promise a yearly payment of a

hundred thousand florins to the army, and quarters for the soldiers. Francesco Sforza and Calixtus III indignantly rejected the proposal that Italy should be made tributary to one whom they justly regarded as a brigand. The attempt made by Piccinino to burn the papal crusading fleet at Civita Vecchia may enable us to estimate his fitness for the command of the army destined to make war upon the Turks.

Unspeakable mischief was done to the Sieneſe by the petty warfare which Piccinino waged against them, and their hardships were increased when, in the October of 1455, he took poſſeſſion of their port of Orbitello, and from its plunder derived means to maintain himſelf for a ſeaſon. In deſpair they determined on ſending an ambaaſador to the Court of King Alſonſo, the ſource of all their troubles. But no agreement was arrived at, and early in April, 1456, a freſh embaaſſy, conſiſting of Galgano Borghese, Leonardo Benvoglienti, and Aeneas Sylvius, proceeded to Naples. Juſt at this time an open breach between Alſonſo and the Pope ſeemed imminent. The King had been informed that Calixtus had on Maundy Thuſday pronounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt Piccinino, his partiſans and protectors, and, enraged by theſe tidings, Alſonſo had declared that he would have all the Pope's relations baniſhed from his dominions. He alſo ſent ſubſidies to Piccinino's adherents. He was ſatisfied, however, when it was pointed out to him that thoſe who took arms againſt the Church had been excommunicated by previous Popes ſince the days of Martin V, and that the action of Calixtus in this matter was nothing new.

This cauſe of diſcord having been ſet at reſt negotiations were reſumed, and on the 31ſt May were at laſt concluded. The following were the conditions of peace: Piccinino was to give up the places he had conquered, to evacuate Tuſcany and retire into the domains of his patron Alſonſo; the States of the League were to pay fifty thouſand florins for the maintenance of his army, Alſonſo undertaking to furniſh a fifth part of this ſum. The arrangement of details was confiſted to the Pope, who deſired that twenty thouſand florins ſhould be paid out of the apoſtolic treaſury; and Siena was to contribute a like amount. The admonitory briefs of Calixtus III, preſerved in its State Archives, bear witneſs to the dilatory diſcharge of this obligation by the exhausted city. Piccinino did not leave Orbitello until conſtrained to do ſo by King Alſonſo in September, 1456, fifteen months after his diſgraceful inroad into the territory of the unfortunate Sieneſe, who now ſent Biſhop Aleſſio de' Ceſari of Chiuſi as their ambaaſador to Rome to thank the Pope for the great ſervices which he had rendered them during the continuance of the war.

Another circumſtance which occurred in the firſt year of his Pontificate cauſed the Pope even greater diſtreſs than that occaſioned by this war in Central Italy. In September, 1455, he had entrusted to Archbiſhop Pietro Urrea of Tarragona, Antonio Olzina, and Antonio de Freſcobaldiſ the command of the veſſels deſtined for the relief of the Chriſtian iſlands in the Aegean Sea, which were at this time haraſſed by the Turkiſh fleet. The traitors, however, inſtead of employing the veſſels which had been procured with money collected for the cruſade in operations againſt the Turks, combined with King Alſonſo's fleet, commanded by Villamarina, attacked the Genoeeſe, deſtroyed their coaſt, and waged war with the ſhips of other Chriſtian powers. As ſoon as the firſt faint rumour of theſe events reached the ears of the Pope he at once deſpatched letters of urgent remonſtrance to King Alſonſo. "If only a few Chriſtian galleys had ſhown themſelves in the neighbourhood of Ragusa", wrote the juſtly incenſed Pontiff to his ambaaſadors at Naples, "the Hungarians would have taken freſh courage. As it is they hear nothing of our fleet, and break forth into bitter complaints. Oh, traitors! your ſhips might have diſcomfited the Turks, raiſed up the Chriſtians of

the East, and delivered Hungary from the danger which threatens her. Instead of this, you have shamefully betrayed us with the help of our own money. The vengeance of God and of the Holy See will surely overtake you! Alfonso, King of Aragon, help Pope Calixtus! If you refuse, you will incur the wrath of heaven!". The Pope then issued orders removing Urrea and his accomplices from their posts, and entrusted the execution of the sentence to Cardinal Scarampo, who was nominated Admiral of the Fleet.

These disastrous occurrences, however, could not damp the courage of the Pope, on the contrary, difficulties only increased his zeal for the holy cause. The construction and equipment of a fleet in Rome was the object of his efforts, and it is the special glory of this Pope that he successfully carried into execution a project which had hitherto been scoffed at as hopelessly chimerical. The astonished Romans, who were soon to behold the baptism of a Turkish prince (March, 1456), suddenly witnessed the development of an unwonted activity on the banks of the Tiber : docks were constructed at Ripa Grande, and a wall for the mooring of the galleys erected at Sto. Spirito. In order to hasten as much as possible the completion of the naval preparations, the Pope caused carpenters and seamen to be brought from Spoleto and other places.

Cardinal Lodovico Scarampo was appointed Captain-General and Admiral of the Fleet. This warlike and wealthy prince of the Church, whose character had much in common with that of Vitelleschi, had already given proof of his military capacity in the time of Eugenius IV. Of all the Cardinals, he was perhaps the one best fitted for the conduct of this arduous enterprise, but he would have preferred remaining in Rome, where he occupied a most influential position at Court. This very circumstance, however, made the jealous members of the Borgia family anxious for his removal, and the Cardinal was finally compelled to depart.

Scarampo's appointment as Legate and Admiral of the Papal Fleet took place on the 17th December, 1455, and was the occasion of magnificent festivities in Rome. A further decree then extended his authority as Legate over Sicily, Dalmatia, Macedonia, the whole of Greece, the Islands of the Aegean Sea, Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, and the Asiatic Provinces, and declared that all places which he should conquer from the enemy were to be subject to his rule.

The arrangements for the construction of the ships of war were henceforth chiefly in Scarampo's hands; but a commission which had been formed by Nicholas V and consisted of Cardinals Bessarion, d'Estouteville, Capranica, Orsini, and Barbo, shared his labours. The Pope's anxiety was increased by the frequent arrival of evil tidings from the East, and he unceasingly strove to push forward the works, and, in addition to the general tithe, required from the Cardinals a special contribution towards the cost of the fleet.

A Register marked with a red cross is preserved in the Roman State Archives, and furnishes us with an account of the arrangements concerning the sums expended on the construction of the fleet in 1455-1456. The insight afforded us into the warlike preparations so zealously carried on by the Pope is most valuable. The administrative labours were directed by the Surveyor-General, Ambrogio Spannochì, under the control of Cardinal Scarampo. From this Register we learn that the work was begun in the autumn of 1455, and carried on during the whole of the following winter. The cost of the iron, pitch, and timber required for ship building is accurately entered, as well as the amount spent in the purchase of stone and leaden cannon-balls, cross-bows, arrows, morions, coats of mail, lances, swords, pick-axes, chains, ropes, and anchors. We are

made acquainted with the smallest details of the equipment of the expedition, including even the flags and banners, the tents, and the ship-biscuits. The very bill for five reams of paper, (sent from Rome to Ostia), for the future correspondence of the Papal fleet is before us.

The eager Pontiff desired that the expedition should start on the 1st April, 1456, but the month of May had drawn to its close before the preparations were so far advanced as to render its departure possible. On the Feast of St. Petronilla (May 31) the Pope himself affixed the cross to the shoulder of the Cardinal Legate, who at once proceeded to Ostia with the ships which had been built in Rome. Three weeks more passed before they stood out to sea, for in an Italian Archive there are letters written by Scarampo on the 13th and 20th June, and dated from the mouth of the Tiber. According to the commonly received account, the forces under the Legate's command consisted of sixteen galleys; a recent historian, however, asserts that the fleet numbered twenty-seven sail, was manned by a thousand seamen, and conveyed five thousand soldiers with three hundred pieces of cannon.

The troops were gathered partly from Rome, Civita-vecchia, Ancona, and Perugia, and partly from Fermo and Bologna. Among them were the Counts of Anguillara and other leaders of the mercenary bands which had been engaged against Piccinino. Velasco Farigna, a Portuguese, was appointed by the Pope vice-admiral. Judicial functions were confided to Alfonso de Calatambio, of Aragon. By the month of August the cost of the fleet had amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand ducats.

The object of the expedition was twofold — firstly, to protect the harassed Christian populations of the islands in the Aegean Sea from the Turks; and, secondly, to divide the armed forces of the infidels by means of a sea attack. For the latter purpose the fleet was evidently inadequate, and accordingly the Pope's first care was to provide reinforcements. Scarampo, furnished with ample powers, directed his course at once to Naples, in order to take possession of fifteen galleys which had been promised the year before by King Alfonso. But the faithless monarch now made difficulties of every kind. As long as he could extort money from the churches and clergy of his realm he had been lavish of promises, but the money had been spent in the payment of his debts, squandered in splendid feasts, or employed in the prosecution of the war against the unfortunate Genoese. The departure of Scarampo was thus delayed so long that the Pope became extremely impatient. He sent a special messenger to Naples, requiring the legate to put to sea immediately, even if the King's galleys were not in readiness. Letters from Cardinal Carvajal had reached Rome with tidings that the Turks might be expected to attack Hungary unless their forces were shortly weakened by the operations of the fleet. Calixtus III shortly afterwards desired his ambassador to "constrain" the legate to depart, saying that in Sicily he would find money and the ships which had been commanded by the Archbishop of Tarragona. The Pope also wrote himself imploring him to start without delay, and finally laid him under an obedience to do so. In one of the Papal Briefs he thus addresses him: "Gird yourself with the sword, beloved son; leave Naples and fulfil your promise. Then will God be with you, and neither money nor anything else that is necessary will be wanting".

Scarampo entered on the expedition with great and manifest reluctance, and endeavoured as much as possible to defer its departure. The Pope was greatly incensed, and bitterly complained of the Cardinal, who only quitted Naples with a few of the King's galleys on the 6th of August. The persistent entreaties of the Pope, who had in an autograph letter urgently implored Alfonso to furnish the promised galleys, were at least effectual in bringing about a change in the mind of the King.

Almost as soon as the Pope heard that Scarampo had quitted Sicily he urged him to proceed to the Greek waters. His anxiety for immediate action was due to the continuance of disquieting reports from Hungary regarding Turkish preparations. He hoped that the appearance of his naval forces in the Aegean Sea would ultimately divert the attention of the Turks from that Kingdom, and meanwhile diminish their power of attacking it. Accordingly his first care was for the fleet. New ships for its reinforcement were built in Rome. Odoardo Gaetani, Count of Fondi, presented Calixtus with a vessel which, in company with one of these, was to proceed to the relief of Rhodes early in the year 1457. The command of these two ships was entrusted to two Knights of St. John.

The ardent desires of the Pope were at last fulfilled; the flag of St. Peter appeared in the Greek waters, and the Christian islands were in some degree defended against the advances of the Turks.

The Papal force under Scarampo first touched at Rhodes to supply the distressed Knights with money, weapons, and corn, and then proceeded to Chios and Lesbos. In vain did the Cardinal endeavour to incite the inhabitants of these two islands to refuse payment of the tribute imposed by the infidel. Dread of Turkish vengeance deterred them from joining the Christian cause. He was more successful in Lemnos, whence, as well as in Samothrace and Thasos, he expelled the Turkish garrison and left Papal troops in their place. He then established his head-quarters at Rhodes, where a large arsenal was at his disposal.

The hopes and expectations of Calixtus III were, no doubt, out of proportion with the strength of the fleet at his command. Yet he also clearly perceived that no decisive success was possible without the co-operation of some of the most powerful of the western princes. But the danger which threatened to annihilate all the great results of centuries of Christianity elicited from these princes nothing but fair words. In vain did the aged Pontiff raise his voice in favour of the Holy War; his fiery eloquence produced little or no effect.

It became more and more evident that the age of crusades was past, and that the ideas which for centuries had ruled the minds of men had now lost their power. Internal dissensions had destroyed the sentiment of the solidarity of Christendom and its interests as opposed to the infidel. The great cause of Eastern Christianity touched no chord in the heart of Europe.

Fruitless deliberations took place in Germany, where a portion of the clergy sought to veil their selfish dislike to the levy of tithes for the crusade under a show of zeal for the liberties of the German Church. The peace-loving Emperor Frederick III was by no means the man to rouse the empire to united and vigorous effort. Indeed its distracted condition would have made it an easy prey to any invader who once gained a footing in the realm. He would have found only isolated forces to resist him, each one of which could have been separately overcome.

The conduct of France was utterly unworthy of a Christian power. Repeatedly and in eloquent terms did the Pope appeal to the French King, particularly at the time of the departure of the fleet, but the weak and helpless Charles VII was indifferent to the exhortations by which he was reminded of his predecessors, and especially of St. Louis. He excused his failure to comply with the Papal demands on the ground of the uncertain state of his relations with England, and of the necessity of being on his guard against that State. In the first instance he had forbidden the passage of troops through France, the promulgation of the Bull of the Crusade, and the collection of the tithes for the war. These proceedings called forth just and serious complaints from the Pope, who used

every effort to bring about peace with England, and so remove the King's pretext. His attempts were unsuccessful in this matter, as were also those which he made to reconcile Charles VII with his son. The Pope was much distressed by the manner in which Cardinal Alain neglected his duties as legate in France. There are a number of unpublished letters on this subject. In the first of these, which was written in September, 1456, Calixtus expresses his surprise at the conduct of the French King, who, notwithstanding the goodwill recently manifested towards him by the Pontiff, would not permit the collection of the tithes for the crusade or even the publication of the Bull concerning it. This unfriendly conduct at such a time was, Calixtus declared, most painful to him. In conclusion, Alain is urgently exhorted to show himself zealous in the fulfilment of the duties entrusted to him, so as to falsify the sneering remarks which were current in regard to the failure of his mission to France. In October of the same year the Pope again felt it necessary to write to him in a similar strain. "The Christian who does not now render assistance in following up the victory God has granted", he says, alluding to the battle at Belgrade, "proves himself unworthy of divine favours". To this exhortation was added a command to urge upon the King the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction. The Knights of St. John at Rhodes were at this time endeavouring to secure a very large portion of the French tithes. In a long letter to Charles VII the Pope objected to this arrangement, inasmuch as a great deal had already been done for Rhodes, and the support of the fleet was now the first consideration.

In February, 1457, Alain was again urged in the strongest manner to forward the money for the crusade. That which had been collected in Italy was far from sufficient for the support and reinforcement of the fleet, and he was to take measures for the collection of the tribute, not merely in France, but also in England. "Woe, woe to those, whoever they may be", exclaimed the Pope, "who hinder the cause of the crusade!". At the end of March, 1457, Calixtus had not yet received a penny towards the war from the wide dominions of France. While he deplored this strange fact, he expressly blamed Alain for writing so little regarding the crusade. In the same brief he regrets the sluggishness of the Catholic princes; and in hopes of stirring up the French King to greater zeal, he this year sent him the Golden Rose. Afterwards when an agreement had been entered into between Charles VII and the Pope for the construction of a fleet of thirty sail from the proceeds of the tithe, fresh difficulties arose. The King expressly prohibited the export of the money collected for the crusade, and even detained the ships which he had engaged to send, and employed them, not against the Turks, but partly against the English and partly against Naples. This amounted to actual treason against the Christian cause.

Under these circumstances it can hardly be deemed surprising that a considerable proportion of the French clergy assumed an attitude of absolute opposition to the Papal demands.

As early as the year 1456 the University of Paris had ventured to appeal from the Pope to a council in regard to the tithe for the war imposed by Calixtus. The University of Toulouse and several ecclesiastical corporations in different dioceses of the kingdom joined in this appeal. Alain lost courage, and failed to act with the energy required. The appellants then presented a very violent memorial to the King, strongly urging him to resist the "presumption of the Pope in levying a tax on the Gallican Church without her consent", and to do this all the more zealously in view of the audacity with which the Pope had opposed the newest fundamental law of the French State, the Pragmatic Sanction of 1438. In August, 1457, the King answered by a declaration that "the levy of

the tithe prescribed by the Pope was to take place, but that the rights of the French were in no way to be impaired".

In June, 1457, the University of Paris had even sent a special envoy to Rome to protest before the Pope and cardinals against the collection of the tithes, and at the same time to present eighteen anti-Papal articles and demand a general council. The reply of Calixtus was by no means wanting in decision. Alain was reproved for his negligence, and commanded to compel the University of Paris to withdraw the appeal, which was declared invalid on the score of "rashness and impiety", while the appellants were visited with ecclesiastical penalties.

Notwithstanding all the grand promises made by the Duke of Burgundy, he did no more than Charles VII to assist in the Holy War. None of the money collected in his dominions appears to have been transmitted to Rome, for, in the Register of Briefs of Calixtus III, we find one addressed to Philip regarding the large sums obtained in Burgundy for the crusade. The Pope here begs that, if not the whole, at least a portion of the amount may be sent to him. In December, 1457, when alarming accounts of the immense warlike preparations of the Turks reached Rome, the Pope wrote a fresh letter of remonstrance to the Duke, but it proved equally fruitless.

King Christian of Denmark and Norway, and King Alfonso of Portugal, had also been lavish in promises of assistance against the Turks. But on the 2nd June, 1455, we find the former of these two monarchs providing himself with money by abstracting from the sacristy of the cathedral at Roskilde the pious offerings which had been collected for the expenses of the war and for the relief of the King of Cyprus!

The solemn promises made by the King of Portugal in the autumn of 1456 both by letters and by his envoys to Rome had filled the Cardinals, the whole Court, and the Pope himself with the brightest hopes, and Calixtus had felt no hesitation in leaving in his hands the tithe collected in his dominions in the years 1456 and 1457. King Alfonso certainly kept possession of the money, but was as far as his Neapolitan namesake from taking part in the crusade. Calixtus did not spare his exhortations, and continued to hope against hope for the ultimate fulfilment of the royal promise. A letter addressed to Cardinal Carvajal on the 23rd May, 1457, shows that he at that time expected the immediate appearance of vessels of war from Portugal and from Genoa. The nuncio to Portugal received repeated instructions to do everything in his power to hasten the King's arrival, but all was in vain. Towards the end of the year 1457 the Pope's patience was at length exhausted. He commanded his nuncio to return to Rome, bringing all the money for the crusade with him unless Alfonso should set sail in the following April. When the month of April was near its close, and the Portuguese fleet had not started, Calixtus was constrained to carry his threat into execution. By this means he at least saved the money collected in Portugal, which was greatly needed for the reinforcement of the fleet.

Forsaken in this manner by all the European powers, the Pope could look for assistance to the Italian states alone. Here, however, he found the same indifference, the same treachery, in regard to the Christian cause. None of the Italian statesmen of the day could rise to the idea of a crusade. Their views were directed exclusively to their own immediate interests.

We have already spoken of the great difficulty which the faithless King Alfonso of Naples had, like "the most Christian Monarch", placed in the way of the crusade. Next to Alfonso, Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan was the most powerful of Italian potentates. The Pope's constant requests for the favourable reception of his envoys and

for material help against the Turks were met by the fairest promises. In reality, however, the great general had no intention of heeding the Papal behests, nor of placing himself in the cause of the crusade at the head of an army against the Turks. The strengthening of his own rule in Lombardy was his constant and principal care, and all other interests were secondary to this object.

The Republic of Venice, which was beyond all other States bound to take a decisive part in this struggle, turned a deaf ear to all the Pope's exhortations. The Signoria would not on any account compromise its commercial interests, and accordingly kept up constant and amicable relations with the Sultan.

Florence also used every effort to avoid any open espousal of the Christian cause. The envoy who in the autumn of 1445 went to Porto Pisano to meet the Cardinal Legate Alain on his way to France, was strictly admonished on no account to make any definite promise in regard to co-operation in the Turkish war. Love for the "cursed flower", as Dante called the Florentine golden florin, outweighed all else. A few of the smaller powers, like Mantua, supported Calixtus, but the words of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, "The Pope calls for help and no one listens to him; he threatens, and no one is afraid", may be taken as of a most universal application.

The courage of Calixtus III, in presence of such overwhelming difficulties, was marvellous. He continued to adjure the Christian princes and potentates to make peace among themselves, and take arms against the enemies of God. He still sent a number of ambassadors, chiefly selected from the Minorite friars, to collect money and troops for the holy war from every country in Europe. He himself gave the example of sacrifice by turning the treasures and jewels collected by Nicholas V into money, and finally giving up the silver plate used at his table. Brother Gabriel of Verona informed his friend, St. John Capistran, that one day when gilt salt-cellars and other valuable articles were placed on his table, the Pope exclaimed: "Away, away with these things! take them for the Turks! Earthenware will do quite as well for me!". In one of his briefs Calixtus expresses his willingness to have only a linen mitre for the sake of the defence of the Holy Gospel and of the true faith.

No danger or difficulty had power to subdue the fiery enthusiasm of the aged man. "Only cowards", he used to say, "fear danger; the palm of glory grows nowhere but on the battle-field". The epithet of "high-souled old man" has been well bestowed on Calixtus III by Palmieri, but the reproach uttered by Petrarch in the days of Urban V was still applicable to the European potentates.

Ye lords of Christendom I eternal shame  
 For ever will pursue each royal name,  
 And tell your wolfish rage for kindred blood,  
 While Paynim hounds profane the seat of God!



## CHAPTER III.

THE VICTORY OF THE CRUSADERS AT BELGRADE— THROUGH THE  
 INDOLENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN POWERS IT IS NOT TURNED TO ACCOUNT  
 — ANTI-PAPAL FEELING IN GERMANY— RELATIONS OF CALIXTUS III  
 WITH NAPLES.

The failure of the efforts made by the Holy See to unite all the nations of Europe in a defensive alliance against the ceaseless encroachments of Islam strengthened Mahomet II's determination to adopt aggressive measures and attack Hunyadi, whom he justly considered as, after Skanderbeg, the only enemy able to meet him on equal terms. Hungary was the power most dreaded by the Sultan, and accordingly his chief aim was to cripple or to annihilate it. In order to give a firmer basis to the political and military operations undertaken for this purpose he had even in the year 1454 begun to extend his dominion in Servia. Hunyadi was not in a position to prevent this, and in July, 1455, the important and strongly fortified city of Novoberdo, with all the treasures, which had in the course of years been amassed within its walls, fell into the hands of the infidels.

In the following year Mahomet resolved to deal Hungary a decisive blow. He had no reason to apprehend hostile attacks by sea from the west, for the Republic of Genoa was helpless and Venice was friendly, while the little Papal fleet, unsupported by any Christian naval power, was not likely to give him much trouble.

During the winter of 1455-1456 the Turks were actively engaged in getting ready for war. Troops were assembled from all parts of the kingdom, and an immense number of men worked day and night in a cannon-foundry, which was established at Kruschewatz on the Morava. Extensive preparations were made for the provisioning of the army which was to besiege Belgrade. War materials of all descriptions were carried to the spot. Weapons, especially bows and arrows, and a great part of the provisions, were procured in the adjacent province of Bosnia and stored up in magazines. Mills for grinding corn and a number of bakeries were constructed. With a care and foresight almost unknown in the West, everything was provided that could be needed for a protracted siege, or serve, in the event of success, to render Belgrade available as the Sultan's headquarters for future operations against Hungary and more northern lands.

In June, 1456, the ruler of the infidels led an army of more than a hundred and fifty thousand men with three hundred cannons towards the Danube, on his way to Belgrade, the bulwark of Vienna. His progress was absolutely unopposed, and by the beginning of July the city, which was the key to Hungary, was completely invested by land. A terrible fire was opened and kept up night and day. The thunder of the artillery was heard at Szegedin, more than twenty-four Hungarian miles distant. Mahomet, after his victory at Constantinople, looked on the siege of Belgrade as mere child's play, and is said to have boasted that he would in a fortnight subdue the fortress which his father had vainly besieged for half a year, and within three months' later would sup in Buda.

The besieged had completely lost heart, when unexpected succour arrived in the persons of John Hunyadi and St. John Capistran. These two great men were powerfully supported by the Papal legate Cardinal Juan Carvajal, a fellow-countryman of the Pope's, and one of the noblest characters of the age. In November, 1455, he had arrived at Wiener-Neustadt, whence he proceeded to Vienna and to Buda. "He brought", writes the biographer of Aeneas Sylvius, "nothing with him but a plenary indulgence for all who should take up arms against the Turks, and promises, which had proved often delusive. But he brought himself, and his own inspiriting example". "Such a legate truly corresponds to the greatness of our need", said the King of Hungary when he thanked the Pope for sending this distinguished man, who spent the next six years on the banks of the Danube, sharing all the sufferings and privations of the crusaders, and ready to close by a martyr's death a life of complete devotion to the service of God and His Church.

The summons issued on the 14th January, 1456, to the Hungarian Diet to meet at Buda, and the arrival of King Ladislas himself in Hungary towards the end of the month, were alike due in great measure to Carvajal's energy. When the Diet opened in February he did his utmost to encourage the Hungarians, by holding out the prospect of assistance from the Papal fleet, and from the King of Naples and the Duke of Burgundy, who were both engaged in warlike preparations. On behalf of the Pope he granted a plenary indulgence to every soldier who should take the field. The States levied a contribution of a golden florin on every farmhouse, made arrangements to provide shelter and food for the crusaders, who were expected to arrive in great numbers from other countries, and begged the Pope soon to send the promised fleet to the Hellespont. At the same time they declared that in consequence of the bad harvest of the previous year the expedition could not set out until August. They had barely time to draw up their reports before messengers from the Lower Danube arrived bringing the alarming news of the advance of the Sultan with an immense army, and the imminent danger which threatened Belgrade, the bulwark of Hungary. At this critical moment the eyes of the nation naturally turned to King Ladislas, who, with his Privy Counsellor, the Count of Cilli, was still at Buda. But the King, having absented himself from his capital on pretext of a hunting party, made his escape to Vienna. His flight was a signal to the cowardly barons, who had taken no measures for the defence of their country, and they also at once left Buda and concealed themselves.

In this terrible extremity, Hungary was saved from the advancing tide of Islam by the three great men whom we have mentioned, each of whom bore the name of John. Hunyadi raised a force of seven thousand men at his own cost; Carvajal, who, at the earnest desire of its Governor, remained in Buda, laboured unremittingly to procure means of transport, provisions, and assistance; while St John Capistran collected the Crusaders who had been won to the cause by his own burning words and those of the missionaries, Giovanni da Tagliacozzo, Niccold da Fara, and Ambroise of Languedoc.

As the Hungarian nobles, like those of Germany, remained, with few exceptions, inactive, the crusading army assembled by the Saint and Carvajal constituted the only aid afforded to the heroic Hunyadi. The force was made up for the most part of poor citizens and peasants, monks, hermits and students, armed with axes, pikes, flails, pitch-forks, and such other weapons as they could collect. Some greedy adventurers were certainly to be found among the motley crew, but the majority of the crusaders were determined to fight and die for their faith. They wore a red cross on the left breast, and their banners bore on one side a cross and on the other the figure of Sts. Anthony, Francis, Louis, or Bernardine. A number of German foot soldiers and three hundred

Polish warriors gave some support to the untrained and ill-armed masses; the generalship of Hunyadi, seconded by the zeal of St John Capistran, did the rest.

Belgrade is situated on a rocky hill, in the corner of the promontory formed by the union of the Save with the Danube. At the summit of this steep hill stands the castle, which, at the time we are speaking of, was strongly fortified. The declivity along the banks of the river was occupied by the lower town, which was then surrounded by walls and also on the land side defended by a double wall and moat. Mahomet II had not only shut in the fortress completely on the land side, but also sent a flotilla to cut off communication by the Danube and the Save. To make a breach in this iron circle was the first object of Hunyadi and St. John Capistran. The former, with the assistance of the legate, collected about two hundred boats at Salankemen, laden with munitions of war and provisions. He embarked his followers and the crusaders who joined them, and on the 14th of July, taking advantage of the current, bore down upon the Turkish ships, which were chained together. After five hours' fighting, during which the waters of the Danube ran red with blood, the Christians succeeded in breaking through the Turkish line, and gained a complete victory. While the combat was going on, St. John Capistran stood on the shore and encouraged the Christian warriors by holding up the crucifix, which the Pope had sent him by Cardinal Carvajal,<sup>f</sup> and calling out the Holy Name of Jesus!

The moral effects of this great victory were most important, for it broke the charm of supposed invincibility which had grown up around the Crescent. Moreover, it afforded breathing-time to the besieged, who had been under fire for a fortnight in the burning heat of summer. The Danube too was free, and the fortress was replenished with corn, wine, and troops. Hunyadi was prudent enough not to lose time in the pursuit of the Turkish vessels, but seizing on the favourable moment, at once occupied the fortress which had been so hardly won. St. John Capistran accompanied him, and with his heart-stirring eloquence stimulated the courage of the besieged for the decisive day which was approaching.

Mahomet, infuriated by defeat, determined to avenge the disgrace of the 14th July by the complete destruction of the place. Night and day the city was subjected to an unceasing fire, and meanwhile he gathered together the flower of his army for a general assault which was to deal the final blow. In the evening of the 21st July, the seventh day after the engagement on the Danube, at the head of his janissaries, he gave the signal for attack. The battle lasted throughout the whole of that night and the following day. From a tower in the fortress, Hunyadi and the Saint watched its vicissitudes, the former giving orders for the despatch of succour where it was required, and for the relief of the wearied and wounded. If he saw his forces anywhere giving way he flew to the spot, reanimating the courage of his men by fighting among them as a common soldier. St. John Capistran from the tower held up the crucifix which the Pope had blessed, and poured forth unceasing supplication to the Almighty for aid. The besieged fought like lions, all the Turkish assaults were repelled, and those who had taken up their position in the trenches were dislodged by means of bundles of brushwood soaked in oil, pitch, and sulphur, and set on fire.

Various accounts are given of the final crisis of the battle. The following is probably the true one. The crusaders, whose enthusiasm had by this time reached its climax, ventured in opposition to Hunyadi's commands, and without any order from St. John Capistran, on a strong sortie against a portion of the fortified camp of the Turks. The voice of the Saint, who not only called out from the walls, but hastened down amongst them, was powerless to restrain their ardour. Suddenly the Turkish cavalry

charged the rash Christian warriors, who, eager for plunder, were pressing forward into the encampment of a pasha, and drove them, exhausted as they were, into a narrow place. At this critical moment Hunyadi came to the rescue, making a fresh sally from the city, spiking some of the enemy's artillery and turning some against the Turks themselves. The Sultan, wounded by an arrow and mad with rage, was compelled as night came on to give the signal for retreat. The whole of the Turkish camp with all the arms and a portion of the artillery fell into the hands of the Christians. And thus, to use the words of Nicholas Cusa, on the day of St. Mary Magdalen the Cross of Christ triumphed over its enemy. Belgrade, Hungary, and, in some sense, Christendom and European civilization were saved; their deliverance was due in great measure to the fiery eloquence of the indefatigable St. John Capistran, who, in conjunction with Hunyadi, had been the soul of this terrible battle, and who had the chief share in its happy result. Calixtus III and his legate, the noble Cardinal Carvajal, must also be mentioned as having contributed to this memorable victory. "Whatever was achieved against the Turks", says a Protestant historian, "was entirely the Pope's doings, and the great deliverance wrought at Belgrade is to be ascribed most properly to him".

It would be hard to describe the agitation of the Pope when the first tidings of the advance of the Turks towards Belgrade reached Rome. The report of the Milanese ambassador, Jacopo Calcaterra, who had a long conversation with Calixtus III on the 27th July, 1456, gives a vivid picture of the distress of the aged Pontiff, who, in his noble efforts for the defence of Christendom, found himself abandoned by all the Western Princes. While groaning under the heavy burden laid upon him, the brave man was ready to sacrifice himself for the common cause. "I acknowledge and firmly believe, O Almighty God" he said, in the course of this memorable interview, "that it is Thy will that I alone should wear myself out and die for the general good. So be it! I am ready, even if I must myself go into bondage and alienate all the possessions of the Church". And, alluding to the plague which was at this time raging in Rome, he added, "Nothing will induce me to leave Rome, not even if, like so many others, I am to fall a victim to the plague. Mahomet, the enemy of our faith, compels me to remain. He does not relax his efforts, although thousands in his immense army have been carried off". The ambassador was greatly touched by the Pope's words, and on the day following the audience wrote thus to his master: "No man on earth can have so hard and stony a heart as not to be moved with the greatest compassion for His Holiness".

A month before this, Calixtus, bereft of all human aid, had solemnly sought Divine assistance. On the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul (29th June), 1456, he addressed a Bull to all the Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots of Christendom, exhorting them by prayers, fasting and penance to "return to the Lord, that He may again return to us", and also to direct their attention to the reformation of the flocks committed to their charge. The following special directions were added: "On the first Sunday of each month processions were to be made in every diocese in order to pray that the threatened Turkish invasion might be averted; the *Missa contra Paganos* was to be said, and a suitable discourse delivered to the assembled people. Moreover, every priest, without exception, was required to use the following prayer in every Mass he said: "Almighty, everlasting God, to whom all power belongs, and in whose hand are the rights of all nations, protect Thy Christian people and crush by Thy power the pagans who trust in their fierceness". Indulgences were attached to the performance of these devotions, and to enable the people to share in these prayers and indulgences it was further enacted that in every church, between noon and vespers, one or more bells should be rung as for the angelus, and three "Our Fathers", and "Hail Marys" recited.

Indulgences were granted for these prayers. The Pope considered the splendid victory on the Danube primarily due to these supplications.

The Christian world breathed more freely after hearing of the triumph of Hunyadi and St John Capistran. If the fear of Turkish invasion had been extreme, the joy of Christendom at the happy tidings of unlooked-for victory knew no bounds. Every heart that beat true to the good cause received the news as a favour from God. "We can hardly find a chronicler, however distant from the scene of action, or however obscure, who fails to mention this wonderful victory of the poor crusaders". Even in Venice, though she had done her best to remain neutral, the victory was the occasion of the greatest rejoicings. Splendid festivities took place in the cities of the States of the Church, which learned the good news from special messengers sent by the Pope. Processions, in which the Madonna of St. Luke, the heads of St. Petronius and St. Dominic, the hand of St. Cecilia, and other precious relics were borne, were made in Bologna for three days.

No one throughout all Christendom was more delighted than the Pope at the defeat of the infidels. In one of his Briefs he speaks of the victory at Belgrade as the happiest event of his life. The Emperor and other potentates informed the Pope of it by special messengers. In Rome, by his desire, the ringing of all the church bells, processions of thanksgiving and bonfires announced the good news.

The Milanese ambassador, Jacopo Calcaterra, writing on the 24th August, 1456, gives a detailed and highly interesting description of the impression made on the aged Pope by the tidings of the relief of Belgrade. In an audience lasting three hours and a half Calixtus poured forth his feelings with the utmost expansiveness and freedom. "The Pope", writes the ambassador, "was so full of the great victory that he constantly reverted to it. He praised Hunyadi to the skies, calling him the greatest man that the world had seen for three hundred years. But with equal energy did he lament the torpor of the Hungarians who had not supported Hunyadi and the crusaders". Moreover, Calixtus ascribed the victory to the grace of God more than to human courage. "God", he said, "has granted this victory especially to bring shame and confusion on those who opposed my efforts for the crusade, who said that no one could understand what I wanted, and that in pursuit of my vain dreams the treasures of the Church, which other Popes had amassed, were being thrown to the winds". "His Holiness", here observes Jacopo Calcaterra, "plainly told me that it was King Alfonso of Naples who had thus reproached him". Even more strongly did the Pope express himself regarding Scarampo; and it is evident that this Cardinal's influence at the Papal Court was entirely gone, and that the Borgias had succeeded in prejudicing the mind of the Pope against him. This estrangement was no doubt also caused by the delay of Scarampo in leading the Papal fleet against the Turks.

The victory at Belgrade had, as the letter of the Milanese ambassador shows us, raised the Pope's spirits wonderfully. Calixtus fully expected that the Christian Princes would look with very different eyes on the crusade, and would be more willing to make sacrifices for the common cause of Christendom now that his predictions, a thousand times repeated in the course of the past year, had been accomplished by the defeat and destruction of the Turks.

There can be no doubt that in the first joyful enthusiasm elicited by the success of the Christian arms he cherished far too brilliant anticipations regarding the consequences of the victory. The accounts which reached him from Hungary were well calculated to strengthen these hopes. In the joy of their triumph, Hunyadi and St. John Capistran were so persuaded of the approaching annihilation of the Sultan's power that

they did not hesitate to represent it to the Pope as an accomplished fact, only now requiring from him the support of an insignificant force to secure its fruits. "Most Holy Father", wrote St. John Capistran, a few days after the relief of Belgrade, "the right time has come. The day of the salvation of Christendom has dawned! Now is the moment when the long cherished desire of your Holiness will be fulfilled, not only by the recovery of the Greek empire and Europe, but also by the conquest of the Holy Land and Jerusalem. Almighty God will surely help us if only your Holiness persevere in your pious purposes. But one thing do your legates ask from your piety and zeal for the faith, namely, that you will send some ten or twelve thousand well-armed horsemen from Italy. If these remain with us for at least six months, together with the crusaders, who are devoted to you as obedient sons, and the noble princes, prelates, and barons of the kingdom of Hungary, we hope to acquire enough of the goods of the infidels to cover all expenses for three years and richly to reward the whole army. For at this moment we can do more with ten thousand men for the spread of the Christian faith and the destruction of these heathens than could be accomplished in other times by thirty thousand". Hunyadi wrote in a similar strain: "Be it known to your Holiness, that at the present time the Emperor of the Turks is so completely crushed that if the Christians, as is proposed, would only rise against him they might very easily, with the help of God, become masters of the whole Turkish kingdom".

No wonder that the lively imagination of the Spanish Pope rose to gigantic schemes on the reception of such letters. The victory granted by God must now be followed up, and immediately after the tidings arrived he urged his legates and the Christian princes to proceed with united forces against the Turks. In the following March a great expedition was to set forth. Constantinople was to be reconquered, and Europe set free, the Holy Land and all Asia to be purged of infidels, the whole race of unbelievers extirpated. In almost all the Briefs of the period these exaggerated schemes appear again and again, showing what complete possession the subject had taken of the Pope's mind.

These hopes were no doubt illusory; and yet it was a misfortune for Europe that the heroes who had given them birth, and had fostered them in the mind of the Pope, closed their earthly career soon after the glorious day at Belgrade.

A fearful pestilence, generated most probably by the heat of the burning sun brooding on the heaps of unburied corpses, broke out and carried off the brave Hunyadi on the 11th August. "When he felt his last hour draw near" said Aeneas Sylvius, "he would not permit them to bring the body of the Lord to his sick bed. Dying as he was, he had himself carried into the Church, and there, after having received the Holy Sacrament, breathed forth his soul beneath the hands of the clergy". On the 23rd October the aged St. John Capistran followed his companion in arms.

By the death of these two great men the operations against the Turks were deprived of their most powerful promoters. The hope that the unexpected victory at Belgrade would give a fresh impulse to the Holy War melted away through the indifference of the Western Powers, which manifested itself in a disgraceful manner at the very time when its fruits might have been secured. Again was the Pope the only one who took the interests of Christendom seriously and honestly to heart. He wrote in strong terms to the Emperor, the Kings of France and of Naples, to the more powerful German princes, and to the several States of Italy, entreating them to give God thanks for the victory, and to turn it to account; but his words were all in vain. Because the danger was for the moment averted, and this victory had been gained by the Hungarians and the undisciplined Crusaders, the Christian potentates seemed to think themselves

justified in leaving all further defensive operations entirely to them. All through the upper ranks of society, which ought to have given an impulse to the rest, slothfulness, selfishness, and petty interests again outweighed all better feelings, and deadened all energy for good.

Almost all the other powers followed the example of Venice. In vain did the eloquent Carvajal unite his prayers and exhortations with those of the Pope; all that could be said as to the necessity of following up the victory fell on deaf ears. The ambassador of the King of Hungary about this time failed to obtain any answer from Venice, "for, on account of the plague, no deliberations could take place"; and when he again, on his way from Rome, visited the city he received an evasive answer.

The tepidity of the Western Powers, although unable to deter Calixtus from his efforts against the Turks, caused him for a time to seek for aid in other quarters. In December, 1456, he made an appeal to the Christian King of Ethiopia; in the following year he applied to the Christians in Syria, Georgia, and Persia, and finally to Usunhassan, Prince of the Turcomans, the only one of the Eastern princes whose power could compare with that of the Sultan.

As a lasting memorial of the victory at Belgrade, and in thanksgiving for the unlooked-for success of the Christian arms, the Pope in the following year decreed that henceforth the Feast of the Transfiguration of our Lord should be solemnly observed throughout Christendom. A number of briefs attest the importance attached by Calixtus to the due observance of this decree, by which he hoped to revive the enthusiasm for the holy war. As far as the princes were concerned, however, these expectations were vain.

A pleasing contrast to the indifference is furnished by the zeal with which the lower orders received the Papal exhortations regarding the crusade. In many places the excitement and ardour manifested were most remarkable. A contemporary tells of peasants abandoning ploughs and of bridegrooms leaving their brides in order "to fight for the Catholic Faith for the love of God". Supernatural signs induced others to join the expedition. Throughout Upper Germany especially fresh hosts of crusaders assembled after the relief of Belgrade. These bands were incomparably superior in discipline to those that had flocked together before that decisive victory. Another contemporary description of the departure of the Nuremberg crusaders for Hungary says, "Anno 1456, when our Holy Father, Pope Calixtus III, sent a Danish legate and Bishop named Heinricus Kaldeysen to preach the crusade against the Turks, and to confer the cross, in September (more correctly August), many people came to the church here to take the cross, and set forth against the Turks. And as they were without a leader, and needed one to maintain order and authority for the glory of God and the honour of the city, the Council gave them for their help and comfort Heinrich Slosser, of Berne, who was the captain of the Swiss, and Otto Herdegen, who knew the Hungarian language, with eight horses and a red and white pennon (the colours of Nuremberg). These captains appointed chiefs over tens and over hundreds, and the chiefs and their men respectively took an oath of mutual fealty. This oath is written in the little book which is kept in the Court, and the men are inscribed by name in the same register. About fourteen baggage waggons were also borrowed from the city to take their armour to Ratisbon. They bought three great ships for two hundred and twenty Rhenish florins, in which from one thousand three hundred to one thousand four hundred well-armed men were to be embarked, six hundred carrying muskets, and the rest spears, cross-bows, and battle-axes. And they went forth in goodly array on the Friday after St. Bartholomew's day (27th August), shriven, and fortified with the Blessed Sacrament. They marched under the banner of the Holy Cross, whereon were also painted St. Sebaldus, St. Lawrence,

and the Holy Lance, and under the flag of Nuremberg, which the chief leader, Heinrich Slosser, bore, as the Council had commanded through Niclas Muffel, Paulus Grunther, and Erhart Schurstab, who admonished him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost to keep faith with the city, and to be a true leader of the people. By the Council they were provided with pots, kettles, pans, plates, spoons, and other vessels for cooking, two tents, a cask of powder and priming, lead, arrows, five bushels of oatmeal fried in dripping in little barrels, and six bushels of millet and peas, and fifty hand-guns. Item, in Hungary they were immediately to receive four hundred pounds' weight of copper coins for the general benefit, and in Vienna the house of Baumgartner gave two hundred pounds of the same, also to be spent for the general good. All this was done by the Council. Item, on the day when they departed hence each one of them was touched with the holy lance and with the holy cross at the hospital in the church of the Holy Ghost.

The German crusaders were joined, the chronicle of Spire informs us, by crusaders from England, France, and other countries, among whom were "priests and monks, and they were mostly poor working people". Cardinal Carvajal welcomed them all with real joy, and in every way that he could, showed them the greatest goodwill.

The army of King Ladislas was now increased to forty-four thousand men, and, accompanied by Count Ulrich of Cilli, he landed with his force at Belgrade on the 8th November, 1456. The King and the Count were received with all due respect, but as soon as they and their servants had entered the fortress the gates were shut behind them, and admittance was refused to the armed Germans and Bohemians. On the following morning Cilli was invited to take part in the Council of the Hungarian nobles. When he appeared Ladislas Hunyadi upbraided him in violent terms with his ambition and his hatred of the Corvinus family. Ulrich, overmastered with rage, drew his sword and wounded Hunyadi and three Hungarian nobles, but finally himself fell beneath the blows of his enemies. When this became known in the army of the King and among the crusaders, "everyone put on his armour, and the leaders went forth with their men intending to storm the castle". Young King Ladislas, however, dissembling his grief and indignation, sent word to the soldiers "that they were to take no notice of this matter, which did not concern the crusaders, and were to take off their armour". Soon afterwards the crusading army, which was as in a sack between fortress and town in double danger from Turks and Hungarians, was permitted by mutual agreement between the King and Cardinal Carvajal to go home again. "And so ended the expedition against the Turks on account of the perfidy of the Hungarians, of which we complain to God".

At the very time when the people of Germany were thus loyally supporting the crusaders their prelates were occupied in evading any real participation in the common cause by again coming forward with complaints against the Holy See. Now, as on former occasions, reform was the pretext, and pressure the means used to accomplish their end, which was to evade their obligations. As leader of the opposition, the aged Elector Dietrich, Count of Erbach, filled the place of Jakob of Treves, who had died in the end of May, 1456. The Elector's Chancellor, Doctor Martin Mayr, accompanied him and concentrated all his diplomatic and intriguing skill on the cause in hand.

In June, 1455, at a Provincial Synod at Aschaffenburg, the Archbishop of Mayence had caused a whole list of complaints against the Court of Rome to be drawn up. These complaints, which referred chiefly to violations of the Concordat, were contained in an instruction for the embassy to be sent to Rome, and are important as being the foundation of many similar documents of a subsequent date. After the close of this Synod, Dietrich and the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves entered into an



understanding for the summoning of a great German national Council. The object of this Council was to confirm the decrees of Basle and to take precautions against the burdens laid upon Germany, which strangely permits its eyes to be again torn out after having them restored by those salutary decrees.

The anti-papal sentiments of the Elector of Mayence, the ally of the Count Palatine Frederick, were manifested in a most decided manner at a Synod which he held at Frankfort-on-Main in February and March, 1456. It was here determined that the Archbishop and his suffragans should unite in resisting the violation of the Constance and Basle decrees by the Court of Rome and the oppression of the German nation by tithes and indulgences.

On the Feast of St. Peter ad vincula (1st August), 1456, the representatives of the five Electors, together with the Bishops of Salzburg and Bremen, again met at Frankfort-on-Main; the Elector of Treves held back, as he had not yet been confirmed by Rome. The fact that the Cathedral Chapters of Mayence, Treves, Cologne, and Bremen sent messengers to this assembly gave it a great importance. All were unanimous in refusing the tithe which Cardinal Carvajal was about to demand from the clergy for the crusade. In order to furnish a plausible excuse for this refusal the old disputes which the Concordat had set at rest were again revived. The war against the Turks was used by the Pope, they declared, as a pretext to fleece Germany. This was the object of the tithe, and the reason why the Indulgence granted to the defenders of Cyprus by Pope Nicholas had been withdrawn and declared invalid. They were resolved to appeal against the tithes; they would send the dealers in Indulgences back over the Alps with empty purses; they would not give money to support the spendthrift Catalan nephews at the Papal Court. The assembly then proceeded to draw up a report. This began with the usual complaints of the burdens imposed on the German nation; the tithes claimed by Rome for the Turkish war closing the list. A series of resolutions were passed for the redress of these grievances and the relief of the German Church. An appeal against the exactions of the Roman officials was drawn up and recommended. A league was formed, of which the members exchanged promises of mutual support in case anyone of them were threatened with excommunication, outlawry, war, or ecclesiastical or judicial proceedings, and also bound themselves not to enter into any "negotiation or understanding" without the consent of all. "This", says a recent historian, "was an attempt at a German Pragmatic Sanction, which the ambassadors in the old fashion were to bring after them". Practically but little result was to be apprehended from all this bluster. The assembly was to meet again at Nuremberg to consider whether it might not be better simply to accept the decrees of Constance and Basle. In reality their resolutions were nothing but a compilation of these with some slight modifications, which essentially altered nothing. The Frankfort assembly also resolved to apply to the Emperor and see if he would not make common cause with the Princes in endeavouring to find a remedy for the grievances of the nation, either by concluding a Pragmatic Sanction with the Holy See or by some other means. Moreover, they strongly urged him to come into the Empire, and to take upon himself the charge of it. Could he really suppose that the infidels were to be vanquished by letters and messengers? The document closes with a threat that if the Emperor should fail to appear at the Diet to be held in Nuremberg at the end of November, "we, with the help of God, will meet there to take counsel and to determine on all that it behoves us to do as Electors of the Holy Roman Empire and all that may be necessary for the furtherance of the Christian expedition".

The Emperor met these demands with a blunt refusal, and the Pope in a brief to his nuncio expressed his just displeasure. He strongly condemned the appeal of the Elector of Mayence, but did not excuse the dilatory Emperor. "O, hearts of stone which are not moved by this!" exclaims Calixtus, after speaking of the victory won at Belgrade, "without King and without Emperor. Our fleet with the legate has sailed for Constantinople, and the Emperor sleeps. Arise, O Lord, and support our holy enterprise".

At the Diet held at Nuremberg in the end of the year 1456, anti-Imperial feeling for a moment effaced the opposition to the Pope. There is no doubt that the revolutionary party contemplated setting the Emperor aside by the election of a King of the Romans; the candidate they had in view was the young and powerful Frederick I of the Palatinate, but as the anti-Imperial party was still too weak for action, it was merely determined that another Diet should meet at Frankfort-on-Main en Reminiscere Sunday (13th March); counsel was there to be taken as to the manner "in which the Pope was to be entreated regarding the Holy Roman Empire and the German nation". No energetic measures against the Emperor were adopted at this Diet (March, 1457), which assembled in spite of his formal prohibition. The attitude of the anti-Papal party seemed more threatening. Its grievances were fully set forth in an intemperate letter addressed by Doctor Martin Mayr to Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who had meanwhile been promoted to the purple. The Pope, says this letter, does not observe the decrees of the Councils of Constance and Basle, he does not consider himself bound by the treaties which his predecessors have entered into; he appears to despise the German nation and to extort all he can from it. The election of prelates is frequently postponed without cause; and benefices and dignities of all kinds are reserved for the cardinals and Papal secretaries. Cardinal Piccolomini himself has been granted a general reservation in an unusual and unheard-of form on three German provinces. Expectancies without number are conferred, annates and other taxes collected harshly and no delay granted; and it is also known that more has been exacted than the sums due. Bishoprics have been bestowed, not on the most worthy, but on the highest bidder. For the sake of amassing money, new indulgences have daily been published and war-tithes imposed without consulting the German prelates. Lawsuits, which ought to have been dealt with and decided at home, have been hastily transferred to the Apostolic Tribunal. The Germans have been treated as if they were rich and stupid barbarians, and drained of their money by a thousand cunning devices. And therefore this nation, once so glorious, which, with her courage and her blood had won the Holy Roman Empire, and was the mistress and queen of the world, is now needy, tributary, and a servant. For many years she has lain in the dust, bemoaning her poverty and her sad fate. But now her nobles have awakened as from sleep; now they have resolved to shake off the yoke and to win back their ancient freedom.

The real weight to be attached to this document was soon made manifest, for hardly three weeks had passed away before the same Doctor Martin Mayr made private overtures to Cardinal Piccolomini for a treaty to be concluded between his master, the Archbishop of Mayence and the Pope. This proposal elicited the humiliating reply that it was not for subjects to make alliances with their lords, and that an Archbishop of Mayence should be content with the position which his predecessors had occupied and not seek to rise above it.

All this anti-Papal agitation was well known, and caused grave solicitude in Rome. The apprehension that Germany might follow the footsteps of the French, who adhered to the Pragmatic Sanction, caused much anxiety, and the chief object of the

Pope was to prevent the Emperor from being drawn into the party of the Roman princes. The Brief which Calixtus addressed to Frederick III was drawn up by Cardinal Piccolomini. In this document the Pope denies the charge of disregarding the Concordats and of neglecting to appoint bishops. In regard to reservations and other exercises of patronage, if, in the multiplicity of affairs, anything has been amiss, this, he says, has been through inadvertence. Although the authority of the Holy See is absolutely independent and cannot be limited by the bonds of a contract, yet, in token of his ardent desire for peace and his goodwill towards the Emperor, he will allow the Concordat to continue, and will never, as long as he is at the helm, permit its violation. If, however, the nation has other complaints regarding the proceedings of his Court, and amendment is deemed necessary (for even he may fail and err as a man, especially in matters of fact), it does not become bishops or others to follow the example of those who, to the injury of ecclesiastical government, the destruction of the mystical Body of Christ and the ruin of their own souls, maintain principles which would authorize them to despise the commands of the Apostolic See and direct the affairs of the Church after their own will. He who ventures to act thus cannot call God his father, inasmuch as he does not acknowledge the Church for his mother. No one may oppose himself to the Roman Church; should anyone think himself wronged he must bring his grievances before her. The Pope dwells in forcible terms on the unreasonableness of the complaints regarding the money collected in Germany for the Turkish war, inasmuch as the great expenses which he incurred on behalf of Christendom in general, by the equipment of a fleet in the East, by supporting Skanderbeg in Albania, by paying so many ambassadors in all parts of the world, and by assisting multitudes who needed help in Greece and Asia, were evident to all. "We venture", Calixtus says, "to glory in the Lord, for while the Christian princes have almost all been sunk in slothfulness, He, through His own servants, who alone carry on the holy work, has broken the proud ranks of the Turks in Hungary, and discomfited the great and mighty army which had threatened to ravage not only Hungary, but also the whole of Germany, France, and Italy, and to overthrow the kingdom of Christ".

Copies of this Brief were sent from Rome to various persons, amongst whom were the King of Hungary and Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa; and, at the same time, Cardinal Carvajal and the Minorite, San Jacopo della Marca were exhorted to resist the anti-Papal agitation in Germany. A very severe letter was addressed by the Pope to the Archbishop of Mayence, the chief promoter of the movement. Calixtus declared that he could not believe so prudent a prelate to be capable of undertaking anything against the Papal authority, by which he would incur ecclesiastical and civil penalties and be guilty of the sin of heresy. As Elector, the Archbishop was, beyond all others, bound to maintain and extend that authority; if devils in human form taught otherwise, he ought not to give ear to them. To the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves he wrote in a similar strain, and also sent despatches to several States of the Empire, to Berne and other cities, exculpating himself from the charges made against him. As Carvajal had more than enough to do in Hungary, it was determined that another legate should be nominated for Germany, and Lorenzo Roverella, a distinguished theologian and diplomatist, was selected. Cardinal Piccolomini gave him detailed instructions as to the manner in which he was to proceed against the anti-Roman party in Germany.

The Cardinal himself personally took part in all these measures, and wrote a number of letters, among which those to Martin Mayr have attained a certain celebrity. This is the case more especially in regard to one of them, subsequently known as "Some account of the state of Germany", a title which, in strictness, is applicable only to a

small portion of it. In it he defends the action of the Holy See, and appeals to the prosperity of the country as a refutation of Mayr's complaints of Roman extortion. This graphic picture of German life in the middle of the fifteenth century is still read with pleasure by patriotic Germans. "The apology of Aeneas Sylvius", to use the words of a French historian, "perhaps too closely resembles that of the ancient Roman who replied to a charge of malversation of public money by proposing that his accusers should go to the Capitol and thank the gods for the victories which he had won. It must be confessed that there is much truth in the plea of the Pope's champion, and history will not fail to praise the zeal with which the common Father of Christians laboured to stem the further progress of the Turks and wrest their victims from them.

At the beginning of the year 1458 alarming reports of the excited state of Germany again reached Rome; no decided step, however, was taken, and ultimately the opposition died a natural death.

The conduct of Alfonso, the powerful King of Naples, was calculated to cause the Pope even greater anxiety than that occasioned by German discontent. From the very beginning of the Pontificate of Calixtus III the personal relations between him and this monarch, which had formerly been most friendly, had totally changed.

The King who could boast of having in great measure brought about the elevation of Calixtus III, expected his old friend to show his gratitude by acceding to all his requests. The first of these was certainly not a modest one, for he asked the Pope to hand over to him the March of Ancona and other territories of the Church. Calixtus, however, was not prepared to sacrifice his duty to his affection for his former patron, and refused the investiture. Further misunderstandings arose when the King proposed for several bishoprics in his dominions persons whose youth and ignorance rendered it impossible for the Pope to accede to his request. It must have been with reference to these differences that the Pope exclaimed: "Let the King of Aragon rule his own Kingdom, and leave to Us the administration of the supreme Apostolate". The tension between Calixtus III and the King was considerably intensified by the arrogance of Alfonso, who went so far as to insult the Pope personally. This we learn from a letter shown by a Papal Secretary to the Milanese ambassador, in July, 1455, in which Alfonso, calling upon the Pope to proceed against the infidels, says that : he appears to be asleep!" The document is full of other unbecoming expressions.

Calixtus greatly disliked the alliance between Alfonso and the Duke of Milan, which the former announced to him on the 4th October, 1455. Francesco Sforza betrothed his daughter, Hippolyta, to Don Alfonso, grandson of the Neapolitan monarch, and son of Ferrante of Calabria, while the daughter of Ferrante was actually married in 1456 to Sforza Maria, a son of the Duke of Milan. Venice, Florence, and Siena shared the apprehensions which these unions between the most powerful among the Italian princes awakened in the mind of the Pope.

The disgraceful conduct of King Alfonso on the occasion of Piccinino's war with Siena must have still more embittered the relations between him and Calixtus. A fresh outbreak of hostilities in Italy was the greatest possible obstacle to the crusade on which his heart was set, nevertheless the monarch, who had solemnly promised to take part in this, persisted in fomenting the war in the Sienese territory.

These matters being at length settled, the question of the crusade again became prominent. The success of the war against the infidels depended in great measure on the King of Naples, who had large naval and military forces at his disposal, and whose example might be expected to have great influence in winning the co-operation of other

states. Alfonso formally made the most magnificent promises, but he really had no intention of performing his vow of joining the crusade. Instead of proceeding against the enemies of Christendom, and without a declaration of war, he commenced hostilities against Genoa, which had always been the object of his hatred, and employed the fleet equipped by the Archbishop of Tarragona for the Holy War in devastating the territory of his enemies. At the same time he never ceased to oppress Sigismondo Malatesta, the Lord of Rimini. This policy, which not only stirred up fresh troubles in the Romagna, but also revived the designs of Anjou, and became the occasion of repeated interference on the part of the French, naturally had a most disastrous effect on the Pope's endeavours to unite Christendom against the Turks. All his exhortations and attempts to re-establish peace were in vain, and Alfonso's aggression finally compelled the Genoese to turn to France for assistance.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the relations between Calixtus and Alfonso became more and more embittered. The King was convinced that the Pope was determined to thwart him in every way. In the summer of 1457 there was much excitement about a presentation to a bishopric. The Pope having refused to accede to the King's desire, the Neapolitan ambassador appealed to a future council, and thus incurred excommunication. If we may trust the report of an ambassador then in Rome, the dispute became so violent that Calixtus concluded a Brief addressed to Alfonso with the words: "His Majesty should be aware that the Pope can depose kings", and Alfonso rejoined, "Let his Holiness know that the King, if he wishes, can find a way to depose the Pope".

The almost regal reception therefore accorded to the beautiful Lucrezia di Algano, who was generally supposed, though he denied it, to be King Alfonso's mistress, when she came to Rome with a great suite in October, 1457, can only have been due to political considerations. Whether any improvement in the state of feeling between Alfonso and Calixtus ensued it is impossible to say. If, as an ambassador has asserted, Lucrezia asked the Pope for a dispensation to become Alfonso's second wife, it is evident that the contrary must have been the case, as the Pope neither could nor would have granted such a request.

In March, 1458, we learn that the Pope's nephews, more especially Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, made efforts to bring about a reconciliation between him and Alfonso, and there was some talk of sending the Cardinal to Naples. It was expected that the great affection of the Pope for his relations would have ensured the success of these endeavours, but the King repelled all pacific overtures. In June, 1458, Calixtus wrote of the Neapolitan monarch: "Since Alfonso has come into possession of Naples the Church has had no peace; he has been a constant torment to Pope Martin, Eugenius, and myself. Therefore, when he dies, I will do my utmost to deliver my successor from such oondage by preventing the succession of Don Ferrante, the King's illegitimate son". The feudal law of Lombardy was on the Pope's side and of this he was no doubt aware.

According to it legitimization does not of itself carry the right of succession to a fief, and no special provision had been made to secure this for Ferrante.

## CHAPTER IV.

SKANDERBEG, "THE SOLDIER OF CHRIST"— THE POPE'S SOLICITUDE  
FOR THE CHRISTIANS IN THE EAST— COMPLETE FAILURE OF THE PAPAL  
EFFORTS FOR A CRUSADE —THE RISE AND DOWNFALL OF THE BORGIA —  
THE LAST DAYS OF CALIXTUS III.— THE DEATH OF CARDINAL  
CAPRANICA.

AFTER the death of the great Hunyadi, the Turks had but one adversary, able to cope with them, left on the western battlefields, and this was George Kastrioti, Prince of Albania, generally known by the name of Skanderbeg. The history of this hero, on whom Calixtus III bestowed the name, "Soldier of Christ", has been rescued by recent investigations from the romantic fictions which had obscured it

It is now an established fact that Kastrioti was not, as had been supposed, a scion of an ancient Albanian family, but was of Slavonian origin. Original documents have also refuted the story that he distinguished himself when a hostage among the Turks, gained favour with the Sultan, and, after the battle of Kunovica, escaped and returned home to incite his countrymen to take arms against the infidel. The truth is that Skanderbeg's youth was passed in his native mountains, and his warfare with the Turks began with the victory gained over them in the Dibra in 1444. This victory filled western Christendom with joyful hopes, inaugurated the independence of Albania, which Skanderbeg maintained for more than twenty years, and ushered in the heroic age of its brave people. He was himself the hero of heroes. Contemporary testimony is unanimous in representing him as one of the noblest figures of the age. While yet a boy, his handsome features and commanding gestures presaged a glorious future. A companion in arms tells us that he used to turn up his sleeves in battle, that he might better wield the sword or the club. His warlike spirit was such that a battle from time to time seemed to be a necessity for him. He was at once a soldier and a general. His physical strength was almost inexhaustible, and in their rapidity his military movements resembled those of Caesar.

All the efforts of the infidels failed to vanquish this mighty foe, and after a while they attempted by cunning to accomplish that for which their power had proved unequal. They succeeded in inducing some Albanian chiefs, who found the rule of the energetic Skanderbeg too burdensome, to revolt, and among these were the Princes Nicholas and Paul Ducagnini. A bloody civil war then broke out, and there was reason to believe that the Signoria of Venice were no strangers to these disturbances. The hatred of the Venetians to Skanderbeg was due to his connection with King Alfonso of Naples. Pope Nicholas, who in every way supported him, at length brought about a peace. The Turks now stirred up Moses Golem Komnenos against him. In 1455, Isabeg, one of the most experienced of the Turkish leaders, attempted a fresh attack on Albania. In order to make sure of the support of the King of Naples, Skanderbeg did homage to him as heir of the House of Anjou for his capital of Kroja, and Alfonso sent a thousand

foot soldiers and five hundred musketeers to assist him. In the end of June, 1455, when with fourteen thousand men he attempted an attack on Berat, he was beaten by the superior Turkish forces, but his mountain home, with its raging rivers and torrents, easily placed him beyond the reach of his enemies. At the approach of winter the Turks retired and left the traitor Moses Golem in possession, promising him that if he brought them Skanderbeg's head he should receive a hundred thousand ducats, and be put in possession of Albania without having to pay tribute.

For some time after the defeat at Berat Skanderbeg's fate was a matter of uncertainty in Western Europe, but in the spring of 1456 he reappeared upon the scene. In April he wrote to Cardinal Capranica, whose zeal for the cause of the crusades was well known, describing the warlike preparations of the Turks, and begging for his good offices with the Pope. An envoy from the Albanian hero reached Milan in June, and in October he again sent another messenger to Francesco Sforza and to Calixtus III. The Pope received his envoy with the greatest cordiality, but unfortunately was not able to assist the Albanians with ships or troops. He, however, encouraged and sanctioned their enterprise and afforded pecuniary help to the best of his power.

On the 5th April Skanderbeg made his triumphal entry into his capital, Kroja, laden with rich spoils, after having a few days previously defeated the traitor Moses and his Turks in the Lower Dibra. Moses returned home a despised and vanquished man. Full of repentance for his treachery he fled to Albania and begged forgiveness from Skanderbeg. The hero pardoned him and generously restored his confiscated possessions; it was henceforth Moses' aim to atone for his treachery by loyal service against the common foe.

A sorrow far deeper than that which the apostasy of Moses can have caused him fell upon Skanderbeg in the defection of his nephew Hamsa, who, beguiled by Mahomet II, proved false to his blood, his country, and his faith. In 1457 he joined the Turkish General Isabeg with a considerable force, and advanced against his uncle, who had scarcely ten thousand men at his command. The latter, therefore, determined to avoid an engagement with an enemy so superior in number, and to entice him into the interior of the devastated country. The crops which were nearly ripe were hastily gathered into the fortresses, where most of the country people with their goods also took refuge. As soon as the enemy began his march through the upper Dibra Skanderbeg with his troops retired towards Alessio. The Turks occupied a great part of the country, and extended their lines as far as this place, which belonged to the Venetians. Venice complained bitterly of the violation of her neutral territory, but did not support the oppressed Albanians. Now, as before, the Signoria, in their desire to prevent any foreign interference in Albania, viewed with displeasure the assistance rendered by Alfonso of Naples to Skanderbeg, who in his necessity had also written to the Pope, entreating aid. The state of the Papal Treasury was unfortunately at this time far from prosperous. The maintenance of the crusading fleet was a great and constant expense, claims were made from all sides on the Supreme Head of Christendom, and meanwhile the war tithe came in very sparingly. The Pope did all that was in his power by transmitting a sum of money to Skanderbeg, and promising, as soon as possible, to send a well-equipped galley, which was to be followed by other ships. The most splendid and most bloody of Skanderbeg's victories was that which he gained in the Tomorniza in July, 1457. Isabeg's army was surprised, and those who did not escape were cut to pieces. Thirty thousand Turks are said to have perished. Fifteen hundred prisoners, four-and-twenty horse-tails, and the whole camp of the enemy, with all its treasures, were taken by the

conqueror. Hamsa, the traitor, was among the captives. Skanderbeg magnanimously spared his life, but sent him to Naples to be kept in safe custody by the King.

Albania was now delivered from the Turkish invasion, as Hungary had been by the victory of Belgrade in the previous year. The only powers who had afforded Skanderbeg any real assistance at this critical period were King Alfonso and the Pope. On the 17th September, 1457, the latter wrote to him in the following terms: "Beloved son! continue to defend the Catholic Faith; God, for whom you fight, will not abandon His cause. He will, I am confident, grant success against the Turks and the other unbelievers to you and the rest of the Christians with great glory and honour."

The Pope had previously, on the 10th September, determined that a third part of the tithes from Dalmatia should be placed at the disposal of the brave Albanian chief. He also commanded his legate to come to Skanderbeg's assistance with at least a part of the fleet then in the Aegean Sea. A special nuncio, Juan Navar, was sent to Dalmatia and Macedonia to collect the tithes; he was to oblige the people of Ragusa to fulfil their promises. Navar does not, however, appear to have been very successful, for in December, 1457, the Pope threatened them with excommunication.

After his victory Skanderbeg had informed the Western Princes that he was not in a position to bring the war to a happy conclusion without further assistance. The time had come, he said, for them to awaken from their lethargy, to lay aside their dissensions, and to unite with him in exerting all their powers to obtain the liberation of the Christian world and to secure the future. But this appeal was as ineffectual as those which the Pope had previously made. Naples alone sent some troops to Albania. Calixtus III energetically expressed his satisfaction at the victory, and, on the 23rd December, 1457, appointed Skanderbeg his Captain-General for the Turkish war. He also repeatedly sent him pecuniary aid. Skanderbeg appointed as his lieutenant the despot of Roumania, Leonardo III, Tocco, ex-Prince of Arta, whose name was expected to rouse Southern Epirus to a general insurrection against the Turks. Unfortunately, Venice now came forward with various pretensions, the result of which was a new civil war, which was not terminated until February, 1458.

In his zeal for the defence of Europe against Turkish aggression, and for the protection of the Oriental Christians, Calixtus III never forgot the more distant outposts of Christendom in those regions. He interested himself more especially in the Genoese possessions in the Black Sea, which had already engaged the attention of Nicholas V. On the second day after his coronation he issued a Brief urgently exhorting the inhabitants of the Genoese territory on the mainland, and some few specified provinces in the neighbourhood, to support the Bank of St. George with money and gifts, so that Caffa might not fall into the hands of the unbelievers. In order to give the more weight to this appeal, new and ample indulgences were granted to those who should in any way support this establishment in its opposition to the Turks. On the 22nd November, in the same year, Calixtus, who had in the meantime personally afforded considerable assistance to the Bank, expressly declared that the Bull issued in favour of Caffa was not to be considered as suspended by that of the crusade of the 15th May.

These favours occasioned great satisfaction in Genoa, and honest collectors were sent without delay to the territories indicated by the Pope. Calixtus continued to manifest his goodwill to the undertaking. On the 3rd March, 1456, the directors of the Bank of St. George wrote to Caffa in the following terms: "The Pope shows himself in every way so well disposed towards the Genoese colonies that their welfare appears to be even nearer to his heart than it is to ours". The reason of this was that Calixtus's



motives were nobler than those of the directors of the Bank; they only cared for the preservation of their colonies on account of the income they derived from them, while the Pope undertook their protection from zeal for the maintenance of the Catholic faith and the defence of Christian civilization against the inroads of Islam.

The Pope's correspondence with Genoa, which has recently been brought to light, enables us to appreciate his marvellous energy in his care for the Eastern colonies at the very time when Hungary and the fleet were so urgently claiming his attention. On the 10th March, 1456, he extended to the dioceses of Albenga, Savona, and Ventimiglia the Bull by which Lodisio Fieschi and Giovanni Gatti had been appointed collectors of the ecclesiastical tithes in the Genoese territory. Other Briefs called upon the Bishops of Tortona, Luni, Alba, Acqui, and Asti to assist the collectors in every possible manner, and to give a good example to their subjects by their zeal for the common cause of Christendom. Others, again, confirmed the plenary powers given to these commissioners, and commanded them severely to punish those who, under the cloak of piety, deceived the simple people by falsely representing themselves as collectors. The Pope strictly charged Valerio Calderina, Bishop of Savona, and Administrator of the Diocese of Genoa, not to damp the zeal of the people by the suggestion of doubts and scruples. He also addressed a special Brief to Paolo Campofregoso, Archbishop Elect of Genoa, urging him to set a good example by the complete and speedy payment of the tithes of his benefice. In his indefatigable zeal he also exhorted the Duke of Milan and the Marquess of Montferrat, the neighbours of Genoa, to support Caffa. We cannot give a full account of all the favours which the Genoese received from Calixtus III, but we can undoubtedly assert that he did everything in his power on their behalf.

With regard to the fleet, the Pope was sedulous in providing it with reinforcements, and in encouraging the legate and exhorting him to keep his forces together in readiness for any emergency.

A splendid victory gained at Mitylene over the Turks in August, 1457, when no fewer than five-and-twenty of their ships were taken by the Papal fleet, gave much consolation to Calixtus. He commemorated the happy event by causing a medal to be struck with the inscription: "I have been chosen for the destruction of the enemies of the Faith".

This fresh success encouraged the Pope to do everything in his power for the support and assistance of Scarampo and his forces. As time went on, he continued to urge on the Cardinal Legate the necessity of keeping the fleet together, and remaining with it during the winter, so that the expedition might be carried on with renewed vigour in the following year. Further reinforcements were sent for this purpose early in 1458, and, in announcing their arrival to the Cardinal Legate, Calixtus III solemnly assured him that he would never give up the fleet, and would support it as long as he lived. He bid Scarampo not lose courage, and expressed his confident hope that God would grant victory, and would bring great things to pass by its means. The energy of the Pope never flagged until he was struck down by mortal sickness; and alas! it was not granted to him to witness another victory for the cause so near his heart.

Save for these successes, won by the arms of Scarampo and Skanderbeg, the year 1457 was fraught with disappointments to Calixtus. The King of Portugal, like the rulers of France and of Burgundy, constantly buoyed up his mind with vain hopes and empty expectations. No one in Italy made any exertion for the defence of Christendom. Venice remained, as before, deaf and cold to all Apostolic appeals; her traders cared only for

their selfish interests, and accordingly maintained peace with the Sultan, who invited the Doge in March, 1457, to the marriage of his son.

The Duke of Milan endeavoured to obtain investiture from the Emperor by holding out hopes that he would send troops for the war. These tedious negotiations came to nothing, although the Pope took the Duke's part, and all expectations of succour from this quarter vanished. Like the great victory on the Danube in 1456, the successes of Skanderbeg and Scarampo in 1457 were attended by no adequate results. All who wished to remain in peace, and attend without interruption to their own private interests, easily persuaded themselves that the power of the Turks was sufficiently subdued. Time was thus given to the enemy to recover from defeat, and to prepare for further aggressions, and an opportunity which never returned was lost by the short-sighted and egotistical policy of the European Powers.

The strength of Hungary was crippled; discord prevailed among her magnates and at the Court; Frederick II, was at variance with the young King Ladislas regarding the inheritance of the Count of Cilli. The Pope most earnestly adjured these two princes to lay aside this petty private matter for the sake of Christendom in general and of their own dominions. "How", he asks, "can the French, the Spaniards, and the English think of sending armies against the Turks when you, who are near at hand, and whose interests are at stake, seem to take no heed of the danger which threatens you from the infidels?". In the beginning of November, 1457, an agreement was at last arrived at between Frederick III and Ladislas, but on the 23rd of the same month Ladislas died, and in consequence of his death affairs in the East took a new and unexpected turn. Matthias Hunyadi Corvinus, who was very young, ascended the Hungarian throne, and the Utraquist Governor, George Podiebrad, was elected King of Bohemia (2nd March, 1458).

In the election of George no regard was paid to the hereditary pretensions of Saxony, Poland, and the House of Hapsburg; the adjoining countries were not consulted, and the proceedings were altogether of an exceptional kind. Accordingly the new King was not without opponents, who had legitimate grounds for calling his election in question. Under these circumstances the congratulations of an eminent and generally esteemed Prince of the Church were peculiarly welcome. Cardinal Carvajal wrote from Buda on the 20th March to express his good wishes, and at the same time took the opportunity of urging upon the new Monarch the cause of ecclesiastical unity, and of the defence of Christendom against the Turks.

Even before his elevation the crafty Podiebrad had been working to gain the favour of Rome. The Pope, who had already expressed his desire for the reconciliation of the Bohemians, was all the more easily won because he was assured, not only of Podiebrad's Catholic sentiments but also of his intention of taking part in the war against the Turks. The Premonstratentian Canon, Lukas Hladek, and Heinrich Roraw, the Procurator of the Bohemian Hospice in Rome, exerted themselves in his cause, and were so successful that the confiding Pontiff declared his determination in every way to defend the honour of the Bohemian King. Calixtus had letters of safe-conduct issued for the Bohemian ambassadors, and his confessor, Cosimo di Monserrato, shewed Lukas Hladek presents destined for King George. The Pope's anticipations were raised still higher when he received tidings of what King George and his consort had, before their coronation, done and bound themselves by oath to do.

According to the decision of the States the coronation of George was to take place according to the ancient Catholic rite. Prague was at this time without an

Archbishop; the Archbishop of Olmutz had not yet been enthroned, and the Archbishop of Breslau was hostile to the King. Consequently King Mathias and the Cardinal Legate Carvajal were requested to send a Hungarian Bishop to perform the ceremony. The Bishops of Raab and Waitzen declared themselves willing to undertake the office. Carvajal would not allow them to start until they had promised to insist upon George's abjuration of the Hussite heresy previously to his coronation. The King, who well understood his obligations to the Utraquists, began by refusing to do this; the Bishops, however, stood firm, and at length he agreed to abjure his errors and take a Catholic coronation oath, providing only that the matter was kept secret. Fresh difficulties arose when the Bishops required that the abjuration of heresy should be inserted with the other points in the formal record of his oath. George could not be induced to consent, and the Bishops contented themselves with his verbal abjuration. In the coronation oath taken on the 6th May, 1458, in presence of only eight witnesses, who were bound to secrecy, George swore fidelity and obedience to the Roman Catholic Church, her head, Pope Calixtus III, and his lawful successors, and promised to preserve his subjects from all errors, divisions and heretical doctrines, and especially from everything opposed to the Catholic Church and the true Faith, and to bring them back to obedience, and to perfect external and internal unity and union with the Roman Church in worship and ceremonials. Every difference of every kind was to be given up, and notably the administration of the Sacrament of the Altar in both kinds, and other things contained in the compacts which had never been confirmed by Rome.

These solemn promises on the part of the King led Calixtus III to cherish confident hopes that in time the majority of the Utraquists would follow the example of their monarch and return to the Catholic Church. Soon after his coronation George further encouraged these anticipations by accrediting Doctor Fantino de Valle as his Procurator in Rome, sending the Pope a copy of his oath, and adding ample promises regarding an expedition against the Turks to be undertaken when he had arranged the affairs of his kingdom. According to Cardinal Jacopo Ammannati Piccolomini, the aged Pontiff now resolved on addressing a Brief to King George with the superscription: "To my beloved son George, King of Bohemia", after the formula generally employed in the case of Catholic Princes. This Brief, however, has not come to light, and neither the King nor the Court ever alluded to it.

The coronation of King George by two Catholic prelates according to the rite of the Roman Church, together with the friendly relations established between him and the Pope, produced an immense impression, and the tide of feeling became much more favourable to the new monarch. He had now a fair hope of inducing the neighbouring States to acknowledge him, and of depriving the efforts of the Duke of Saxony and the Hapsburgs of any prospect of success.

To the end of his life Calixtus III continued heartily devoted to the cause of the crusade. In order to estimate the immense difficulties in his way, we must bear in mind that he had to encounter the obstinate opposition of almost all the European princes and of a great portion of the clergy. This opposition was displayed not only in France and Germany, but also in Italy and Spain, and the Papal registers contain a series of condemnatory briefs bearing on the subject. The Pope laments this sad state of things in language which shews how deeply it affected him. "The harvest is great but the labourers are few", he writes, in December, 1456, to Cardinal Alain. The sense of his isolation became at times so overwhelming that the burden of his office seemed almost intolerable.

In Italy the restless spirit of Piccinino and the crafty policy of Alfonso of Naples caused him constant and serious anxiety. On account of these troubles, and also with the view of making yet another effort to avert the danger of Turkish aggression, Calixtus, in the autumn of 1457, conceived the idea of holding a congress in Rome. His invitation was addressed to all the princes of Christendom; and it was his last attempt. In order to facilitate the deliberations, the envoys were summoned for different dates. Naples, Milan, Genoa, Florence, and Venice were to send their deputies to Rome by December, 1457; France, Burgundy, and Savoy by the end of the following January, and the other European princes, with the Emperor, by the end of February. The Pope placed great hopes on this congress, but the appointed periods passed by without the arrival of any of those invited. Otto de Carretto wrote on the 4th February, 1458, to the Duke of Milan, "No one of the envoys convened to discuss the Turkish business has yet arrived". In February several at last appeared, so that the deliberations could be commenced in March. They continued into the month of June, but there is no record of any result.

The excessive nepotism of Calixtus III is the only blot on his otherwise blameless character. The lavish prodigality with which he enriched his unworthy relations can only be, in some measure, caused as an effort to secure in them a counterpoise to the influence of the untrustworthy and often dangerous barons.

The relations of the Spanish Pope were very numerous, and some of them had come to Rome while he was still a cardinal. They belonged chiefly to the three allied Valencian families of Borgia, Mila, and Lanzol. Caterina Borgia, one of the Pope's sisters, was married to Juan Mila, Baron of Mazalanes, and was mother of young Luis Juan; another sister, Isabella, was the wife of Jofre Lanzol, a nobleman possessed of property at Xativa, and had two sons, Pedro Luis and Rodrigo. Calixtus gave both these nephews his family name by adoption.

The promotion of his relations was in itself objectionable, and was rendered still more so by the vicious character of some among them. A recent historian draws a striking comparison between the family of Borgia and that of Claudius in ancient Rome; the Borgias were in general distinguished by physical strength and beauty; they were sensual and haughty in disposition, and had for their armorial bearings a bull. Calixtus III was the founder of their fortunes, but derived little satisfaction from them. Could he have foreseen the evil which his nephews would do to Italy and to the Church, he would certainly, instead of elevating them, have banished them to the deepest dungeons of Spain.

Amongst the Pope's nephews, Rodrigo Lanzol, or, as the Italians called him, Lenzuoli, has attained the saddest celebrity. The remarkable abilities of this man, who was born at Xativa, near Valencia, in 1430 or 1431, have been acknowledged even by his bitterest adversaries. Guicciardini says that "in him were combined rare prudence and vigilance, mature reflection, marvellous power of persuasion, skill and capacity for the conduct of the most difficult affairs".

Even while yet a Cardinal, Calixtus III had a partiality for his gifted nephew; and, after his elevation to the Papal Throne, he loaded him with dignities and favours of all kinds. As early as the 10th May, 1455, Rodrigo was Notary of the Apostolic See; on the 3rd June he was made Dean of the Church of Our Lady at Xativa, and other benefices in Valencia were conferred on him, and in the same month he was sent by the Pope to Bologna to study jurisprudence. He accompanied Luis Juan Mila, Bishop of Segorbe, who was nominated Governor of Bologna on the 13th June, 1455. On the 29th June the two cousins reached their destination, where they were honourably received. Luis Juan,

however, had to be on his guard with the Bolognese in the exercise of his new dignity : and his abilities do not appear to have been considerable.

Nevertheless, Calixtus III determined to raise him, as well as the young Rodrigo, to the purple. In November, 1455, the Archbishop of Pisa, Filippo de' Medici, was made aware of this intention, and it was expected that it would be carried out in the following month. Some obstacle, however, must have arisen, for it was not till the 20th of February, 1456, that the Pope's nephews were secretly created Cardinals.

The records of this creation are preserved, and it appears that it took place in a Secret Consistory, in the presence and with the consent of all the Cardinals then in Rome. Contrary to the usual custom, the Church of San. Niccolo in Carcere was on the same day assigned to Rodrigo as his title, and it was decreed that in the event of the Pope's death before his publication, the other Cardinals were at once, under pain of excommunication, to regard his creation as published, and to admit him to take part in the Conclave for the election of a new Pope.

The new Cardinals had not as yet done; anything to merit the dignity conferred on them, they were both very young — Rodrigo only five-and-twenty — their elevation was in itself an unjustifiable action, and the evil was aggravated by the fact that Rodrigo was an immoral and vicious man.

Such is the judgment of a German Cardinal of the nineteenth century, and though it may seem severe, it is perfectly just Rodrigo was handsome, of an ardent temperament, and extremely attractive to women. In the time of Pius II the historian, Gasparo di Verona, sketched his portrait in the following terms: "He is handsome, of a pleasant and cheerful countenance, with a sweet and persuasive manner. With a single glance he can fascinate women, and attract them to himself more strongly than a magnet draws iron". No unfavourable testimony regarding the conduct of Rodrigo during the lifetime of Calixtus III has come to light; but the same cannot be said as to his subsequent course.

Repeated efforts have nevertheless been made in recent days to rehabilitate the moral character of this man. In the face of such a perversion of the truth, it is the duty of the historian to show that the evidence against Rodrigo is so strong as to render it impossible to restore his reputation. We shall have to speak at a future period of his scandalous relations with a Roman lady, Vannozza de' Catanei, which form part of this evidence.

The first light thrown upon Rodrigo's immorality occurs in an admonitory letter of the year 1460, in which Pius II reproaches the Cardinal, who probably was not at the time a priest, with his unbecoming behaviour at an entertainment given at Siena, in the garden of Giovanni de Bichis. "Our displeasure," says Pius II, "is unspeakable, for such conduct disgraces the ecclesiastical state and office. It will be said to us that we have been made rich and great, not in order that we should lead blameless lives, but to give us the means of self-indulgence. This is the reason why princes and powers despise us and the laity daily deride us. They reproach us with our own conduct when we would blame that of others. Contempt falls even upon the Vicar of Christ, because he seems to tolerate such things. You, beloved son! govern the Bishopric of Valencia, the first in Spain; you are also Chancellor of the Church, and — which makes your conduct more reprehensible — you sit with the Pope among the Cardinals, the Counsellors of the Holy See. We leave it to your own judgment whether it is becoming to your dignity to pay court to ladies, to send fruit and wine to the one you love, and all day long to think of nothing but pleasure. We are blamed on your account; the memory of your blessed

uncle, Calixtus, is blamed; many consider that he did wrong in heaping so many honours on you. You cannot plead your youth, for you are not now so young as to be unaware of the duties which your dignity imposes on you. A Cardinal must be blameless and an example of moral life before the eyes of all men. What right have we to be angry if temporal princes call us by names that are little honourable, if they grudge us our possessions and constrain us to submit to their commands? Truly we inflict these wounds upon ourselves and invite these evils when by our own deeds we daily lessen the authority of the Church. Our chastisement for these things is shame in this world, and the ways of sin in the next. We trust in your prudence to remember your dignity, and not suffer yourself to be called a gallant by women and youths. For should such things occur again we shall be constrained to show that we do not consent to them, and our censure will not fail to bring confusion on you. We have constantly loved you, and we held you worthy of our protection as a grave and discreet person. Let your conduct be such that we may retain this opinion to which nothing can more conduce than the adoption of a regular life. Your years favour the hope that you will amend, and permit us to exhort you in a fatherly manner. Petriolo, the 11th June, 1460".

Cardinal Rodrigo hastened to write a letter of apology to the Pope and endeavoured to place the affair in a more favourable light. The reply of Pius II was grave and dignified. The conduct of Rodrigo, he maintains, is inexcusable, although, perhaps, there may have been some exaggeration in the account of it. In any case the Cardinal must for the future keep aloof from all such things and be more careful of his reputation. If he will do this and live discreetly the Papal favour will not be withdrawn from him.

The hopes of Pius II were not realized. Cardinal Rodrigo would not change his mode of life. In the year 1464 Pius II, with his mortal sickness upon him, undertook his celebrated expedition to Ancona to place himself at the head of the crusaders. Rodrigo accompanied him, but even at so serious a time this "essentially low-minded man" could not bring himself to give up his evil pleasures.

It cannot surprise us to find that among the better disposed Cardinals great opposition was made to the promotion of such a man. This was probably manifested even in the Secret Consistory of the 20th February, 1456. If the Cardinals then gave him their votes, it was in the hope that the old Pontiff would die before Rodrigo's publication.

This hope, however, was soon disappointed. In September, 1456, when all the Cardinals had left Rome on account of the insupportable heat and of a pestilential sickness, Calixtus III actually proceeded to the publication (17th September). A month later the Pope's nephews made their solemn entry into Rome; on the 17th November the red hat was conferred upon them, and on the 26th the ceremony of opening their mouths took place.

Together with his nephews the Pope had raised to the purple the Portuguese Infante, James, a young man noted for his modesty and purity of life. This Cardinal, who was in every way a contrast to Rodrigo Borgia, unhappily died on the 27th August, 1459, on his journey to Florence as legate. His monument, by Antonio Rossellino, is in the Church of San Miniato al Monte. The beautiful form of the young Cardinal, wearing on his countenance an expression of profound peace, rests on a bed of state standing in a niche raised on a lofty architectural pedestal. Two nude figures hold the ends of the pall. Above, on either side, two angels kneel on brackets fastened to the wall, holding a

crown and a palm. In the vault over the niche is a medallion in relief of the Blessed Virgin, borne by two angels in the air.

On the 17th December, 1456, Calixtus III made another promotion of Cardinals, and on this occasion also the Sacred College offered opposition. "Never", wrote one of those nominated, "had Cardinals more difficulty in entering the Sacred College. The hinges (cardtnes) had become so rusty that they would not turn. The Pope had to use battering-rams and all kinds of engines to burst open the door". Calixtus was again unsuccessful with some of the candidates; for instance, he had to give up the Bishop of Novara, on whose behalf the Duke of Milan had repeatedly interested himself. Of the six actually nominated, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini was undoubtedly the most worthy and distinguished. The others were Juan de Mella, Bishop of Zamora, a man noted for his stately manners and his knowledge of canon law; Jacopo Tebaldo, Bishop of Montefeltre; Rinaldo de' Piscicelli, Archbishop of Naples; Giovanni da Castiglione, Bishop of Pavia; and lastly, Richard Ollivier de Longueil, Bishop of Coutances, who, like d'Estouteville, belonged to a distinguished family in Normandy. Charles VII had zealously exerted himself for the promotion of the last named prelate; and Calixtus hoped, as it proved, in vain, that by conferring on him the purple he would win the French monarch to the cause of the crusade.

As time went on fresh favours were constantly heaped upon the Borgias. Young Cardinal Rodrigo was appointed legate in the March of Ancona in December, 1456, and went there on the 19th January in the following year. Cardinal Luis was made legate of Bologna, and both were richly endowed with benefices.

The most important and lucrative office of the Papal Court was that of Vice-Chancellor; one of the ambassadors speaks of it as the highest dignity after that of the Pope. Since the death of Cardinal Condulmaro (30th October, 1453) no one had been appointed to fill this high position, and it was but natural that those Cardinals who held no great office at the Court should aspire to it. We are expressly informed that such was the case in regard to d'Estouteville. Since the year 1455 he had been labouring to obtain it, but in 1457 it was bestowed on Rodrigo, who was also made Commander-in-Chief of the Papal troops in Italy in December of the same year. Don Pedro Luis, his brother, a layman, and a year younger than himself, was loaded with offices and honours in a manner equally scandalous. In the spring of 1456 he was appointed Captain-General of the Church and Commander of St Angelo, and, in the autumn of the same year, Governor of Terni, Narni, Todi, Rieti, Orvieto, Spoleto, Foligno, Nocera, Assisi, Amelia, Cività Castellana, and Nepi; soon afterwards the patrimony of St Peter in Tuscany was added to these.

Such a career was unheard of. Cardinal Capranica, who, as Grand Penitentiary under Nicholas V, had enjoyed the esteem of all classes, made a courageous protest, and his opposition could not be overcome either by prayers or threats. His noble conduct drew upon him the hatred of the Borgias, who vainly sought to have him sent as legate to a distance from Rome. Finally they went so far as to try to put him in prison, but this the Pope would not permit.

The Borgias kept up the closest intimacy with the Colonna family — in the summer of 1457 was even said that Don Pedro Borgia was to marry a Colonna — and accordingly their relations with the Orsini were unfriendly. In 1457, when the Pope sent Don Pedro against the Orsini to recover from them some fortresses which he considered to be the property of the Church, open war broke out. Cardinal Orsini now left Rome (July, 1457); Scarampo, Carvajal, and Nicholas of Cusa were absent; and as

d'Estouteville, Barbo, and Piccolomini held to the Borgias, they had the preponderance in the Sacred College. It is, moreover, not improbable that most of the Cardinals had assented to the appointment of Don Pedro Luis as Prefect of the City, which took place on the death of the City Prefect, Gian Antonio Orsini, on the 19th August, 1457. On the evening of the same day the Conservators and the principal citizens of Rome came to the Papal Palace to thank Calixtus for the selection he had made. The Pope took the opportunity of assuring them that Don Pedro was, in feeling and manners, an Italian, and that it was his desire to live and die a Roman citizen. One of the Conservators went so far as to observe that he hoped soon to see the new City Prefect King of Rome; all united in requesting the Pope to make over to Don Pedro the fortresses which had always constituted the Prefect's fief. Don Pedro himself, in receiving the deputations which came to congratulate him, expressed his intention of becoming an Italian and his wish to live in Italy.

These empty speeches were made because everyone knew how dearly the Pope loved his nephews. In reality there was no love lost between the new Prefect and the Italians. The manners of almost all the Pope's nephews were over-bearing and insolent towards the Romans, who retaliated by bitterly hating the foreigners. Their resentment was aggravated when the good fortune of the Borgias attracted a host of relations and other Spaniards to Rome, who brawled in the streets and overran the provinces.

Adventurers of all kinds gathered round the wild and handsome Don Pedro Luis; the general name of "Catalans" was given to all these strangers, among whom were Neapolitans as well as Spaniards, and, similarly, all the Pope's nephews were called "Borgia", whatever might be their patronymic; Calixtus, indeed, conferred on most of them the honour of bearing his family name.

From the very beginning of his pontificate the Pope showed a marked preference for his numerous fellow-countrymen equally with his nearer and more distant relations. Only a few days after his election we find evidence of this. The feeling against the Catalans was already so strong that many Germans and Frenchmen voluntarily resigned their positions at the Papal Court. The posts thus vacated were filled by Spaniards, who soon formed the largest portion of the Pope's circle; they were also to be found in the Papal Chapel and among the artists attached to the court. No large orders, however, were given to these latter, for, where he could, Calixtus economized for the sake of the Turkish war.

The power of the Borgias and Catalans became almost intolerable after the important fortress of St. Angelo had been given up to them. This was done on the 15th March, 1456, at a late hour in the evening and after the Pope had threatened the Castellan with the severest penalties. Great excitement prevailed in the city, and it was thought that nothing short of the summoning of a general council could avail to restore tranquillity.

As the military and police were in the hands of the Catalans they had unlimited power, and administered justice as they chose. "Every day" says a chronicler, "there were assassinations and encounters in the streets; nothing but Catalans could be seen". The aged and sickly Pope had, we are expressly informed, no idea of what was going on. His attention was constantly engrossed by the war against the Turks; and he thought that he might safely leave the affairs of Rome to the care of his beloved nephews.

The confusion in Rome was yet further increased by repeated visitations of pestilential epidemics. In the beginning of June, 1458, the plague raged so violently that everyone who could do so sought safety in flight. Most of the Cardinals left the city,



amongst them the Portuguese Cardinal, the Infant James, Giovanni da Castiglione, Filippo Calandrini, and Piccolomini. The last-named betook himself to the Baths of Viterbo, to continue his former life of peaceful leisure. The aged Pontiff, however, remained in Rome, and his attention was fully occupied by the illness of his bitterest opponent, Alfonso of Naples, which terminated fatally on the 27th June.

On the same day the King's illegitimate son, Don Ferrante, to whom he had bequeathed Naples, rode with royal pomp through the city, while the people cried "Long live King Ferdinand!". But this was not sufficient to overcome the opposition to his accession which arose on all sides. The aged René of Anjou-Provence, who bore the title of King of Naples, and his son John, who styled himself Duke of Calabria, accepted the proposals of the former and recent antagonists of the Aragonese, all the more readily because Calixtus III, the lord paramount, was also hostile to that party.

Almost as soon as the Pope had heard what must to him have been the welcome tidings of Alfonso's death, he sent to the Neapolitan ambassador's house to have him arrested and taken to St. Angelo. But the ambassador, who had been warned of the Pope's intentions, and had received early intelligence of the death of his King, had fled. The property, which he left behind him, was seized. On the following day Calixtus held a Consistory, in which he conferred on Cardinal Rodrigo the Bishopric of Valencia, with its revenue of eighteen thousand ducats, and on his Datary the Bishopric of Gerona. The same morning Cardinal Luis Juan and other relations of the Pope received various benefices, the right of appointment to which, in common with the above-named Bishoprics, had been in dispute between Calixtus and Alfonso. After dinner the Pope had an interview with Cardinals d'Estouteville and Alain, lasting nearly till evening, in which he declared his determination of making every effort to recover Naples for the Church from Don Ferrante, who had no right to it. The Pope added, were this to take place, and it were proved to belong to King René, he would give it to him, otherwise he would grant it as a fief to whomsoever he deemed fit. It was surmised that he intended to bestow it on Don Pedro. The ambassador, from whom we learn this, says that the Pope looked on Don Pedro as a second Caesar, and the reports of others are to the same effect. Many contemporaries even assert that after the conquest of Constantinople Don Pedro was to have been made its Emperor or King of Cyprus. There is more intrinsic probability, however, in the statement concerning Naples, and it is certain that although Ferrante made every possible effort to bring about a reconciliation, the Pope resolutely refused to acknowledge his right of succession. On the 14th July a Bull was published in Rome, by which Calixtus claimed the kingdom of Sicily on this side of the Faro as a lapsed fief. At the same time its subjects were forbidden to swear fealty to any one of the pretenders to the Crown; such as had taken an oath were loosed from their obligations, and the claimants were invited to come to Rome to establish their rights. Provision was immediately made for the publication of this document throughout the kingdom of Naples, and it was moreover reported that the Pope had required from Don Ferrante, under pain of the most severe punishments, the payment of the sixty thousand ducats which Alfonso had bequeathed for the crusade.

Great excitement was caused in both Naples and Rome by this action on the part of the Pope. On the publication of the Bull the price of corn at once rose in Rome. One of the Conservators, moreover, is reported to have expressed himself to the effect that in the event of the Pope making war upon Naples, the Romans would be compelled to choose the lesser evil. The threat did not deter Calixtus from his purpose, and, in order to give greater effect to his Bull, he commanded Don Pedro to levy troops for a hostile demonstration against Naples.

Contemporary despatches from ambassadors show how strong was the Pope's feeling against Don Ferrante. Calixtus had been greatly incensed by his letter announcing to the Pope and the Cardinals the death of his father, in which he already styled himself King. In a conversation with the Milanese ambassador, he called Ferrante a little bastard, whose father was unknown. "This boy who is nothing", he said, "calls himself King without our permission. Naples belongs to the Church, it is the possession of St. Peter. Alfonso would not assume this title until he had the consent of the Holy See, in this following our counsel. You," continued the Pope, "being from Lombardy, where fiefs are more common than elsewhere, know that, admitting him to be the legitimate successor of Alfonso, he must have our confirmation before he can be called King. Moreover, Ferrante wrongfully holds possession of Terracina, Benevento, and other places which belong to the Church. Many have therefore thought that we should have proceeded against him with more severity, and altogether denied his right of succession. This we have not wished to do, but for the defence of the rights of the Church we have issued this just and holy Bull, which will stand not only on earth but also in heaven. In it we have reserved his rights as well as those of the other claimants, for everyone shall have his due. If your Duke, whom we greatly love, leaves us a free hand, we shall conquer and exalt him as we have always wished to do; the Duke must attach no importance to a child who is nothing, and whom no one regards; we have been told that Ferrante, when he heard the words of our Bull, burst into tears; his subjects do not wish to be excommunicated, and have accordingly determined to send ambassadors to us; they will be obedient to the Church. If Don Ferrante will give up his usurped title and humbly place himself in our hands, we will treat him as one of our own nephews".

Ferrante was by no means disposed to do anything of the kind. He summoned a Parliament at Capua, and called on his barons for assistance against the unjust pretensions of the Pope. It was determined that ambassadors should be sent to Rome to appeal against the Bull of July 12<sup>th</sup>. The messengers who brought the Bull into the kingdom were, by order of Ferrante, seized and soundly beaten. It was a great advantage to him that the most powerful of Italian princes, Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan, declared himself against the Pope and acknowledged Ferrante as King. Cosmo de Medici united with Sforza in supporting him against Papal menaces and French pretensions.

Under these circumstances it would have been hard to foretell the complications to which the Neapolitan question might have given rise had not the death of Calixtus III. completely altered the aspect of affairs.

The Pope had been seriously ill in the spring, but had recovered and risen up again with characteristic energy. From the beginning of July, however, there had been a general failure of strength, and about the middle of the month his condition had become so much worse that all the business of government had to be suspended. On the 21st a violent and most painful attack of gout supervened, and as he was also suffering from fever, which may have been due to agitation regarding the Neapolitan question, the physicians gave but little hopes of his recovery.

On the 30th July a report of the Pope's death was current in Rome, and immediately the hatred of the Romans against the "Catalans" broke forth; the foreigners were ill-treated in the public streets by the populace, and a young Catalan was slain. The state of things was so alarming that the Florentine merchants and the wealthy prelates and courtiers removed their possessions to places of safety.

Meanwhile the Pope had again rallied a little; on the 1st and 2nd of August he was decidedly better, but on the 3rd a burning fever took away all hope of amendment. Even now the marvellous energy of the aged man made it hard for him to believe that he was so near his end. When the plain-spoken Cardinal Antonio de la Cerda told him that, as the physicians had given him up, it was now time to think of his soul and to prepare to die as befits a Pope, Calixtus replied that it was not yet certain that he was to die this time. On the 1st August, however, he made up his mind to receive the Sacraments, and on the 4th he was anointed.

The affairs of government occupied his attention while he lay on his death-bed; on the 26th of July he held a Consistory, and on the 31st he gave proof of the undying strength of his affection for his relations by an act of great importance.

On the death of King Alfonso, Terracina and Benevento had reverted to the Church, and on the above-named day the Pope granted the Vicariate of these two cities to his beloved Don Pedro. If we may rely on the report of the Milanese ambassador, the Cardinals consented from fear, lest opposition on their part might have involved imprisonment in St. Angelo. On the 1st August, Calixtus conferred the Archbishopric of Naples on Cardinal Tebaldi, the brother of his physician. At the same time it was understood that he intended to nominate no less than five new Cardinals, of whom two were to be "Catalans" and two Romans. A violent opposition arose on the part of the Sacred College, and Cardinals d'Estouteville, Orsini, Barbo, and de Mella met that evening in Cardinal Alain's Palace to take counsel. "It appears", writes one of the ambassadors, "that they have determined not to go to the Pope's Palace, and above all not to cross the Tiber until St. Angelo is given over to the Sacred College. Moreover, they have resolved not to consent to the nomination of new Cardinals".

The excitement was not confined to the great Princes of the Church. The tidings of the mortal sickness of the Pope had deeply moved not only Rome, but also the Pontifical States, and the general confusion was aggravated by the arrival (August 2nd) of Don Ferrante's ambassadors, who affixed to the doors of St. Peter's an appeal to the new Pope or to a Council, and declared that if the Cardinals would not listen to them they would seek the alliance of the Romans.

With a view of maintaining order, the Sacred College had, before the end of July, appointed a Commission consisting of four of its members — Cardinals Bessarion, d'Estouteville, Alain, and Barbo. The Commission met daily, and one of its first acts was the occupation of the Capitol by a force of two hundred men under the Archbishop of Ragusa. The Cardinals further made every effort to come to an understanding with Don Pedro Borgia. This was accomplished more easily than had been expected. Don Pedro, on whom his brother Rodrigo exercised a restraining influence, had sense enough to perceive that his longer residence in Rome would be attended with danger; he therefore gave up to the College of Cardinals all the fortresses, including St. Angelo, and in return received in coin the sum of two-and-twenty thousand ducats which Calixtus III had left him by will. His troops were at once required to take an oath of fealty to the Sacred College in the person of the Vice-Camerlengo; the dying Pope being left in ignorance of these transactions. The Cardinals had already taken into their keeping the treasury of the Church, which at the time contained a hundred and twenty thousand ducats.

The excessive bitterness of the Orsini family against Don Pedro can easily be accounted for. It was an open secret that they would spare no efforts to bring about his downfall, and his way had been barred by land and by sea. Moreover, the violence of

the popular fury against the "Catalans" had now in many places increased. In Rome the hated foreigners were cut to pieces whenever they fell into the hands of their enemies. Under these circumstances Don Pedro felt that he was not safe, and he knew that his danger was all the greater because most of his troops were Italians, and he had not treated them very well; by the end of July it was thought that he would flee to Spoleto, and there await the election of a new Pope.

Don Pedro's flight actually took place early in the morning of the 6th of August. He was assisted by Cardinal Pietro Barbo, who was a friend of the Borgias, and was anxious to prevent bloodshed. In order to avoid the snares of the Orsini, Don Pedro proceeded with the greatest circumspection. He mounted his horse at three in the morning, accompanied by his brother Rodrigo in disguise, and by Cardinal Pietro Barbo, who brought with him three hundred horse and two hundred foot. They first passed through the Porta del Castello di St. Angelo, and turned towards Ponte Molle. They then came back through the Porta del Popolo into the city, and hurried on, choosing the least inhabited streets to the Porta di San Paolo. At this gate the two Cardinals parted from him, after commanding the soldiers to escort him to Ostia. But Don Pedro was already detested to such a degree that, although the order was given in the name of the Sacred College, nearly all the soldiers refused to accompany him any further. "Not one even of the grooms", says an ambassador, "would remain with him". Fresh difficulties met the forsaken fugitive at Ostia, where he had ordered a galley with money and other valuables to await him. In vain did he look for this vessel, which had disappeared long before his arrival, and he was accordingly compelled to escape in a boat to Civit  Vecchia.

Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia showed more courage. He had retired to Tivoli in June on account of the unhealthy state of Rome, but returned during the night, between the 25th and 26th July, on hearing of the dangerous illness of the Pope. In the general confusion his servants forsook him, so that his splendid palace was left to be plundered by the populace. Rodrigo's return to the city, after his brother's flight, was a brave action. The chronicler of Viterbo says that the Cardinal went to St. Peter's to pray for the forsaken and dying Pope.

For fully a fortnight the aged Pontiff hung between life and death, until at last, on the evening of the 6th of August, the Feast of the Transfiguration, which he himself had instituted, God released him from his sufferings.

Except for his nepotism, Calixtus III deserves high praise, more especially for the energy, constancy and purpose which he displayed in dealing with the burning question of the day — the protection of Western civilization from the Turkish power. In this matter he gave a grand example to Christendom, and it is to be observed that in the midst of the military and political interest which claimed so large a share of his time and attention, he did not neglect the internal affairs of the Church, and vigorously opposed heresies.

The tidings of the Pope's death caused the greatest excitement in Rome. The Orsini and the other enemies of already taken flight, and those who still remained in the city sought to conceal themselves in out-of-the-way places, for the populace were attacking the houses of all the Spaniards and of any Romans who belonged to the Borgia party. Cardinal Barbo was included in the hatred borne to the family of the late Pope, and the assistance which he had afforded to Don Pedro in his flight was not forgiven.

The bitter feeling against the evil doings of the Spanish strangers led to bloodshed in many parts of the States of the Church. Disturbances had occurred in Viterbo as early as August 1st. The Castellan of Castelnuovo was slain by Stefano Colonna, and a like fate befell the Catalan Castellan of Nepi. At Civit  Castellana, Fabriano, Ascoli, and other places, the people rose with the cry, "Long live the Church!". The Orsini, with the consent of the College of Cardinals, invested San Gregorio, which Don Pedro had formerly wrested from them. Jacopo Piccinino again appeared to see what he could fish out of the troubled waters. Almost as soon as he heard of the Pope's dangerous illness he concluded a truce with Malatesta, and returned to the States of the Church. On the 15th August he appeared before Assisi, and the Catalan Castellan gave it up to him for a sum of money. Piccinino also occupied Gualdo, Nocera, Bevagna, and other places, and pitched his camp at Foligno. It was believed that there was an understanding between him and the King of Naples, who thus sought to extort a recognition of his own claims, to frighten the Cardinals, and to prevent the election of a French Pope.

Even in the last week of July negotiations regarding the Papal election had begun among the Cardinals, and the Italian Cabinets had also been busy. The questions connected with the succession to the chair of St. Peter were, indeed, of a most important character. Was the new Pope to be an Italian, a Spaniard, or a Frenchman, a friend of the Orsini or of the Colonna party? Would he favour the French or the Aragonese dynasty in Naples? Would he attack the Turks? Would he be a man of peace or a man of war?

It would appear that the Italian Cardinals, mindful of the previous Conclave which had resulted in the election of a foreigner, on this occasion at once proposed one of their own number, against whom no party could raise any serious objection. This was Cardinal Capranica, in favour of whose election, as an ambassador expressly declares, Italian and non-Italian Cardinals, Orsini and Colonna, were unanimous.

The powerful Duke of Milan used his influence on behalf of Capranica. Writing on August 2nd to his ambassadors in Rome he says, "We wish you on this occasion to use all your zeal and all your skill, and leave nothing undone, of course, with due care for what is becoming, for the fulfilment of our desires. We exclude every other". On the following day Simonetta, the Duke's confidant, repeated the command, and pointed out that Capranica was not only the most worthy member of the Sacred College, but also the individual best fitted to carry out ecclesiastical reforms. The King of Naples also was induced to favour his election.

The explanation of this marvellous unanimity is to be found in the moral purity and the rare qualities of this great man.

Domenico Capranica was born in the Jubilee year of 1400, in the little town near Palestrina, which bore his name. Although of modest fortune, his family was intimate with that of the Colonna. Domenico, who from his earliest youth showed a great love of learning, went at fifteen years of age to the University of Padua to study civil and canon law. Here Nicholas of Cusa was his fellow-disciple, and together they sat at the feet of Cesarini. The relations between Capranica and his master were of the happiest and most friendly description, and became yet more intimate when they were both on the same day raised to the purple. Capranica pursued his legal studies in Bologna with extraordinary zeal. Sleep, of which he allowed himself but a scanty measure, often surprised him over his books. His attention to jurisprudence did not lead him to neglect polite literature, and even at this early period a brilliant future was predicted for the

gifted youth, who outstripped all his companions, and was the favourite of his teachers. His modesty was such that he used to blush when an older person addressed a question to him. Never, during his student life, did he take part in any public merry-makings or banquets, and we cannot be surprised to learn that he received the doctor's cap when only one-and-twenty. Martin V was at this time living in Mantua, and was a friend of the Capranica family; Domenico accordingly at a very early age became a clerk of the Apostolic Chamber. In his new position he diligently continued his studies; St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Cassian, and Seneca are said to have been his favourite authors.

The more Pope Martin V saw of the young official, the more persuaded did he become of his remarkable learning and of his rare virtues. In consequence he raised him to the purple when only three and thirty, but deferred the publication of his promotion to a later period for fear of the jealousy which it might arouse.

After Capranica had admirably accomplished several difficult missions entrusted to him by the Pope, and had also distinguished himself as leader of the Papal troops, Martin V made him Governor of Perugia, where his justice, moderation, and disinterestedness won the affection of the people, and led them to look upon him as a father.

Martin V's last creation of Cardinals took place in the beginning of November, 1430, and on this occasion Ram, Prospero Colonn, Cesarini and Capranica were published. His friends received the tidings of his elevation with the greatest joy, and many of the Cardinals, including Albergati and the great Cesarini, congratulated him in the most cordial terms. "I pray the Giver of all good things", wrote the latter, "daily to increase in you the virtues by which you have merited the purple. May God grant to us both that as we have received this dignity upon earth at the same time we may also together be partakers of the glory of heaven".

Capranica purposed soon after his publication to go to Rome in order to express his gratitude to the Pope, and to receive his hat and ring. The unsettled state of Perugia, however, caused him to defer his journey, and in the interval Martin V died. After the death of his patron our Cardinal at once repaired thither with the view of taking part in the coming election. Anxious to avoid hurting the feelings of any member of the Sacred College, he halted at San Lorenzo fuori le mura, and sent three messengers to ask that he might be admitted to the Conclave. Meanwhile his enemies had been actively at work; his connection with the Colonna family and the circumstance that he had filled a position in the treasury were brought up in an invidious manner. No one, however, ventured to take any open measures against him. After a long delay he was informed that the existing state of affairs in Perugia made it seem most desirable that he should return there. Capranica perfectly understood the design of his enemies, but not wishing to occasion any confusion in the Conclave he acceded to the desire of the Cardinals. Before his departure he caused an act to be drawn up in which he complained of their delay, and declared that he would for the sake of peace yield to their wishes, but that he maintained his rights; against any attack on his position as Cardinal he appealed to the Council.

The election of Eugenius IV immediately took place. Capranica hastened to send messengers to congratulate the new Pope on his elevation, and respectfully to ask permission to appear with the red hat. But his enemies had already succeeded in completely prejudicing the mind of Eugenius against him. The Orsini, who bitterly hated the Colonna and their adherents, had been particularly active. They had caused

Capranica's palace in Rome to be plundered, and his precious library had been dispersed. Soon after these tidings had reached him he heard that officers were on their way from Rome to arrest him. He therefore fled to the Convent of San Silvestro, on the Soracte, and waited there in hopes that the Pope would in time be better advised. These hopes were vain, as also were the efforts made by a few of the Cardinals on his behalf. A commission appointed by Eugenius gave judgment against him, and the dignity of Cardinal was denied him.

Under these circumstances Capranica determined to seek protection from the Council then sitting at Basle. He appealed to this assembly, and set out to present himself before it. In Siena he took into his service Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini and Pietro da Noceto, who was afterwards the confidant of Nicholas V. After a difficult and dangerous journey they arrived at Basle in the spring of 1432. In the meantime Eugenius, further irritated by calumnious reports, had deprived him of the posts which he held, and had even confiscated his patrimony. The Cardinal was thus reduced to such poverty that he was compelled to dismiss his retainers, and amongst them Piccolomini and Noceto.

The Council, whose general esteem Capranica soon gained, pronounced in his favour. With admirable moderation, however, while claiming the purple as his right, he distinguished between persons and offices. During the whole of his sojourn at Basle he was never betrayed by his controversy with the Pope into any anti-Roman step, nor did he ever suffer a harsh word against Eugenius or the Court of Rome to pass his lips. When an opportunity offered of coming to an understanding with the Pope he gladly embraced it. When at last a satisfactory arrangement had been arrived at, he went to Florence and was cordially received by Eugenius (1435). His relations with the Pope soon assumed an intimate character, which was only for a short time disturbed by his courageous protest against the admission of Vitelleschi to the Sacred College. Important and honourable missions were entrusted to him, and he took part in the zealous Pontiff's monastic reforms, as well as in the negotiations for Union with the Greeks. He, together with Cesarini, induced the Pope to make Bessarion a Cardinal. The reconciliation of Germany with the Church, which was the last joy of Eugenius IV on earth, was a congenial task to his gentle and kindly nature, and his zeal and discretion largely contributed to it. The place which the Cardinal held in the estimation of the Romans is evident from the fact that on the death of Eugenius it was generally expected that he would be the next wearer of the tiara, although he was at the time only forty-seven years of age. The reasons which prevented his election on this occasion are unknown.

Capranica, or the Cardinal of Fermo, as he was styled from his Archiepiscopal See, was valued by the new Pope even more highly than he had been by Eugenius. He accompanied Nicholas V on his various journeys, and in the year 1449 was appointed by him to the important office of Grand Penitentiary, the duties of which he discharged in the most admirable manner. Various difficult legations were, as we have already said, confided to him, and while fulfilling these he also gave proof of his genuine devotion to the Church by promoting the cause of reform wherever it was possible to do so.

In the Conclave after the death of Nicholas V there seemed again a likelihood that Capranica would be chosen. During the Pontificate of Nicholas V he had already been actively interested in the Turkish question, and under Calixtus III he redoubled his efforts for the protection of Christendom. The plague, which raged in Rome in the year 1456, drove almost all the Cardinals away, but he remained with the Pope. He fearlessly traversed the infected streets, strewn with the unburied corpses of its victims, as he went to confer with Nicholas on the affairs of the Church. He displayed equal courage of

another sort in personally and freely remonstrating with Calixtus when favours were heaped upon his unworthy relations. As we have already related, he steadfastly refused to acquiesce in Don Pedro's appointment as Duke of Spoleto. The enmity which he thus incurred induced him to withdraw more and more from public life, and he employed his time of retirement in pious exercises, as if foreseeing his approaching end.

In the last days of July, 1458, just at the time when negotiations regarding his election as Pope were going on, Capranica was attacked by a slight indisposition, which soon grew into a mortal sickness. His first care was to receive the Holy Sacraments, and to seek pardon from the Cardinals for any offence he might have given them.

Years before he had composed a little book, which we may really call a golden volume, on "the art of dying", and all his thoughts were now directed entirely to eternity. He consoled the friends who stood mourning around his bed by reminding them that the death of those only is to be lamented who have never thought of dying until they saw that they could live no longer.

The ideal of what a Cardinal should be is certainly a very high one. Capranica may be said to have realized it. All his contemporaries are unanimous in testifying that this great man united learning and piety in an uncommon degree. His life was that of a Saint. His nightly repose was limited to four hours. Immediately on rising he recited the Hours, he then said or heard Mass, generally first going to Confession. Before granting audiences he devoted several hours to the study of the Fathers, among whom he had a special love for St. Jerome and St. Augustine. No women were allowed to enter his apartments, neither religious women nor his nearest relations — not even his sister and sister-in-law were excepted from this rule.

The Cardinal of Fermo had built himself a palace suitable to his dignity in the vicinity of Santa Maria in Aquiro in Rome, but luxury found no place within its walls. His manner of life was remarkable for its simplicity; his dinner consisted of one dish. He hated court ceremonies, and in intercourse with others he was simple, short, and precise. His ecclesiastical household was composed exclusively of men of worth; various nationalities found place in it. To those around him he was rather a careful father than a master. If he perceived a fault in one of his retainers he at once endeavoured to correct it. He could be vehement and severe in dealing with the vicious and idle, and was unsparing in his reproofs to prelates who forsook their churches and busied themselves at court. Capranica was sterner towards himself than towards others. It is told of him that never, even in joke, did he permit himself to utter a falsehood. He repeatedly asked his friends frankly to point out his faults to him. When his dead body was unclothed it was found that even in his last illness he had worn an instrument of penance. His liberality was so unbounded that he was often in pecuniary difficulties. He frequently disposed of silver vessels and gave the proceeds, in secret, to the poor, who were required to promise that they would never let anyone know of his bounty. He bequeathed all his property to ecclesiastical uses. "The Church" he would say, "gave it to me; I give it back, for I was not its master but its steward. I should, indeed, have reaped but little profit from the nights spent in studying ecclesiastical decisions if I were to leave the goods of the Church, which belong to the poor, to my own relations".

In Rome and in the States of the Church, Capranica zealously strove to settle the numerous feuds which existed. If anyone would not be reconciled he used to take him into his room, and having bound him to secrecy, fall on his knees and implore him to make peace with his enemy.



He was a great lover of learning; his own attainments, especially in theology and in canon law, were considerable, and he counted among his friends both ecclesiastical and humanistic scholars. His valuable library was open to all students. He was also the founder of the first of the numerous colleges in Rome. In this institution, which still exists and bears his name, thirty-one poor scholars were to be received, of whom sixteen were to study theology and the liberal arts, and the remainder canon law. As his means were not sufficient to enable him to erect a building for this college, he received the students into his own palace. The constitutions, which he drew up himself, are in their way a model. Capranica was also an author. We have already spoken of his "Art of dying"; he also collected the Acts of the Council of Basle, wrote a work on the Turkish war, dedicated to Calixtus III, and for his nephews a set of Rules of Life, in which his beautiful character is reflected.

When in the second week of August the physicians declared Capranica to be out of danger, the joy with which the announcement was received by all friends of learning and all well-disposed persons may be imagined. But a violent attack of fever came on in the night between the the 13th and 14th, and by the afternoon of the latter day he was dead. A short time before he breathed his last he received the Holy Sacraments with such recollection and piety that he seemed to those who stood by like an angel from Paradise. The last words which the dying man addressed to his friends were to beg the alms of their prayers, and to exhort them to continue to labour indefatigably for the welfare of the Church which he had loved so ardently in life.

"Two hours before his death," writes Otto de Carretto, the Duke of Milan's ambassador, "the Cardinal gave me his hand and said, 'God be with you; it grieves me to the heart that I have not been able before my departure to show to your lord and yourself the gratitude you deserve from me; but God will repay you'. I," continues the ambassador, "had no power to answer him. And so, my illustrious Duke, the wisest, the most perfect, the most learned and the holiest prelate whom the Church in our days has possessed is gone from us. His whole life was devoted to the exaltation of the Roman Church. He was the pillar of Italian peace and a mirror of piety and all sanctity. We all confidently expected soon to be able to honour him as Pope, for parties in general were agreed regarding his elevation. And now we must sorrowfully assist at his obsequies. Such is the world! So is every hope disappointed!" With these words, written an hour after Capranica's death, the ambassador closes the despatch from whose faded lines the warm heart of the writer still speaks to our souls.

The remains of the great man found a fitting resting-place near the grave of St. Catherine of Siena in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. He was lamented by all. "Nothing but mourning and sighing is heard" wrote the ambassador of the Marquess Lodovico de Gonzaga on the 19th August, in reference to this calamity.

The Romans had, indeed, good cause for grief. Of all the cardinals of the Renaissance Age none but Albergati, Cesarini, and Carvajal can compare with Capranica. His sudden death was, in the existing state of affairs, the heaviest imaginable loss to the Church.

Two days later the Conclave began, and from it issued, as Pope, a cardinal distinguished alike as a statesman and an author, who had once been secretary to the Cardinal of Fermo.

## BOOKVI

PIUS II, A.D.1458-1464.

CHAPTER I. ELECTION OF PIUS II

CHAPTER II. THE EASTERN QUESTION AND THE CONGRESS OF MANTUA.

CHAPTER III. THE CONTEST FOR THE NEAPOLITAN THRONE.

CHAPTER IV. OPPOSITION TO PAPAL AUTHORITY

CHAPTER V. ATTEMPTED RECONCILIATION OF BOHEMIA WITH THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER VI. THE EASTERN QUESTION, 1460-1463.

CHAPTER VII. PLANS OF REFORM

CHAPTER VIII. THE CRUSADE AND DEATH OF PIUS II.

UNDER Nicholas V, the founder of the Vatican Library, that great movement in the history of culture, which we call the Renaissance, had fairly taken root in Rome. The capital of Christendom, now become the centre of learning and art, was flooded with the light of the new dawn.

Then came the fall of Constantinople; a shock, of which the reverberations have not yet died away. It soon became only too clear that this victory of the Turks had dealt a grievous blow to all the Western Nations. "The Turkish power in all the fierce strength of its eager youth took the place of the worn-out Eastern Empire, and challenged the whole of Europe. It seemed for a time as if the Cross must succumb in the battle". A ruder and more anxious task than the peaceful labours of Nicholas V in the cause of Literature and Art was allotted to his successor. Calixtus III rightly judged that the main object of his life must be to save Christendom and Western culture from being overwhelmed by the flood of Turkish invasion. But in spite of the heroic efforts of the Spanish Pope, who pledged his mitre and his plate in order to raise money enough to equip a fleet, nothing worthy of the cause was accomplished. Not a single Prince or

nation came forward to redeem their promises. The fire and enthusiasm which in former days had moved all Europe to fly as one man to the rescue of the Holy Places, now burnt itself out in internal dissensions and jealousies. Not a hand was lifted to check the rapid advance of the Ottoman arms.

One disaster followed another in the East all through the summer of 1458. The Morea and Attica were overrun and devastated by the Mahometan troops. In June, Athens fell; in August, Corinth. The subjugation of Serbia was begun in the same month.

On the very day on which the key of the Peloponnesus was lost to Christendom, the aged Calixtus, wearied and disappointed, at last sank to rest.

The question who should be the next occupant of the Papal throne was now of deeper importance than ever. In addition to the defence of Europe, an even more difficult and dangerous task than this was awaiting him, namely, the internal reform of the Church.

No one appeared more adapted for the solution of this problem than the noble and gifted Cardinal Capranica. His death, from a violent attack of fever, just before the Conclave opened (August 14), was a heavy blow to the Church, for his election was almost a certainty. Rome was plunged in grief. A contemporary writes of him: "He was the most accomplished, the most learned, and the holiest Prelate that the Church possessed in our days". A completely new situation was created, upsetting all previous calculations.

## CHAPTER I.

## ELECTION OF PIUS II

The excitement periodically caused in Rome by every vacancy of the Holy See reached an unwonted height in the August of 1458. The confusion was aggravated both there and in the States of the Church by the general movement against the hated Spaniards and Neapolitans, "The Catalans", as they were called, and by the action of Jacopo Piccinino, who had seized Assisi, Nocera, and Gualdo, and was now encamped near Foligno. It was believed that a secret understanding existed between this "landless Count" and the King of Naples, and that the latter sought by his means to prevent the election of a French Pope!

The great question which for the time took precedence of all others, was whether an Italian or a Frenchman should occupy the Chair of St. Peter.

Of the eighteen Cardinals who assembled in Conclave on the 16th August, eight were Italians, five Spaniards, two very influential Frenchmen, one a Portuguese, and two Greeks. The foreigners accordingly outnumbered the Italians, but they did not constitute the majority of two-thirds requisite for an election.

The prospect of an increased preponderance of French influence in the Peninsula caused great anxiety to the Italian Powers, especially to the Genoese, the King of Naples, and the Duke of Milan. The latter Prince seemed almost haunted by his dread of France. We cannot therefore wonder if on the death of Calixtus the whole weight of his influence was exerted to promote the election of an Italian Pope. Cardinal Capranica was the candidate of his choice. In the instructions sent in cipher on the 2nd August, 1458, to Otto de Carretto, he desires him to use every effort in his power on behalf of this excellent man. Should it be impossible to ensure his election, he must endeavour to obtain that of Cardinal Prospero Colonna. Failing this, he is to be guided entirely by the advice of Capranica. Death silenced the voice of this counsellor on the 14th August; there was no time to receive further instructions, and Carretto was compelled to act on his own judgment. He naturally turned to Cardinal Piccolomini, who was friendly to the Duke, and "while Bishop of Siena had laboured to obtain for him the imperial investiture, and the recognition of his legitimacy". In a dispatch of that eventful 14th August, the Envoy expresses his hope of being able, even under these altered circumstances, to bring matters to a sufficiently satisfactory conclusion. "I am", he adds, "not without hope for Cardinal Colonna, but it would be easier to carry the election of the Cardinal of Siena, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; he is liked by all parties, and the Ambassadors of the King of Naples favour him". On the following day, the Neapolitan, Galeotto Agnensis, wrote to inform Francesco Sforza that he had succeeded in bringing about a matrimonial alliance between the houses of Colonna and Orsini, which had almost always been at variance, and that he was now endeavouring to gain the votes assured to Cardinal Capranica for the Cardinal of Siena, whose elevation would be

welcome alike to the Duke and to the King of Naples. "Thank God", continues Galetto, "Cardinal Orsini has consented, and I have a good hope of success".

The learned Torquemada and the popular Calandrini were also spoken of by many as candidates for the supreme dignity. Piccolomini had, however, far more formidable rivals in Pietro Barbo, and the wealthy and distinguished Guillaume d'Estouteville, the head of the French party.

The Conclave was held in the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's. Cells, in which the Cardinals were to eat and to sleep, were prepared in the largest hall; a smaller hall bearing the name of St. Nicholas was to serve for the deliberations and for the actual business of the election. The fact that the Envoys sent to the Sacred College by Ferrante, during the last illness of Calixtus III, were admitted as Royal Ambassadors to watch the Conclave, was much noticed.

The customary Sermon addressed to the Cardinals before their entry into Conclave was delivered by the Humanist Domenico de Domenichi, Bishop of Torcello. He began with the words from the Acts of the Apostles, I, 24: "You, Lord, who know the hearts of all men, show whether of these two Thou hast chosen to take the place of this ministry and apostleship". After pronouncing a eulogy on the deceased Pontiff, Domenichi exhorted the electors to lay aside all ambition, intrigue, and contention. The prevalence of the first of these vices was denounced with special severity. "How many", he said, "would in better days have been contented with a small preferment, who now aspire to the highest dignities". After citing several examples from classical antiquity he continued: "Those who wish to be counted as Romans, should take for their models men like Decius, Brutus, Cato, Gracchus, and Regulus, whose glorious deeds, to use the words of St. Jerome, shine like stars in Roman history".

The orator dwelt on the special importance of this election in regard to the badness of the times. "The secular Princes", he exclaimed, "wrangle with each other, and turn against their own flesh the weapons which ought to be directed against the Turks. There has been no peacemaker. The morals of the clergy are corrupt, they have become a scandal to the laity, all order is at an end. Day by day the authority of the Church diminishes, her censures are unheeded, there has been no one to enforce them. The Roman Court is full of abuses. Who has made any attempt to reform it?"

Domenichi also deals with the Turkish question. He specially deplores the horrors inflicted by these barbarians on Greece.

In conclusion, he points out the important problems which the new Pope would have to solve. "The dignity of the Church must be reasserted, her authority revived, morals reformed, the Court regulated, the course of justice secured, the faith propagated, captives set free, lost cities regained, and the faithful armed for the Holy War".

It soon became manifest in the deliberations of the Conclave how deeply the Cardinals had resented the highhanded manner in which they had been treated by the late Pope. A Capitulation was drawn up, extending the rights of the Sacred College, and limiting the power of the Pontiff. The articles of this Capitulation, which was framed on the model of that of 1431, bound the future Pope to carry on the war against the Turks according to the advice of the Cardinals, and to reform the Court to the best of his power; it also enjoined him to consult the Sacred College in making appointments to offices at Court, and in the bestowal of Bishoprics and the greater Abbeys. In future, the Decree of Constance regarding the number and character of the Cardinals, and that requiring the consent of the majority of the Sacred College given in Consistory to their

nomination, was to be strictly observed. Several Articles were concerned with safeguarding the interests of the Cardinals in the matter of Benefices and *In Commendam*s. Rights of nomination or presentation were to be granted to ecclesiastical or temporal Princes only with the approval of the Sacred College, and existing concessions contrary to this provision were to be repealed. Moreover, the Pope was not to grant to any one a tax upon the clergy or the goods of the Church. In relation to the government of the States of the Church, the strict limitations imposed upon the Papal power by the Conclave which elected Eugenius IV were re-enacted. The Capitulation contained a new resolution requiring the Pope to allow to every Cardinal whose income was less than 4,000 golden florins, 100 florins a month out of the Apostolic Treasury, until that sum was made up. Once in every year the Cardinals were to inquire into the manner in which these Articles had been observed, and if they had been infringed, charitably to admonish the Pope three times.

On the third day of the Conclave the business of the Election commenced. In the first scrutiny the Cardinals of Siena and Bologna, Piccolomini and Calandrini, had each five votes, and no other Cardinal more than three. And now those who aspired to the supreme dignity began the work of canvassing. No one was more zealous than the ambitious d'Estouteville, who was closely allied with Cardinal Alain. Our information in regard to the means employed by this leader of the French party is derived entirely from his rival, Piccolomini, who certainly is not an unprejudiced authority. According to his report, d'Estouteville, on the one hand, made brilliant promises, and on the other sought in every way to depreciate the Cardinals of Bologna and Siena. "How", he asked, "can Piccolomini be thought fit for the Papacy? He suffers from the gout, and is absolutely penniless. How can he succour the impoverished Church, or, infirm as he is, heal her sickness? He has but lately come from Germany; we do not know him; perhaps he will remove the Court thither. Look at his devotion to the heathen Muses. Shall we raise a poet to the Chair of St. Peter, and let the Church be governed on Pagan principles?"

The same authority declares that not only Alain, but Bessarion, Fieschi, Torquemada, Colonna, and Castiglione bound themselves by oath to vote for the French candidate. Piccolomini, however, by skilfully insisting on the national aspect of the case, succeeded in winning over Castiglione, and also in obtaining the support of those Cardinals who had been as yet undecided.

The energetic action of Cardinal Barbo was of the greatest importance in the Election. After he had given up all hope of himself wearing the tiara, he determined at least to make every possible effort to obtain it for one of his own nation. Assembling the Italian Cardinals, with the exception of Colonna, he proposed to them that member of the Sacred College who, above all others, was distinguished by keenness of intellect, varied learning, experience of the world, and diplomatic ability,—Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. In the following scrutiny, on the 19th August, the latter accordingly had nine votes and d'Estouteville only six!

The decision was then arrived at by the method called *Accessus*. Rodrigo Borgia was the first to break the hush of expectation with the words: "I vote for the Cardinal of Siena". A second and longer silence ensued. Cardinals Isidore and Torquemada made a fruitless attempt to adjourn the election, but Cardinal Tebaldo now giving his vote for Piccolomini, only one more was needed. Again there was a pause of breathless suspense. Then, in spite of those who tried to hold him back, Prospero Colonna stood up and said: "I also vote for the Cardinal of Siena, and make him Pope". All then arose and offered their first homage to the newly elected Pontiff. Having returned to their seats,

they unanimously proclaimed the election valid, and Bessarion made a speech congratulating the new Head of the Church.

Piccolomini, who had been only twenty months a Cardinal, was greatly overcome by his election. "The burden of the future fell upon his soul; he understood the height of his calling". Campano, his biographer, tells us that he burst into tears and for some time could hardly command himself. When he had recovered his composure, he said to the friends who were encouraging him, that none could rejoice at being raised to such a dignity save those who forgot its attendant dangers and toils. It was now for him to accomplish that which he had formerly demanded from others.

After he had assumed the white cassock of a Pope, he announced that he would take the name of Pius II, and in this name again swore to observe the Capitulation, adding, however, the proviso : "As far as I am able, with the help of God, and consistently with the honor and the integrity of the Apostolic See".

Besides the account written by the newly elected Pope himself, our sources of information regarding the Conclave of 1458 consist of a few dispatches from the Milanese Envoys, the most important of which is one written by Otto de Carretto on the 20th August. It was only natural that the envoy should make the most of his own share in the election; but on the other hand his account of the attitude of Cardinal Colonna is striking. In consequence of the family alliance which we have mentioned between the Orsini and the Colonna, both Cardinals with their adherents agreed, according to him, to elect Piccolomini. Carretto himself gained for him the support of the Neapolitan Envoys, of Cardinal de la Cerda, and of Cardinals Mila and Borgia, the nephews of the deceased Pope; the two last were influenced by the hope that Ferrante would be favourable to them. The Commentary of Pius II, however, represents Cardinal Colonna as a firm partisan of d'Estouteville up to a short time before the final decision; he alone failed to take part in the deliberations to which the Italian Cardinals were invited by Barbo. The report of the Milanese Envoy, written as it was immediately after the election, is certainly more direct evidence than the Commentary of Pius II, which is of a much later date. On the other hand, we must remember that Carretto, who, in pursuance of the instructions received from his master, was bound to promote the cause of Colonna, had an interest in exaggerating the part taken by this Cardinal in Piccolomini's election. Prospero Colonna himself, after having given the vote which decided the election of Pius II, may have been anxious that his former efforts on behalf of d'Estouteville should be forgotten. It is to be hoped that future discoveries in the Archives may throw further light on this point. There is, however, no doubt that Piccolomini's election was zealously promoted by the Milanese and Neapolitan Envoys. Francesco Sforza expressly says in his letter of the 14th September that Pius II was elected through the influence of King Ferrante, and this statement is borne out by the favour which the new Pope showed to the King of Naples.

In Rome the election of Piccolomini was welcomed with unmixed satisfaction. The people threw away their arms, and with cries of "Siena, Siena, Evviva Siena!" hastened to St. Peter's to pay homage to the newly made Pope. At nightfall bonfires were kindled, and lights shone forth from all the towers of the city. Jubilant crowds thronged the streets, which re-echoed with songs and the sound of horns and trumpets. Old people declared that they had never seen such an outburst of rejoicing in Rome. The Ambassadors congratulated the Pope immediately after his return from St. Peter's; they found him greatly wearied, but still as witty and genial as when he was a Cardinal. On the following evening the nobles of the city came on horseback, bearing torches, to offer

their felicitations. The splendid procession filled the Borgo from the Castle of St. Angelo to St. Peter's.

At the home of the new Pope at Corsignano and Siena, the rejoicings were naturally very great. The spirit of the Renaissance displayed itself in splendid pageants in most of the other cities of the Peninsula. All the Italian powers, with the exception of Florence and Venice, were delighted at the elevation of the pacific and statesmanlike Piccolomini. Men breathed more freely now that the danger of a foreign Pope had been averted. The fear that a Frenchman might be raised to the supreme dignity is manifested in the reports of the Ambassadors then in Rome. "As your Excellency is aware," wrote Antonio da Pistoia on the 21st August to Francesco Sforza, "we were in great danger of having a French Pope. D'Estouteville and Alain had managed matters in such a way that the Papacy seemed almost certain to devolve upon one or other of them. Thanks be to God, it remains in Italy".

Beyond the limits of the Italian Peninsula the result of the election was welcomed by all, except France and the other opponents of the Emperor. Frederick III was greatly pleased. On the very day of his election, the new Pontiff addressed two letters to him, one official and the other private. He would indeed have scarcely recognized his former Secretary, so heavily and so quickly had time told upon him. Though but fifty-three, Pius II was already an old man. His bodily strength was broken, and he suffered much from gout in the feet. This malady had been contracted in Scotland when he went barefooted on a pilgrimage through snow and ice to a Church of Our Lady in fulfilment of a vow made during a storm at sea. The tortures which he endured from the gout were such that he was often quite unable to move. He was also afflicted with stone and with a constant cough. Yet he kept up with surprising energy. "The habit of suffering had given him such mastery over himself, that even when tortured by the stone, he could repress every sign of the anguish he was enduring. But his grey hair and the ashy paleness of his complexion, which became almost livid with the slightest indisposition, bore witness to the ravages of disease. Andrea Guazzalotti's medal, which was considered a masterpiece of portraiture, represents a worn countenance and sunken eyes".

The election of a poet, historian, humanist, and statesman of European fame, was an event of far-reaching importance. The Papal chair was now filled by a man who really stood at the head of his age, and who was capable of understanding both its past and its present. Amongst his contemporaries there was not one who even approached Piccolomini in the insight he possessed in regard to the moral and physical forces at work in the period. He had learned from his own observation and experience the circumstances and the views of both friend and foe, for we may say no party existed in whose camp he had not sojourned for a while. No one could have been better fitted to restore the ancient greatness and glory of the Papacy. His immediate predecessors had indeed done much in this direction since the dissolution of the Council of Basle; but the crowning of the edifice remained for him.

The master-thought which filled the mind of Pius II and governed all his actions during the whole six years of his pontificate, was his noble project of freeing Europe from the disgrace of Turkish domination, by uniting all Christian nations in a general crusade. To repel the advance of the barbarians of the East by the united power of the West, was the great purpose to which, regardless of his bodily weakness, he devoted himself with all the enthusiasm of a young man, and with a marvellous constancy and energy. "As he watched the steady advance of Mahometanism from Africa, through Granada and Spain, and from Asia over the ruins of the Byzantine Empire, and along



the banks of the Danube, he became convinced that nothing less than the united forces of the whole of Christendom could suffice to avert the danger”.

On the very day of his election, Pius II spoke plainly to the Milanese Ambassador, in no uncertain tones, of the great war which must be undertaken by the Christians against the Turks. The next morning he summoned the Sacred College to consider the measures to be adopted. The restoration of tranquillity in the States of the Church was a matter of the most urgent importance. It was necessary to remove the Catalan governors, and above all to avert the danger threatened by Piccinino. This could only be effected in concert with Naples. The French party was averse to the recognition of Ferrante. Pius II met their remonstrances with the simple question, “Will King René, the French candidate, free the Church from Piccinino?”. Accordingly, it was determined, on the 20th August, that the Neapolitan Ambassadors should be treated in every way as Royal Ambassadors, and that Ferrante should be styled “his Majesty”. Negotiations were at once entered into with Don Pedro Luis Borgia, who still had possession of Civitá Vecchia, Spoleto, and other strongholds. It was feared that he would combine with Piccinino in an attack on the defenseless Pope.

The anxiety of Pius II was aggravated by tidings of the constant advance of the Turks which reached him from the East. No wonder that even during the festivities of the succeeding days he appeared preoccupied and almost melancholy. On Sunday, the 3rd September, in front of St. Peter’s, he received the tiara from the hands of Cardinal Colonna, and afterwards solemnly took possession of the Lateran. A tumult among the populace, who prematurely sought to seize the Papal palfrey, disturbed this ceremony, which a fellow-countryman of the Pope’s describes as most magnificent, Pageants of the kind derived a special charm from the fresh impulse which the Renaissance had given to art. The fact that a master like Benozzo Gozzoli painted the flags and banners used on this occasion, may give us some idea of its artistic beauty.

The 3rd September also brought Pius II the satisfaction of seeing an agreement concluded with Don Pedro Borgia, whose death on the 26th delivered the Pope from all further apprehensions on his account.

The succeeding days were fully occupied by the reception of the Embassies sent to do homage to the Pope, and by anxious deliberations concerning the measures to be taken to resist the Turks, whose progress in Serbia became more and more threatening. On the 7th October the Envoys of the Republic of Florence arrived. Among them were Cosmo’s nephew, Pier Francesco de’ Medici and St. Antoninus, the holy Archbishop, who had already congratulated the predecessor of Pius II on his elevation to the Papacy. The 10th was the day fixed for the reception of the Florentines. When the Consistory was about to assemble, the aged Archbishop, worn out with years and austerities, seemed to be sinking; they gave him a cordial to strengthen him, and then, to the astonishment of all present, he poured forth an eloquent address to the Pope, lasting nearly an hour. Pius II. was greatly touched by the hopes which St. Antoninus expressed of victory over the Turks, and his reply was worthy of the discourse which called it forth. Afterwards, when the Florentines were commending some of their fellow-countrymen to his favour, he asked them, half in jest, why they said nothing for their Archbishop. “The Archbishop”, they replied, “needs no recommendation but himself”.

From the reports of the Envoys it appears that the Pope was wholly engrossed by the one idea of war against the Turks. On the 12th October he made known the decision at which he had arrived, after mature consideration and lengthened deliberations with the Cardinals. The most distinguished members of the Sacred College, many bishops

and prelates belonging to the Court, together with all the Ambassadors then in Rome, were assembled on that day in the chapel of the Papal Palace. In an exhaustive speech he enumerated the defeats which the Turks had inflicted upon the Christians, and showed that they aimed at the annihilation of Christendom. For the protection of religion he had resolved to attack the enemy. As it was impossible to do so without the assistance of the Christian Princes, he purposed to hold a Congress at Mantua or Udine, and would, with the Cardinals, proceed thither in the beginning of June, thus meeting half-way those who were coming from the other side of the Alps. He would then hear the opinions of those whose help he was about to ask. It was painful to him to leave Rome, the See of St. Peter and the rock of Christendom; but it would give him infinitely more pain if, under his Pontificate, the Faith were to suffer, for which he was ready to risk not only the whole world and the Patrimony of St. Peter, but also his life. Old and infirm as he was, he would not shrink from crossing mountain or river to take counsel with the Christian Princes for the welfare of religion. This determination was commended by the Cardinals, Bishops, Envoys, and all present.

On the following day Pius II published a Bull, earnestly inviting all the European Princes to the Congress. Since the Emperor Constantine had given peace to the Church, she had never, he said, been so trampled upon as she now was by the adherents of the “false prophet Mahomet”— the bloodthirsty hosts of the “venomous dragon”. It was a punishment from Heaven for the sins of the nations. God had raised him to the See of Rome that he might deliver the world from this peril. The task laid upon him was most difficult, but he did not despair. “The bark of the Church often rocks to and fro, but it does not sink; it is buffeted, but not shattered; it is assailed, but not wrecked; God permits His people to be tried, but He will not suffer them to be overwhelmed”.

Besides this general Bull, special letters of invitation were addressed not merely to the great Powers, but also to the smaller Princes, States, and Cities. All these letters contained an earnest request that the Envoys should be persons of distinction, and be provided with ample powers.

Before anything effectual could be attempted against the Turk it was essential that tranquillity should be restored in Italy. Pius II undertook this difficult task with the greatest zeal. He began with the States of the Church, which, owing to the misrule of the Borgias, were in great disorder. All the Catalan governors were, like Don Pedro Borgia, paid to give up their fortresses.

The worst legacy left to the new Pope by his predecessor was the difference with Naples. The first steps towards its settlement had been taken before his coronation. Difficulties had subsequently been caused by the interference of various persons. Then the opposition of the French party in the Sacred College placed further obstacles in the way, and Ferrante himself, looking on many of the Pope’s conditions as too hard, was slow in accepting them. Pius II, however, adhered to the demands which he had made in the interests of the Church, and sent word to the King that he was not like a merchant making a bargain, and asking the double to obtain the half. Ferrante, to whom a declaration of legitimacy from the Holy See was a matter of great importance, was finally compelled to yield. On the 17th October a treaty was concluded in Rome, by which the Pope undertook to remove the censures inflicted by his predecessor, and to grant him the right of succession and investiture in the accustomed form, without prejudice however to the claims of others. A Legate *a latere* was, as usual, to perform the ceremony of coronation. The Neapolitan King on his part solemnly bound himself to pay yearly to the Holy See a certain tribute, to give up Benevento at once, and Terracina

in ten years' time, and also to compel the Condottiere Piccinino to restore the territories which he had taken from the Church.

On the 10th November the Bull of Investiture was published, together with the oath to be taken by Ferrante. The ecclesiastical and sovereign authority of the Pope was safeguarded by a repetition of the conditions formerly agreed upon between Charles I and Clement IV. At the conclusion of the Bull it was expressly laid down that the claims of other persons were not to be prejudiced by it. The document was signed by only thirteen Cardinals, those of the French party holding aloof.

At the same time Pius II issued another Bull absolving Ferrante from all censures pronounced against him by Calixtus III and requiring his subjects to render him obedience.

Cardinal Orsini was on the 1st December charged to receive the oath of fealty and to perform the Coronation, and soon after, Niccolo Forteguerra who had been appointed Bishop of Teano, was sent on a secret mission to Naples. Its object was to treat of a betrothal between the natural daughter of the King and Antonio Piccolomini, the nephew of the Pope, a union by which the newly established good relations between Rome and Naples were to be yet more closely cemented. The effects of the alliance were soon visible in the condition of the States of the Church. The menaces of Ferrante, coupled with those of the Duke of Milan, induced Piccinino, early in the year 1459, to yield up his spoils in consideration of an indemnity of 30,000 ducats. The Pope also used every means in his power to restore order in Rome. He summoned the Barons and made them take an oath to keep the peace during his absence, pronouncing the severest penalties against those who should violate it. The privileges enjoyed by the cities and Princes of the States of the Church were confirmed, and a portion of their tribute remitted for three years.

The important post of Prefect of the City having become vacant by the death of Don Pedro Luis Borgia, Pius II conferred it on the 16th December, upon Antonio Colonna, with the right of succession to his eldest son. By this means he attached to his own interest the most powerful of the Roman parties. Antonio Piccolomini had been nominated Governor of St. Angelo on the 1st of September.

The Romans, however, could not reconcile themselves to the idea of a protracted absence of the Pope from their city, and its consequent loss of the advantages derived from the presence of the Court. The distressful period, during which Eugenius IV was away from Rome, was still fresh in the memory of many. The intentions of the Pope were mistrusted, and the Congress at Mantua was looked upon as a mere pretext. It was feared that he would linger in Siena, and enrich his own home. Some said that Pius II, who had grown up among the Germans, would ultimately live entirely in their country, and would not deem it beneath his dignity to transfer the Chair of Peter to the other side of the Alps. Others again were full of apprehension lest the aged and sickly Pontiff might never return. Intense excitement prevailed in the city; the women lamented, the youths and men cursed and reviled the Pope, and a number of the old and more influential Romans went to him in a body and besought him not to leave them. Pius II did his best to reassure them, pointed out the necessity for his departure, and promised soon to return.

In order the better to tranquillize the public mind, it was decided that a certain number of the Court officials and a few of the Cardinals were to remain in Rome and carry on current business without interruption. A special Bull made provision for the next Papal election, which was to take place only in the Eternal City. On the 11th

January, 1459, Pius II entrusted the important post of Papal Vicar-General in Rome and the Patrimony of St. Peter to his old friend the German Cardinal, Nicholas of Cusa, who had returned there in the end of September. Galeazzo Cavriani, Bishop of Mantua, was appointed Governor of the City on the 15th January, 1459.

Platina, Campano, and other authorities, have furnished us with ample materials for forming an idea of the character and mode of life of Pius II. All concur in their estimate of his many-sided culture, his great intellectual powers, his affability, gentleness, and simplicity. Like all really able men, he hated pedantry, and did not care for display, although he could, when it was necessary, maintain the dignity of his position with suitable magnificence. The simplicity of his life formed a striking contrast to the pomp and show in which d'Estouteville, Borgia, and some of the Cardinals delighted. His retainers were often in despair when, in course of his numerous journeys, the Pope had to stay in poor country villages and decayed convents, where it was difficult to obtain even the barest necessities of life. On such occasions Pius himself was content with everything; he did not object to use the coarsest and commonest ware, and to sojourn in monasteries which could hardly afford shelter from wind and weather. The provisions served at the Pope's table were of the homeliest kind; there was but little wine, and he seldom ordered any delicacy for himself.

The Papal account-books corroborate the statements of his biographers. A careful student of these volumes has arrived at a result which does honor to the Popes of the early Renaissance period, and to Pius II in particular. "On the whole", he says, "the simplicity and frugality of the Papal table was amazing. It was like a convent refectory. The household expenses of Pius II are the lowest recorded. They generally amount to six, seven, or eight ducats a day". The marvellous cheapness of provisions at this period is, of course, to be taken into consideration; but when we remember that this small sum sufficed for the support of from 260 to 280 persons, it must be confessed that declamations against the luxury of the Court are altogether out of place.

Pius II had the reputation of being very methodical in the regulation of his time. When in health he rose at daybreak, recited his office, said or heard Mass, and then went at once to work. Until the Cardinals arrived, he gave audiences and attended to other business. A short walk in the garden was his only recreation before dinner, after which he conversed with those around him, and took a brief siesta. He then dictated letters, or employed himself in literary work, and again gave audiences until supper-time. Current business was next dispatched with Ammanati and Gregorio Lolli, and accounts settled. In addition to these two persons, his nephew, Francesco Piccolomini, Bernardo Eroli, the grave and learned Bishop of Spoleto, Niccolo Forteguerra of Pistoja, and Giacomo di Lucca, enjoyed his special confidence. The Cardinals most intimate with him were Calandrini, Castiglione, Cusa, Carvajal, and Bessarion. Before going to rest Pius II said the remainder of his office; he often read and dictated in his bed, as he needed but from five to six hours' sleep.

Platina gives us a description of the outward appearance of the Pope. He was small of stature; his hair became prematurely grey, which gave him, even in the prime of life, the appearance of age. The expression of his countenance was kindly, but grave. In his dress he avoided both negligence and elegance. He had been accustomed to hardships, and bore hunger and thirst with equanimity. His naturally strong frame had been worn by many journeys, labours, and vigils. Although often suffering from a chronic cough, from stone, and from gout, he was accessible to all, and unwilling to refuse any petition. Campano says that on one occasion, when an attendant endeavoured to make signs to a garrulous old man to curtail his discourse, Pius II gently told him to go on, but said

sharply to the servant: "Do you not know that as Pope I have to live, not for myself, but for others?". He spent all that he received. He had no desire to be rich, and left the reckoning of his money to others, but at the same time he understood its value. In consequence of the war, his coffers were constantly empty, so that he was often oppressed by debt. He hated liars and hypocrites, was quickly angry, but as quickly pacified. Personal injuries were readily forgiven, but he firmly resisted any attack upon the Holy See. He was kindly and genial in his intercourse with those around him, and witty in conversation. He was indifferent to what was said of him, and to the blame cast on his frequent journeys. Fear and vacillation had no place in his nature; he was never seen to be elated by prosperity nor downcast in adversity. His leisure hours were spent in reading or in literary work. He was sincerely devoted to the Christian Faith, and frequently approached the Sacraments.

A few more touches may still be added to this picture which is drawn by a grateful hand. The strictness with which Pius II kept the laws of the Church appears from the fact that his friends endeavoured in vain to hinder him from fasting, when suffering from illness. The Pope had a great veneration for the Blessed Virgin. He looked upon her as, in a special manner, his Protectress; he made frequent pilgrimages to her shrines, and enriched them with many gifts. He also composed some hymns in her honor.

The great love of travelling, which Platina mentions as a characteristic of Pius II, deserves further notice. Few of the Popes have seen as much of the world, although some may have taken longer journeys. The epithet of "Apostolic Wanderer", which the prophecy of Malachy bestows upon Pius VI, was equally applicable to him. Considerations of policy and health, an insatiable thirst for knowledge, a delight in unrestrained social intercourse, and finally, an enthusiastic admiration of the beautiful scenery of his country, furnished the motives for an amount of travelling unusual in his days. A visit to the country was the chief solace which he allowed himself when pestilence and excessive heat made the low-lying districts insupportable. The summer sojourn of the Pope on Monte Amiata, of which we have a description from his own pen, has often been mentioned. During the hot season of the year 1462, he took up his abode in the Abbey of San Salvatore, which is situated half-way up the mountain. "Splendid chestnut trees clothe the edge of the precipice, which commands a view of the whole of southern Tuscany with the towers of Siena in the distance". An inscription still reminds the traveller that under one of the finest of these trees the affairs of both Church and State were dispatched by the Pope. He never allowed his love of travelling to interfere with business. He made a point of discharging the duties of his office both personally and promptly. "Often and often did he hold Consistories and sign state papers, and give audiences to Ambassadors beneath the giant old chestnuts or in the shade of olive trees, on the green sward, by murmuring waters".

The beautiful descriptions of his travels left by Pius II are justly esteemed, and even at the present day excite the admiration of those who can appreciate the charm of Italian scenery. "Diana's hiding place" on the blue lake of Nemi, Todi, enthroned amid vineyards and olive-covered slopes, Subiaco in its wild solitude, the view from the summit of the Alban hills over "the wide Campagna studded with the ruins of a primitive civilization, the mountain heights of Central Italy, with woods and valleys and shining lakes at their feet", had never before been portrayed with such enthusiasm and in such detail. "All things that give charm to a landscape, corn-fields, and meadows, high mountains and low-lying lakes, the rushing brook, the murmuring river overhung with dusky foliage, the contrasted hues of the blue waving flax and the yellow broom,

the distant prospect over land and sea, city, mountain and valley”, were all observed by the delighted eye of the Pope, and recorded by his pen.

Nor was his interest less in the memorials of antiquity and the treasures of art which he met with in his travels; no relic of the Christian or heathen past escaped him. In the convents he had all the old manuscripts brought to him; at Chiusi he sought for the Labyrinth mentioned by Pliny; at Mincio he visited Virgil’s Villa, and in the neighbourhood of Rome he traced out the old Roman roads and aqueducts, and endeavoured to determine the boundaries of the ancient tribes. In Hadrian’s villa at Tivoli he tried “to interpret the fragments of walls, and in imagination to restore their former connection”. “Time”, he writes in his Memoirs, “has here defaced everything. The walls, which were once adorned by coloured tapestry and gold-embroidered hangings, are now clothed with wild ivy. Thorns and briars are growing where the Tribunes once sat in purple, and snakes are dwelling in the chambers of queens. Such is the transitory nature of all earthly things”.

The constant pecuniary difficulties of Pius II in some measure account for the remarkable fact that very little was done for the Humanists during his reign. His election had awakened great expectations among them, and their disappointment was all the keener. Moreover, the Pope, who was himself a distinguished author, proved a very fastidious critic. Orators and poets, he used to say, must be really original, else they are worthless. During the early years of his Pontificate, death removed several prominent Humanists; Vegio died in 1458, Manetti, Poggio and Aurispa in 1459; and some of their successors were of little note. Versifiers of the calibre of Gianonio Porcello evidently could have little interest for a man of Pius II’s intellect. Filelfo ruined his fortunes by his “shameless importunity”. The value to be attached to the complaints of other Humanists is uncertain. Until the manuscripts bearing on the subject have been thoroughly examined it will not be possible to come to a definite conclusion in regard to the relations of Pius II with the literary men of his day. The following may serve as an instance of the caution required. One who is thoroughly versed in the literary affairs of the period asserts that “the translators of Nicholas V’s time were a jealous and quarrelsome set, and were entirely unnoticed by Pius II”. In contradiction to this statement we have the fact that Francesco d’Arezzo, a disciple of Valla’s was expressly charged by the Pope to complete his master’s translation of the Iliad, and to undertake a translation of the Odyssey as a companion volume. In return for his labours he received a permanent appointment, which “not only sufficed for his own necessities, but also enabled him to carry out his long-cherished wish of providing for his mother and sister”. Several Humanists were, during this Pontificate, employed in the College of Abbreviators; amongst others we may mention Bartolomeo Platina, Leodrisio Crivelli, and Battista Poggio.

While it is true that the scholarly Pope did not neglect the Humanists to the degree that his latest biographer has supposed, it cannot be denied that a certain reserve is evident in his conduct towards them. This fact has been accounted for by his pecuniary necessities, by his engrossing ecclesiastical and political cares, and by his zeal for the Crusade. We may add another motive, which is to be found in the Pope’s aversion for the false Renaissance. Pius II was but too well-acquainted with this dangerous aspect of the movement which he had once favoured, and, after his elevation to the chair of St. Peter, resolutely opposed it. Here, too, it may be said that Aeneas was now forgotten and Pius alone remained. Christian works formed the principal part of his private library, and heathen authors were little regarded. In his own writings he scrupulously avoided everything which could be looked upon as an approach to heathenism. If the

ancient gods were mentioned they were spoken of as demons or idols; the ideas and opinions of Roman philosophers were corrected and conformed to the Christian standard. "Scepticism and criticism were silenced in presence of the authority of the Church". Authors whose lives were immoral, as for example A. Contrarius, were relentlessly banished. The representatives of the Christian Renaissance, on the other hand, such as Flavio Biondo, enjoyed the special favour of Pius II. Biondo accompanied the Pope on his excursions in the beautiful neighbourhood of Rome and recalled the various historical associations of the landscape. He also took part in the Congress of Mantua, and, while in that city, completed his "Roma Triumphans". This work, "the first great attempt at a general picture of Roman antiquity", was dedicated to Pius II. The high esteem in which the Pope held this good man may be gathered from the fact that he made an abstract of Biondo's great historical work, the first twenty books of the "Decades", and also made his son Gasparo notary to the Papal Treasury. In the spring of 1463, when Biondo became very ill, the Pope sent his own Confessor to visit him, and he afterwards provided for his burial. Gasparo at once succeeded him as secretary.

Pius II also endeavoured to attract to Rome some scholars from other countries, as for example the celebrated astronomer, Battista Piasio, and the learned German theologian, Gabriel Biel; the latter, a simple and modest man, declined the invitation. Niccolo Sagundino of Negroponte went to Rome and died there in 1463.

Two Sienese, Agostino and Francesco de' Patrizzi; the Roman, Agapito di Cenci de' Rustici; Jacopo Ammanati; and the witty and genial Gianonio Campano, shared with Biondo the special favour of the Pope. Campano, "a master of style", was the Court Poet of Pius II, who thought so highly of his productions that he inserted a number of them in his Memoirs. These Memoirs were the constant occupation of his leisure hours; many portions are apparently written by his own hand, and others were dictated. He saw, with regret, that time would not permit him to give his work the finishing touches he might have desired. Yet the original manuscript contains numerous literary corrections. Pius II also purposed to reform the style of the Papal Bulls, but was obliged to relinquish the attempt, as he found that the changes made gave rise to suspicions of their authenticity. He used himself to compose Briefs and Bulls of importance. "Though sentences and images from Holy Scriptures took the place of quotations from Horace and Virgil in the Pope's discourses, their elegant and flowing style proved to the world that he was both a scholar and a man of modern culture".

It is really wonderful that, notwithstanding his constant sufferings and the immense burden of affairs which pressed upon him, the Pope found time for serious literary work. During the first years of his Pontificate, in hours stolen from sleep, he laboured to carry out his magnificent project of writing "A geographical and ethnographical description of the whole of the known world with historical illustrations". Asia, the first part, which Pius had begun when a Cardinal, and which had occupied him during his summer sojourn at Tivoli in 1461, alone was completed. In the unfinished section on Europe the history of recent events fills a considerable place. Germany is treated in detail, and many errors which prevailed in Italy regarding that country are corrected. A far from indulgent critic praises the elevation of thought displayed in this acute and learned work, and declares that a book which exercised such a powerful influence on Christopher Columbus must not be lightly esteemed.

Nor is less importance to be attached to the Memoirs of Pius II, to which allusion has frequently been made in these pages. In the spirit of a genuine historian Piccolomini had, throughout the whole of his eventful life, made notes of all that had befallen him, and all that he had seen, and also of what he had heard and learned from others. As Pope

he still kept up the custom, and this was the origin of his Autobiography, the most comprehensive and characteristic of his writings. This work is, at once, a history of the remarkable period during which he occupied the Papal chair, and a portrait of it as reflected in his mind. He was generally so overwhelmed with business that it was but seldom that he could devote two consecutive hours to his task, and, if he did, they were mostly borrowed from his sleepless nights. "Accordingly, the Memoirs are composed of a multitude of fragments of different length, whose connection is but slight, and, in many cases, merely arbitrary. The first book, his life previous to his elevation to the Papacy, is the only one which is more than a rough draft. He often made his secretaries write down the events of the few preceding days, both personal and political, adding historical or geographical matter culled from the treasures of his memory, or from his collections of extracts. Here and there unconnected episodes are introduced". The narrative proceeds from day to day like a journal, "and only ceases with the commencement of his last illness". Pius II was well aware of the defects necessarily incidental to a work composed in this manner, and Campano was entrusted with the duty of removing them. It was well for posterity that the Court Poet did not expend much labour on the task.

Delicate and sympathetic observation of men and things, sound judgment, a youthful freshness of perception and description, are merits universally conceded to this remarkable work. If it is not exempt from the faults which characterize the historical writings of the time, and of Memoirs in general, it still remains a highly valuable authority. The narrative in its details may often fail in accuracy and impartiality; but from this, as from everything written by this gifted man, we carry away a "vivid and personal impression, which has a value of its own quite as real as that of historical documents". The unprejudiced reader of the geographical and historical works produced by Pius II during the period of his Pontificate will not fail to agree with the verdict of a non-Catholic writer, who declares that they furnish ample testimony of the genuine love of art and learning, and the noble aspirations by which he was animated.



## CHAPTER II.

## The Eastern Question and the Congress at Mantua.

1459-60.

The beginning of February 1459 had been fixed as the date of the Pope's departure from Rome, but the tidings of the victorious advance of the Turks into Serbia induced him, notwithstanding his weak state of health, to resolve on setting out on his journey in January. The Venetians, afraid of disturbing their commercial relations with the Porte, refused to let the Congress be held at Udine, and Mantua was finally selected as its place of meeting.

With the object of protecting the Christians in the Greek waters against the rapidly increasing naval power of the Turks, the Pope, shortly before his departure, instituted a new religious Order of Knights. This Order was framed on the model of that of St. John at Rhodes. It was to bear the name of Our Lady of Bethlehem, and to have its headquarters in the Island of Lemnos.

On the 20th January, 1459, Pius II left the Vatican for Sta. Maria Maggiore, where he spent the following day, and gave his blessing to the sorrowing people. An attempt was again made to dissuade him from his journey on the ground of his state of health and of the inclement season of the year. When these arguments proved unavailing, the dangers which threatened the States of the Church were laid before him. As soon as he was known to have crossed the Po, the tyrants would, it was predicted, rush like ravening wolves upon the patrimony of St. Peter, and on his return, he would not know where to lay his head. But the Pope replied that Mahomet was menacing his spiritual authority, and that its recovery would be a matter of far greater difficulty than that of the States of the Church, which had already been often lost and as often regained.

On the 22nd January Pius II accordingly took leave of Rome. Among those who accompanied him were Cardinals Calandrini, Alain, d'Estouteville, Borgia, Barbo, and Colonna, with a number of courtiers and Envoys. They passed out of the city by the Ponte Molle, and travelled as far as Campagnano, where the Orsini, to whom this place belonged, had prepared a splendid reception. The next day, on the way to Nepi and Civita Castellana, the Pope was met by the joyful tidings of Piccinino's submission. At Civita Castellana, picturesquely planted on a rock of tufa, he enjoyed the satisfaction of meeting in its Bishop his old friend, Nicholas Palmerius. At Magliano he crossed the Tiber by a wooden bridge, which was richly decorated. Everywhere laity and clergy vied with each other in manifesting their respect for the Vicar of Christ. Youths and maidens crowned with laurel, and bearing olive branches in their hands, wished long life and happiness to their noble guest. The streets and roads were strewn with green boughs, and filled with crowds who deemed it a happiness even to touch the hem of the Pope's garment. Thus Pius II passed through Narni and Terni to Spoleto, where he remained two days.

Even on this journey the indefatigable Pope allowed himself no rest. From Terni he wrote to Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol, to the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, and to

Duke Frederick of Saxony about the Congress. During the following days, while at Spoleto, he addressed similar letters to Cardinal Carvajal, to the Emperor's Council, to the Emperor himself, to the Bishops of Eichstadt, Wurzburg and Bamberg, and to the cities of Strasburg, Basle and Constance.

In the monastic city of Assisi, the Pope was received with special rejoicing. He visited the walls and fortifications which Nicholas V had restored, and desired that they should be strengthened. He also received the oath of fealty of the citizens. Even greater honours awaited him in Perugia, where no Pope had been seen for eighty years. All the houses and churches of the city were splendidly decorated; the keys of its gates were presented to the Pontiff, who immediately returned them to the magistrates. The joy of the people was deep and heartfelt. The Chronicle of Perugia describes his solemn entry on the 1st February, when, in Pontifical vestments and wearing the mitre, he was borne through a delighted throng, in a litter adorned with purple and gold. In the Cathedral of San Lorenzo, where three of his predecessors repose, he adored the Blessed Sacrament, and thence proceeded to the Governor's Palace. During the succeeding days the inhabitants paid the Pope every possible honor. He remained for three weeks in the city, and consecrated the Church of San Domenico. He did his best to reconcile its contending factions, issued fresh invitations to the Congress, and received the Envoys of the Duke of Savoy and of Federigo, Count of Urbino. A mission also arrived from Siena to endeavour to compose the differences which made it doubtful whether the Pope would visit his birth-place.

Even while Bishop of Siena, Pius II had had to contend against the distrust of his fellow-countrymen. "He was looked upon as a partisan of the nobles who had been driven out of the Government, and since his elevation to the purple he had never entered the city". After his election to the Papacy, the dignities and offices of State had been again opened to the Piccolomini family. This, however, was far from satisfying Pius II, who required that the nobles in general should be eligible to all posts. An autograph Brief of energetic remonstrance, addressed to his fellow-countrymen on the 25th November, 1458, had removed all possible doubts as to his views. An Embassy sent to Rome in December was informed that the Pope would not inflict any punishment upon the Sieneze for their contumacy, but that if his demands were not complied with, he would withhold the favours which he had intended to confer upon the city. He also allowed it to be understood that he would not pass through Siena on his journey. The popular party yielded to this pressure in so far as somewhat to modify their resolutions against the nobles. A special Mission was dispatched to Perugia to acquaint the Pope with this decision, and to urge him to visit Siena. Pius II graciously accepted the invitation and the concession, at the same time expressing a hope that more would follow. He refused to agree to the demand of the Envoys that no further mention should be made of the questions at issue.

On the 19th of February, amidst the regrets of its citizens, the Pope left Perugia. On the frontier of the Sieneze territory a solemn deputation awaited his arrival. The people everywhere received him "with heartfelt joy". His journey lay through Chiusi and Sarteano to Corsignano, the home which he had left as a penniless lad, and now revisited as the Head of Christendom. "There upon the hill, and above the vineyards, stood the lowly houses in which the Piccolomini had dwelt, and there was the old parish church". The Pope's joy in again beholding the home of his youth was deep and tender; but many of his contemporaries were dead, and those who survived were confined to their houses by age and sickness, or so altered that he could with difficulty recognise them. It was on this occasion that an aged priest came and cast himself at the Pope's

feet—the Father Peter, who had taught the now learned and famous author to read and write. Pius II spent three days in the little town, all too short a time for its inhabitants, who could never have enough of gazing at their renowned fellow-citizen. “On the feast of St. Peter’s Chair (22nd February), he celebrated the High Mass in the lowly parish church”.

Before his departure, Pius II made the necessary arrangements for the erection of a Cathedral and of a Palace; for Corsignano, under the name of Pienza, was now to become the See of a Bishop.

On the 24th February the Pope entered Siena, where his arrival was awaited by the dominant party with feelings of anxious suspense. His reception, although not wanting in suitable magnificence, was cold. Attentive observers were struck by the contrast which it formed with the enthusiastic welcome of Perugia. Pius II nevertheless manifested “nothing but goodwill and kindness”. The Golden Rose was bestowed on the Prior of the Balia, with a speech from the Pope in praise of the city.

The lengthened sojourn of Pius II brought unwonted animation to the quiet streets of Siena, and the price of provisions at once rose considerably. The Kings of Castille, Aragon, Portugal, Hungary, and Bohemia, Dukes Philip of Burgundy and Albert of Austria, and the Margraves Albert and Frederick of Brandenburg, all sent their representatives thither to do homage. The Pope answered all the addresses with his wonted eloquence. The Emperor, to whom he had written from Spoleto, and again on the 28th February from Siena, urgently pressing him to come to Mantua, sent men of comparatively inferior rank. They showed their annoyance with the Pope for having addressed Matthias Corvinus as King of Hungary, by putting off for a while their arrival at Siena. But Pius II appealed to the example of his predecessor and to the custom of the Holy See, by which the title of King is given to the actual possessor of the kingdom without prejudice to the rights of others. The Humanist Hinderbach made the profession of obedience on behalf of the Imperial Embassy, to which the Pope graciously replied.

Not till towards the end of his stay in Siena did the Pope speak of his wishes in regard to the Sienese Constitution. He again asked for the restitution of the nobles as a body, and desired that party names might be laid aside, for they kept up irritation amongst the people and fostered strife. Long deliberations ensued, in the course of which “some of the nobles proposed to rouse the mob, and carry their point by a *coup de main*; but Pius II refused to sanction this. He would not do violence to his native city; at worst he would only withhold the favours that he had meant to bestow”. It was finally decided that the nobles should be eligible for all posts and dignities, but that their actual share of preferment at any given time should be limited to a fourth, or, in some cases, an eighth part. So small a concession could not have satisfied the Pope, yet he accepted it graciously, at the same time expressing a hope that more would hereafter be done to carry out his wishes. As a token of his gratitude, he raised Siena to the dignity of a Metropolitan Church, and conferred the little town of Radicofani on the Republic as a perpetual fief.

Before the departure of Pius II from Siena, attempts were again made to dissuade him from holding a Congress. Its opponents not only sought to alarm him by representing all its possible dangers, but endeavoured also to prove that it was both useless and injurious.

Some Cardinals, devoted to the interests of France, even ventured to attempt to prejudice King Charles VII against it. A letter written with this object fell into the Pope’s hands, and nothing but the fear of a scandal deterred him from punishing its

author. Meanwhile those who flattered themselves with the hope that Pius II would be in any degree influenced by such arts were greatly mistaken. Firmly resolved to accomplish the promise which he had made before the whole world, he steadily pursued his journey.

The Florentine Envoys received him at the frontier. Others awaited him at San Casciano. Next came the Lords of Rimini, Forli, Faenza, and Carpi, and finally Galeazzo Maria Sforza, aged sixteen, the son of the Duke of Milan, attended by a retinue of 350 horsemen. The reception took place at the Certosa. Young Sforza leaped from his horse, kissed the Pope's foot and bade him welcome in a speech composed by the Humanist Guiniforte da Barzizza. The Gonfaloniere, Angelo Vettori, went before the Pope, whose litter was borne by the Lords, in some cases "reluctantly", to the Cathedral, and thence to Sta. Maria Novella, which had also been the residence of Martin V. and Eugenius IV. Theatrical performances, combats of wild beasts, races and balls were given in honor of the illustrious guest. "The learned and artistic Pope fully appreciated all the beautiful things which the wealthy city had to show him". Cosmo de' Medici, having on the plea of indisposition excused himself from appearing, no business could be transacted. The only exception was the election of an Archbishop, St. Antoninus having just died (2nd May). The Florentines prayed that one of their fellow-citizens should be chosen, and Pius II acceded to their wishes. The Pope had intended to leave Florence on the 4th May, but remained there one day longer. On the 9th of the month he was at Bologna. In crossing the Appenines, he ventured on dangerous ground. Latium, Sabina, Spoleto, and Tuscany were at least "within the sphere of Rome's influence, even if her hold on them was somewhat insecure. But on the other side of the Appenines, the Marches and Romagna, though included among the States of the Church, had their political centre in Milan and Venice".

Bologna, proud of her freedom, was in a state of perpetual disquiet. The dominant party was as averse to the authority of the new Pope, as it had been to that of his predecessor, and long deliberations had been held in reference to this journey. At last it had been decided that Pius II should be invited to Bologna, but that at the same time Milanese forces should be brought into the city. The Pope consented to this arrangement on condition that the troops should swear fealty to him. The command was entrusted to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, who had already given proofs of his devotion to the Holy See. These circumstances are sufficient to account for the shortness of his stay in the unfriendly city, which lasted only from the 9th to the 16th of May. From thence he sent a Brief to King Rene of Provence, who, resenting the Coronation of Ferrante of Naples, would not permit it to be published. He also sent Briefs to King John II of Aragon, and Henry VI of England, both of whom he invited to take part in the Congress.

Pius II made his entry into Ferrara under a gold-embroidered baldacchino on the 17th May. His reception was magnificent. The streets were strewn with green branches, the windows adorned with splendid hangings and garlands of flowers, music and singing resounded on all sides. Borso, the Duke of Modena, did everything in his power to show extraordinary honor to the Pope. But the long list of requests which he produced, considerably marred the effect of all this homage. Pius II was not able to satisfy him completely. On the 25th May he bade farewell to his host, "whose petitions kept pace with his demonstrations of respect". Thence the Pope passed on through Revere to the marshy plain in which lies the city of Virgil.

It was on the 27th May that Pius II entered Mantua, where he was welcomed with a splendour rivalling that which had been displayed at Perugia. "Three banners were carried before him; one of them bore the Cross, another the keys of the Church, and the

third the arms of the Piccolomini, five golden crescents on an azure cross. The Pope, in gorgeous vestments, resplendent with purple and jewels, was borne in a litter by the nobles and vassals of the Church. At the gate, the Marquess Lodovico Gonzaga dismounted from his horse and presented him with the keys of the city. Perugia and Florence were the only other places where this had been done. Carpets were laid down in the streets, the houses were almost hidden by flowers, and the balconies and roofs were filled with richly-dressed ladies. The streets through which the Pope passed to the Palace were thronged with people shouting, *Evviva Pio Secondo*".

The Duke of Milan had sent his consort to Mantua to welcome the Head of the Church. On the following day the Duchess and her children appeared before the Pope. Sforza's charming daughter, Ippolita, who was but fourteen years of age, on this occasion made a speech in Latin, which excited general admiration. "A Goddess could not have spoken better", wrote Luigi Scarampo to a friend.

But all this outward show of respect could not blind Pius II to the real state of affairs. The city was crowded with strangers; excellent arrangements had been made for his accommodation; but of all the Christian Kings and Princes to whom he had addressed repeated and urgent invitations, not one had taken the trouble to appear, and notwithstanding all their promises they had not deemed it necessary to send representatives invested with full powers. Such want of consideration towards the Pope, who had himself arrived some days before the appointed time, promised ill for the future. Processions were at once made to implore the protection of the Almighty for the assembly.

On the 1st June, Pius II opened the Congress with a solemn Mass and a discourse in which he made no secret of his dissatisfaction. At the same time he declared himself resolved to persevere. If those who were invited did not come it would at least be evident that it was not the Pope who had been wanting in good will. A circular letter to the same effect, and bearing the same date, was dispatched to all the Christian Powers, and was immediately followed by exhortations to send Envoys invested with full powers.

Under these circumstances it was impossible that business should be definitely commenced. We cannot but admire the energy of the suffering Pontiff, who firmly refused to leave Mantua, though all those by whom he was surrounded did everything in their power to induce him to do so. The Pope, they complained, had acted without due consideration in coming to this place. Few Envoys were present. The situation was marshy, unhealthy, and hot, the wine and provisions bad. Many had fallen sick, pernicious fevers were carrying off not a few, and there was nothing to be heard but the croaking of frogs.

The attitude of a certain number of the Cardinals was particularly distressing to the Pope. Those who, on different pretexts, departed from the dreary city, or who engaged in the pursuit of pleasure, were by no means the worst. Others, especially those who sympathized with France, sought to defer the meeting of the Congress. No one spoke of the Pope more contemptuously than did Cardinal Scarampo. He characterized his scheme as childish; the Pope, he said, had left Rome and was now wandering hither and thither asking for hospitality, and hoping by his persuasions to involve the Princes in the war, and to annihilate the Turks, whose troops were invincible. He would have done better to stay at home and take care of the Church. Scarampo even went so far as to dissuade the Venetians from sending representatives. Cardinal Tebaldo declared that the Pope had foolishly come to Mantua to enrich strangers, while he left his own people in

poverty. Other Cardinals asked Pius II to his face whether he wished them all to die of fever in the pestilent air of Mantua. He ought, they said, to return to Rome; having come to the appointed place of meeting he had done enough to satisfy his honor. Did he really believe that he could by himself conquer the Turks?

Notwithstanding all these efforts the Pope held firmly to his purpose of doing everything in his power for the defence of Western Christendom; Cardinals Bessarion and Torquemada stood by him loyally. Again he issued letters of warning and of menace to all parts of the world; “but only slowly, and very slowly, did Envoys appear from one quarter and another”. The European Princes in general showed the greatest indifference. They had no sympathy with the noble aspirations of Pius II, “who aimed at reviving the era of the Crusades”.

The conduct of the Emperor was deplorable. On him, as the defender of Christendom, devolved, according to medieval ideas, the duty of protecting the West against the attacks of Islam. Even if the Imperial dignity of that day was but a shadow of what it had been in the past, a certain prestige still clung to the throne of Charles the Great. Pius II therefore, from the beginning, attached special importance to the personal appearance of Frederick III at Mantua, hoping that it would be the means of attracting the other Princes to the Congress. The excuses of the Emperor were pitiful. He pleaded urgent affairs in Austria, and represented that he was not bound to attend, because the invitation had been indefinite, either to Udine or Mantua. “The reply which our envoy at your Court transmits to us”, wrote Pius II, on 26th January from Spoleto to the Emperor, “meets neither our expectations nor the necessities of the case. If you remain absent everyone will deem himself sufficiently excused. For the honor, therefore, of the German nation, for the glory of your own name, for the welfare of the Christian religion, you are entreated to reconsider the matter and decide on attending the assembly”.

Frederick III was, when these exhortations reached him, engaged in political schemes directly opposed to the Pope’s plans. “Instead of upholding Hungary in its integrity as the bulwark of Germany and of his own States, he entered upon a course calculated to break, or at least greatly weaken, the defensive power of that kingdom”. He made an alliance with that party of Hungarian magnates which was hostile to the house of Corvinus, and, on the 4th March, 1459, had himself proclaimed King of Hungary.

Pius II had sought to assuage the strife between these two Princes, which interfered so seriously with his hopes, and enlist them both in the war against the Turks. He was in Siena when the tidings of Frederick’s usurpation arrived, and lost no time in remonstrating with him.

“While the King of Hungary”, he wrote on the 2nd April, “would willingly draw his sword against the Turks, he is harassed by hindrances from Christians. Discontented magnates persuade your Highness to take part in a change of government in this kingdom. We exhort You, for the sake of your own honor as well as for the common welfare of Christendom, to cease to give ear to the counsels of restless persons. For if, as may easily happen, war should break out in consequence of your action, the King, should he seek deliverance by a peace with the Turks, will be less to blame than he who has constrained him to so shameful a treaty. This kingdom is the shield of all Christendom, under cover of which we have hitherto been safe. But if the road is thus opened to the barbarians, destruction will break in over all, and the consequences of such a disaster will be imputed by God to its author”. Cardinal Carvajal, the Papal

Legate in Hungary, was charged to use all diligence to avert violent proceedings and procure at least a truce for the ensuing summer. But his labours were vain, and open war was declared between Frederick III and Matthias Corvinus.

The Emperor soon caused fresh trouble to the Pope. Instead of the distinguished embassy which had been expected, men of so little consequence appeared on his behalf that Pius II at once dismissed them, requiring him to send personages fitted by their rank, to represent him worthily at the assembly and have a decisive voice in its deliberations. On the 9th June, Pius II again addressed the Emperor. "We have learned", he says, "that our beloved son in Christ, the illustrious King of France, is negotiating with your Highness for the transfer of the present Congress of Mantua to some place in Germany. If this be the case the labour will be lost, for as we have left our Apostolic Chair and come a distance of two hundred and fifty miles, not without great personal inconvenience, to meet your Highness and the other Christian Princes, it is right that they also should leave their courts, and at the summons of the Vicar of Christ, have the affairs of the Faith laid before them and consider their duty. We beg your Highness to give no encouragement to such suggestions".

On the 6th July, Pius II admonished the Emperor in view of the complaints which might be expected from the Hungarian Envoys, quickly to appoint suitable representatives. Finally, the Pontiff sent him a blessed sword and hat to remind him of his duty. All, however, was in vain. The autumn arrived and no Imperial mission was yet in sight. The German Princes were not more zealous than their Head; repeatedly and in vain were they summoned, and when, after considerable delay, some came or sent Envoys, it was not on account of the Turks or of the Faith, but from merely selfish motives.

"Day and night", wrote the Pope on the 11th June to Cardinal Carvajal, "We are unwearied in exhorting the Christian Princes and powers to unite for the salvation of Christendom. We shall not cease to labour to the end; We shall neglect nothing that seems to be pleasing to God and Our duty, hoping that the Divine goodness will not permit our efforts to be fruitless". Pius II certainly was not wanting in zeal, but all his eloquence did not avail to rouse the German Princes from their lethargy.

Worse even than the indifference of Germany was the hostile attitude of France, the second of the great Powers of Christendom. Ever since Ferrante's investiture with Naples, the French King, Charles VII, who favoured the pretensions of Anjou, had constantly aimed at reversing this act. He hoped to attain his object by making his cooperation in the Crusade conditional on a change in the Italian policy of Pius II. The King next manifested his discontent by answering the Pope's letter of invitation by a "significant menace", reminding him of the anti-Roman Assembly of Bourges, and then, in spite of all exhortations, delaying as long as possible in sending his Envoys. No one at the Papal Court doubted that violent dissensions were to be expected when they arrived.

The Republics of Florence and Venice used the Neapolitan difficulties as a cloak to cover that aversion to the war which was really due to their mercantile interests. Pius II ceased not to exhort them both by messengers and by Briefs. On the 14th of May, when at Bologna, he had again called upon the Florentines to send Envoys to the Congress, invested with full powers. On the 1st and on the 12th June the same request was repeated from Mantua, but in vain. Accordingly, on the 28th July, another letter was addressed to Florence. It proved as ineffectual as its predecessors. On the 16th of August, Pius II complained that the Florentines, although so near to the city where the

Congress was to meet, had not yet sent any representatives. He had, he said, waited for eighty days; his patience was now exhausted, and, if this last summons should remain unheeded, he would be compelled to bring a public accusation against Florence.

Meanwhile, living witnesses to the danger which threatened from the East had arrived in Mantua. Messengers imploring succour came from Epirus, Cyprus, Rhodes, and Lesbos, together with Envoys from the hard-pressed Thomas Palaeologus. These latter, who brought the Pope sixteen Turkish captives, declared, with true Byzantine boastfulness, that a small army of assistance from Italy would suffice to drive the Turks from the Peninsula! When the matter was discussed in Consistory, the Pope justly observed that so small a force would be utterly insufficient. Only the representations of the enthusiastic and unpractical Bessarion induced him to grant the troops, a third part of which were furnished by the Duchess of Milan. The event proved the Pope to have been right. The Crusaders arrived in time to assist Thomas in a fresh and fruitless siege of Patras, and then dispersed and scattered themselves over the unhappy land, plundering and devastating as they went.

The representatives of Matthias Corvinus reached Mantua in the end of July, and were received as Royal Envoys. They had been preceded by messengers from the King of Bosnia asking for assistance, and then the alarming tidings had come that the important fortress of Smedervo, at the junction of the Morawa with the Danube, was in the hands of the infidels. "There is nothing now", said the Pope, "to prevent the Turks from attacking Hungary".

For eleven weeks Pius II waited, but as yet none of the European sovereigns had arrived, and of the Italian Princes the King of Naples alone had sent representatives. There was no prospect of a commencement of business. In order to avoid vexatious disputes, such as had already broken out among the members of the Court, the Pope, on the 15th August, issued a proclamation to the effect that the order of precedence adopted in the Assembly should not prejudicially affect any future claims on that point.

At last, in the middle of August, to the great relief of Pius II a brilliant Embassy from the powerful Duke of Burgundy made its entry into Mantua. The Duke, indeed, did not appear in person as he had promised, but in his stead he sent his nephew, Duke John of Cleves, and Jean de Croix, the Lord of Chimay, with a retinue of 400 horse. The Marquess of Mantua, with an equally splendid suite, and several of the Cardinals, went forth to greet Duke John, who, on the following day, appeared before the Pope in Consistory. Jean Jouffroy, Bishop of Arras, who accompanied the Duke, made a speech in which he excused his master's absence, and gave assurances of his readiness to take part in the defence of Christendom. The little importance to be attached to these professions became evident during the ensuing days, when negotiations were entered on in detail. The Duke of Cleves declared that he could not enter upon Turkish affairs until the Pope had complied with his wish in regard to the affair of Soest. Pius II yielded, but gained no thanks by his concession. The Envoys then explained that their master had only agreed to cooperate in the Crusade if some other of the Princes first set the example, and the Pope had to content himself with a promise that the Duke would send 2000 horsemen and 4000 foot soldiers to the relief of Hungary. The Duke of Cleves now wished to return home, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the Pope induced him to defer his departure until the 6th, and afterwards until the 10th September, when the Duke of Milan and Borso d'Este were to arrive. As, however, to the Pope's great annoyance, the latter retracted his promise, and Francesco Sforza again postponed his arrival, Duke John refused to wait any longer. The Lord of Chimay, who was suffering much from fever, also left Mantua. "With difficulty the Pope detained two subordinate



members of the Embassy, so that Burgundy might not be altogether unrepresented. For several days he was nearly alone with the members of his Court and the Eastern Envoys. Three months had now passed since the day appointed for the opening of the Assembly, and with the exception of the Imperial Embassy which Pius II had sent back, the Burgundian Mission which he had been unable to detain, and some unimportant Envoys from certain Bishops and Cities who were carrying on business of their own at the Court, no representatives had appeared, save those sent by Ferrante of Naples”.

A change for the better took place in the latter part of September, when Francesco Sforza, after repeated invitations from the Pope, at last came in person to the Congress. He arrived in the Mincio with forty-seven ships; the Marquess of Mantua, and his Consort Barbara, with twenty-two vessels, went some way out to meet him. A Mantuan chronicler gives a vivid description of the approach of this magnificent fleet to the City. The Duke and his sumptuous retinue excited universal admiration. On the following day he went with great pomp to the Pope. Pius II received him in open Consistory and assigned him a seat immediately after the Cardinal Deacons. The Humanist Filelfo made a speech; he promised that his master would, at the Pope’s command, devote all his energies to the war against the Infidel, “as far as the state of Italy permitted”. This last point was warmly discussed in the private interviews which took place on the ensuing days between the Duke and the Pope. Neapolitan affairs formed the subject of consideration.

The party opposed to Ferrante, headed by Giovanni Antonio degli Orsini, the tyrannical Prince of Taranto, had, even as early as the commencement of 1459, begun to agitate against the King. Pius II had at once done his best to meet the danger which thus threatened the peace of Italy. But the Prince of Taranto never rested until, in August, an open insurrection against Ferrante broke out. Jean, the son of Rene, the French claimant, was summoned to support the rising, and assumed the title of Duke of Calabria. The success of this chivalrous Prince in Naples would have given Sforza reason to fear a similar attack from Orleans on the Duchy which he had won with no small difficulty, and his title to which had not yet been recognized by the Emperor. Moreover, French influence would have become predominant in Italy, and a death-blow been struck at its existing political constitution. In view of the opposition of France to the Crusade, Sforza had no difficulty in inducing Pius II to support Ferrante.

The immediate effect of the presence of the most distinguished of Italian Princes at Mantua was to induce most of the other States of the Peninsula to send representatives. Almost every day witnessed a fresh arrival. The Sieneese Envoys, writing on the 25th September, were able to describe the beautiful city of Mantua as adorned by the presence of many Prelates, many Lords, Ambassadors and Courtiers. Even the Venetians at last made up their minds to send a mission. This determination was arrived at after long and animated discussions. The most influential personages in the city opposed the Crusade from purely commercial considerations, because it threatened to put a stop to their profitable trade with Turkey. The Doge, Pasquale Malipiero, “a great friend of peace, a lover of good cheer, and of the fair sex”, kept up very amicable relations with the Sultan. Efforts had at first been made to put the Pope off with fair promises; at last, after repeated importunities on his part, on the 29th July, Orsato Giustiniani and Luigi Foscarini were chosen to represent the Republic at the Congress. All through the month of August their departure was delayed in the hope that Pius II would be wearied out by procrastination and disappointments. As early as the 3rd August he had exhorted the Doge to send the Envoys who had then just been elected. On the 25th of the same month he issued another Brief to the Venetians, complaining

bitterly of their delay. He now adopted “a tone of reproach instead of one of supplication; it was whispered”, he said, “that the Venetians held more with the Turks than with the Christians, and were concerned for their trade, not for faith and religion”. At the same time Pius II declared his settled determination of beginning the business of the Congress on the 1st September. If Venice still tarried he would be constrained to complain publicly of the bad dispositions of the Republic. The Signoria, on the 3rd September, made answer that their representatives would without fail set out on the 15th. This promise was due to the appearance of the Duke of Milan at Mantua. A glance at the instructions given to the Ambassadors reveals the real purpose of the Republic: “They are only to give a general promise, that if the Christian Princes unite their forces in a common expedition against the infidels, Venice will do her duty”. On the evening of the 23rd September, the Venetian Envoys, escorted by 500 horsemen, made their entry into Mantua with great pomp. The whole Court and all the Princes who were there, including even the Duke of Milan, went forth to meet them. On the following day they were received in public Consistory. Foscarini promised great things if the expedition against the Turks were taken up by all the Christian powers in union. “It was evident that this condition would furnish a ready pretext for evading an engagement which was only made because it could not be avoided. How could it be expected that all nations without exception would join in this expedition?”. The Pope in his reply pointed out the difficulty of this condition. He also could not refrain from reproaching the Venetians for being, although the nearest to Mantua, the last to appear there. In all else he commended the good intentions of the Republic.

At last, on the 26th September, four months after the arrival of the Pope, it was possible to hold the first sitting of the Congress. The assembly was to meet in the Cathedral. After a Mass of the Holy Ghost had been said, the Pope rose, and, in a carefully considered discourse, which lasted two hours, explained the necessity and the object of a general crusade, the means by which its success might be assured, and the reward which awaited those who should take part in it.

Pius II began his address with a prayer, and then proceeded in eloquent terms to describe the losses which Christendom had suffered at the hands of the unbelievers. “The Holy Land flowing with milk and honey, the soil which brought forth the Saviour, the temple of Solomon, in which He so often preached, Bethlehem, where He was born, the Jordan, wherein He was baptized, the Mount of the Transfiguration, Calvary, whereon His Precious Blood was shed, the Sepulchre, in which His Sacred Body had rested, all have long been in the hands of our enemies; without their permission we cannot look upon these Holy places. But these are ancient losses; let us turn to what has happened in our own days and through our own fault. We ourselves, and not our fathers, have allowed Constantinople, the chief city of the East, to be conquered by the Turks, and while we sit at home in slothful ease, they are pressing on to the Danube and the Save. In the royal city of the East they have slain the successor of Constantine and his people, desecrated the temples of the Lord, defiled the noble church of Justinian with their Mahometan abominations. They have destroyed the images of the Mother of God and of the Saints, cast down altars, thrown the relics of the Martyrs to the swine, killed the priests, dishonoured wives and daughters, even consecrated virgins, and murdered the nobles of the city. At the Sultan’s banquet, the image of our crucified Redeemer was dragged through the mire and spat upon, while they shouted: ‘This is the God of the Christians!’. All these things have been done before our eyes, yet we remain as it were asleep, though indeed we are alert enough in fighting among ourselves. Christians fly to arms and shed each other’s blood for any trifle, but no one will raise a hand against the

Turks who blaspheme our God, who destroy our Churches, and seek utterly to root out the Christian name. Truly, 'all have turned from the way; they are become unprofitable together; there is none that doth good, no, not one!'. People say, indeed, that these things are past and cannot be undone, that now we shall have peace; but can we expect peace from a nation which thirsts for our blood, which has already planted itself in Hungary, after having subjugated Greece? Lay aside these infatuated hopes. Mahomet will never lay down his arms until he is either wholly victorious or completely vanquished. Each success will be only a stepping-stone to the next until he has mastered all the Western Monarchs, overthrown the Christian Faith, and imposed the law of his false prophet on the whole world".

After showing that in the populous countries of the West it was possible to levy forces amply sufficient to cope with the Turks, he concludes by exclaiming: "Oh, that Godfrey, Baldwin, Eustace, Hugh, Boemund, Tancred, and those other brave men who reconquered Jerusalem, were here! Truly they would not need so many words to persuade them. They would stand up and shout as they did of old before Our predecessor Urban II: 'God wills it! God wills it!'. You wait in silence and unmoved for the end of Our discourse. And it may be that there are some among you who say: 'This Pope exhorts us to fight, and expose our lives to the sword of the enemy; that is the way of priests. They lay heavy burdens on others, and will not themselves touch them with a finger'. Do not believe it, my Sons! No one who, within the memory of your fathers, has occupied this chair has done more for the faith of Christ than We, with your help and the grace of God, will do. We have come here, weak enough, as you see, not without bodily risk, and not without detriment to the States of the Church. We have deemed the defence of the Faith of more value than the Patrimony of St. Peter, than our own health and repose. Oh, had We but the youthful vigour of former days, you should not go without us into battle or into danger. We ourselves would bear the Cross of our Lord; We would uphold the banner of Christ against the infidel, and would think ourselves happy if it were given to us to die for the Faith. And now, if it seems well to you, We will not hesitate to devote our sickly body and our weary soul to Christ the Lord in this holy enterprise. Gladly, if you advise it, will We be borne in our litter into the camp, and into the battlefield itself. Go and take counsel, and see what may be most profitable to the Christian cause. We do not deal in fine words, hiding a cowardly heart. We will hold nothing back, neither person nor goods".

Bessarion, the one among the Cardinals who had always taken the most lively interest in Oriental affairs, answered in the name of the Sacred College. He began by praising the Pope, and declaring that the Cardinals were well inclined for the Holy War. In a discourse amply garnished with Christian and classical allusions, he described the deeds of horror perpetrated by the Turks, and the danger which threatened religion, concluding by calling upon all Christian Princes and nations, for whom our Lord had shed His blood, to take up arms against the infidels with full confidence in the help of God.

The Ambassadors now all expressed their adhesion, and Francesco Sforza also declared himself ready to comply with the Pope's wishes. The Bishop of Trieste, who acted as the Emperor's representative, kept silence, even when the Hungarian Ambassadors made bitter complaints against Frederick III. Pius II rebuked them for this unseemly introduction of their private quarrels. At last the Assembly unanimously resolved on war against the Turks. For the carrying out of this determination, the Pope adopted the "only expedient possible" under the existing circumstances. He did not again call the Congress together, but treated with each of the several nations separately.

The first consultation was with the Italians, and took place on the 27th September. The Duke of Milan, the Marquess of Mantua, and the Marquess of Montferrat, the Lord of Rimini, Sigismondo Malatesta, the Envoys of the King of Naples, and those of the King of Aragon, as ruler of Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia, with the representatives of Venice, Florence, Siena, Ferrara, Lucca, and Bologna, were present. After some introductory remarks from the Pope, the details of the expedition came under consideration. In regard to the operations by sea, the Venetian Envoys, though they only took part in the Council as private individuals, were given a decisive voice. For the prosecution of the war on land, Francesco Sforza recommended that the best soldiers from the countries nearest to Turkey should be chosen, because they had most knowledge of the enemy, while Italy and the more distant countries should contribute only money. All present agreed to this, except Sigismondo Malatesta. "I also", replied Pius II, with his usual tactful consideration for the susceptibilities of his fellow-countrymen, "should advocate the choice of Italian soldiers, whose prowess in the field is unsurpassed, were any other nation capable of furnishing pecuniary aid. But Italy alone can do this, and therefore the other nations must provide men and ships, that all the burden may not fall on one. We must also consider that it would be difficult for us to call on our captains to fight in a foreign country. Here war is carried on with no danger to life, and for high pay. With the Turks the strife is deadly, and the reward rather in the next world than in this. We, therefore, advise that for three years the clergy shall contribute the tenth, the laity the thirtieth, and the Jews the twentieth part of their income to the support of the war".

The representatives of Venice and Florence, the States which had the largest resources at their command, raised the greatest objections to this proposal. Both of these Republics leaned to the side of France, which maintained the claims of Anjou on Naples, and were accordingly already ill-inclined towards the Pope; but the narrow and selfish policy of these mercantile States, which considered nothing but their own commercial interests, was the chief cause of their opposition to the war.

On the 30th September the representatives of the Italian powers again assembled. The Pope insisted that all present should, with their own hands, sign the decree regarding the tenth, twentieth and thirtieth part. None but the Venetian Envoys openly refused to comply with his desire. The attitude of the Florentines was doubtful, but it was believed that they would follow the example of the Venetians. Pius II, however, succeeded in making a secret agreement with them; but all his efforts to win Venice were in vain. This State continued to pursue its ancient policy of laying down impossible conditions. It claimed the sole command of the naval forces, the possession of all the spoil that might be acquired, indemnification for all expenses; 8000 men for service on its ships, and a maintenance of an army of 50,000 horse and 20,000 foot on the Hungarian frontier. The Pope could not conceal his anger at the conduct of this great power, which might have been expected to take the foremost place in the enterprise. "You demand impossibilities", he is said to have exclaimed. "Your Republic has, indeed, degenerated. Once it prepared a magnificent fleet for the defence of the Faith, and now it cannot furnish a single ship. You have fought well for your allies and subjects against the Pisans and Genoese, against Emperor and King; and now, when you ought to fight for Christ against the Infidels, you want to be paid. If arms were given to you, you would not take them. You only raise one difficulty after another in order to prevent the war, but if you succeed, you will be the first to suffer". All was in vain; the Venetian Envoys remained inflexible.

The representatives of the Polish monarch afforded little satisfaction to the Pope; a profusion of words took the place of actual offers of assistance, and all his concessions failed to bring about a better state of feeling.

The results as yet obtained were small enough, but those who surrounded the Pope deemed them sufficient to justify a return to Rome, for Pius II could not consider his task accomplished while many Envoys and Princes from France as well as from Germany were still expected.

The Duke of Milan bade farewell to the Pope on the 2nd of October. He was, as he informed his wife, so busy during his last days at Mantua that he had scarcely time to eat. He left the city on the 3rd of the month.

At length, before the end of the month, the representatives of Duke Louis of Savoy arrived. Notwithstanding all the Pope's exhortations, this Prince, whose sympathies were French, had delayed so long that the consultations with the Italian Envoys had already been concluded. On the 19th October, when at last the Envoys appeared, Pius II received them in a public Consistory, and in his address expressed his dissatisfaction in severe terms, almost amounting to a reprimand. In the afternoon he left Mantua to pay a visit to the Church of Sta. Maria delle Grazie. This venerable sanctuary lies on the other side of the lake, five miles to the west of the City. He spent four days in the adjacent convent; on the Sunday he said Mass in the Chapel of the Miraculous Picture, and granted an Indulgence to all the faithful who should visit the church and receive Holy Communion there on the first Sunday of October.

On his return to Mantua, where his absence had been kept secret, Pius II encountered fresh mortifications. The first German Embassy that appeared was that of the Archduke Albert of Austria, and its mouthpiece was Gregor Heimburg, who, with his wonted coarseness, laid himself out to annoy and insult the Pope. At the audience accorded to him on the 29th October, he did not even uncover his head, and the tone of his speech was sneering and contemptuous. On two other occasions Heimburg spoke in the Pope's presence, once in the name of Duke William of Saxony, and again in that of Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol, who, himself, came in person on the 10th November. In the last of these discourses he had the insolence to remind Pius II of the love-letters which, as Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, he had composed for the youthful Sigismund.

The appearance of the Tyrolese Duke in Mantua was not due to the Turkish question, but merely to a private dispute with Cardinal Cusa, who had already betaken himself to the Pope.

The Envoys from France and Germany, who appeared in the latter part of November, displayed no more zeal than their predecessors. The fact that the representatives of these great powers, who ought to have been the first to answer the Pope's summons, did not come until the end of the Congress was in itself sufficiently strange. It would have been well if even then they had manifested some goodwill towards the great cause which filled the soul of the Pope.

The dislike of Charles VII of France, to the Crusade, was evinced by the efforts made by his Envoys in Venice to dissuade the Republic from taking part in it\* In Mantua they pursued the same course. On the 14th November they reached the city simultaneously with the Envoys of King Rene and of the Duke of Brittany.

Soon afterwards came the Margrave Charles of Baden, and the Bishops of Eichstatt and Trent. In the first audience granted to the French on the 21st November, they did homage, and everything passed quietly. Pius II in the discourse which he addressed to

them insisted on the plenitude of the Papal power. No one, he said, was to imagine that the authority of Councils could limit the power which God Himself had established in the throne of St. Peter. To oppose to it the opinions of any body of men, however learned, was wholly inadmissible, and had been condemned by the Council of Florence. All Catholic Princes are subject to the Roman Church.

The deliberations on the Neapolitan affairs demanded by the Envoys took place on the 30th November. Those of King René and of the Genoese were present, also the Margrave of Baden, not, however, in his character of Imperial Ambassador. The Dukes of Brittany and Savoy were represented, but no one appeared on behalf of Burgundy or of Venice. Sigismund of the Tyrol did not take part in the audience. To the great regret of the Pope he suddenly left Mantua just before it, without having settled his dispute with Cusa. The spokesman of the French Embassy began by an enthusiastic eulogy of the “nation of the Lily” and its King, whose right to Naples he sought to establish, and then bitterly attacked the Pope’s Italian policy. Ferrante’s investiture was a wrong to the Royal House of France, and the refusal to allow Piccinino to pass through the Papal States an act of injustice. Finally, he demanded that Pius II should cancel all that he had done in Ferrante’s favour, and confer Naples on King Rene. The Pope, who listened with much patience to the discourse, answered in a few words. Hitherto, he informed them, in dealing with questions of this kind he had always acted in conjunction with the Sacred College, and from this practice he did not mean to depart. At the same time he requested the French to present their claims in writing, as was usual at the Papal Court.

On the following day Pius II received the representatives of the Emperor and the other German powers, and at a later hour those of the Duke of Brittany; the latter were especially praised, because their master had repudiated the Pragmatic Sanction, and adhered faithfully to the Holy See. After this the Pope sent word that he was ill.

The French now gave in their proposals in writing. The speech in which Pius II replied is a masterpiece of its kind. He would not deny, he said, at the beginning of a discourse which took three hours to deliver, that he was a sinner, but he had yet to be convinced that he had done any injustice to France. France had done much for the Church, but the Church had also done much for France. They required impossibilities. He could not remove the Archbishop of Genoa without transgressing the Canon Law, according to which bishops might not be translated against their will without trial. What had been done in Naples was in accordance with reason and justice. Going back to the past, he urged, in defence of the changeable policy of his predecessors, the necessities of the times, and justified his own action by the force of circumstances. It was not he who had excluded the French from Lower Italy; he had found them already shut out. The Aragonese claimant had been acknowledged by the Barons at Capua; not a single voice was then raised in favour of René. The chief powers of Italy, Venice, Milan and Florence begged us to grant investiture to Ferrante; had we refused them, the Church was threatened with a dangerous war. We could only have supported the Duke of Calabria if he had been on the spot, and as powerful as his rival. Therefore, in consideration of the danger to the States of the Church, and in view of the most necessary war with the Turks, we determined to grant investiture to Ferrante; his coronation was a necessary consequence of this step which we were compelled to take. The Pope further maintained, that he had never injured King Rene, but had been repeatedly injured and deceived by him; above all he had been greatly distressed by the dispatch of a fleet against Naples during this very Congress, and the consequent disturbance of the peace of Italy.

It was impossible to cancel all that had been granted to Ferrante in favour of Rene without giving the former a hearing. The Pope had not deprived René of anything, or even denied his right to the throne. How could he now dispossess Ferrante until his cause had been heard? If a legal decision were desired, the sword must be sheathed. He would be a just judge.

In regard to the other demand of a free passage through the States of the Church for Piccinino, Pius II insisted on the untrustworthiness of the promises given by such mercenary chiefs. He solemnly declared it to be the duty of Christians, in presence of the danger threatened by the Turks, to preserve peace among themselves. On no condition would he permit the Neapolitan difference to be settled by war. If an appeal to arms were resorted to in this case there was reason to fear that the whole of Italy might become involved. This was the ardent desire of the Turks. But it was the duty of the French, formerly such powerful champions of the Catholic Faith, now to help in attacking the enemy. The French Monarch, called by universal consent the Most Christian King, had a great task before him, and the Pope awaited suitable proposals from his Ambassadors.

At the conclusion of his discourse, the Pope spoke of his desire that the French nation should be blameless. This, however, could not be the case until the stain of the Pragmatic Sanction was effaced. By this measure the authority of the Holy See was impaired, the power of religion weakened, the Church robbed of her freedom and universality. Laymen were constituted judges of the clergy. The Bishop of Rome, whose cure extends over the whole world, and is not bounded by any ocean, is only allowed in France such jurisdiction as it pleases the Parliament to grant him. "If we let this continue", said the Pontiff, "we destroy the liberty and unity of the Church, and turn her into a many-headed monster. The King has not indeed perceived this; it must be pointed out to him, that he may abandon this course, and really merit the name of Most Christian".

The French Envoys in a private audience made a feeble reply. Their chief endeavour was to justify the action of their King in regard to the Pragmatic Sanction; they again recommended their petitions to the consideration of the Holy Father.

The audiences of the representatives of King René and the Duke of Calabria gave rise to somewhat stormy encounters. The former desired to issue a protest against the adverse attitude of the Pope in regard to the investiture, and Pius II threatened, if they adopted this course, to proceed against them as heretics. "But the full vials of his wrath were poured out upon the Envoys of the Duke of Calabria, who had carried off the fleet destined to attack the Turks from Marseilles, and begun the disturbances in Italy. The Pope received them with angry looks, and would hardly listen to their address".

The real object of the Congress was thus thrust into the background by the Neapolitan question. When Pius II again insisted upon it, and plainly asked the French Envoys what assistance their King meant to give, they answered that it was useless to discuss this matter so long as the war between France and England continued. When the Pope expressed his intention of summoning an assembly to arrange these differences, they replied that the initiative must rest with their King. They also declined to furnish even a small body of troops. The representatives of Genoa and of King Rene spoke, as was to be expected, in the same sense. Envoys at last arrived from England, "but they came rather with a view of finding some remedy for the unhappy condition of their country than with the intention of doing anything for the cause of Christendom".

Notwithstanding his frequent disappointments, the Pope still cherished some hope of better success with the Germans. But here also disunion reigned supreme. “The representatives of the Emperor could not come to an agreement with those of the Electors and Princes, nor the latter with each other or with the Envoys of the cities”.

These dissensions were zealously fomented by Gregor Heimburg. With a mind soured by disappointment, and steeped in the ideas of the Council of Basle, he raged equally against both Pope and Emperor. Pius II, therefore, must have greatly rejoiced when, on the 19th of December, the Germans came to an agreement with each other, which had at least a show of sincerity, although in reality the strife was merely postponed. The contingent of 32,000 infantry and 10,000 horse, formerly promised to Nicholas V, was granted. The details were to be arranged with the Apostolic Legates in two diets, one of which was to be held in Nuremberg and the other in Austria, in order to settle the dispute between the Emperor and Hungary.

On the following day letters of invitation were sent to all the Princes and States of the Empire. The Pope, in the most pressing terms, urged them to appoint Envoys with full powers. The diet at Nuremberg was to be held on *Invocavit* Sunday, 2nd March, and that at the Emperor’s Court on *Judica* Sunday, 30th March. Similar summonses were issued on the 21st January 1460, in the name of Frederick III.

The thorny post of German Legate was confided to Cardinal Bessarion. The Emperor, by a Bull of the 12th January, 1460, was appointed commander of the German Crusading army, and if unable personally to take part in the expedition, he was empowered to appoint a German Prince to take his place.

The Pope made it very evident that he wished this post conferred on the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, who, to his great joy, had arrived in Mantua at the end of 1459. Pius II had always had great confidence in the military capacity of this Prince, and now showered praises and presents upon him. The German “Achilles” saw his opportunity, and while flattering to the utmost the fancies of the Pope, sedulously applied himself to obtaining Bulls from him curtailing the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Wurzburg and Bamberg, and enabling him to gain a firmer footing in Franconia.

On the 14th January, special Collects composed for the occasion were introduced in the High Mass celebrated by the Pope. At its conclusion the Bull ordaining a three years’ crusade against the Turks was published. It was decreed that on every Sunday during Holy Mass the Divine assistance should be invoked for the Christian arms. A Plenary Indulgence was granted to everyone who, for the space of eight months, should personally take part in the expedition. The same Indulgence was granted to all convents and religious communities which should maintain for eight months, at their own expense, one soldier for every ten of their members.

The necessary Decrees for obtaining the pecuniary resources required for the Holy War were issued simultaneously with this Bull. The Holy See “itself led the way with a good example”. The whole Papal Court, that is to say, all officials paid by the Holy See and out of the Papal treasury, were required, like the rest of the clergy, to contribute a tithe of their income. The laity, especially those in Italy, were to pay a thirtieth, and the Jews a twentieth part. Collectors were appointed in great numbers to gather in the money.

In his farewell discourse Pius II again summed up the results of the Assembly; he looked upon them as far from satisfactory, yet not altogether hopeless. He then closed the Congress with a solemn prayer: “Almighty, eternal God, who hast deigned to



redeem the human race by the Precious Blood of Thy Beloved Son, and to raise the world which was sunk in darkness to the light of the Gospel, grant, we beseech Thee, that the Christian Princes and nations may so valiantly take up arms against the Turks and all the other enemies of the Cross, that they may be victorious, to the Glory of Thy Name”.

On the 19th January, 1460, the Pope left Mantua for Siena, his feeble health making a season of rest absolutely necessary after the labours and agitations of the Congress.

A short time before his departure, Pius II had published an important Bull in defense of the monarchical constitution of the Church. It was directed against the custom of appealing from the Pope to a general Council, which was an outcome of the false teaching regarding the supremacy of Councils, and which still prevailed, notwithstanding the prohibition of Martin V. Under Calixtus III, the clergy of Rouen and the University of Paris appealed against the levy of the Turkish tithes. It was to be expected that such appeals, which had always been the war-cry of the opposition, would now be repeated in connection with a similar question.

Pius II said that the continuation of this practice “must end in the complete degradation of the Papal authority and the dissolution of all ecclesiastical orders. It was in itself an absurdity to appeal to a non-existent judge, to a tribunal which, even if the decrees of the Council of Constance were literally carried out, would meet only once in ten years”. Accordingly, with the consent of the Cardinals, he renewed for the future, under pain of excommunication, the prohibitions of previous Popes and denounced all such appeals as had already-been made.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE CONTEST FOR THE NEAPOLITAN THRONE.

While Pius II was seeking to unite the Christian Princes against Islam, the dispute in Italy between the houses of Anjou and Aragon had broken out into open war. King Charles VII. of France espoused the Angevine party, and made over to King Rene for the expedition against Ferrante of Naples, the twenty-four galleys which Cardinal Alain had collected for the Turkish war. In the beginning of October 1459, René's son, Duke John of Calabria, appeared before Naples with these ships. His hope that an insurrection would break out against the King, who was absent in Calabria, was disappointed. Accordingly he sailed back and landed at the mouth of the Volturno. This was the signal for a general rising against Ferrante under the leadership of the ancient Angevine party and the most powerful of the feudal lords, and the cause of the house of Aragon seemed lost.

Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, strenuously opposed the pretensions of the Angevines. Clearly perceiving that the success of the French in Italy, and their establishment in Naples, must destroy the political independence of the Peninsula, he induced the Pope to take Ferrante's part. Florence and Venice professed neutrality; on the other hand, the Condottiere, Jacopo Piccinino, managed to elude the Papal Legate and Federigo of Urbino, and march southwards along the coast to assist the insurgents.

Military operations began in the spring of 1460. The Milanese forces were commanded by Alessandro, Francesco's brother, and the Papal troops by Simonetto. When the Duke of Calabria approached the city of Nola, Ferrante, with the army of the Pope, advanced to meet him. On the 7th July the Neapolitan king having rashly attacked the enemy, who was encamped in the little town of Sarno, a few miles from the capital, was completely defeated. His troops were for the most part taken prisoners, and he himself escaped with but twenty horsemen to Naples. Almost all the chiefs, and most of the cities of the Campagna, with the exception of Naples, joined the Angevine party.

Had the enemies of Ferrante been more united among themselves, and more energetic, the consequences of the victory at Sarno might have been far more serious than they were. As it was, the King, who was powerfully supported by Milan, found time to recover his strength.

At the end of July a sharp encounter also took place in the north. On the 22nd of the month, at San Fabiano, not far from Ascoli, Piccinino attacked the army commanded by Alessandro Sforza and Federigo of Urbino, and a sharp engagement ensued. Neither side could claim the victory, but eventually Alessandro and Federigo were obliged to retreat.

Pius II, who had been at the baths of Macerata and Petriolo to seek relief from his old enemy the gout, was at Siena when he received the evil tidings. As early as May, King René had sent an unsuccessful embassy to induce the Pope, by threats of

insurrection in Avignon and an appeal to a Council, to abandon the cause of Ferrante. But the unfortunate issue of the battles at Sarno and San Fabiano so alarmed Pius II that he began to waver. He seems even to have thought of “yielding to the pressure of the French and forsaking Ferrante”. The representations of the Duke of Milan, who “had the most urgent interest in this war”, and the concessions of Ferrante, held the Pope in this critical moment to his agreement. Ferrante not only made over the little city of Castiglione della Pescaja, in Tuscany, and the island of Giglio to the Pope’s nephew, Andrea, but also renounced his claim to Terracina. After the battle of Sarno, a party adverse to the French interest had there arisen which besought the protection of the Church. Pius II upon this sent his nephew Antonio, who occupied this important city, which was the key of the Campagna. The King of Naples and Francesco Sforza were both equally dissatisfied with this proceeding, but they were compelled to submit if they wished to retain the alliance of Pius II. The Pope won the goodwill of the inhabitants by confirming their municipal constitution and other privileges, and acceding to their request that the Jews might be allowed to settle in their city, and enjoy its freedom and rights.

Meanwhile the strife in Naples was reacting most injuriously on Rome. As long as Nicholas of Cusa, who had been appointed Papal Vicar-General, remained in the city, all was quiet, a fact acknowledged with commendation in many of the Pope’s Briefs. Soon after his departure, however, we hear of riots and outrages, and the citizens anxiously desired the return of the Pope. In a Brief of February 1st, 1460, Pius again alludes to disturbances in Rome, and charges the Senators of the city to repress these “daily recurring scandals”. Contemporary chroniclers inform us that two bands of lawless youths had formed themselves in Rome, who were perpetually at war with each other, and had ended by establishing a veritable reign of terror. Rape, plunder, and murder were the order of the day. The municipal authorities did little or nothing to restore order, hoping that the continuance of this state of anarchy would induce Pius II to return. On the 30th March the Pope expressed to the Conservators his surprise that they could suffer these excesses to be perpetrated by the youth of the City; and informed them that if they expected by such means to force him to come back they were greatly mistaken. He might be moved by submission and obedience, but never by turbulence. The situation soon became so critical, that the Governor withdrew from the Vatican, and asked for military assistance, which Pius II at once granted.

In the month of May the troubles increased. It now appeared that the party of revolt in the city had warm supporters in the Savelli, the Colonna, and the Anguillara. “For these Barons again lifted their heads when the Neapolitan war broke out; they espoused the cause of Anjou, and entered into an alliance with Piccinino and Malatesta”. Jacopo Savelli afforded a secure asylum to the Roman banditti in Palombara, at the foot of Monte Gennara. On the 16th May a young Roman, surnamed, on account of his amorous propensities, the *Innamorato*, carried away a maiden who was about to be married; he was arrested for this offence, and delivered to the Senate. His friends at Palombara at once hastened to rescue him. The band was headed by Tiburzio and Valeriano di Maso, two brothers, who belonged to a family of conspirators. Their father, brother-in-law to Stefano Porcaro, had, together with his elder brother, been executed as principal accomplices in Porcaro’s plot. Tiburzio and Valeriano wished “to avenge these martyrs of liberty, to cast off the yoke of the priests, to restore the ancient Republic”. They fortified themselves in the Pantheon, laid the surrounding quarter under contribution, and never rested until they had procured the liberation of the *Innamorato*. As time went on, things got worse in the city, where the absence of the Pope, and his

participation in the Neapolitan contest, caused great dissatisfaction. A new band was formed, and under the leadership of a certain Bonanno Specchio, committed all sorts of crimes. A tower near San Lorenzo in Lucina served as a hiding-place for these rebels, who when driven hence by the Pope's nephew, Antonio, fortified themselves in the Capranica Palace. Here they spent their days in revelry, and at night sallied forth to plunder. Tiburzio was their king.

On hearing of these disorders, Pius II seriously thought of returning to Rome. The city continued unquiet, even after Tiburzio, at the request of some of the nobles, had gone back to Palombara. Unarmed citizens were maltreated in the open streets, women and maidens outraged, and a convent situated near the city completely sacked. The Pope now saw that his presence was the only remedy, and he resolved to put an end to these disturbances.

The beginning of September brought terrible tidings. Piccinino had burst into the Sabina, plundering and murdering as he went, and threatened, with the help of the Ghibelline Barons, to attack Rome, Cardinal Colonna had great difficulty in keeping Tivoli quiet, where the Ghibelline party supported Piccinino, whose troops, harboured by Jacopo Savelli in Palombara, from thence ravaged the surrounding country. "Confusion and terror reigned in Rome. From the walls and heights of the city, burning castles and villages were to be seen, and it was expected that the enemy would soon enter its gates. The party of revolt within was in communication with the Condottiere. Everso of Anguillara had resumed his raids, and Malatesta openly espoused the cause of Anjou".

Meanwhile the Roman police arrested a certain Luca da Tozio, whose confessions "revealed the abyss of danger in all its depths to the Pope". In the castle of St. Angelo, without being subjected to torture, he declared that Piccinino had been invited into the Roman territory by the Prince of Tarento, Everso of Anguillara, Jacopo Savelli and the Colonna, and that Tiburzio and his band were to open the gates of Rome to the Condottiere, after which the city was to be plundered, and the Pope's nephew slain.

Ill though he was, the Pope, on receiving these tidings, resolved to start as soon as possible. After having prepared the way for peace between the contending parties in Orvieto, he set out and reached Viterbo on the 30th September. The Roman Envoys here awaited him and begged him to pardon the excesses of the Roman youths. "What city", the Pope is said to have replied, "is freer than Rome? You pay no taxes, you bear no burdens, you occupy the most honourable posts, you sell your wine and corn at the price you choose, and your houses bring you in rich rents. And, moreover, who is your ruler? Is he a Count, Marquess, Duke, King or Emperor? No! one greater than all these, the Roman Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, the Vicar of Christ. He it is who brings you glory and prosperity and attracts the wealth of the whole world to your gates".

On the 4th October, Pius II started for Rome escorted by five hundred horsemen, sent at his urgent request by the Duke of Milan. On the 6th, to the great joy of the inhabitants, he entered the city. He at once summoned the Conservators and chief citizens, and, in a discourse lasting two hours, put before them the necessity of resisting John of Calabria, Piccinino, and the other authors of agitation.

The presence of the Pope produced a momentary calm, but the situation continued very perilous. In the middle of October a report was current to the effect that Piccinino was planning a last and decisive attack on Rome, and had secured the assistance of the Neapolitan Insurgents. In the same month Tiburzio destroyed himself by an act of foolhardiness. Bonanno Specchio, venturing into the city on the 29th October, fell into

the hands of the police. Tiburzio immediately hastened from Palombara with fifteen companions, and called upon the Roman populace to rise. "It is too late", was the reply. The agitators were as little prepared for this want of sympathy, as for the energetic opposition offered by the friends of order and the Papal soldiers. They sought safety in flight; a certain number succeeded in escaping, but Tiburzio was captured, together with five of his associates. On the scaffold he acknowledged that he had intended, with the help of the Ghibelline Barons and of Piccinino, to overthrow the Government of the Pope, and to plunder the rich merchants and Cardinals. Soothsayers had persuaded him that the power of the priests was to be overthrown that year; he did not ask for mercy, only for a speedy death. His companions expressed similar sentiments. The Pope forbade them to be tortured; but on the last day of October, Tiburzio, Bonanno Specchio, and six others, were hanged in the Capitol. "If in Porcaro the democratic movement had already degenerated to the level of Catiline, in Tiburzio and Valeriano, the heroes of 1460, it had sunk to that of mere brigandage".

The position of Pius II, threatened as he was by Piccinino, was so precarious that he offered on fair conditions to make peace with Jacopo Savelli. Early in December a reconciliation with this "most audacious opponent" of the temporal power of the Pope seemed actually effected; but Piccinino again advanced with his troops, whereupon Savelli broke off the negotiations.

The misunderstandings between Alessandro Sforza and Federigo of Urbino, and the irritation of the former at the occupation of Terracina by the Pope, account for the fact that they did not pursue Piccinino "when he attacked the territory of the Church". In the end, however, by their efforts he was induced to retire to the Abruzzi for the winter.

The French suffered a serious disaster in the spring of 1461. A revolution broke out in Genoa in the month of March; the French garrison was compelled to retire into the fortress, and was there besieged. Milan supported the revolutionists. King Rene, who himself came to the rescue, was completely defeated, and finally the fortress was taken.

This was a terrible blow to the Angevine party in the Kingdom of Naples. No decisive battle took place during the summer of 1461. Skanderbeg appeared in August, with between two and three thousand Albanians to support Ferrante in Apulia, but his undisciplined hordes only added to the general confusion.

The Pope meanwhile was labouring earnestly for the restoration of peace in his own immediate neighbourhood. Rome was full of fear and excitement; the Palaces of the Cardinals were fortified and occupied by armed men. In March, 1461, eleven other members of Tiburzio's band, who had ventured from Palombara to Rome, were executed. In May it was given out that the Pope intended to make a supreme effort to rid himself of Jacopo Savelli, who, in his own immediate neighbourhood, was constantly threatening him. Great apprehensions were entertained that this attempt might prove a failure, but Federigo of Urbino fully justified his reputation for generalship. By the beginning of July the whole of the Sabina was subdued; Savelli, shut up in Palombara, was compelled to capitulate. On the 10th he threw himself at the feet of the Pope, who received him graciously, and in consideration of his connection with the Colonna, granted peace on moderate terms.

Rome, however, still continued restless. If an ox was stolen, as Pius II told the Milanese Envoys, the people were all in commotion. At the end of July a plot to blow up the castle of St. Angelo was discovered. At the beginning of the following month, bearing arms within the City was severely punished. A fresh outbreak of disturbance occurred when the Pope, who had been ill ever since the spring, left Rome on the 21st

July for Tivoli, to escape from the heat. The authorities had great difficulty in restoring order. The Envoy from Mantua relating these occurrences, expresses his fear that the Sicilian Vespers would be repeated in Rome. The citizens were utterly ungovernable. Mildness and severity were alike unavailing.

During his summer sojourn at Tivoli the Pope was not inactive. Considering the defenceless state of this City, which commanded the passes, he ordered a citadel to be built, and he also reformed its Franciscan Convent. Besides this he found time for scientific studies; he was then working at his description of Asia. He also frequently-sought refreshment for mind and body by making excursions in the beautiful neighbourhood.

The peace of the States of the Church was at this time disturbed not only by the Neapolitan war, but also by the hostile attitude of Sigismondo Malatesta. The despot of Rimini is not only the most horrible figure in the history of the early Renaissance, but “one of the most detestable rulers of any age. Bold, skilful, and frequently successful, he united the characteristics of the fox and the wolf, which Machiavelli holds to be necessary for the establishment of a tyranny”. He was withal a patron of learning and art, and himself a poet, philosopher, and scholar. But all this humanistic culture did not hinder Sigismondo from sinking to the lowest depths of moral depravity. There was no crime which this reckless heathen “had not committed, or at least was not deemed capable of committing. From jealousy or passion he murdered or put away two wives, and outside his own family circle his insatiable sensuality and cruelty drove him to commit the most horrible crimes”. His quarrel with Pius II dated from the peace to which the Pope had constrained him at Mantua. Sigismondo took advantage of the invasion of the States of the Church by Piccinino to resume possession of the territory which he had then surrendered. In November, 1460, Pius II had invoked the assistance of the Duke of Milan against him, and had also commenced legal proceedings.

On the 25th December he was excommunicated as a notorious criminal, and declared to have forfeited his dominions.

Heathen as he was, he merely mocked at the sentence, and jestingly asked whether excommunicated persons could still taste good wine and relish the pleasures of the table. The Pagan Humanism found a congenial soil in his depraved and defiant nature. He had already shown his contempt for the ceremonies of the Church. It is said that on one occasion, as he was returning from a banquet, he caused the holy water stoup of a church to be filled with ink. The unchristian temper of his mind was also exhibited in the extraordinary edifice to which his contemporaries gave the name of the “Temple of Malatesta”.

All historians of art agree in saying that the Church of San Francesco, when rebuilt according to the plan of Leon Battista Alberti in the newly-revived Classical style, had far more resemblance to a heathen temple than to a Christian church. The only difference, as a witty observer puts it, is that it was destined, not for the worship of Juno, Venus, or Minerva, but for that of Sigismondo’s mistress (afterwards his wife), the beautiful Isotta.

The profane character of the “Temple of Malatesta” was strikingly manifested in the interior, which was adorned with royal magnificence. “In all the marble tablets lavishly spread over the walls, scarcely a single Christian symbol, or figure from any saintly legend, is to be seen”. Of the numerous inscriptions but one has a doubtful reference to religion. The cross, the Christian symbol of victory, seems to be purposely avoided in the decoration. On the other hand “heathen allusions abound, and Isotta and

Sigismondo appear as the presiding genii of the edifice, the divinities to be honoured in the temple". On the balustrades, friezes, arches, vaults, everywhere the interlaced letters I (sotta) and Sigismondo), together with the arms and emblems of Malatesta, are introduced. Some of the inscriptions deify the builder as the Jupiter or the Apollo of Rimini. Diana, Mars, Mercury, Saturn, even Venus arising from the sea, together with almost all the other personages of the heathen Olympus, are portrayed in the Chapel of St. Jerome! The sarcophagus of Sigismondo, and the splendid monument of Isotta, which rests on two elephants, the armorial supporters of the Malatesta, are equally devoid of any Christian symbol. Isotta's monument, erected in her lifetime, has an inscription in which the title of Diva is bestowed upon her! Many of the sculptures are illustrations of a love-poem addressed by Sigismondo to Isotta.

Certainly such an edifice as this fully merited the condemnation of Pius II, who says in his Memoirs that San Francesco at Rimini appeared to be a temple for heathen rather than for Christian worship.

The sympathies of the Duke of Milan were not altogether with the Pope's expedition against Malatesta, for he would rather have seen all forces directed to the Neapolitan war. Pius II, however, was not to be deterred, and sent 5000 men, under the command of Bartolomeo Vitelleschi, Archbishop of Corneto, against the tyrant. The two armies met at Nidastore in the Marches, on the 2nd July, 1461. Sigismondo fought like a "furious bear", and completely routed the Papal troops.

The Venetians rejoiced at the issue of this conflict, and took the opportunity of accepting from Sigismondo a mortgage on Monte Marciano. The Pope remonstrated, but without effect, for it was the policy of the Signoria "gradually to acquire territory on the coast". Piccinino and the Prince of Tarento aided Sigismondo by sending him 16,000 ducats.

The defeat at Nidastore greatly alarmed the Pope, but did not dishearten him. He commanded the Legate of the Marches to collect more troops, and took Napoleone Orsini into his service. In August, 1461, he even seemed not indisposed to grant a truce to his enemy.

The position of Pius II was at this time most precarious. His finances were exhausted, his troops hardly sufficed to resist Sigismondo. The Duke of Milan fell seriously ill, and the French party at his Court used every effort to break the alliance with Naples. The Pope now began to say that "it was impossible for him longer to endure the complaints and grievances daily brought forward by the King of France, by most of the Prelates, and almost all the Court; he had exposed the Church to much danger on Ferrante's account, whose enemies were increasing in number like the heads of the Hydra; it would therefore be much better to be neutral and await the issue of the struggle, to take care of the States of the Church, and spend the money on the war with the Turks". But Francesco Sforza stood firm, and the marriage of the Pope's nephew Antonio to Maria, the natural daughter of Ferrante, which took place late in the autumn, was a fresh tie binding him more closely to the house of Aragon. Antonio, who already bore the title of Duke of Sessa, was now made Chief Justice of the Kingdom and Duke of Amalfi.

In the following March (1462) a brilliant Embassy from Louis XI, the new King of France, arrived in Rome, and made fresh efforts to win over the Pope to the side of Anjou. After a short period of indecision, however, Pius II determined to adhere to his alliance with Ferrante.

The summer of the same year witnessed the close of the struggle which had so terribly devastated the Neapolitan kingdom. On the 18th August, 1462, Ferrante and Alessandro Sforza gained a decisive victory at Troja over Piccinino and John of Calabria. Its immediate result was that the Prince of Tarento made his peace with Ferrante. And this was the turning-point of the war.

As might have been anticipated, events now succeeded each other somewhat rapidly. In the autumn of the following year (1463), Piccinino entered the service of the victor for high pay. Aquila, "which had ever since 1460 displayed the banner of Anjou", capitulated; at last Marzano, Duke of Sessa and Prince of Rossano, also yielded. The unfortunate Duke of Calabria fled in September, 1463, to Ischia. In the middle of October the Pope was able to recall his troops from Naples. On the death of the Prince of Tarento in the following month, Ferrante appropriated his treasure and his fiefs. There was no further hope for the house of Anjou, and in the spring of 1464, Duke John returned to Provence.

It has been already stated that Antonio Piccolomini had been invested by Ferrante with the Duchies of Sessa and Amalfi, in recognition of the assistance rendered by Pius II in the war with Anjou. The ambition of the Pope's nephew was not, however, satisfied, and, with the help of his powerful patron, he succeeded in 1463 in also becoming Count of Celano.

His too great attachment to his relations is an often recurring blot on the Pontificate of Pius II. Laudomia, his sister, who had married Nanni Todeschini, had, besides Antonio, three other sons, named Andrea, Giacomo, and Francesco. Small fiefs were granted by the Pope to Andrea and Giacomo, and Francesco was in March, 1460, raised to the purple. Niccolo Forteguerra, a maternal kinsman of Pius II, was also promoted to the same dignity. "A crowd" of Siennese relations was introduced into the Prefectures of the States of the Church.

This favour was extended to the Siennese in general. The Pope clung with enthusiastic affection to the home of his youth, to the undulating hills, the orchards and vineyards which he has so gracefully described. He loved to dwell in the rural solitude of Corsignano, or in Siena, the city of castellated towers, which still retains many memorials of his frequent visits. The principal scenes of his eventful life are depicted in its Cathedral Library in the great historical frescoes of Pinturicchio.

Those who surrounded the Pope were "almost all Siennese, and of these Siennese the majority were Piccolomini". His Maggiordomo was Alessandro de Miraballi-Piccolomini, also Prefect of Frascati from the year 1460. His special confidants were Jacopo Ammanati, created Cardinal in 1460, and Gregorio Lolli, the son of his aunt, Bartolomea; "but at any rate Pius II did not enrich his nephews at the expense of the States of the Church, and he observed the same discretion even after Malatesta had been subdued".

At the very time when the fate of the house of Anjou was decided at Troja, fortune also turned against Sigismondo. In the spring of 1462, Pius II had plainly manifested his intention of inflicting exemplary punishment on the tyrant. In two different parts of Rome his effigy, a speaking likeness from the hand of Paolo Romano, was burned, an inscription in these words being affixed to it: "This is Sigismondo Malatesta, king of traitors, enemy of God and man, condemned to the fire by the decision of the Sacred College". Sigismondo not only sought to avenge himself with his pen for these words, which expressed the general opinion, but also determined to defend himself with the



sword to the last drop of his blood, for, as he wrote to the Duke of Milan, a brave death ennobles a whole life.

On the 12th August, 1462, after suffering a severe defeat at Sinigaglia from Federigo of Urbino, he fled to Apulia. He intended to seek assistance from John of Calabria and the Prince of Tarento, but their power had been broken at Troja, and Sigismondo found but the fragments of the Angevine army. “He returned to Rimini even more disheartened than he had started”. His last hope was in Venice. The Republic had formerly given secret support to his family, and now by letters and Ambassadors importuned the Pope to grant favourable terms to the rebel, to whom, at the same time, pecuniary assistance was privately afforded. Meanwhile, Federigo, rejecting the attempts made by Malatesta to shake his allegiance to his master, vigorously followed up his victory; while none of Malatesta’s subjects raised a hand to defend the tyrant they abhorred. Diplomatic intervention in favour of Sigismondo led to nothing. Pius II was evidently determined to crush the tyrant.

In the following year, 1463, as soon as the season was sufficiently advanced, Federigo again took the field against the rebel, whose condition became more and more hopeless. His younger brother, Domenico, despairing of any change of fortune, sold Cervia for 4000 ducats to Venice, which had recently taken forcible possession of Ravenna.

From the month of June the conflict was carried on chiefly round Fano, a strong place to which Federigo laid siege by land, while Cardinal Forteguerra strove to cut off all access to it by sea. Early in August the Papal fleet gained a victory over that of Malatesta; “but two Venetian galleys appeared, released Malatesta’s ships and chased the Armada of the Pope back to Ancona”. Venice continued to succour the beleaguered city, but it was finally taken by the Papal troops on the 25th September. Sinigaglia next surrendered. The Papal force then advanced to Rimini, where Sigismondo, “completely broken in spirit, awaited his fate”.

To the intercession of Venice, supported by Florence and Milan, the tyrant owed the pardon granted to him by the Pope. Its conditions, however, were so hard that his power was thoroughly shattered; Venice had to raise the siege of Trieste, of which Pius II had once been Bishop. Sigismondo, who was required to abjure his “heresy”, retained possession of the city of Rimini, with a territory of five miles in circumference, while his brother occupied one of similar extent around Cesena. Both undertook to pay an annual tribute to the Apostolic See, and in the event of their death without legitimate heirs their lands were to revert to the Church.

Thus did the most powerful of all the despots of Italy, the man who “for twenty years had been the terror of Princes and Popes”, fall before the unwarlike Pius II. “He could now look down with satisfaction from Monte Cavo, the highest of the Alban Hills, which commands the plain from Terracina to Capo Argentaro, on the broad States of the Church—a country which, if it contained nothing but Alma Roma, contains that which suffices to make its rulers the equals of Emperors”.

## CHAPTER IV.

## OPPOSITION TO PAPAL AUTHORITY

The state of ecclesiastical and political affairs in France and Germany was such as to cause the Pope even greater anxiety than the troubles of his native land. The indifference of these two great powers to the Crusade was in itself a serious sign of the lessening influence of the Church. The effects of the false doctrines promulgated at Constance and Basle manifested themselves in both countries in a yet more alarming manner, in persistent efforts to destroy her monarchical constitution. All attempts of this kind were resisted by Pius II with a clear apprehension of the dignity of his office as Head of the Priesthood. His zeal and firmness in vindicating the authority and the inalienable rights of the Holy See against the assaults of the Conciliar and national parties are doubly admirable when we consider the difficult circumstances of his time.

Twenty years had elapsed since, by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (July 7th, 1438), France had assumed a semi-schismatical position. The Resolutions drawn up during that period of confusion hardly left to the Pope any influence in ecclesiastical appointments in France, and also deprived his Court of the revenues formerly drawn from that country. Moreover, since they reaffirmed the Decree regarding the Superiority of Councils, they also threatened the monarchical constitution conferred by Christ on His Church. The Pragmatic Sanction, in the opinion of a non-Catholic student, was an abiding memorial of the Conciliar ideas, principles and aims, and of the opposition of the national spirit to the theory of the Universal Church. It expressed the pretension of the temporal ruler to order ecclesiastical matters in his kingdom according to his own good pleasure. As long as France adhered to it, a precedent existed to which other nations could appeal, and which constituted a perpetual menace to the Papal power. While it remained in force the restored Papacy could not consider its authority to be perfectly re-established. France had based her position on the Decrees of Constance and Basle, and was accordingly compelled to sympathize with every movement which aimed at the maintenance of the superiority of Councils over the Pope.

Efforts had not been wanting to procure the repeal of this law, which had proceeded from an authority absolutely incompetent to deal with ecclesiastical matters. Eugenius IV, Cardinal d'Estouteville, acting for Nicholas V, and finally Calixtus III, had all laboured, though vainly, in this direction.

Pius II took up the question energetically. The picture which he drew in his Memoirs of the effects of the Pragmatic Sanction shows how deeply impressed he was with the necessity of obtaining its revocation. "The French Prelates", he writes, "supposed they would have greater liberty; but, on the contrary, they have been brought into grievous bondage, and made the slaves of the laity. They are forced to give an account of their affairs to Parliament; to confer benefices according to the good pleasure of the king and the more powerful nobles; to promote minors, unlearned, deformed and illegitimate persons to the priestly office; to remit the punishment of those whom they have justly condemned; to absolve the excommunicated without satisfaction. Any one

conveying into France a Bull contrary to the Pragmatic Sanction is made liable to the penalty of death. Parliament has meddled with the affairs of the Bishops, with Metropolitan Churches, with marriages and matters of faith. The audacity of the laity has gone so far that even the most Holy Sacrament has been stopped by order of the King when borne in procession for the veneration of the people or for the consolation of the sick. Bishops and other Prelates and venerable priests have been cast into common prisons. Church property and the goods of the clergy have been confiscated on trifling pretexts by a secular judge, and handed over to lay people”.

At the Congress of Mantua, Pius II had made no secret of his opinions. In the memorable audience in which he justified his action in favour of Ferrante and against the Angevine claims supported by France, he strongly expressed his disapprobation of the abnormal position of the Church in that country of which the Pragmatic Sanction was the cause. The prohibition of appeals from the Pope to a Council, published at the conclusion of the Congress, was explicitly directed against the theory on which the French law rested.

The irritation produced in Paris by this measure was evinced by the attitude of the University quite as much as by that of the king. This body, which from the first had been bitterly hostile to Pius II, had, even in the time of Calixtus III, nominated a committee for the interpretation and execution of the Pragmatic Sanction. On the 16th May, 1460, it further determined that these delegates should receive a salary. Negotiations with the king and the Parliament for the defence of the so-called liberties of the Gallican Church were also set on foot. Charles VII was all the more disposed to take up the matter, on account of his grudge against Pius II in regard to the contest for the throne of Naples. Through his Procurator-General, Jean Dauvet, he published a very disrespectful protest against the Pope's discourse at Mantua. Pius II was attacked for his “praise of the Bastard, which he would have done better to keep to himself”; he was admonished to take care what he did against France, to leave the Council and its decrees in peace, and to summon a free Council, not in the Lateran, but in France. Meanwhile the King would uphold the Conciliar decisions in his dominions, and should the Pope trouble him or his subjects on this account, he would appeal to a future Council; and if the Pope failed to call one in a free place, he, together with other Princes, would take the matter into his own hands. The Pope was still further insulted by the contemptuous treatment of the ambassadors whom he had sent to negotiate with Charles regarding the war against the Turks, and who were kept for months without an answer. Under these circumstances it can hardly be deemed strange that the requests of the King for the appointment of Cardinals agreeable to him were not granted. Later on, when the anti-Papal feeling in Germany had grown very strong, fears were entertained at the Roman Court that the enemies of the Holy See in France and Germany might make common cause. These apprehensions were by no means unfounded, for at this very time Gregor Heimburg, the most violent opponent of Pius II, was sent to the French Court in order to bring about a general combination against Rome, and to procure a Council. The Pope, therefore, deemed it prudent to ignore the conditional appeal of the French monarch to a Council, “a formal condemnation of the Paris acts would necessitate lengthy legal proceedings at the Court of Rome”. But he did not modify his decrees in any way, and in his Briefs to Charles VII constantly insisted on the revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction.

It was an important advantage for Pius II in dealing with the ecclesiastical affairs of France, that the Dauphin Louis, then an exile in Burgundy, and uncertain as to his succession, was on his side. Negotiations conducted by the ambitious and learned

Bishop of Arras, Jean Jouffroy, had resulted in a formal promise from Louis that, if he should succeed to the throne, he would abolish the Pragmatic Sanction. This event was hastened by the excesses of Charles VII, which had told most injuriously on his feeble constitution. In the summer of 1461 he was attacked by toothache; fearing poison, he refused food and drink for a considerable time, and this led to his death on the 22nd July. Louis XI became King of France.

The great question now was whether the new King would hold to the engagement which had been made under such different circumstances. The uncompromising opposition to his father's system, which he manifested from the first moment of his accession, gave rise to the most favorable anticipations.

As early as the 18th August, 1461, the Pope, in an autograph letter, reminded him of his promise; adding that the special negotiations regarding this important matter would be entrusted to a prelate, who would be acceptable to his Majesty, Jean Jouffroy, the Bishop of Arras.

It seems, however, as if Pius II at this time had but little confidence in the progress of ecclesiastical affairs in France. The Bishop of Arras was accredited to England, Scotland, and Burgundy, but not to France, as if it was feared that in that country his authority as Legate *a latere* might meet with opposition. The Cardinal of Coutances was urgently exhorted to persevere in his efforts for the restoration of the Papal authority, and to do everything in his power to assist those of Louis XI.

Jouffroy, who was honourably received by the King, entered upon his task with the greatest zeal; but his zeal, and the means which he employed, were far from being pure. To this ambitious man the revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction was nothing but a ladder for his own exaltation. He hoped by success in this matter to earn the Cardinal's hat, which he had already vainly sought, through the intervention of the Duke of Burgundy. With this aim in view Jouffroy began to insinuate himself into the good graces of the new King, and thanks to the "courtly address", which was his undoubted characteristic, he was soon successful.

The dislike of Louis to everything that his father had done greatly facilitated the accomplishment of the task entrusted to the Bishop of Arras. He also represented to the King that if once the arrangement made in 1438 were abolished, the influence of the nobles in the matter of Church preferment would be at an end. The idea of lowering and weakening the power of the Vassals of the Crown had, at this time, taken possession of the mind of Louis XI. In the course of these negotiations no doubt the old grievance in regard to the large sums of money drawn out of France by Rome was again revived. We have not sufficient information to follow in detail all Jouffroy's intrigues, but it is probable that these apprehensions were met by the assurance that the Pope would appoint a Legate to reside in France, who would institute to all benefices, and that thus the money would remain in the kingdom.

Louis XI seems to have expressed to the Legate a confident hope that, in acknowledgment of the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, the Pope would change his Neapolitan policy and favour the claims of France; and Jouffroy no doubt confirmed this expectation, although well aware of its fallaciousness. At Rome he said little or nothing of this, but dwelt much on Louis' noble sentiments and his firm determination to repeal the anti-Papal Law by his own authority.

On the reception of these good tidings, Pius II at once wrote a long letter of thanks to the King. He commended Louis' decision as a great and good deed, and begged him

not to defer its accomplishment. “If your Prelates and the University desire anything from Us”, he says in this letter, “let them only apply to Us through You; gladly will We grant all that can fittingly be granted”. At the same time he admonished the King that it was his duty to take his part in the rescue of Christendom from the Turks.

The first and most urgent demand of Louis XI was that Jouffroy and Prince Louis d'Albret should be raised to the purple. Pius II perceived the necessity of granting this request, which had already been made by Charles VII, if the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction were to be accomplished. It cost him much trouble, however, to obtain the consent of the Sacred College. There were long and excited discussions, of which the Pope gives a detailed account in his Memoirs. Many of the Cardinals were extremely averse to any increase in the numbers of the Sacred College, others brought forward objections which as d'Albret was a man of strictly moral life, were only applicable to Jouffroy. Cardinal Alain in particular painted the character of his countryman in the darkest colours. Pius II did not contradict his statements, but pointed out the necessity, under the circumstances, of choosing the least of two evils. In the event of his refusing the king's request, the Pragmatic Sanction would not be repealed; Jouffroy would be furious and would have no difficulty in turning Louis completely against the Pope, since he was already dissatisfied with the policy of the Holy See in regard to Naples. In the beginning of December an agreement was arrived at. On the 18th, the names of seven new Cardinals were published, and amongst them were those of d'Albret and Jouffroy.

Just at this time tidings reached Rome that Louis XI had really revoked the Pragmatic Sanction. The King himself wrote to the Pope on the 27th November, 1461, to announce the event. “As we perceive”, he said, “that obedience is better than sacrifice, we consent to admit that which you have announced to us, namely, that the Pragmatic Sanction is injurious to the Holy See, and that, originating in a time of schism and revolt, it robs You, from whom all holy laws proceed, of Your authority, and is contrary to right and justice. Although some learned men have sought to refute this and have greatly dissuaded Us from the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction, yet knowing and perceiving that You are the Prince of the whole Church, the head of religion, the Shepherd of the Lord's flock, we follow Your teaching and cleave to it with full consent. Therefore, as You require, we set aside and proscribe the Pragmatic Sanction in our whole kingdom, in Dauphiné and all our dominions, in which from henceforth Your jurisdiction shall be unquestioned. Even as the members in the human body are directed without conflict by one head and one spirit, so will the Prelates of the Church in our kingdom yield complete obedience to Your Sacred Decrees. Should any, however, offer resistance and make objections, We pledge our royal word to Your Holiness to have Your instructions carried out, to exclude all appeals, and to punish those who should prove refractory”.

When Pius II imparted this Letter to the assembled Consistory, he could not refrain from tears of joy. His confidential secretary, Gregorio Lolli, at once sent a copy to Siena, adding that it was long since any Pope had achieved so great a victory as had now been won by their fellow-countryman.

Antonio da Noceto, a brother of the well-known Pietro da Noceto, was sent to France to convey to the King a consecrated sword. On the blade was engraved an invitation to the Turkish war composed by Pius II, who also sent an autograph letter, praising his conduct in the highest terms.

On the 26th December, 1461, Gregorio Lolli had triumphantly informed his Sienese fellow-countrymen that the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction was the most important

intelligence that could have been imparted to the Apostolic See; with one stroke a country so great as France had been won back to its allegiance, and the obedience of all Christians confirmed. They ought to thank God that His Church had been thus exalted in the time of a Sieneſe Pope; for their fuller information, and that they might ſee how unreſervedly Louis XI had revoked this enactment, he ſent them a copy of two letters from Cardinals Longueil and Jouffroy. But by the beginning of January, 1462, a report from Jouffroy of a very different character was in the Pontiffs hands. “After Jouffroy had entered the ſure haven of the Cardinalate”, Pius II writes in his Memoirs, “he brought forward that which he had hitherto concealed, namely, that the Pragmatic Sanction would certainly only be repealed when the King's wiſhes regarding Naples had been complied with”. Pius II answered the obſervations of the new Cardinal regarding the practicability of carrying out the royal Decree on the 13th January, 1462. Jouffroy would, he ſaid, no doubt be able to remove the difficulties which were ariſing, he could not believe in a change of purpoſe on the part of the pious King. The conduct of Louis XI at this time was well calculated to confirm the Pope's impreſſion. The Parliament was commanded to have the letter of 27th November, 1461, regiſtered as a Royal Ordinance; the King would brook no oppoſition. The objections of the Parliament and the University were ſternly ſilenced. When a deputation from the University of Paris appeared before the King in January, 1462, while he was at Tours, “Go your ways!” he exclaimed, “I care not to trouble myſelf about ſuch as you”.

Louis XI hoped that the Pope would reward this zeal by completely changing his policy in regard to Naples, and either openly eſpouſing the cauſe of Anjou, or at leaſt abandoning that of Ferrante. The monarch who, according to Monſtrelet, could ſpeak with the tones of a ſyren, did not hesitate on occaſion to reſort to threats. At the end of January, 1462, the Florentine Ambaſſadors had informed Cosmo de' Medici that Louis had ſworn to avenge himſelf on the Pope in caſe he ſhould reſuſe to ſupport John of Calabria. A Council was to be called, and whatever elſe could moſt haraſſ and annoy the Court of Rome was to be done. The mere mention of the word Council was enough greatly to diſturb the Pope; and to truſted friends, ſuch as the Milanese Ambaſſador, he ſpoke bitterly of Gallic pride and arrogance. But he concealed his vexation from the king, and again on the 24th February wrote to him in the moſt friendly manner, ſaying that he was awaiting propoſals from Jouffroy, and would reſuſe nothing conſiſtent with honor and juſtice.

Pius II was, in fact, at this time ſeriously conſidering the adviſability of a complete change of policy in regard to Naples. The French King's threats of an anti-Roman Council and a ſchiſm had begun to take effect. As the day of the arrival of Jouffroy and the other Ambaſſadors approached, his anxiety increaſed. Coppini, Biſhop of Terni, was indefatigable on the Cardinal's ſide, inſiſting on the threatening attitude of Louis XI, and declaring that unleſs Pius II took the part of Anjou, the French King would ally himſelf with the Venetians, ſend an army into Italy by way of Savoy, and ſo haraſſ the Duke of Milan that he would be compelled to abandon Ferrante. Thus the whole burden of the Neapolitan war would fall on the Pope.

Pius II was able to conceal his agitation from the world at large, but to a few who enjoyed his confidence he made no ſecret of his uncertainties regarding the poſſibility of continuing to ſupport Ferrante. A remarkable report, written by the Milanese Ambaſſador, Otto de Carretto, to Francesco Sforza on the 12th March, 1462, bears wiſneſs to this. “Today”, writes the Ambaſſador, “after having diſmiſſed all who were preſent in his room, the Pope ſaid to me : ‘Messer Otto, you are a faithful ſervant of

your lord; and as his affairs are most closely connected with my own, I will quite secretly impart certain matters to you and then ask your advice concerning them'."

Then, continues Carretto, Pius II proceeded to sketch the present political situation. He began with Milan and pointed out that the Duchy was surrounded by States like Savoy, Montferrat and Modena, whose sympathies were partially or entirely with France. In the case of an attack from that country, the most that could be expected from Florence would be some secret and small pecuniary aid. Venice would, no doubt, make use of a war between Milan and France for her own advantage. Francesco Sforza could reckon with certainty only on the Marquess of Mantua, whose power was not great. The discontent of many Milanese subjects, some of whom leaned to the side of France, and others to that of Venice, must also be taken into consideration.

The Pope looked upon Ferrante's position in Naples as hopeless. His treasury was empty, and his subjects detested him; nothing but sheer force kept him on the throne. The nobles who had submitted to him might at any moment again revolt, some were already wavering; his government had no solid foundation.

He then went on to draw a melancholy and even exaggerated picture of his own difficulties. The powerful party of the Colonna was, he said, entirely devoted to France. The Savelli and Everso of Anguillara would gladly renew their alliance with Jacopo Piccinino. Many others in the dominions of the Church were discontented because their excesses had been restrained. In the Marches, the Vicar of Camerino, Giulio Cesare Varano, was a great enemy of the Holy See. He preferred to say nothing of Sigismondo Malatesta, of Forli, and the Vicars of the Romagna. Florence and Venice had no more ardent wish than that the temporal power of the Church should be weakened. He could rely on no one in Italy save the Duke of Milan, and if his resources were taxed in another direction, what was to become of the Papal Government? His treasury was exhausted, his annual revenues from all sources did not altogether amount to more than 150,000 ducats. Then the spiritual power of the Holy See was a matter of incomparably greater importance than the temporal, and what was the prospect here? In Italy the religious situation was no better than the political. In Germany, by maintaining, as he was in duty bound, the honor of the Holy See, he had incurred the enmity of the powerful Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol and of the Elector of Mayence. Several of the German Princes, and especially the Count Palatine Frederick, had joined the latter. Other Princes of the Empire were hostile to the Pope because of his friendship with the Emperor. The King of Hungary, who had entered into an alliance with Louis XI, was also against Frederick III. The King of Bohemia was half a heretic, the Duke of Cleves was also anti-Roman in his sympathies, because the Holy See had not yielded to his unjust requisitions, upon the Church of Cologne. Spain was almost entirely led by France, and so were Burgundy and Savoy. How easy would it be for the French monarch to place-himself at the head of these malcontents, especially in ecclesiastical matters. Louis XI had indeed repealed the Pragmatic Sanction, but now, it was said, he required! Rome to desist from assisting Ferrante. If his demand were refused, there was reason to fear that, under the cloak of zeal for the Church, he would insist on the summoning of a Council. All these enemies of Rome, and even many of the Cardinals, would join him in this. A schism might easily be the consequence. He greatly feared some threat of this kind from the French Ambassadors now on their way to Rome. The Cardinals, partly from fear of a schism and partly from a leaning to France, would think it better that he should make friends with the French King in time, rather than run the risk of all the troubles that might ensue. Carretto was now required to give his opinion, but he was to speak to no one of this conversation; for the Pope had as yet kept his

uncertainties secret, fearing the pressure to which he might be subjected if they were known. Moreover, he had been informed that even in the Duke's own Court there were but few who considered it expedient to persist in supporting Ferrante.

The Milanese Ambassador replied that, notwithstanding all difficulties, his master was disposed to hold to Ferrante. The French Ambassadors, he said, must be appeased by soft words. He was, however, ready to lay before the Duke the doubts which the Pope had manifested to him.

Pius II replied that Carretto was to express his views not as an Ambassador, but as a private individual. The latter then acknowledged all the difficulty of the situation, but also maintained that a change in the Italian policy of the Pope would in no way mend matters. He was in honor bound still to support Ferrante. What kind of impression would be made if Pius II, who had hitherto helped him in every possible manner, were now, on account of French threats and persuasions, to reverse all that he had done? In regard to immediate advantages, it was to be considered that the French custom was to promise much and perform little. Moreover, it was doubtful whether Louis XI would really engage so deeply in Italian politics. Venice would hardly suffer French influence to become all-powerful in Italy. In the Milanese territory the people were not so discontented as the Pope seemed to suppose. On the contrary, never had a Prince been more loved and honoured by his subjects than was the Duke; every one of them would suffer anything rather than submit to another ruler. If Louis XI were to interfere personally in Italian affairs, time would still be required for the necessary preparations, and meanwhile the rising in Naples might be quelled.

At the conclusion of his statement, Carretto again reverted to the opinion which he had expressed at the beginning. Admitting, he said, the existence of all these dangers, a change in the Italian policy of the Holy See would produce others of a yet more serious character. If France should acquire a preponderating influence in Naples, Genoa, Asti, Florence and Modena, the haughty young King, having seen that a word had sufficed to subdue the Pope and the Duke of Milan, would soon subjugate the rest of the Peninsula. Whose fault would it then be that Italy was at the mercy of France, and the Pope reduced to the position of Chaplain to her King? What, after this, could hinder Louis XI from placing a creature of his own on the Papal Throne, and again transferring the supreme government of the Church to his dominions? Italy and the Apostolic See ought not to be exposed to such dangers as these, in the vain hope that the French King would take part in the Turkish war. If the Cardinals, Prelates and others about the Court, were in favour of an agreement with France, the Pope must remember that they were actuated by selfish motives.

The day after this conversation the splendid Embassy from the King of France, headed by Count Pierre de Chaumont, arrived in Rome. It was received with great pomp and solemnity. As the Cardinals of Arras and Coutances were among the Envoys, most of the members of the Sacred College went as far as the Porta del Popolo to meet them. They alighted at the Convent at this gate, where newly-appointed Cardinals were accustomed to await their formal reception in Consistory.

During these days the Milanese Envoy was indefatigable in his activity. His representations made a great impression on the Pope, but it soon became evident that other means also must be employed to counteract the menaces of France and to hold Pius II fast to his treaty. Carretto turned to those who had most influence with the Pontiff—to Cardinals Forteguerra and Ammanati, to Gregorio Lolli, and also to Scarampo, Bessarion, Carvajal and other eminent members of the Sacred College. He



deemed it a matter of the greatest importance that the French offers of large military assistance in the war against the Turks should be appreciated by that body at their real worth.

Before the reception of the French Ambassadors, Carretto had two other interviews with Pius II. In the latter of these the Pope told him that he had resolved to reply to the French in an amicable manner, and to bestow on them due praise for the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction; and with regard to Neapolitan affairs, to inform them that he must persevere in the course which he had adopted, but that he was ready to gratify Louis XI in any way consistent with his honor. Above all, he would not break with France; it was to be hoped that in the end some means might be found of reconciling conflicting claims. "My most anxious endeavour", writes Carretto in concluding his report, "will be to keep his Holiness firm in this matter, and to take care that no one should know of his vacillations"

Cardinal Jouffroy had in the meantime also seen the Pope. Even in his very first audience, forgetful of his duty as a Prince of the Church, and a member of her Senate, he showed himself simply and solely a Frenchman, the paid agent of his King. He tried by every means in his power to turn the Pope from his alliance with Ferrante. He painted in the darkest colours the disadvantages of the policy which he had hitherto pursued, in order to contrast them with the benefits which the French King could confer, dwelling especially on the great things in store for the nephews of Pius II. The Pope replied that he duly valued the friendship of France, and was sensible of the debt of gratitude which he owed to the King for the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction; but that what Louis demanded in regard to Naples would bring disgrace on the Holy See, and that he could not, and would not, yield in this matter. In the course of a long interview, Jouffroy, acting on his own authority, proposed that Ferrante should be compensated by the grant of the principality of Tarento. Pius II expressed a doubt whether the Neapolitan King would consent to this plan, and finally the Cardinal took his leave, declaring that he hoped, on the next occasion, to find the Pope better disposed.

The solemn audience of the French Ambassadors took place on the 16th March. Pius II, in full pontificals, sat on the throne in the great Hall of the Consistory, the Cardinals were opposite to him, while the middle space was occupied by the Bishops, Prelates, Notaries, and other officials, together with numerous spectators. When the Ambassadors had kissed the foot of the Pope, and presented their credentials, Jouffroy made a long speech. After a pompous eulogy of the French nation and its monarch, he did homage on behalf of Louis XI, read the royal decree concerning the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, and made magnificent promises in regard to the Turkish war. His King would lead an army of 70,000 men against Mahomet, and only asked in return that the Pope should assist him to reconquer Genoa, and support John of Calabria instead of Ferrante in the Kingdom of Naples.

All present were filled with astonishment at the eloquence and fluency of the discourse which Pius II made in reply. So deep was the silence, says a Milanese chronicler, that it seemed as if there were no one in the Hall. The Pope did not fail to praise the French King, but made no allusion to his demands in regard to Genoa and Naples. After a formal document concerning the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction had been drawn up by a notary, the hat was conferred upon Jouffroy, to whom a seat among the Cardinals was then assigned.

On the 17th March, Gregorio Lolli announced to his fellow-countrymen the unconditional revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction. This was, he declared, the most solemn and important event which had occurred for many years at the Court. It was celebrated by processions and festivities.

In Rome the tidings were received with an outburst of joy. Bonfires were kindled and the air was filled with the sound of trumpets and bells. The Pope was praised all the more highly because the expectations of success had been but small. No one, he says in his Memoirs, had looked upon the repeal of the law as a possibility; it was deemed a great thing that the evil had not extended yet further.

The event was one of those which leaves its mark in the world's history. The Pope's thoughts must have reverted to those days in the spring of 1447, when, as Ambassador of Frederick III, he had procured the reconciliation of the greater part of the Holy Roman Empire with the Holy See. On neither occasion can his joy have been unmixed; yet Pius II had good reason to be satisfied at the great effects which, at least for a time, were produced by the concession of Louis XI.

During the succeeding days, Cardinal Jouffroy and the Count de Chaumont had several prolonged audiences of the Pope. All their eloquence failed to bring Pius II over to the cause of Anjou. He indeed proposed a truce or a compromise, but all negotiations for this purpose proved fruitless. Threats were freely employed by the French. How, they asked, will the Pope's resistance to the House of France be looked upon by Christendom, when it is known that Louis XI has manifested his perfect obedience by revoking the Pragmatic Sanction, and has also promised such great assistance in the war against the Turks? Will it not be said that Pius II has abdicated his position as head of the nations, and no longer concerns himself with the defence of the Faith?

The Pope, indeed, was well aware that the enemies of the Holy See might thus turn the Turkish question to account, but on the other hand he had from the first understood the real value of the magniloquent promises of France regarding this war. Any possibility of misapprehension on the subject was removed when Jouffroy and Chaumont declared that the offers of Louis XI were made only on condition that his demands in regard to Genoa and Naples should be satisfied.

On the 3rd April, after three weeks had been consumed in negotiations, the Count de Chaumont with the Bishop of Saintes left the City. The Ambassadors saw that they had failed to accomplish the principal object of their mission, and on their way back expressed their vexation in no measured terms. Chaumont, when in Florence, declared that his master would recall all the French prelates from Rome, and revenge himself in such a way as should make the Pope repent.

A new French Ambassador, the Seneschal of Toulouse, used equally menacing language. Pius II, however, was not alarmed, for he knew on good authority that the Ambassador was not empowered to carry these threats into execution.

During the whole of this time an uninterrupted correspondence was maintained between Pius II and Louis XI, but their estrangement continued to increase. On one side-question indeed an agreement was arrived at, as Louis XI gave back to the Church the Countships of Dié and Valence, which had been annexed by the last Count, and retained by Charles VII. In return for this act of restitution Louis was to keep the portions of these territories lying on his side of the Rhone. Antonio da Noceto was sent to France to take possession of those which were restored to the Holy See. Jouffroy and Louis XI again proposed a marriage between one of the Pope's nephews and a daughter

of the French Monarch. At the same time the prospect of a Franco-Bohemian alliance was used as a bugbear to constrain the Pope to alter his Italian policy; but both the proposal and the menace were fruitless. By the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction the King had expected not only to win over the Pope to the side of Anjou, but also to acquire the patronage of all the more important ecclesiastical benefices. When this anticipation also proved illusory the irritation of Louis knew no bounds. He wrote an insolent letter to the Pope and Cardinals in which he criticized all the acts of Pius II's government, and even accused him of fomenting divisions among the Princes of Christendom, instead of uniting them for the Turkish war as he professed to do. The Pope sent Nuncios, and wrote several autograph letters to appease the wrath of Louis. All was in vain, chiefly owing to the machinations of Cardinal Jouffroy, who, fearing the discovery of his own intrigues, was more bitter even than the King against Pius II, and kept constantly fanning the flame. Amongst other serious charges against Jouffroy contained in the Memoirs, the Pope accuses him of having misrepresented to him the contents of Royal letters, and attributed to the King desires which he had never entertained, and in his reports falsely represented the Pope as an enemy of the French Dynasty, and untrue to his word.

In the autumn of 1463 the relations between Louis XI and Rome were strained to the uttermost, and alarming rumours were daily arriving from France. The King was said to have behaved very rudely to Cardinals Longueil and Alain. It was reported that the Bishoprics of Uzés and Carcassonne, the Abbey of St. Jean d'Angeli and other benefices, which the latter held *in commendam*, had been sequestered. Certain Royal Edicts, directly opposed to the rights of the Holy See, were said to have been issued. It is thought, wrote the Envoy of Mantua on the 4th October, 1463, from Rome, that the King will renew the Pragmatic Sanction; he writes angry letters to the Pope in defence of Jouffroy, who is, he affirms, set aside because he does his duty!

The King did not, indeed, go so far as to re-establish the law of 1438; but on the other hand, from 1463, he did his best to recover that which he had yielded in the previous year. In 1463 and 1464, a number of Decrees were issued "to defend ourselves against the aggressions of Rome, and for the restoration of the ancient Gallican liberties", by which most of the concessions obtained in the revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction were nullified. Pius II complains in his Memoirs that the hostility to the Church manifested by Louis in these Decrees far exceeded his former loyalty and zeal in the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction. The conduct of the King in regard to two benefices which had fallen vacant in Angers and in Paris at the end of 1463 or beginning of 1464 is another instance of the high-handed tone which he now assumed. He requested the Pope to confer them upon Jean Balue, adding that this favourite had already taken possession of them, and that he would himself defend him against all opponents! Pius II refused, and asked the King if he would suffer any one to say to him, "Give me this castle freely, or I will take it by force".

From the time that Louis' antagonism to the Pragmatic Sanction had cooled, a good understanding had existed between him and the national party among the French clergy, who thus unconsciously aided the King in weaving the "web in which he purposed to entangle them" and to destroy the independence which he professed to defend against the aggressions of the Pope.

Cardinal Jouffroy left Rome to return to France on the 24th October, 1463. Some curiosity may have been felt as to the reception he would meet with from Louis. He was detested by the Parisians, who had made him the subject of many satires and caricatures, and when he entered the city no one took any notice of him. But the King

showed him the greatest favour. He knew that this man would now enter into his anti-Roman policy with no less zeal than that which he had formerly displayed in the opposite direction. King Louis and Cardinal Jouffroy were a well-matched pair.

Besides the revival of the so-called Gallican liberties, Louis had, in the Turkish question, another means of revenging himself on the Pope. The manner in which he thwarted the great designs of Pius II in this important matter will appear in the sequel.

While the monarchical power in France was thus gathering up all the forces of the nation to subserve its own ends, the mortal sickness which, to use the words of Nicholas of Cusa, had attacked the Holy Roman Empire, was making ceaseless progress. "God help us", writes a contemporary, "the whole Empire is so shattered and torn on all sides that it nowhere holds together. Cities against Princes, Princes against cities, wage endless wars, and no one is of too low estate to challenge his neighbour. There is no quiet corner in the whole of Germany; turn where you will, you have to guard against ambush, robbery, and murder; the clergy enjoy no peace, the nobility no honor".

Amidst this general confusion two princely factions became prominent, one of which, assuming a threatening attitude towards the Emperor, demanded Reform. At the head of this party, which pursued its own selfish ends under the cloak of the renovation of the Empire, were the two Princes of the House of Wittelsbach, Frederick I the Victorious, Pfalzgraf of the Rhine, and Louis the Rich, Duke of Bavaria-Landshut. The champion of the other party, who found it profitable to pursue their own interests under the shelter of the Imperial authority, was Albert Achilles, Margrave of Brandenburg. Albert, "the clever man of Brandenburg",

Whose inventions so subtle  
Are fathom'd by none,

surpassed all contemporary German Princes, not only in statesmanship and decision, but also in cunning. The fundamental idea of his policy was, with the help of the Pope and the Emperor, to obtain the chief magistracy of the Empire, and to make Franconia a Duchy and the chief Principality between the Maine and the Danube.

The House of Wittelsbach was his natural opponent, but its downfall seemed at hand when in June, 1459, the Emperor Frederick III outlawed Duke Louis of Bavaria for having violently seized upon the free Imperial City of Donauworth. Albert Achilles undertook to carry out the sentence. At this perilous crisis Pius II sent his Nuncios to an assembly held at Nuremberg in July, 1459, and succeeded in restoring peace. This, however, was of short duration, and the beginning of 1460 witnessed the outbreak of a war between the houses of Wittelsbach and Hohenzollern, which soon devastated a great part of Germany.

Just at this time Cardinal Bessarion came thither provided with the most ample powers for the promotion of the Turkish war and the pacification of the Empire. This mission undertaken by the devoted Cardinal at the age of sixty-five, and in the depth of winter, is justly described by his biographer "as a martyrdom".

By the 20th February Bessarion had arrived in Nuremberg, where the Diet agreed upon at Mantua was to be opened on March 2<sup>nd</sup>. The Cardinal of Augsburg and the Bishops of Spire and Eichstatt attended as Commissioners from the Emperor. Of the

German Princes, Albert Achilles, who was desirous of keeping up a peaceful appearance, alone was present. Duke Louis had sent his Councillors, merely charging them to make complaints of the bad faith of the Margrave. The Greek Cardinal in a striking exhortation urged upon all the preservation of peace which Christ had bequeathed to his disciples. The divisions of the Christian Princes had, he declared, increased the power of the Turks to its present extent. It would be a scandal if Germany did nothing to oppose the enemies of the Cross. The bad example alone would do incalculable harm.

These words unfortunately fell upon deaf ears, for the thoughts of all were absorbed in the struggle now imminent between the Wittelsbach party and that of the Hohenzollern. Those present, as a contemporary chronicler informs us, did nothing “but blame and revile one another”. Even when Cardinal Carvajal wrote from Hungary, telling of a fresh incursion of the Turks, and Bessarion, with tears, implored them to unite in taking up arms against the enemy, no impression was made. The utmost he could obtain was to induce them to agree that another Assembly should meet at Worms on the 25th March.

Meanwhile war had already broken out on the Rhine, in Swabia and Franconia, and as Bessarion journeyed to Worms he saw its sad traces. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that the Diet at that city was as fruitless as the one of Nuremberg had been. “Deeply dejected and discouraged, Bessarion informed the Pope of his failure and returned to Nuremberg. As Hungary could look for no external aid, Pius II was most anxious that at least her own forces should be available for the defence of the young King”. Accordingly, as early as the 28th March, he earnestly requested the King of Bohemia to use his influence to restrain the Emperor from all attacks on Hungary. On the 20th April, while in Nuremberg, the Cardinal Legate received a Brief from the Pope, “which, together with words of consolation and encouragement, contained an express charge to use all possible diligence in supporting King George”. Meanwhile Pius II., distrusting the powers of the sickly and irritable Legate, commanded the able jurist, Francis of Toledo, to repair to the Imperial Court in order to influence Frederick III. The negotiations, however, had already broken down before Bessarion had time to take part in them.

According to the decision taken at Mantua, the Diet ought to have assembled at the Imperial Court on the 30th March. But, on account of the war, Bessarion had been constrained, much against his will, to consent to its postponement until the 11th of May.

The Cardinal left Nuremberg in good time, and on the 7th May reached Vienna, where he was honourably received by the Emperor. The opening of the Diet, however, was impossible, for, instead of the Princes who were expected, only a few Ambassadors had arrived, and these few were not furnished with adequate instructions.

A further postponement until the 1st of September was inevitable. The Pope and his Legate, as well as Frederick III, issued urgent letters of invitation to this Assembly. Nevertheless, not one of the Princes appeared at the time appointed. Several weeks again were spent in anxious expectation, and not till the 17th September was the Diet opened.

Meanwhile Albert of Brandenburg, whose allies did little or nothing for him, had succumbed. On the 23<sup>rd</sup> June, 1460, he had been obliged to sign the treaty of Roth, which was so unfavourable to his interests that his “eyes filled with tears”, as it was

sealed. The harshness of its conditions made Pius II fear that the peace would be of short duration.

Even more distressing to Albert was the defection of Archbishop Diether of Mayence which soon followed. On the 4th July, 1460, Diether was defeated at Pfeddersheim near Worms by the Count Palatine Frederick, who constrained him to enter into alliance with him. The Archbishop's motive in thus changing sides from the Hohenzollern party to that of Wittelsbach was the hope that the Princes who were in opposition would afford him more support against Pius II than he could have obtained from his former friends.

Diether of Isenburg belongs to that class of ecclesiastics of whom a Rhenish chronicler of the fifteenth century says: "Alas! with most Bishops the sword has supplanted the crosier; Bishoprics are sought after chiefly for the sake of the temporal power they confer. Spirituality is now the rarest of qualities in a dignitary of the Church".

Diether, who was born about 1412, appears as a Canon at Mayence as early as the year 1427. Besides holding prebends in the Cathedrals of Cologne and Treves, he was, in 1442, appointed Provost of the Collegiate Churches of St. Victor and St. John in Mayence. In 1453 he became Custos in the Cathedral Chapter of that city. But these dignities did not suffice to satisfy the ambition of a man who was so ignorant that he scarcely knew a word of Latin. In 1465 he was a candidate for the Archbishopric of Treves, but the majority of the electors preferred the Margrave John of Baden. On the death of Dietrich I, Archbishop of Mayence, on the 6th May, 1459, Diether was again an eager aspirant for the vacant post. This time his efforts were successful and he obtained the coveted position of an independent Prince with territory and subjects. On the 18th June he was elected Archbishop by a compromise, said to be simoniacal, giving him a majority of one vote over Adolph of Nassau. Three days after his elevation, in consequence of the Election Capitulation, he was obliged to renew the league which his predecessors had concluded with Albert Achilles and Ulrich of Württemberg against the Count Palatine Frederick. Owing to the party position in which he was thus placed from the very first, the Papal Confirmation was a matter of the greatest importance to him. He accordingly at once dispatched Envoys to Mantua, where Pius II was holding the Congress.

Immediately on hearing of the departure of this mission the Pope sent word to Diether that if he sought to obtain Confirmation he must present himself in person at the Papal Court. But the Archbishop took no notice of this admonition, even when it was soon afterwards reiterated. Pius II was already much annoyed at the non-arrival of the Princes summoned to the Congress, and this disregard of his expressed wishes on the part of a petitioner was not calculated to soothe his irritation. He made many difficulties regarding the Confirmation of the Election, and the grant of the Pallium, and he is said to have required Diether's Envoys to pledge their master to support the levy of the tithe on all ecclesiastical revenues in the Empire, and to promise that he would never press for a Council or consent to a general Assembly of the States of the Empire without Papal permission. It cannot be ascertained with certainty whether the Pope really imposed these conditions; in any case they were not again mentioned.

The active support of the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg in Mantua did much to promote Diether's success. A second mission from Mayence received the Bull of Confirmation and the Pallium, after having solemnly sworn that within a year Diether would appear in person, and that the Annates claimed by the Apostolic Treasury should

be paid. The Treasury estimated the expenses of the Confirmation at 20,550 Rhenish florins, a sum which the Envoys do not seem “to have considered at all so excessive” as Diether afterwards represented it to be. Roman money-lenders advanced the amount, the Envoys giving a bond. When the Pope’s portion was paid, the Cardinals and inferior members of the Court also bound themselves to reimburse the money-lenders in case Diether should not discharge his debt.

Diether failed to fulfil a single one of the conditions on which the Confirmation had been granted. He did not appear at the Papal Court, he protested against the amount of the Annates, and refused to pay them. When the time allowed for the payment had elapsed, the Papal Judge pronounced the sentence of lesser excommunication; in spite, however, of this censure the Archbishop continued to be present at public worship, and even to officiate. When, soon after, the Diet met at Vienna, the first ecclesiastical Elector of the Empire appeared as the leader of the opposition against the Pope.

None of the German Princes thought of personally attending this Assembly. Many of the cities, as, for example, Mayence and Wetzlar, did not even send representatives, excusing themselves on the score of their poverty and the insecurity of the times. Bessarion lost heart so completely that Pius II found it necessary to exhort him to be patient. Events fully justified the apprehensions of the aged Cardinal. Not one of the Princes arrived, for, says the Chronicle of Spires, “they had too many quarrels among themselves on their hands to want another with the Turks”. The worst dispositions prevailed in the assembly, and the reading of the Bull conferring plenary powers upon Bessarion contributed to aggravate these. This document, without reference “to the consent of the Diet, simply directed the Legate to carry out the Papal commands”. The Envoys accordingly felt called upon to defend their right and to take counsel together and come to a decision regarding the expedition against the infidel, and the tax for the war. Their spokesman was Heinrich Leubing, Diether’s representative, who eagerly availed himself of this opportunity of resisting the Pope. It was, Leubing declared, “a praiseworthy usage and custom that when a matter so high and great, affecting the Christian faith or the Holy Roman Empire, was to be considered, this should be done by His Imperial Majesty with the Council of his Electors”. A fresh Diet must therefore be held.

In vain did Bessarion labour to influence the deputies, both privately in his own abode and collectively in their public sittings, and to awaken some enthusiasm and devotion to the holy Cause. The prospect of success grew fainter and fainter. His one consolation was the Emperor's readiness to comply with the Pope’s demands, but the only result of this was that the Assembly now turned against Frederick.

Conscious of the purity of his own motives, the Greek Cardinal became more and more embittered by the obstinate opposition of the Envoys. The terrible fate which threatened his fellow-countrymen filled him with an ardent desire to render assistance as soon as possible. Unfortunately he was utterly wanting in self-control. Regardless of his office and of his dignity, he poured forth menaces and invectives against the German Princes, and cast doubts on their good-will towards the holy Cause. The Envoys answered in a similar tone and left the Diet.

Bessarion in his grief and disappointment now begged to be recalled. But Pius II would not take such a step without first consulting his Cardinals. They were utterly opposed to it, and to any interruption of the negotiations. On the 4th November, 1460, Pius II imparted their decision to his Legate. “God’s honor”, he said, “and the honor of the Apostolic See require that we should be steadfast in hope, using every means by

which the minds of men may be led to better counsels. If others withdraw from the work, it does not become us to follow their example. Perseverance in good leads to good even those who are ill disposed, and hearts that are now depraved may not be so always. The conversion of men is wrought by a hidden power, and the way of salvation often opens where no one expects it. Your departure would give a great advantage to our enemies. If the cause of Christendom seems despaired of, they will believe that everything already belongs to them, and will be more audacious in attacking us, and it will be hard for the faithful to stand firm if their hope grows faint. The Hungarians also have hitherto been restrained rather by shame than by good-will. They may seize upon this opportunity as an excuse and conclude a peace or a truce with the Turks. The disgrace then would be ours, and not that of the Germans. You know how calumnies pursue good deeds. It is therefore all the more needful, now that the negotiations have been broken off, a thing which has in itself a bad appearance, that we should aim at maintaining the reputation of the Church, and act in such a manner that the servants of the Holy See may not be blamed. Moreover, as in many places, the subsidies determined on at Mantua have been carefully collected, the perverse would take occasion from this to complain, and the dilatory would make it an excuse for altogether withholding their assistance; and thus all would fail us. Finally, as we have so often proclaimed to you, to our brethren and to the world that we will only give up the work of the Diet with life itself, our words would appear nothing but empty boasting devoid of truth and steadfastness. The glory of God, the salvation of Christendom and the liberation of your oppressed country are at stake. You can labour with great merit in this cause, both by preserving peace and by the conduct of business. Therefore, worthy brother, we encourage you to persevere until some good result appears. Let our beloved son, John Cardinal Carvajal, who is now in the fifth year of his labours as Legate, and champion of the faith, serve for your consolation and example”.

In this same Brief Pius II reverts to a bold proposal which he had already made to his Legate on the nth October. It was that the warlike head of the Wittelsbach party should receive the banner of the faith and of the Empire, insist on the payment of the tithe by the clergy, and equip the army. Should he refuse, the Legate was to turn to one of the other German Princes; if need were, as he himself had once said in Mantua, he must “beg for soldiers from door to door. If all fails, we will take this course and diligently pursue it as our last possible hope; meanwhile consider the ways and means of carrying it out and impart to us in writing what appears to you best fitted to promote the end in view”. Bessarion’s Reports are unfortunately missing. The Secret Archives of the Vatican contain only one letter from him referring to the matter. This was written on the 29th March, 1461; it justifies his proceedings, especially in regard to the question of the tithe, and gives a most interesting picture of the German situation.

In order to understand this letter, we must bear in mind that Pius II, in view of the threatening storm, and acting on the conviction that the opposition of the German Princes was chiefly occasioned by pecuniary considerations, sent two Legates to Germany, charged with reassuring explanations concerning the tithes. Moreover, on the 12th February, 1461, he sent the Cardinal of Augsburg to conduct the affair. On the 4th March, Bessarion was instructed to recall any order which he might have issued concerning the tithes, and to make it generally known alike by word and by letter that it was not the Pope’s intention to demand anything without the consent of the nation. Bessarion replied from Vienna on the 29th March :

“The excuses of the German Princes are vain and empty pretexts. In regard to the tithes I have said no more than what I have already written to your Holiness. I



represented the extraordinary outlay of the Holy See for the cause of the Faith, to which I added the declaration that your Holiness does not demand from the German Princes the tithes, but the promised army. It is true that in a fatherly way I complained and admonished and counselled them as became one who had the matter much at heart. But I have not proceeded beyond remonstrances, or issued any commands regarding the levy of the tithe which, according to your instructions, I should have to recall. Their charges against me were therefore unfounded in this respect. Meanwhile, if I have wronged them in anything, it is only because they had desired that, for their excuse and justification, I should accuse the Emperor and lay everything to his charge. They had already, at that time, begun to work in secret against Frederick III, as it appeared afterwards. Seeing that for cogent reasons I would not yield to them, I became the object of their hatred; they looked upon me as quite devoted to the Emperor. In this they were by no means mistaken. I have the highest esteem for Frederick III, because I know how greatly your Holiness and the Emperor are attached to one another. This is the cause of their dissatisfaction, and they say it quite openly. Many other convincing proofs of these things are before your Holiness, amongst them the extravagances which have lately been widely circulated from the pen of the shameless heretic, Gregor Heimburg. I had scarcely the patience to read them once, and then threw them away, and I will not send them to your Holiness. Did I not know that You are well aware that the causes of this agitation are other than the tithe question, I should perish with grief. Yet, Holy Father, many causes have combined to produce this state of things. First, the disgraceful ingratitude of Diether. I will now speak freely of this man, in whose house, as Rudolf of Rudesheim informed me on my return from Worms to Mayence, Rome is daily reviled by that crazy Dominican Bishop who came to Mantua about his Confirmation, as well as by his other companions. I bring a witness; your Holiness can examine him at your pleasure. Then came the excommunication of the Archbishop of Mayence on account of the Annates, whereupon he became so excited that he threatened to move heaven and earth. He and the rest utterly disregard this excommunication. He also seeks to tread in the footsteps of his predecessor who was by no means devoted to the Holy See. Who was better acquainted with these intrigues than your Holiness, whose task it formerly was to frustrate them? From the appeal of the Princes it is evident that they do not complain of the tithes alone, but also of the Annates, Indulgences and pretended extortions of various kinds. They are also constantly stirred up by France and the perpetual complaints of Duke Sigismund. Concerning the tithes I have, as I informed your Holiness in two letters, taken sufficient care in the matter. For the rest it would be very well to send new Ambassadors, capable of settling the affair with prudence and discretion. As the Diet to be held in Frankfort is put off until Trinity Sunday, the Ambassadors might with advantage be charged in the meantime to visit the Princes individually and to treat with each in particular”.

A short time after this report was written, Pius II had himself arrived at the conviction that Germany was lost to the cause of the war. “I perceive”, he wrote to Bessarion on the 2nd May, 1461, “that almost everything for which you were sent to Germany being hopeless, the reconciliation of the Emperor with the King of Hungary is now your only remaining duty”. But the sufferings entailed on the sickly Cardinal by these numerous journeys were aggravated by vexation and the severity of the climate, and he hailed with joy the truce of Laxenburg (6th September, 1461), which permitted him to bid farewell to the Imperial Court and quit the barbarous country where” no one cared for Latin and Greek”.

In his Report to the Pope on the 29th March, 1461, Bessarion speaks of the Archbishop of Mayence and Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol as the chief authors of confusion in Germany. Some further details must be added in regard to the proceedings of these two.

The mischievous action of the Envoy from Mayence at the Diet of Vienna was a foretaste of the future. Before the conclusion of the year 1460, Diether of Isenburg and the Count Palatine Frederick, bound themselves to assist George Podiebrad, who aspired to become King of the Romans. The compact between Diether and the King of Bohemia was concluded in the early days of December. Podiebrad, in return for the support of his pretensions to the Crown of Germany, was obliged to promise that he would establish at Mayence a supreme Court of the Empire, to be called a Parliament, would preserve peace and unity, and as soon as possible, with the advice of the Electors, undertake an expedition against the Turks. He promised not to sanction the levy of the tithe, nor any other tribute imposed by Pope or Council; he undertook to cause a General Council to be assembled in a German city on the Rhine, and there to "repeat and administer" the Basle Decrees, especially those concerning Confirmations, Annates and the jurisdiction of the Roman Court, to take care that the Pope should claim from Diether for the Pallium no larger sum than was customary, and, finally, with his people to abandon the Utraquist heresy and return to the Roman Church.

Immediately after the conclusion of this compact an Assembly of the Princes took place at Bamberg, where the opposition to Pope and Emperor was strongly manifested. Princes and their Envoys spoke with unexampled bitterness against the two heads of Christendom, and, as might have been expected, Diether of Isenburg was the most violent. He it was who laid before the Assembly a document protesting against the demand of ecclesiastical tithes and appealing against all ecclesiastical censures. The Councillors of Saxony and Brandenburg, however, refused to sign this. The King of Bohemia, and Duke Louis of Landshut, led by him, would not hear of any measure against the Pope, and could not be induced to give their signatures to the appeal. The result of this meeting accordingly in no wise answered the anticipations of Diether and the other opponents of Rome. Violent language against the Holy See was again indulged in at Eger on the following day; but nothing came of it, for Podiebrad contrived to divert the stream of opposition almost entirely from Rome, and turn it against the Emperor.

Rebuffs of this kind might certainly have taught a lesson of moderation to one of another stamp, but they only roused the passionate Diether, supported by the Count Palatine Frederick, to greater energy in his agitation against the Apostolic See. On the 22nd of February, 1461, he took into his service Gregor Heimburg, the bitterest enemy of Rome and Pius II. This man had already been excommunicated by the Pope and had done much to aggravate the conflict between Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol and Cardinal Cusa.

The contest in question was closely connected with Cusa's zeal for the liberty and purity of the Church entrusted to his care.

The ecclesiastical troubles of preceding years had paved the way for grievous abuses in the Tyrol, as well as in most parts of Germany, and fearful immorality prevailed amongst clergy and laity. It was only natural that Cusa, full of zeal as he was for the reform and welfare of his country, should concentrate all his energies on the diocese which had been entrusted to his care in the spring of 1452. The Cardinal set to work with all the vehemence of his Rhenish temperament, but the majority of his flock

failed to cooperate as they ought to have done in his labours for the true welfare of their country. Cusa was too great for the narrow politics of the Tyrol, the extraordinary powers entrusted to him by Rome were not respected, and conflicts arose on every side.

Difficulties such as these would have damped the courage of an ordinary man, but that of Cusa rose to the occasion. He was resolved at any cost to carry out the reform of his Diocese; his special attention was directed to the Religious Orders, the scandal of whose moral corruption was aggravated by their profession of a life of poverty and self-abnegation. The extent of the evil may be estimated by the violent opposition which the regulations of the new Bishop encountered. The Poor Clares of Brixen in particular were distinguished by the obstinacy of their resistance, and even the intervention of the Holy See was ineffectual. The nuns treated the Papal Brief with as little respect as the Interdict and Excommunication pronounced by the Cardinal. Experience has long since shown that the only effectual resource in such cases is the introduction of fresh members thoroughly imbued with the religious spirit, and by this means Cusa at length succeeded in improving the state of the Brixen Convent. In other places also, as, for example, in the ancient Premonstratentian Monastery of Wilten, near Innsbruck, he accomplished the necessary reform by summoning monks from a distance.

Cusa's most serious contest was with the nuns of the Benedictine Convent of Sonnenburg, in the Pusterthal, where a secular spirit had made terrible inroads. The right of jurisdiction over this house was doubtful. A dispute had arisen between the nuns and their dependents in Enneberg, and the former had applied to Duke Sigismund as Governor and Sovereign, and the latter to the Bishop of Brixen. Both Cusa and Sigismund brought the matter before their respective tribunals, and a violent quarrel was the result. Cusa thought it right to cling all the more firmly to his claim of jurisdiction over the Convent as a means of carrying out the ecclesiastical reform which he had so much at heart. This, however, was precisely what the nuns of Sonnenburg were determined to resist. They maintained that the Cardinal had no concern with the reform, but only with the temporalities of the Convent. When he insisted on the observance of the decisions of the Synod held at Salzburg in 1451, especially of those regarding enclosure, they turned to Duke Sigismund for protection. This dissolute Prince was a strange champion for a convent of nuns, but he was equal to the occasion. The assistance which he promised to the nuns rendered them so stiff-necked that Cusa thought it necessary to adopt strong measures. In 1455, the sentence of greater excommunication was pronounced on the obstinate inmates of the convent, who thereupon appealed to the Pope. Calixtus III disapproved of the Cardinal's severity, and recommended, for the sake of avoiding scandal, that the matter should be amicably adjusted. Cusa, however, would yield nothing, and the nuns persevered in their resistance, relying on the protection of the Duke.

The Sonnenburg dispute caused the learned Cardinal to make a thorough investigation of the old documents, charters and privileges of his Church. The result of his researches was to convince him of his right to claim the dignity of a Prince of the German Empire, ranking immediately after the King of the Romans. Sigismund declared these pretensions outrageous on the ground that they ignored the legitimate developments of more recent events. The Sonnenburg question soon fell into the background and resolved itself into a contest between the sovereignty which had grown up and the imposing immunities of the early mediaeval period.

Cusa's severity towards the Sonnenburg nuns is hardly surprising when we find that so hostile a spirit soon manifested itself against him as a "stranger", and he seriously thought of abandoning a sphere in which he encountered so many hindrances,

and even commenced negotiations for resigning his Bishopric to a Bavarian Prince. The situation became more and more insupportable. The secular and regular clergy, who had no wish to be reformed, vied with each other in placing difficulties in the way of their Bishop. "Since the rebellion of Jezabel" (the Abbess of Sonnenburg), wrote Cusa to his confidential friend, the Prior of Tegernsee, "the Poor Clares at Brixen have also become incredibly audacious. The Premonstratentians at Wilten, who had begun to walk in the way of salvation, are looking back; my doings are not to the taste of my Cathedral Chapter, for they love the peace of this world. The nobles threaten more and more. The Prince keeps silence or favors my adversaries, and as they cannot yet reach me, they stir up others to violence in order to intimidate me". The common people disregarded the Cardinal's commands even when accompanied by threats of the severest penalties. Under these circumstances "Cusa everywhere suspected plots even against his life, and saw dangers where none really existed". To escape from these supposed perils he fled in July, 1457, to Andraz, an almost inaccessible mountain fortress in Buchenstein, hired mercenary troops in the Venetian territory, and accused Duke Sigismund to the Pope of intending to take his life. Calixtus III accordingly threatened the Duke with excommunication, and his dominions with an Interdict. Eight days were allowed him to restore to the Cardinal that perfect liberty and security which he required for the exercise of his pastoral office.

The Duke on receiving the Pope's Bull applied to a friendly lawyer, and by his advice issued on the 1st November, 1457, a protest against the sentence of the Holy See, founded, he complained, on a mere rumour, and appealed to the Pope better informed. At the same time he sent a safe-conduct to Cusa signed with his own hand. There can be no doubt that the friend whose influence induced the Duke to take this momentous step was Gregor Heimburg, the declared enemy of the Holy See. This highly gifted, but violent man, "henceforth became the leading spirit in all the serious opposition to Rome". From the time that Heimburg took part in the dispute there was small hope of coming to a satisfactory arrangement. The breach was further widened, and its bitterness intensified by the claims which Cusa's representative urged at the Diet of Bruneck (13th January, 1458). He demanded the restoration of the Castles which had in ancient times been taken from the Church of Brixen, the recognition of the Cardinal as the lawful ruler of the Innthal and Norithal, and the restitution of all fiefs of the Diocese held by Duke Sigismund in these valleys, on the ground that they had escheated. On the 6th of February, 1458, Sigismund made a second appeal, accompanying it with a declaration that he did not acknowledge the Interdict. The spirit which at this time prevailed among the Tyrolese clergy is shown by the fact that the greater number joined in the appeal and paid no heed to the sentence.

The death of Calixtus III summoned Cusa to Rome, where he found his friend Aeneas Sylvius, under the title of Pius II, in the chair of St. Peter. The new Pope at once undertook the part of a mediator, and summoned Cusa and Sigismund to appear in his presence at Mantua in November, 1459. The appointment of Gregor Heimburg as his agent was a strange return for the fatherly kindness with which Pius II received Sigismund. We have already spoken of Heimburg's intrigues against the crusade, and of his abuse of the Pope. The selection of such a man to conduct negotiations on his behalf was little calculated to promote the restoration of peace, and Cusa's irritation and his claim to the exercise of absolute spiritual and temporal power within the limits of his diocese destroyed any lingering hope of success. Notwithstanding the exasperation of the contending parties, Pius II still strove to mediate between them, and to bring about an agreement clearly defining the relations between the Bishop of Brixen and the

temporal lord of the Tyrol. Sigismund rudely rejected these proposals, he even protested against the competency of the Papal tribunal, and, to the great grief of Pius II, left Mantua on the 29th of November.

In spite of this failure the Pope again resumed the negotiations, but his efforts were frustrated by the persistent and increasing animosity of the two opponents. In March, 1460, at a Synod at Bruneck, Cusa renewed the Interdict which the Pope had suspended for two years, and proceeded to inform the Duke that, in the event of mild measures proving ineffectual, he would make over to the Emperor all the fiefs of the Church of Brixen. Sigismund then resolved upon an act of violence, and, on Easter Day, caused the unsuspecting Cardinal to be arrested and imprisoned at Bruneck. Cusa was not released until he had signed an unfavourable treaty.

The consternation of Pius II was extreme when he heard of the outrage offered to a Prince of the Church, one personally dear to him and bearing a name honoured alike throughout Eastern and Western Christendom. The deed perpetrated at Bruneck was in his eyes a grievous insult to the Apostolic See, to the Sacred College, and to the Church at large. It was an encouragement to all who had a mind to lay violent hands on her property or her dignitaries, an attack on her liberty and on the inviolability of her members and possessions, and a challenge to her authority. He therefore resolved to withstand the Duke with all the resources of his spiritual power. Legal proceedings were at once commenced, and Sigismund was required to appear in person and answer for himself on the 4th August.

The Duke's reply was an appeal from the Pope ill-informed, to the Pope better informed, and in this appeal the majority of the Tyrolese Clergy supported him. On the 8th August, in consequence of his disobedience to the Papal summons, the sentence of greater excommunication was pronounced at Siena against him and his adherents. Even before the tidings of this excommunication reached the Ducal Court at Innsbruck, Sigismund took a step "which was in every way calculated to render the breach irreparable". He entrusted the whole conduct of his affairs to the impetuous Heimburg, who carried the irresolute Duke away with him in his passionate and reckless opposition to the Holy See, in which personal aversion had no small share. On the 13th August, Sigismund issued a fresh and yet stronger appeal to the future Roman Pontiff and to a general Council, utterly disregarding the decree of the Pope at Mantua, which expressly prohibited such a course. Heimburg was the author of this document.

The revolt was now fairly inaugurated, and Pius II at once met it by decisive measures. Briefs were dispatched in all directions, announcing the excommunication of Sigismund, and prohibiting all intercourse with him or his territory. A manifesto of the 19th August detailed the reasons of the excommunication, and the Emperor and the Bund were required to wrest the Tyrol from the Duke. Switzerland was the only country in which this proclamation had any effect. The German Princes condemned the action of the Pope, the majority of them openly espousing the cause of Sigismund; the prohibition of intercourse was disregarded by almost all the cities. Even the Princes of the Church for the most part neglected to take any measures for carrying out the Papal commands. In the Tyrol itself the laity and most of the clergy declared themselves on the side of the Duke, who displayed a feverish energy in face of the dangers which threatened him. He applied for assistance not only to his father-in-law, King James of Scotland, but to other Princes who, like Diether of Isenburg and Charles VII of France, were more or less hostile to the Holy See. A memorial against the Pope was at once drawn up in Latin and circulated throughout the Tyrol; and in the beginning of September a defence in Latin and German was sent out from Innsbruck to the temporal and spiritual Princes far and

near. This document strongly insisted on Sigismund's "rights as Lord of the country". On the 9th September, the appeal of the 13th August was reiterated. The Cathedral Chapter of Brixen also appealed and declared the Papal Interdict invalid.

Sigismund's new appeal and the defence both proceeded from the pen of Heimburg. These writings, like the productions of Luther and Hutten in a succeeding generation, were disseminated throughout the whole of Germany with extreme rapidity. The numerous copies to be found in the German Libraries bear witness to their extensive circulation. The appeals were like the Papal Indulgences affixed to the Church doors in Germany and Italy, and even as a hostile demonstration in Florence and Siena.

In the autumn of 1460 Pius II took proceedings against Heimburg in person as the chief instigator of the Duke, and the author of the obstinate opposition to the Apostolic See. He was excommunicated by name, and all the ecclesiastical and temporal authorities of Germany were desired to seize this "son of the devil".

Heimburg now gave free vent to his rage. He began by appending a series of abusive marginal notes to the Bull which condemned him, directed not only against the person, but also against the Primacy of the Pope. This was followed by a new appeal to a Council, an invective exceeding all former attacks in violence. He accuses the Pope of being more garrulous than a magpie, and of having at Mantua praised adultery and crimes against public morality, and maintains the supremacy of Councils. "Hold fast what you have gained", he says to the clergy, "the Council is the fortress of your liberties, the corner-stone of your dignity. Rend the feeble nets and break the worthless bonds which you have taken pains to forge for yourselves in your scholastic philosophy. And you, Princes and soldiers, who are accustomed in warfare to exercise your skill in seizing the best positions before the enemy can reach them, make haste to secure this most important point of the General Council, Should the Pope succeed in wresting this stronghold from you, you will find yourselves left without shield or spear and constrained to buy your lives at a heavy price, in the tribute which, under the mask of the Turkish war, is levied only to be spent for shameful and criminal purposes". The Decree of Mantua is stigmatized by Heimburg as vain and senseless and the Pope is called a dotard and a heretic.

Pius II meanwhile had taken a further step against the Tyrolese rebels. On the 23rd January, 1461, he summoned Duke Sigismund, Gregor Heimburg, Lorenz Blumenau, Bishop George of Trent, all the Duke's Counsellors, the Cathedral Chapter of Brixen, most of the Abbots of the Tyrolese Convents, a number of other spiritual and temporal Lords, and all clergy and laity of the Tyrol who had condemned the ecclesiastical Interdict, to appear within fifty days before his Tribunal to vindicate their orthodoxy, especially in regard to the article, "I believe in one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church".

Heimburg replied on the 16th of May, 1461, by another appeal or rather manifesto, pouring contempt on the Papal summons, and full of revolutionary doctrines in regard to the spiritual power of the Papacy. "This appeal", to quote the words of an historian who favours the Duke, "was certainly a considerable advance on the part of Sigismund and Heimburg, and it might seriously be asked whether they still remained within the sphere of the Catholic body, or had withdrawn from it and taken refuge in that abstract and universal church which exists only in the imagination". On Wednesday in Holy Week, 1461, Pius II solemnly excluded Gregor Heimburg as a heretic from the Communion of the Church. On Maundy Thursday (2nd April) he reiterated the sentence of greater excommunication pronounced against him, as well as against Sigismund and

his adherents. Sigismund retorted by causing Heimburg's insolent manifesto of the 16th of March to be posted up in four places in Rome, but it was immediately torn down by the incensed populace.

The bad effects of the Duke's example were but too apparent in the hostile attitude assumed by the Archbishop of Mayence in the spring of 1461. Heimburg had brought about an alliance between these two Princes. The day after he entered Diether's service, the deliberations of the Diet of Nuremberg began (23rd February, 1461). In this Electoral Diet the anti-Papal opposition reached its climax.

Diether of Isenburg was the leading spirit of this Assembly. The lesser excommunication pronounced by the Papal judge in consequence of his non-payment of the Annates had so incensed him that he threatened to do his utmost against Rome. Emboldened by finding such a goodly array of Princes assembled in Nuremberg in answer to his summons he cast aside all consideration for the Head of the Church.

However unbecoming the action of the Papal judge might have been in thus proceeding against the first Prince of the Empire, it certainly was neither so important nor so irrevocable as to justify the extraordinary step at once taken by Diether. For, instead of availing himself of the nearest legal remedy, or complaining to the Pope of the treatment to which he had been subjected, he issued a formal appeal to a Council which, according to the decisions of Constance and Basle was to be held once in every ten years, committing himself, his Church and all who would join him to its protection. He declared that he could not appeal to the Pope, inasmuch as it was thought that he was a party to the judge's act. Nevertheless, he was willing to do so if Pius II would refer the matter to the arbitration of some Prelate who was above suspicion; otherwise he appealed to his successor, who would have the right to revise his proceedings.

A Protestant historian considers that it would have been almost impossible to offer a deeper insult to Pius II than such an appeal, which passed over all the ordinary legal means and completely ignored the authority of the Pope. It was true that he had himself in former days at Basle defended this method of procedure. But his recent decree at Mantua had expressly forbidden it, denounced the principle on which it rested as a dangerous and destructive heresy, and declared that all authors and abettors of such an appeal from the Emperor himself down to the clerk who transcribed it would thereby incur the greater excommunication from which the Pope alone could absolve them at the hour of death. Most probably it was Heimburg, who was at this time in Nuremberg, who induced the Archbishop to take this rash step. The appeal bears marks of having been written by him. Diether's rupture with Rome was now final.

In obedience to the Pope's command, Cardinal Bessarion had at once sent an Embassy to Nuremberg to explain that it was not the intention of Rome to demand anything, however small, without the consent of the nation. Neither this Embassy, however, nor the two Nuncios seem to have arrived in time to intervene in the deliberations of the Diet.

Diether had now full scope for his anti-Roman agitation. He enjoyed the triumph of seeing not only the Count Palatine Frederick, but also the Elector Frederick of Brandenburg, his brothers, Albert and John, together with the Bishop of Wurzburg, likewise appeal. The Bohemian Ambassadors alone held aloof from this demonstration, as their master had good reasons for not breaking with Rome.

Frederick III also was bitterly attacked at Nuremberg. Antagonism towards him was in many ways interwoven with opposition to the Pope, and each gathered strength

from the other. On the 1st of March the Electors of Mayence, of the Palatinate, and of Brandenburg, addressed a threatening letter to the Emperor. They described the deplorable condition of the Empire, complained of the negligence of Frederick, who for fifteen years had not been seen in this portion of it, and invited him to a Diet at Frankfort on the Sunday after Pentecost (31st May). Should the Emperor fail to appear they would decide and act without him, as might be necessary for the welfare of the Empire. On the same day the Electors bound themselves by a solemn promise, equivalent to an oath, not to suffer themselves to be turned from their purpose by Pope or by Emperor.

On the 2nd March the Elector Frederick and the Margraves, Albert and John, together with the Count Palatine, addressed a letter to the Pope expressing their astonishment that he should have required from Archbishop Diether a larger sum than his predecessors had paid for the Pallium. This demand, they declared, inflicted fresh injury on the Church of Mayence, which was once the most powerful in the Empire, but had suffered considerably from wars and calamities, it infringed the rights of the Councils, and violated the Concordats which former Popes had concluded with the German nation, and would lead to the ruin of the Church in Germany. They most humbly begged His Holiness to be satisfied with the ancient tax which the Archbishop was ready at any moment to pay and to remove the penalties inflicted upon him and his adherents. If the Pope refused to grant their request, concluded the letter in a tone of menace, they and almost all the Princes of the German nation would range themselves on Diether's side and support him by word and act.

As if the Apostolic See had not been sufficiently offended by his first appeal, Diether shortly afterwards issued a second. In this he complained of the attitude of Bessarion in Vienna, and of the numerous Indulgences by which the coffers of the devout were emptied and of the exorbitant claim of Annates. This appeal and a joint manifesto in accordance with it were signed by a large number of the Princes and Envoys. A yet more important symptom of the general feeling was the fact that the Council of Archbishop John of Treves eagerly took part in all these measures against the Holy See. The ultimate goal of the opposition conducted by Diether and Heimburg was evidently a German imitation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges; the bond between the German Church and the centre of unity was to be as far as possible loosened, and Germany placed in a semi-schismatical position.

It is very remarkable that the opposition should have been so strong in Germany against a Pope whose own countrymen accused him of German sympathies. But it is easy to see how little importance is to be attached to all these fine words about the liberty and honor of Germany; they were but a mask to cover selfish aims and private interests. Where was the patriotism of men who did not shrink from an alliance with the French monarch who was still hankering after the Rhine country? Full details are wanting, but it is a fact that Heimburg was sent to the French Court to consult with the King as to measures to be taken by the German and French opposition in common. Nor did the German Princes scorn other foreign assistance, they thought of a treaty with King Rene, who was in active antagonism to the Pope on the Neapolitan question. It is obvious that the triumph of King Rene, and with him of French influence in Italy, would not have promoted the interests of Germany.

After the Count Palatine Frederick and Diether had on the 6th March joined the Electoral Union, the dissolution of the Diet was decided upon. This body demanded amongst other things a general Council and a fresh Assembly in Frankfort on the 22nd May; all private negotiations with the Roman Court were prohibited.



The dissolution of the Diet was accepted unanimously, but discontent and mistrust soon broke forth again among the confederates, who were occupied solely with their own private interests, and no one of whom was prepared to make any sacrifice for the cause which he professed to advocate. The Assembly which had seemed so seriously to threaten the two chief powers of Christendom had but glossed over for a time the ancient party strifes. Margrave Albert discovered to the Emperor “in profound secrecy” the plans which had been framed in the Diet, and in the course of a few months Diether’s work was undone, and everything that had been sealed and sworn to at Nuremberg was forgotten.

The tidings of these proceedings had caused the greatest consternation alike at the Imperial and the Papal Courts. Frederick III turned to Pius II for assistance. “Consider, Holy Father”, he wrote on the 7th April, “how rampant the factions in the Empire have grown. See how they presume to lay down the law to Us both. It is absolutely necessary that We should at once combine to oppose their designs. We beg Your counsel and assistance. In Diether you may see the consequence of granting ecclesiastical confirmation without consulting the temporal ruler. At any rate do not let him be consecrated Archbishop”. Frederick III sent his Marshal, Henry of Pappenheim, throughout the Empire to dissuade and threaten those who might have been disposed to attend the proposed Diet at Frankfort.

The dangerous nature of the situation had been recognized first in Rome, and decisive measures had been taken. Even before the arrival of the alarming tidings from Germany, Pius II, ever watchful and armed, had dispatched, as his Nuncios to that country, the Canon Francis of Toledo and Rudolf of Rudesheim, the Dean of the Cathedral Chapter of Worms. They were to treat with the German Princes in regard to their grievances, and in particular to give reassuring explanations on the subject of the levy of the tithes. They showed great skill in accomplishing the difficult task of quieting the storm which threatened ecclesiastical authority. No doubt in their conflict with this many-headed movement, they were at an advantage in being the servants of a united power. Still it is greatly to their credit that they were able so completely to soothe the partisans of the Council, and to separate them from the Archbishop of Mayence, as Pius desired.

The Papal Nuncios next succeeded in detaching Albert Achilles from the party of opposition. They assured him that it was not the Pope's intention to impose the tithes without the consent of the nation. They formally apologized for Bessarion’s threatening language in Vienna. He had had no such instructions from the Pope, but had been carried away by his own eager interest in the matter and wounded feelings. They also justified Pius II’s proceedings against Duke Sigismund and the friendly relations with the King of Bohemia, which he had hitherto maintained. In regard to the Council they declared that Pius II. would consent to it on condition that the temporal powers should cooperate in carrying out the reforms decreed by the Bishops.

When the Nuncios had also induced the Count Palatine Frederick and the Archbishop of Treves to withdraw from the appeal, the isolation of Diether was almost complete; and the failure of the Assembly at Frankfort which was opposed by the Pope as strongly as by the Emperor, might be predicted with certainty. Nevertheless, following the counsels of the impetuous Heimburg, he would not hear of yielding. In vain did his clergy urge him to retrace his steps, in vain did the Papal Nuncios declare themselves ready to come to terms if the Archbishop would but recall his appeal. When Frankfort, the Imperial city of Germany, at the command of Frederick III, refused to

receive the proposed Assembly, he changed its place of meeting to his own Episcopal City.

The Diet of Mayence was very ill-attended, “the Imperial Cities in general, as well as the Electors of Cologne, Treves, and Bohemia were unrepresented. The Archbishop, in fact, stood alone with the Tyrolese Envoys; there were no others, and these had private reasons for their hostility to the Church”.

The proceedings began on the 4th June with a defeat for the opposition, for the excommunicated Heimburg was prevented by the Papal Nuncios from attending the Sessions. On the following day Diether, in a long speech, brought forward his complaints against Rome and demanded a General Council as the only remedy against the encroachments of the Apostolic See. He characterized the Tithes and Indulgences as frauds, and the Turkish war as merely a pretext to support them.

Rudolf of Rudesheim, distinguished alike as a diplomatist and a canonist, defended the Holy See against Diether’s attacks with equal courage and success. His discourse was a masterpiece, temperate in its language, prudent and conciliatory in its treatment of questions of general interest, broad in its point of view, uncompromising and trenchant in dealing with the particular cases which touched the authority and doctrines of the Church. At the same time the two Nuncios emphatically declared that it had never been the intention of the Pope, and was not now his will to burden the German nation in opposition to the wishes of its Princes and Prelates with the imposition of the tithe determined at Mantua, nor to inflict on any one the spiritual penalties threatened in the Bull on this subject.

These words dealt a heavy blow to the opposition. These ardent reformers once convinced that they would not be required to put their hands in their pockets for the expenses of the Crusade, forgot all about the oppressions of Rome, together with their grand projects of a General Council and a Pragmatic Sanction, and left Diether to his fate.

The defeat of the Conciliar Party was sealed shortly afterwards by Diether’s promise, in the hope that the Pope would also make some concession or would extend the time for the payment of the Annates, to desist from whatever was displeasing to the Holy Father and to comply with his wishes. We can hardly be surprised that this unprincipled man was not trusted in Rome, especially when we find that he soon made a fresh attempt at opposition. With a view of bringing pressure to bear upon the Pope, he invited the German Princes, Prelates and Universities to resume the Diet of Mayence at Michaelmas, in order again to discuss the Turkish war, the tithes and the grievances of the nation and adopt suitable resolutions.

This meeting did not take place. Pius II having found another candidate for the Archbishopric in the person of the Canon Adolph of Nassau, secretly sent John Werner of Flassland as his agent to Germany, with Bulls, depriving Diether, and granting the Papal institution to his opponent. Flassland arrived safely at Mayence, where Adolph of Nassau at once summoned a meeting of the Cathedral Chapter. Diether, who had heard of the danger which threatened him, was present. Adolph, however, was by no means perplexed; with the Papal Bull in his hand he announced Diether’s deposition and his own appointment. The former at once protested and appealed from the Pope ill-informed to the Pope better informed, but he was not able to hinder the enthronement of his adversary. He also issued a violent defence, in which he related his whole contest with Rome, protested against his deposition, and declared that he did not acknowledge the prohibition of appeal on the ground that it had not the sanction of the Council, and

was contrary to all justice, human and divine. "If", he said, "no one is to appeal from the oppression of a Pope to a future General Council, then we are all at the Pope's mercy".

Diether's position was from the first far from encouraging, for the Imperial party, led by Albert Achilles, which had opposed him before now, unanimously took the side of Adolph of Nassau. The deposed Prelate nevertheless determined to fight. He trusted in the powerful Count Palatine, but when this crafty Prince assumed a procrastinating attitude, he for a moment completely lost courage.

Unprincipled as ever, wavering between submission and defiance, he at first promised to yield, and then again took up arms. On the 11th November, 1461, Diether entered into a solemn agreement with Adolph, by which he undertook to give up his See on condition of receiving absolution from excommunication and a considerable indemnity in land and men at the expense of the Church of Mayence. Peace seemed to be thus restored, but on the very day when this contract was sealed and sworn, Diether sought assistance against Adolph. On the 12th November his Envoys absolutely denied, in a letter to the Council of Mayence, the existence of any treaty between them. On the 19th he made a fresh alliance with the Count Palatine for the vindication of his claim to the Archbishopric, assigning to him the cities and castles of the Bergstrasse as the price of the aid he was to render.

A fierce conflict now broke forth, involving all the country bordering on the Rhine in the miseries and horrors attendant on the warfare of the period. Early in the following year the feud between the families of Hohenzollern and Wittelsbach blazed forth afresh, and the greater part of the Empire was filled with the din of arms. The vicissitudes of this struggle do not enter into the scope of our work.

On the 8th January, 1462, Pius II published a severe Bull against Diether. He required him within the space of eighteen days to give up all lands belonging to the archbishopric; in the event of his disobedience the heaviest ecclesiastical penalties were to be inflicted on him and his adherents, and all places in which they might sojourn were to be laid under an Interdict. Immediately after this, urgent requisitions were sent from Rome to the cities of Cologne and Frankfort, calling upon them to support Adolph of Nassau. On the first February the proceedings against Diether were justified in a detailed memorandum which also claimed help for Adolph, and insisted on the execution of the Papal censures. Francis of Toledo and Pietro Ferrici were sent to Germany as Nuncios to labour in the cause of the Pope, which they zealously did by word of mouth, by letters and manifestoes. But this time success was more difficult, for the rebels were now attached to Diether's cause by strong ties of material interest and advantage, both actual and prospective.

At Spire the Papal Bull of excommunication was torn down from the Cathedral door; the Count Palatine forbade its publication in his camp under pain of death. He, like Diether, appealed to the Council, as if he could thus wipe out the Pope. On the 30th March Diether addressed a manifesto from Höchst to all temporal and spiritual Princes, calling upon them to take to heart and consider how very unjustly and dishonourably he had been treated, imploring them not to hinder him in the maintenance of his righteous cause, but rather to punish such ungodly dealing, and to grant him help and support. By means of Gutenberg's printing-press, numerous copies of this manifesto which, it was hoped, would arouse a strong feeling against Rome, were disseminated throughout Germany.

Pius II had no thought of yielding. A fresh Encyclical of May 1st, 1462, called upon all the Estates of the Empire to assist Adolph of Nassau

Diether made great efforts to prevent the clergy from observing the Interdict. With this object in view he appeared in person at Frankfort-on-Maine on the 19th September, 1462. The Town Council would not allow him to proceed against the loyal clergy within the walls. The Archbishop, however, could not be prevented from going to St. Bartholomew's. Here the doors were of course shut, but he was not to be so easily hindered; he caused the doors to be broken open, and as far as was necessary, the windows, and thus by main force celebrated Divine worship in the Church which had for weeks been closed on account of the Interdict.

The capture of the City of Mayence by his enemies on the 28th October, 1462, was a serious blow to Diether. Deprived of this stronghold he became more and more dependent on the Count Palatine. Many attempts were made to end this unholy warfare. But all were fruitless until the spring of 1463, when Rupert, brother of the Count Palatine, was elected Archbishop of Cologne, and anxious to secure the Confirmation of his Election, made serious efforts to bring about a peace. At Oppenheim he succeeded in inducing the contending parties to consent to a truce from April 24th to November nth, 1463. At the expiration of this period, it seemed likely that war would break forth anew, when affairs took a most unexpected turn.

The adherents of Nassau had long been desirous of breaking the alliance between Frederick and Diether. This at length came to pass. Diether, who had some reason to distrust his self-interested friend, entered into an agreement with Adolph in October, 1463. In consideration of being left in possession of a small territory, he renounced the Archbishopric, while Adolph promised to be responsible for all his debts and to bring about his reconciliation with the Pope and the Emperor. This agreement was soon afterwards ratified at Frankfort in presence of Pietro Ferrici, the Nuncio to whom Pius II had entrusted plenary powers. Diether, in token of his abdication, gave up his Electoral sword to Archbishop Adolph in a public assembly and did homage to him as his Lord. Then on his knees he asked for and received absolution from the sentence of excommunication.

The Count Palatine Frederick was more difficult to deal with; at length, however, the representations of his brother Rupert induced him to agree to a peace on very favourable terms. Adolph promised to obtain absolution for him and his followers from the Pope, and together with his Cathedral Chapter, acknowledged the mortgage on the Bergstrasse. In the middle of March, 1464, at a Diet at Worms, he was solemnly received back into the Communion of the Church by Bishop Onofrio of Tricarico, and Canon Pietro Ferrici, the Papal Legates. Before his absolution the Count was required to make a declaration that during the contest he had never intended to withdraw from submission to the Apostolic See and that for the future he would always be loyal and obedient to it.

These two leaders of the anti-Papal opposition in Germany were far surpassed in obstinacy by Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol. The conflict between the democratic Conciliar theory, represented by Heimburg and Sigismund, and the monarchical constitution of the Church upheld by the Pope, had reached its climax in the Manifesto of the 16th March, 1461. The contest now entered upon its last stage, that of negotiations for peace. The exasperation of both parties was still intense; the violent measures of the Duke against those who respected the Papal censures must have produced a very painful impression in Rome. Yet fresh proposals of mediation were constantly brought forward. The inefficacy of the Papal penalties, together with the course of events in Germany, induced Pius to consent to negotiations. But Sigismund would not hear of making any kind of apology until the Pope should have withdrawn his

censures. This, and the large demands made by Cusa, frustrated the conciliatory efforts of the Venetians who earnestly desired the end of a contest which seriously impeded their trade through the Tyrol.

In consequence of a happy combination of circumstances, a solution was at length brought about by means of the Emperor. "Most Holy Father", wrote Frederick III on the 2nd February, 1464, "it is time that this matter should be settled. The authority of the Church, as we see, is too little respected. In consideration of the times in which we live a little indulgence is necessary. We beg your Holiness to consent to our continuing the negotiation and to commission the Bishop of Lepanto to return to us and to give him authority when the matter is settled and absolution is sought, to grant it together with the removal of the Interdict and whatever else may be necessary for the complete restoration of peace. For as soon as an arrangement has been arrived at in regard to the restitution and things depending thereon, We, in the name and stead of our cousin, in accordance with the Mandate which We shall receive, will solemnly and humbly beg of your Holiness or your Commissary, absolution, removal of penalties, restitution, and everything that is required".

The sudden death of Cusa (11th August, 1464), which was followed three days later by that of Pius II, brought all these troubles to an end. On the 25th August, the proposals which had been solemnly presented by the Emperor on the 12th June were accepted. The principal articles were the following: The Bishopric of Brixen was to be restored to the Cardinal who was to hold it as his predecessors had done before the Compact of Bruneck, which was to be considered null and void. Obligations contracted previously to that event were to continue in force. All ecclesiastical and secular persons were to be reinstated in their former possessions and dignities. The Poor Clares whom Sigismund had banished from Brixen were to return to their convent. In regard to the jurisdiction over the convent of Sonnenburg and other points left undecided by this Convention, they were to be arranged in accordance with former deeds. The Cardinal, as Bishop of Brixen, was to grant investiture to the Duke, in the same manner as his predecessors had granted it to the Duke's forefathers. All who have adhered to Sigismund are to be absolved; the Chapter of Brixen retains its ancient privileges. Frederick III having, with head uncovered, besought pardon and absolution for Sigismund from the Papal Legate, the latter absolved the Duke from excommunication and the other censures, and removed the Interdict. Heimburg was not absolved; from the time that the Emperor undertook the work of reconciliation, he vanishes from the scene in the Tyrol. The Czech King, George Podiebrad, subsequently furnished him with another opportunity of joining battle with Rome.

## CHAPTER V.

## ATTEMPTED RECONCILIATION OF BOHEMIA WITH THE CHURCH

The opposition to the authority of the Holy See in both France and Germany proceeded from the Princes and men of learning, and was schismatical rather than heretical in its character. In Bohemia, however, the case was different, and the movement was all the more dangerous because most of the people had become alienated from the teaching of the Church.

In the summer of 1451, as Nuncio in Bohemia, Pius II had been able, from personal observation, to judge what deep roots these anti-Papal sentiments had taken in the nation. The so-called Compact, concluded in 1433, between the Bohemians and the Synod of Basle, had soon proved an absolutely insufficient basis for the establishment of a true and lasting peace. The Basle party to whom it was of the utmost importance to gain a palpable advantage over Eugenius IV, acted with as little good faith as the Bohemians. The document which granted the chalice to the laity was amply furnished with evasive clauses, and the Bohemians took it as a simple confirmation of their heresy with all its varying doctrines, forms and rites, without troubling themselves as to the exact import of the articles. On the 5th July, 1436, the Compact was published at the Diet at Iglan in Sigismund's presence, but on the very next day fresh differences regarding the administration of the Sacrament arose between Rokyzana and the Legate from Basle, and they parted without being able to agree. No formal decision was given for a long time with regard to a great many of the disputed points, and no agreement was ever arrived at in regard to the reception of the Eucharist by children. Both parties were interested in ostentatiously misrepresenting the Compact. The Council acted as if the Bohemians had submitted, and the Bohemians as if their heresy had been sanctioned.

The concessions contained in the Compact were accepted by the Utraquists, but the accompanying conditions and obligations were utterly disregarded. Accordingly the Utraquist Clergy, while administering the Blessed Sacrament under both kinds to the laity, neglected to remind them that Christ was wholly and entirely present in each species, although the Compact plainly required them to do so. The conditions which bound them to conform to the Church in other matters of Dogma and Ritual were no better observed; they continued to deny the Catholic doctrine regarding Purgatory, Prayers for the Dead, Indulgences, and the use of images of the Saints. In 1448 the Councillors of Prague went so far as to forbid the private or public administration of the Sacrament of the Eucharist under one kind, at the same time proclaiming "with curious logic", that the Compact was to be maintained inviolate! The meaning of all this was made clear when negotiations with the Byzantine Schismatics were set on foot. In this same year, 1448, the Catholic Cathedral Chapter and all the German Professors and students were compelled to leave Prague because they would not recognize Rokyzana, who had not received Archiepiscopal confirmation from Rome. Utraquism ruled

supreme in the Bohemian capital. From the pulpit of the Teyn Church, Rokyzana could, without let or hindrance, abuse the Roman Church and proclaim the Pope to be closely connected with the Beast in the Apocalypse.

Thus it will be seen that the Compact had long been broken before Rome formally annulled it. The Holy See had always abstained from any recognition of the agreement entered into with the Synod of Basle. Throughout the weary period of the contest with the Conciliar Party the Popes had silently tolerated the exceptional position of affairs in Bohemia, while they clearly perceived that its continuance would constitute a danger to the Church.

The action of Rome in-annulling the Compact was amply justified by the practical working of the treaty which proved more and more adverse to Catholic interests, while an Utraquist Church was growing up with the granting of the Chalice to the laity as its distinctive symbol. It was plain that no less decided measures would suffice to reunite Bohemia to the Church. But all efforts in this direction were frustrated by the fanaticism of the Czechs in regard to Communion under both kinds.

Better days seemed to dawn with the accession of George Podiebrad to the throne. His abjuration of the Hussite heresy and his Coronation Oath must have awakened hopes in Rome, that with his assistance the nation might be brought back to Unity. But his habitual duplicity was not laid aside in his dealings with the Apostolic See. Previously to his Coronation he had solemnly sworn, before two Catholic Bishops and a small number of witnesses, not only to be himself loyal and obedient to the Church and her Head, but also to bring his people back from all errors and heresies to complete obedience to the Roman Church, and union with Rome in ritual and worship. This oath was thoroughly Catholic, and left no room for any Utraquistic interpretation. It abandoned the Compact; nevertheless, the King made no difficulty in swearing to maintain the privileges of the Bohemian kingdom, amongst which the Utraquists reckoned this agreement. It was evident that he was aware of the contradiction between these two oaths from the pains which he took to keep both his abjuration of heresy and the Coronation Oath a profound secret.

It was only to be expected that double-dealing of this kind would sooner or later bring its own punishment. The non-fulfilment of his Coronation Oath exposed the King to the well-merited reproaches of the Holy See, while the attempt to redeem his solemn promise was equivalent to a declaration of war against the Utraquists, who were his most important partisans. All Podiebrad's ingenuity was accordingly exercised in postponing the decisive moment when he must lay aside the mask and openly declare himself for or against Rome, in the meantime deriving all possible advantage from his ambiguous position.

At first things went better than he could have expected. In the beginning he had stipulated that time should be allowed him for the fulfilment of his promises, and this made it the more easy for him to put off the Holy See. Moreover, circumstances were taken into account at Rome, and the King was not pressed to hurry on the work of reunion.

In order to keep the Papal Court in good humour, George Podiebrad at once took up the question which was justly considered as the most important of the day, and as a matter of life or death to Christendom. He had already made splendid promises to the aged Pope, Calixtus III, in regard to the Turkish War, and he now continued to speak in the same tone to Pius II. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was determined in Consistory to send the Bohemian King an invitation to the Congress at Mantua, similar to

that which was addressed to the other Christian Princes. Podiebrad lost no time in making use of this Brief, in which the Pope addressed him as “dear son”, for his own profit, and, as a matter of fact, the “little letter” brought many cities and districts to his feet. But, on the other hand, these evidences of friendly relations with Rome incited Rokyzana to fresh attacks upon the Catholics. By the instigation of this leader, Decrees were published in 1459, in the Utraquist districts, to the effect that no one should enter into possession of an inheritance, or acquire property unless he bound himself by oath to live and die in the use of the Chalice. Marriage in the Church and burial in consecrated ground, the right of citizenship in Prague and of admission to the Corporation, as well as the power of exercising a handicraft were all made dependent on the same condition. The great influence possessed by Rokyzana, as head of the Utraquist party, induced the King to tolerate, if not to sanction, this Edict which was equivalent to a breach of the Compact. If Pius II took account of these circumstances, and attributed the Edict to Rokyzana, and not to the King, yet he was evidently aware that the Bohemian monarch was playing the same game with him that he had so long carried on with his predecessor, Calixtus. The solemn Embassy, which had been empowered to complete the Union promised to that Pontiff, never arrived. By holding out expectations and making empty promises, George sought to obtain from the Holy See a full recognition of his position, and at the same time to avoid any step which would compromise him before the Hussites. He was most anxious that the validity of his title should be acknowledged by the whole Catholic world at the approaching Congress, if he made up his mind to send representatives there. But the Pope demanded a complete and public profession of obedience in his own name and that of the kingdom of Bohemia, and George did not think it possible to go so far. Accordingly, in February, 1459, Provost John of Rabenstein was sent to the Papal Court to promise obedience to the Pope in the name of the King and the Royal family, but not in that of the kingdom, and this act was to be performed in a Secret Consistory. Pius II continued firm in his determination not to recognize George publicly as King until he should have made a public profession of obedience.

The Congress which had now just opened at Mantua gave Podiebrad a very favourable opportunity for treating with the Pope. Pius II, whose mind was almost exclusively engrossed by the Turkish War, here experienced the first great disappointment of his Pontificate. The more indifferent the Christian Princes in general appeared in this matter, the greater was the apparent zeal on the part of Podiebrad. He announced the speedy arrival of his Envoys, and broadly hinted that he hoped to stifle the arrogance of the Hussites, and wipe out the stain of heresy in the war against the Turks. The effect of this crafty policy was to induce Pius II. to modify his attitude. In his answer to the announcement that Bohemian Envoys would appear at the Congress, he for the first time, without circumlocution, styled George, King, begging him to come in person to Mantua, or to send Ambassadors; and further explained that if Rabenstein had not been received as a Royal Envoy, it was because he had come in a private manner.

Podiebrad neither came in person nor sent representatives to the Congress, excusing himself on the plea that until he was lord over all his subjects, he could undertake no step in the matter of union. This had reference especially to the people of Breslau, who withheld their allegiance on the ground that he was a heretic. In the beginning of September, Jerome Lando, Archbishop of Crete, and Francis of Toledo were sent to Silesia to settle this difference. As they were also to treat of the Turkish War and the reconciliation of Bohemia with the Church, they went, in the first instance, to Prague.



Here George used every effort to win over the Papal Nuncios, and was completely successful. At Breslau, where he was hated more as a Czech than a heretic, they experienced considerable difficulty. At length, however, they were able to bring about a settlement, and it was arranged that, after the expiration of three years, homage should be rendered to him as a Catholic King.

The last remaining antagonism to Podiebrad was thus removed by Papal intervention. The King was lavish in expressions of gratitude, and declared that nothing lay nearer to his heart than the reconciliation of Bohemia with the Church, and the war against the Turks. But his deeds did not correspond with his words. Month after month went by, yet his Envoys did not arrive at Mantua. The delay necessarily awakened distrust in the mind of the Pope, who, unable any longer to conceal his impatience, sent the Royal Procurator, Fantino de Valle, who was at the time in Rome, to Prague to remonstrate with Podiebrad. But the Bohemian monarch contrived so thoroughly to convince this messenger of his sincerity that from henceforth he became his most ardent defender in Rome. On the 12th September, 1460, the King assured the Pope that he adhered with unchanging fidelity to his oath; his delay arose from the difficulties of his position, but in the following February at the latest his Embassy would arrive to do homage; his sincere desire was by prudence to prepare the way for the restoration of the true faith.

Meanwhile, in reality George's mind was occupied with matters of a very different nature. He sought to win the Crown of Germany, and as, with this object in view, he entered into a close alliance with the anti-Papal party there, he naturally again aroused the suspicions of the Roman Court; when this project failed, he next conceived the bold idea of becoming King of the Romans with the help of the Pope. Had Podiebrad really been a champion and Martyr of the Hussites, as some prejudiced historians have represented, it would have been impossible for him to have cherished such a scheme as this. In reality his religious convictions, as far as the term has any meaning as applied to a man of his stamp, always retired out of sight whenever his political interest or his schemes of personal aggrandizement required them to disappear.

Accordingly he now offered his services to Pius II, against the German opponents of the Papacy, formerly his own political friends, for he really cared as little about a rearrangement of ecclesiastical affairs in Germany as about the so-called reform of the Empire. This is proved by the *Instruction for treating with the Pope*, a draft which, though never seen by Pius II, is still a most important document. How, it may be asked, did George intend to win the Pope to his views? By nothing less than the reunion of Bohemia with the Church. He declared himself ready to consent that the Pope should appoint an Archbishop of Prague, or invest a worthy ecclesiastic with Archiepiscopal powers until such time as one should be lawfully appointed. If Pius II would send a qualified Legate to Bohemia, the King, conjointly with the Administrator of the Archdiocese, would find means to restore the unity of faith in the kingdom without bloodshed. Nor would he have any difficulty in publicly and solemnly doing homage and professing obedience to the Holy See in the name of his whole kingdom, as his predecessors had done before him. The severe measures taken by the King against the smaller sects in his kingdom (from March, 1461) seemed in harmony with these professions. The Utraquists became very uneasy, and the storm broke when, on Maundy Thursday, 1461, the Bishop of Breslau, of course in the absence of the wily Podiebrad, preached openly in the Castle of Prague against the administration of the Chalice to the laity. It now became evident that Rokyzana, supported by the Utraquist mob, was more powerful than the King, who, while stretching out his hand to grasp the Roman Crown,

felt the ground beginning to give way under his feet. The excitement in Bohemia reached such a pitch that he deemed it prudent to abandon his hopes of the crown, and unreservedly to recognize Utraquism. An extraordinary Diet was assembled at Prague in the month of May, at which he solemnly promised to maintain the use of the Chalice for the laity, and also the Compact.

Meanwhile Podiebrad had come to be thoroughly distrusted in Rome. “If the Bohemian Envoys do not soon arrive” wrote the faithful Fantino, “your Majesty will be disgraced; all now look on me as a liar”. A letter of safe-conduct for the Bohemians had been issued on the 30th June, 1461, but still no one came. Pius II waited yet another half-year, and at the end of that time his patience was at length exhausted. On the 1st January, 1462, he wrote to the Archbishop of Crete, whom he had sent to Vienna, Prague, and Breslau, and empowered him, in case the King should still delay to carry out his obligations as to the question of faith, indefinitely to postpone the submission of the citizens of Breslau. He was also to bring about an alliance against the King between that city and all the neighboring powers, both within Silesia and beyond it, and pronounce void all contrary oaths, promises and agreements.

At length, after three years of delay, Podiebrad made up his mind to send the Embassy. Its object was twofold, to do homage to the Pope in the name of the kingdom of Bohemia, and at the same time to ask for the confirmation of the compact! Its composition was in harmony with its purpose, for it had two chiefs—the Catholic Chancellor Procopius von Rabenstein, and the Hussite, Zdenko Kostka, of Postupitz. Two Utraquist theologians, Wenzel Wrbensky and Wenzel Koranda, were among its members, and most of our information regarding the ensuing events is derived from the reports of these last.

The Envoys travelled slowly southwards, passing through Vienna, where Wolfgang Forchtenauer joined them as the representative of the Emperor. They reached Rome on the 10th of March. Here the general feeling was very unfavourable to the King. It was well-known that he only adopted this line of action because his plans had failed in Germany. Cardinal Cusa, whom the Pope had charged to examine the Bohemian affairs, was full of distrust. Pius II himself, on the 11th of March, told the Milanese Ambassador in confidence that “the semi-heretical King of Bohemia was utterly untrustworthy, and had been a dissimulator from his childhood”. No more unfortunate moment could have been selected by George for obtaining concessions which had hitherto been steadily refused by the Papal Court. The whole position of ecclesiastical and political affairs had apparently changed greatly to the advantage of the restored Papacy. Sigismund of the Tyrol persevered in his revolt, but the Archbishop of Mayence was virtually subdued, the German Conciliar party was broken up, and now the King of France was abandoning the Pragmatic Sanction. By a strange coincidence the Bohemian Ambassadors arrived just in time to witness this fresh triumph of the Papacy. In a private interview, Cardinal Bessarion at once pointed out to them the splendid example of Louis XI, who had renounced the Pragmatic Sanction; “and you must know”, he added, “that in France one hundred and one Bishops, many great Abbeys, and a large number of the Clergy opposed this measure with all their might, but the King’s determination carried it through. You see what renown he has gained by this. Your King has only to act in a similar manner to obtain a like reward”.

On Friday, the 19th March, Kostka, the most confidential Councillor of King George, was summoned alone into the Pope’s presence. In this interview Pius II vainly endeavoured to convince the Bohemian Baron that the Compact was no longer valid,

inasmuch as the generation to which it had been granted had nearly died out; moreover the Bohemians had violated it in many ways, and thus forfeited all right to it.

On the following day the Envoys had their audience. After an introductory discourse from the Imperial Plenipotentiary Forchtenauer, Chancellor Rabenstein spoke, excusing his master's long delay and proffering the profession of obedience in his name. Upon this the Pope remarked, "You make the profession of obedience in the King's name alone, whereas it is customary to make it in the name of the kingdom". The Chancellor hesitated, and did not venture to satisfy the Pope until Kostka, who was standing near him, had given his consent. Pius II then asked if they had anything further to say, whereupon Professor Wenzel Koranda, who was opposite the Pope, began his address. "He spoke rapidly in a loud voice, and in the bold and arrogant tone which was usual among the Hussite preachers and disputants". His long discourse culminated in a request that the Pope would confirm the Compact.

The Utraquist Professor in his conceit imagined that he had acquitted himself brilliantly; but the impression left upon his Roman audience was that the Bohemian movement was, as it had formerly been, a revolutionary one, and that its spirit was thoroughly antireligious. Its dangers were more clearly perceived than they had been, and there was a stronger conviction of the necessity of eradicating it at any cost. He was not ashamed, wrote one who had been present at the audience, to maintain before these learned fathers that Communion in both kinds was necessary to salvation, being in accordance with the appointment of Jesus Christ; much of what he said was not to the point, and indeed simply ridiculous.

Pius II at once replied. Well acquainted as he was with Bohemian affairs he had no difficulty in thoroughly confuting his adversary. His address lasted two hours. He went back to the origin of the State of Bohemia and its conversion to Christianity. He painted in glowing colours the intellectual and material prosperity of the country, and the happiness of the nation in the 13th and 14th centuries, while it remained in the unity of the Faith and enjoyed the blessings of a truly Christian life. Then, turning to the period since the rise of the Hussite heresy, he pointed out the contrast. The country was devastated. Learning had fallen into decay, and the political power of the nation was weakened, and its internal peace destroyed by the division of the people into two bitterly hostile religious bodies. The Compact, he said, was the melancholy symbol of this confusion. It had never been formally acknowledged by the Church, and on that very account was strenuously supported by the Hussites. Far from being a means for the restoration of a union between Bohemia and the Church, and of internal peace which the Holy See so earnestly desired, it was the chief hindrance in the way.

The question to be considered, therefore, was not how these articles might be confirmed, but how they might be set aside, and as the matter was one of the greatest importance, out of respect for the King, the Pope wished to take counsel with the Cardinals before giving a final answer to the Envoys.

Fresh negotiations took place between the Bohemians and a Commission of Cardinals, but with no result. It was only agreed that Rome should send a Legate to Bohemia to treat with the King of matters for which the Envoys had no powers.

Meanwhile Pius II had determined to draw out the logical conclusions which followed from the profession of obedience. On the 31st March an open Consistory was held in the presence of four thousand persons. In calm and unimpassioned language, the Pope explained the reasons which made it impossible for him to recognize the Compact. It had only, he said, been agreed to on certain conditions. The Chalice had been granted

to the laity on the understanding that in every other matter they should conform to the Church; this condition had never been fulfilled, and therefore the concession which depended on it did not hold. “We, with our brethren the Cardinals, have revised the copies of that agreement and found, and hereby publicly declare, that your priests cannot lawfully give the Chalice to the laity. You have, indeed, requested us to grant permission, but this is for many reasons impossible. In the first place, our predecessors have constantly refused to do so, and the concession would give scandal to the rest of Christendom. In the second place, it would be prejudicial to you, for there would be danger of encouraging a heretical belief that Christ is not wholly present under one species. A third reason is the risk of spilling the Precious Blood on the ground, which has often happened in former times. Fourthly, the unity and peace of your kingdom would be endangered, for the majority of the Bohemians will not hear of Communion under both kinds. Concessions cannot be required from those who are walking in the footsteps of their forefathers, but rather from those who have turned aside to novelties. Fifthly, should we accede to your desires, your good relations with your neighbours would be imperilled. You do not know what a hurtful thing you are asking. As a faithful shepherd guards his sheep that they may not stray, so are We bound to watch that the nations do not wander from the way of salvation. Because We desire your salvation therefore We refuse your request. Unite yourselves with the rest of Christendom, and the glory and peace of former days will again return to your kingdom”.

When the Pope had concluded his speech, Antonio da Gubbio, Commissary for matters of Faith, read the following declaration:—“The Compact which the Council of Basle granted to the Utraquists is annulled and abolished; Communion under both kinds is not necessary to salvation; the Holy Father will not recognize the obedience professed in the name of the King of Bohemia, until both the King and the nation shall have conformed to the Catholic Church in every particular”.

The abolition of the Compact was a most important step, and was not determined upon without anxious deliberation on the part of the Holy See. The matter did not admit of further delay: “now that the reforms of Basle had been almost universally repudiated, the Compact would have been a scandal to the other nations, and a constant danger of schism and heresy to the Bohemians”. Moreover, the Compact had been intended to bring about the reunion of Bohemia with the Church, in return for the grant of the Chalice to the laity; the Bohemians, however, used it as an instrument for the destruction of all conformity with the Church. What right had they now to complain of the repeal of an agreement which they had themselves so often broken and so greatly abused? Was the Compact, as it was now interpreted, the same as that made by the Council of Basle? Was not this request for its confirmation equivalent to a demand for the sanction of the abuses which had been practiced by its means?

Podiebrad did not at once stand up to defend the Compact, but let a considerable time pass before he declared himself. His position had from the first been a false one, since in his secret Coronation Oath he had promised that it should be abolished. It had now become impossible for him to fulfil his engagement. Hitherto the existence of this Oath had been concealed from all but a few confidential persons. In May the Pope resolved to make it more widely known. By this means pressure would be brought to bear upon George, for Pius II still hoped that the King could be induced to submit. If he could be persuaded to set the example by conforming to the Catholic ritual, the people were sure to follow. Such was the spirit of the instructions given to Fantino de Valle, formerly Procurator to the King, when he was sent to Prague. Fantino had up to this

time confidently maintained in Rome that the King intended to fulfil his Coronation Oath. Who could be better fitted now to call upon him to redeem his word?

The Legate reached Prague in the fourth week after Easter, but had to wait a long time for an audience from the King, who hoped by delay to strengthen and improve his position. He was at this time much occupied with an extravagant project suggested to him by Antoine Marini, a Frenchman, who had recently entered his service. The fundamental idea of Marini's scheme was that all Christian Princes and nations would never cease to cling to Rome and be loyal to her as long as the Holy See alone took thought for the defence of Christendom against the advance of the Turk. The Turkish question must therefore be taken out of the hands of the Pope. It was to be solved, and the pacification of Christendom was to be secured by a grand Alliance to be concluded between Bohemia, Poland Hungary, France, Burgundy, and Venice. The Holy See, was thus to be deprived of its European influence, and George was to obtain the Imperial Crown of Byzantium. A General Council, moreover, was to assemble to reform the Church, that is to say, to depose the Pope and confirm the Compact. The plan also included an International Court of Justice, and a Parliament of States, in which, apparently, the French King was to preside, and which was to settle all disputes among the Confederates.

This wild project, which aimed at revolutionizing the whole political system of Europe, found little favour at the different Courts. Casimir of Poland, indeed, who was involved in a serious contest with the Pope regarding the appointment of the Bishop of Cracow, developed a sudden zeal for the war against the Infidel. But the powerful Republic of Venice, although at the time somewhat at variance with Rome on account of Malatesta, was utterly opposed to the exclusion of the Holy See from the Turkish war. The Duke of Burgundy, who was friendly to the Pope, showed no disposition to let himself be beguiled by Marini. Louis XI treated him with more courtesy; an alliance between France and Bohemia might be useful for bringing pressure to bear on Pius II, but the Council was rejected by the French monarch, and he was by no means overzealous in promoting a scheme by which Podiebrad would be the chief gainer.

Meanwhile diplomatic action on the side of Rome had also commenced. It was characterized by a far greater unity of purpose and practical efficiency than that of its opponents, being based upon fixed principles and real existing relations. Fantino had now received special powers enabling him to enter into alliances with the Catholic Lords of Bohemia, the Silesian Princes and the Bishop of Breslau, and to treat more fully with the City. Next came the publication of the Secret Coronation Oath.

This was a well-considered step; if the King kept his promises the Document revealed only that which all the world might know; if he did not, it convicted him of perjury and duplicity. The Czech monarch preferred the latter alternative.

On the 12th of August, 1462, negotiations were opened at Prague with the Court, which had been transferred thither, and Podiebrad, emboldened by the improvement in his position, determined to lay aside the mask by which, at the time of his election and Coronation, he had sought to gain the Pope, the Bishops, and the Catholic Party. He now formally and solemnly declared himself an Utraquist. He concluded his speech on that day with the following words:—"Let all men know that we have been born, brought up, and by the Grace of God have ascended the Throne in the practice of Communion under both kinds. We are resolved to maintain it, and to live and die in it. Our Consort, our Children, and all who love us must likewise uphold the Compact".

George's speech had a twofold object: first, by a strong demonstration in favour of the grant of the Chalice to the laity, he meant to secure the Utraquists, and secondly, to take the Catholics by surprise. He hoped to raise his own personal quarrel to the rank of a question of State, and to obtain the sanction of the nation for his double-dealing. He completely failed, though Kostka, as the spokesman of the Utraquists, promised unconditional adhesion, Zdenko of Sternberg, the leader of the Catholics, declared that in temporal matters they would render obedience to him, but they had never had anything to do with the Compact. He had taken it up without asking their advice; let those now help him who had counselled the step.

On the 13th August Fantino was admitted to the King's presence, but he was not given the rank of a Papal Nuncio. He began by claiming the freedom of speech conceded to Ambassadors, well aware that in the King's present temper an appeal to the right of nations was by no means superfluous. He then enlarged on the absolute necessity of the abolition of the Compact, and insisted that, in virtue of his Coronation Oath and of his profession of Obedience, Podiebrad was bound to carry out the reunion of Bohemia with the Church. If we may believe the Breslau chronicler, who from his party position was deeply interested in the course of these events, the Catholics were much encouraged by the clear and practical discourse of the Legate, which made an impression also on the advocates of the Chalice. Had Girsik (George), says the chronicler, but said the five words, "I will obey the Pope", the whole nation would have stood by him. The King, however, bluntly rejected the demand of the Papal Legate. It had never crossed his mind, he said, to abolish the Compact; on the contrary, he meant to live and die in it.

If we remember how firm a champion Fantino had hitherto been of George's good faith, we can understand the shock which the Legate must have received on hearing this cynical denial of his obligations. He stood speechless for a moment, as if stunned by a blow. Then he reminded the King of his engagement, adding that if he persisted in adhering to this declaration he might justly be charged with perjury. The King angrily interrupted him, but the Nuncio was not to be intimidated. In a louder tone he proclaimed all ecclesiastics who held to the Compact to have forfeited their posts; should the King and his family persist in their error they too would incur the penalties of the Church. As he had himself become the King's Procurator in the firm belief that he would give up the Compact and Communion under both kinds, he now resigned his office.

For a moment it seemed as if the King, who was pale with rage, would have sprung upon his adversary, and it was with some difficulty that he at length controlled himself sufficiently to allow Fantino to depart. But as soon as he was gone his wrath burst forth afresh; he would not live another moment without avenging himself; Rome was not the Holy See, but a plague spot; the Holy See was formed by the union of all the faithful, and that was certainly not to be found in Rome.

The effect produced by the uncompromising attitude of the Champion of the Roman Church can hardly be overestimated. It was, indeed, long since such words had been heard in Bohemia! Many a one, while adhering to the Chalice, had deemed himself by virtue of the Compact a good Catholic Christian. Now he found both it and himself condemned by the Pope. Many another, while rejecting the Chalice, had, for the sake of peace, held fellowship with those who received it, and now it appeared that the Pope judged such peace and fellowship a sin. Decision and courage in the defenders of a cause go a great way in making it popular. Recognizing this danger, the faithless King

took a fresh step on the downward path, and on the morrow, in gross violation of the right of nations, sent the Papal Envoy to prison.

At this direct outrage on the Pope and the Catholics, the Bishop of Breslau, Sternberg, and other noblemen indignantly left the Bohemian capital. The breach with Rome and with the Catholics of Bohemia was now an accomplished fact.

When King George came to himself he perceived that his impetuosity had driven him to the brink of an abyss. He wrote letters to friendly Princes, and one even to the Holy Father himself, in which he styled himself his obedient son, and sought to palliate conduct which was in fact inexcusable. Pius II, in firm but calm language, required that Fantino should be released; and on the 26th of October he was set free, his servants and horses, however, being retained. From this time forth George strained every nerve to avert by diplomacy and dissimulation any decided action on the part of Rome, and even to obtain the confirmation of the Compact.

It is difficult to understand how the Czech monarch could cherish such vain hopes. The explanation is perhaps to be found in his early training. Reared from his childhood in party strife, George Podiebrad was an adept in political chicanery, and had unlimited faith in the power of corruption and intimidation, and all the arts of diplomacy. It was incredible to him that any political power could be really guided by principles or by moral motives. He supposed the differences between himself and the Holy See to be merely a question of politics, and therefore capable of being solved at any moment by a change of circumstances.

The King of Bohemia had gained an important advocate in the Emperor. Frederick undertook, as a reward to Podiebrad for having delivered him out of the hands of the rebels at Vienna, to arrange the dispute with Rome and avert its unpleasant consequences. His influence with the Holy See did in effect prove strong enough to induce the Pope, at the end of 1462, to suspend all the ecclesiastical penalties incurred by George. He chose, however, to understand the settlement as including a confirmation of the Compact, an interpretation which, it need hardly be said, was at once repudiated by Pius II. When, soon after, the Pope took the people of Breslau under his protection, the King reverted to his project of a European Confederation of Princes. Formerly he had endeavoured to win the Pope by fair words and promises, now he intended to intimidate him by menaces. Louis XI's irritation against the Holy See seemed likely to make him look with favour on a scheme which meant opposition to Rome, and, in fact, he appeared to welcome the proposals of the King. He kept clear, however, of any definite engagements; and when Marini visited Venice in February, 1463, the promise of a levy of forces against the Turks was gratefully acknowledged, but the necessity of an understanding with Rome, as well as with Hungary, was also insisted on.

Through Antonio da Noceto, who was in his service and living in France, Pius II had in January, 1463, heard of Marini's intrigues at the French Court and lost no time in taking measures to counteract them. In October of this year, Rome, Burgundy and Venice entered into a League against the Turks, and thus effectually worsted the Bohemian King and his hare-brained Councillor.

The Pope had accordingly nothing further to fear from this side. Why, it may be asked, did he, notwithstanding the importunity of the citizens of Breslau, still hesitate to proceed further with the Bohemian question? Many motives combined to keep him back. In the first place, Pius II was naturally averse to violent measures. And, in spite of all that had taken place, he was not exasperated against George, whose difficult position he understood, and who, he believed, had power and skill enough, if he would be firm

and courageous, to bring the Hussites back to the Church. Then the ever-growing danger from the Turks drove the interests of Bohemia into the background. Finally, it was an ancient and abiding principle with Rome to neglect nothing, but to hurry nothing. In the end, however, the patience of Pius II was exhausted by the perpetual prevarications of the King, who only aimed at gaining time and bringing Breslau into subjection. In the spring of 1464, in the midst of the preparations for the expedition against the Turks, proceedings founded on his Coronation Oath were commenced against George as a perjured and relapsed heretic. In an open Consistory (16th June, 1464), it was decided that he should be summoned to Rome and the Bull of Citation had actually been drawn up when the Pope died.



## CHAPTER VI

## THE EASTERN QUESTION, 1460-1463.

WHILE Western Christendom was consumed by internecine strife, the Conqueror of Constantinople pursued his victorious course in the East. In order to complete the circle of his Empire in this region, it was necessary to bring into subjection the independent Greek, Albanian, and South Slavonian countries that lay scattered within its boundaries, on the broad line between the limits of the Venetian territory and Trebizond. Fortune favoured the Turks, and the new power that had arisen on the shores of the Bosphorus threatened to be a greater danger to Western Christendom with its thousand divisions than the inroads of the Hun and the Mongol in former days. In the summer of 1459 Serbia had been constrained to bow beneath the Ottoman yoke. The Greek Schismatics preferred Islam to union with the Catholic Church, and the Papal garrison of the Island of Lemnos had been overpowered through their treachery. In 1460 the power of the Palaeologi in the Morea was crushed, and the glorious Parthenon changed from a Church of our Lady into a Mosque. Onward and onward the Turk pressed with fire and sword, filling these countries, once the most beautiful and flourishing in the world, with ruin and desolation. The Eastern question became more and more alarming; it was the oldest and most important of all the questions of foreign policy that Christendom had ever had to deal with.

The life or death character of the struggle with the barbarism of Islam in which Christian civilization was engaged was fully appreciated at Rome. From the time of his accession, Pius II had, like his predecessor Calixtus III, been anxiously occupied with the affairs of the East; but in the early days of his Pontificate, at the Congress of Mantua, he had to endure bitter disappointments. During the troubles which followed the arrival of the Duke of Calabria in Naples he had never lost sight of his great object.

The first thing to be done was to obtain the accomplishment of the promises solemnly made at the Congress. Even during his journey from Mantua to Siena, Pius II urged this matter on the different powers. But he met with hardly any response. Evasive and unsatisfactory answers reached him from various quarters. Duke Borso of Este, although he had with his own hand signed the Decree regarding the levy of the tithes, would not be the first to let the collection take place in his territory, and sent back the Papal messengers. In vain did the Pope reproach him with his ingratitude and faithlessness, in vain did he threaten him with Excommunication. Borso would not keep his word, and at a later period even supported Sigismondo Malatesta in his attack on the States of the Church.

The wealthy Florentines behaved no better. When Pius II, during his sojourn in their city, spoke to them of the fulfilment of the decrees of Mantua, he was informed that the promises of the Envoys must be confirmed by the Great Council, and that there

was no prospect that it would permit the tax to be levied on the laity. Hopes were held out that the tithes from the clergy might be collected, but when it came to the point this also was prohibited.

Hoping that some change of mind might have taken place among the influential leaders of the Republic, Pius II sent his confidential friend Goro Lolli to Venice, but his representations were without effect. The cold and calculating policy of the Signoria, whatever might befall, was to keep on good terms with the powerful enemy of Christendom.

The exhortations of the Pope were thrown away on these short-sighted worshippers of Mammon. And even the threat of severe spiritual penalties produced little effect in Bologna and other places. Many who would not pay were not frequenters of the Sacraments. The chronicler, who relates this, adds that the money was by no means destined for the Turkish war, that it was all a cheat, and that the contributions were not demanded anywhere, save in Bologna. On the other hand, it was asserted that a great deal of money had been collected in that city for the defence of the Faith. All the inhabitants did not share the anti-Roman sentiments of the chronicler. A glance at the Registers in the Secret Archives of the Vatican suffices to show the falsity of the assertion, that tribute for the Turkish war was not claimed from other states. Even during the Congress, and immediately after its close, Nuncios and Collectors were sent to Norway, Sweden, Lithuania, various districts in Germany and Italy, to England, Scotland, Ireland, Aragon, Castille, and Leon. Some of the Briefs on this subject are dated from Siena, and some from the Baths of Macereto and Petriolo, an evidence of the zeal and earnestness displayed by the Pope.

The results, obtained were certainly small; a strange indifference prevailed in almost all the Christian States regarding the danger which threatened from the East, although it was a favourite subject with the Humanistic Poets and Rhetoricians. The Decree for the levy of the Tithes from the members of the Roman Court was published at Siena on the 24th February, 1460. Soon, however, it became known that some Prelates and Cardinals, especially those whose sympathies were with France, did not set the good example of paying, but the evil one of murmuring and resisting. In Italy, Pius II complains to Cardinal Bessarion in May, 1460, that people are far from manifesting the alacrity we had hoped for. Few are mindful of the engagements they made at Mantua. France and Germany, the most war-like of the Western powers, were even less zealous than Italy. The fair promises in most cases came to nothing.

In this deplorable state of things, any great undertaking was impossible. Pius II had for the time to content himself with giving assistance to the most oppressed, as far as his small means and the troubles in Naples and the States of the Church permitted, and with keeping the idea of a Crusade alive until better days should dawn. His strongest opponents cannot deny that he did this to the utmost of his power.

While the Pope was at Siena, Moses Giblet, Archdeacon of Antioch, a scholar well versed in Greek and Syrian literature, arrived in that city. He came as Envoy from the Greek Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, the Prince of Caramania, Ibrahimbeg, and other Oriental Rulers who hoped that Pius II would deliver them from the Turkish yoke. He bore letters from these various Eastern potentates declaring their adhesion to the Florentine Union. Pius received him both in private audience and publicly, and on the 21st April, 1460, caused a memorandum to be drawn up recording these professions of obedience. This Document, together with a Latin translation of the letters of the Patriarchs and Princes, was deposited in the Archives of the Church. It is

preserved in a book prepared for the purpose, and distinguished from other contemporary Registers by its careful penmanship and arrangement. It was called “The Red Book” on account of its handsome red binding.

It is worthy of notice that Pius II never again mentioned this great event. Possibly, even at the time, he may have had doubts of the genuineness of the mission and the letters.

At the end of December of this year (1460), a fresh Embassy from the East arrived in Rome, whither the Pope had by that time returned. The Romans were astonished at the appearance of the Envoys of Emperor David of Trebizond, of the King of Persia, the Prince of Georgia, and other Eastern Rulers in their strange Oriental attire. The Persian and Mesopotamian Envoys attracted particular attention; the latter had his head smooth-shaven like a monk, with the exception of a little crown of hair and a tuft at the top. The travellers had come through Austria and Hungary to Venice, and had there been honourably received, a circumstance which convinced the Pope of the genuine character of the Embassy. They presented letters in grand eloquent language from their Princes. Their interpreter and guide was Lodovico of Bologna, a Franciscan Observantine, who, in the days of Nicholas V and Calixtus III, had travelled much in the East and made many friends there. He now held out hopes of a political combination, such as had often been contemplated in Western Christendom. The attack of the European powers on the Turks was to be seconded by parallel action on the part of the Oriental Rulers. Lodovico made the most splendid promises as to the immense number of troops they would furnish. Pius II, who had already entered into alliance with the Prince of Caramania, entertained the Envoys at his own expense, and advised them to visit, not only the Italian Princes, but the King of France, and the Duke of Burgundy, without whose cooperation the Crusade could scarcely be undertaken. They agreed to follow this advice, but asked the Pope to supply them with money for their journeys, and to appoint Lodovico of Bologna Patriarch of the Oriental Christians.

Although provided with Papal letters of recommendation, the Easterns brought nothing back, either from the French or the Burgundian Court, but empty words. This time their reception was less friendly; suspicions of fraud had arisen. Lodovico had, on his own authority, assumed the title of Patriarch, granted dispensations, and collected money everywhere. The Pope gave the Envoys money for their journey home, but refused to nominate Lodovico Patriarch. Soon afterwards, learning that he had carried his audacity so far as to contrive, on false pretences, to obtain consecration in Venice, Pius II gave orders for his imprisonment. Warned by the Doge, Lodovico fled, and the Pope, who, from henceforth, looked with suspicion on all messages from the East, never again heard of him.

It is difficult to say, from the reports of this Embassy which are before us, and considering the defective means of communication in those times, how far it was fictitious in its character. We may at least affirm that Michele degli Aldighieri, the representative of the Emperor of Trebizond, was no deceiver. It can hardly be supposed that a man of his stamp would have travelled through Europe in the company of impostors. Whatever may have been the real nature of this Embassy, it is, however, certain that the efforts of the Pope to call forth a Crusade, elicited a movement amongst Mahomet’s enemies in Asia, which, under more favourable circumstances, might have proved a serious danger to him.

A deeper sensation than that caused by the appearance of the Envoys was soon aroused in Rome by that of the dethroned Eastern Princes, who now began to arrive. It

had long been one of the most treasured privileges of the Holy See to shelter and befriend the exiled and the unfortunate, and seldom had the claims on that hospitality been more urgent than at this period.

On the 7th May, 1461, Thomas, the dethroned Despot of the Morea, came to Rome. In the beginning of the previous year he had been rash enough to break a treaty made with the Porte, and to quarrel with his brother Demetrius. The consequence was that Mahomet determined to bring the rule of the Palaeologi in the Morea to an end. The cowardice and degeneracy of the Greeks were now deplorably manifested. Demetrius submitted, and gave the Sultan his daughter for his harem. Mahomet plainly told him that he meant to get rid of the Palaeologi. The whole country was devastated, and horrible outrages were committed. On the 28th July, 1460, Thomas quitted the Peloponnesus in despair, and sought shelter in Venice. From thence, on the 16th November, by the Pope's invitation, he proceeded to Ancona, bringing with him a precious relic, the head of the Apostle St. Andrew from Patras. This he gave to Cardinal Oliva, who, by order of Pius II, deposited it provisionally in the strong fortress of Narni.

The Lord of the Morea bore a striking resemblance to the statue of St. Paul which formerly stood in front of St. Peter's. He is described as a grave and handsome man, about fifty-six years of age. He wore a long black cloak and a white hat of a material resembling velvet. Of the seventy horses which formed his train, three only were his own. The Pope received the unfortunate Prince in a Consistory held in the Hall of the Papagallo, assigned to him as his abode the Palace near SS. Quattro Coronati, and provided for his maintenance. On Laetare Sunday he sent him the Golden Rose, and, with the assistance of the Cardinals, granted him a yearly pension of 6000 ducats.

In the spring of 1462 Thomas, who could not forget that he was the sovereign and heir of Byzantium, made a vain attempt to induce Siena, Milan, and Venice to espouse his cause. Pius II, by a solemn Bull, called upon all the faithful to furnish him with troops and arms, and thus give him the support which he himself was unable to afford. An indulgence was also promised to all who should aid him to recover his throne. When all these efforts proved fruitless, Thomas seems to have found it impossible to resign himself to his dependent position. Melancholy and disappointment consumed him, and on the 12th May, 1465, he died forgotten in the Hospital of Sto Spirito. His wife Catherine had preceded him in 1462. Thomas had two daughters, Helena, Queen of Serbia, who died in a convent at Leucadia in 1474, and Zoe; also two sons, Andreas and Manuel. The latter of these two returned to Constantinople, became a Mussulman, and received a pension from the Porte. Andreas, whom Pius II acknowledged as titular Despot of the Morea, remained in Rome, but injured his position by marrying a woman of bad reputation. His schemes of reconquering the Peloponnesus by the assistance of Naples or of France came to nothing. In 1502 he died in misery, having bequeathed his kingdom to Ferdinand the Catholic, and Isabella of Castille. Zoe, who was very beautiful, lived in Rome under the guardianship of Cardinal Bessarion, and, in 1472, received a dowry from the Pope, and married the Grand Duke Iwan Wassiljewitsch III of Russia, transmitting her claims to the throne to her only daughter Helena and her son-in-law, Alexander I of Poland, who belonged to the Jagellon family.

In the beginning of October, 1461, it was rumoured that Charlotte of Lusignan, the youthful Queen of Cyprus, a relation of the Palaeologi, meant to come in person, and seek assistance from the Pope. This unhappy Princess, who had ascended the throne in 1458, was married to Prince Louis, son of the Duke of Savoy. But the young Queen and her weak consort were unable to rule their distracted kingdom. Charlotte had both courage and strength of will, but could not prevent her half-brother James, with the

assistance of the Sultan of Egypt, from usurping her throne. Louis of Savoy was surrounded by his enemies in the fortress of Cerines, and Charlotte hastened to Rhodes and then to Rome in search of aid.

The prospect of this visit was by no means agreeable to the Pope, who had little reason to be pleased with the conduct of the House of Savoy, or the loyalty of Cyprus.

He sent Cardinal d'Estouteville to Ostia to dissuade the Queen from her purpose. This proved impossible, and Pius II received her with sympathy and kindness. On the 14th October she landed at S. Paolo, and on the following day made her entry into Rome; nine Cardinals met her, and she was received with all the honour due to a Queen. In his Memoirs, Pius II thus describes this lady: "She seemed to be about twenty-four years of age, and was of middle height. Her eyes had a kindly look, her complexion was pale and rather dark, her speech, as is common with the Greek, winning and fluent. She dressed in the French style, and her manners were dignified".

Pius II received the Queen in Consistory with the greatest kindness, and when she knelt he made her rise immediately. He assigned her as her residence a palace in the immediate neighbourhood of the Vatican. The next day, with many tears, she told her sad story to the Pope, besought his help for her besieged husband, and entreated him to furnish her with the means of continuing her journey, for she had been plundered by pirates on her way. Pius II promised to grant her requests, but could not help reminding her of the contempt of the Holy See, and disregard of the interests of Christendom, which her husband and her father-in-law had manifested during the Congress of Mantua.

Charlotte remained in Rome till the 29th October, and visited the Holy Places. Meanwhile the Pope had provided for her travelling expenses, and caused an escort of fifty men to be prepared. Thus attended, the Queen passed through Siena, Florence, and Bologna, to the home of her husband. Everywhere she was received with sympathy, and hospitality was shown to her and to her escort. But she found her father-in-law so little disposed to render assistance that she gave up her intended journey to France. In the end all her efforts to interest the Christian Princes in her cause proved fruitless, and in the autumn of 1462 she embarked at Venice to return to Rhodes. The letter in which she describes her forlorn and helpless condition is very touching.

Even before the arrival of the Queen of Cyprus, heavy tidings from the East had again reached Rome. In the end of September, letters from Venice declared that the Principality of Sinope and the Empire of Trebizond were in the hands of the Infidels.

At the very time when the Pope thus learned that the northern shore of Asia Minor was lost to Christendom, he was in the midst of the troubles of the Apulian war, and in extreme financial difficulties. The news from the East, together with the indifference of the Western Powers in regard to the danger threatened by Turkey, may have been the immediate occasion which suggested to him the bold idea of making an attempt to convert the Sultan. The learned Pope's letter to Mahomet is so comprehensive that it deserves rather to be called a treatise. It breathes the conviction, which subsequent history has confirmed, that the Koran can never ultimately prevail against Christian civilization. This remarkable document is far more impassioned in style than any of Pius II's other works. It laid before the Sultan the teachings of Christianity, contrasting them with those of Islam, and expressed the ardent desire of the writer that he might turn to the truth. "Were you to embrace Christianity", the Pope writes, "there is no Prince upon earth who would surpass you in glory or be your equal in power. We would acknowledge you as Emperor of the Greeks and of the East, and that which you have

now taken by violence, and retain by injustice, would then be your lawful possession. We would invoke your aid against those who usurp the rights of the Roman Church, and rend their own Mother. And as our predecessors, Stephen, Adrian, and Leo summoned Pepin and Charles the Great to assist them, and transferred the Empire from the Greeks to their deliverers, so should we also avail ourselves of your help in the troubles of the Church, and liberally reward it. O! what a fullness of peace it would be! The Golden Age of Augustus sung by the Poets would return. If you were to join yourself to us, the whole of the East would soon turn to Christ. One will could give peace to the whole world, and that will is yours!". The Pope went on to show the Sultan, from history, that such a conversion would not remain isolated; the Franks had been converted with Clovis, the Hungarians with Stephen, the Western Goths with Reccared, and with Constantine heathen Rome itself became Christian. This latter example was well worthy of his imitation, and the Pope, with the help of God, would bestow the dignities promised

In the Holy Week of 1462 the head of St. Andrew was brought from Narni into Rome with great pomp and solemnity, by order of the Pope, and it may be with the hope of re-awakening the smouldering zeal for the Crusade. Three Cardinals, Bessarion, Oliva, and Piccolomini, had been sent to Narni to fetch the precious relic, and they brought it to Rome on Palm Sunday (11th April). On the following day, the Pope, with all the Cardinals, Prelates, Ambassadors, and Magnates of the City, went in procession to the meadows on the Romeward side of the Ponte Molle. A high tribune with an altar had here been erected; it was ascended by two corresponding flights of stairs; the one next the bridge was destined for the Cardinals bearing the Holy Head, and by the other, which was on the side of the City, Pius II went up to receive the treasure. Bessarion, a venerable man, with a long beard, was the representative of the Greeks. Tears rolled down his cheeks as he delivered the reliquary to the Pope, who, also deeply moved, prostrated himself before the sacred relic. Then, rising, in accordance with the fashion of that rhetorical age, he pronounced a Latin oration in honor of its advent. The Pope's voice trembled with emotion as, in presence of an immense crowd, he began:

"You are here at last, O sacred head, driven from your resting-place by the fury of the Turk. You come as a fugitive to seek an asylum with thy brother, the Prince of the Apostles. O happy exile that brings you here! You see before thee *Alma Roma*, hallowed by thy brother's blood. Here is the nation won by Peter and Paul for Christ. We rejoice, we exult in being able to welcome you here. Come into our holy City, and be gracious to the Roman people. Be our advocate in Heaven, and, together with the Prince of the Apostles, protect Rome and the whole of Christendom. Turn the anger of the Almighty against the godless Turks and Barbarians who despise Christ our Lord".

After the Pope and all present had venerated the relic, and Pius II had invoked the protection of St. Andrew against the Turks, the *Te Deum* and other festal hymns were sung. Then the solemn Procession moved towards Rome, the Pope bearing the Apostle's head. The Via Flaminia was filled with multitudes of people; and, as an Indulgence had been proclaimed for the feast, countless Pilgrims had flocked together, not merely from all parts of Italy, but even from France, Germany, and Hungary. The relic was laid on the High Altar in Sta Maria del Popolo, and on the 13th of April carried thence to St. Peter's.

In his Report to the Sieneze, Augustinus Dathus says that so grand a function had not been seen for centuries. The streets were strewn with flowers and fragrant herbs, and sheltered with rich tapestry from the rays of the sun. The great men of the City and the Cardinals, in particular Alain and Borgia, had vied with one another in the adornment of

their Palaces, and the Churches displayed all their relics and treasures. Lights were burning everywhere, and sacred music filled the air. The streets were thronged with worshippers, and it was believed that so many had not been present on any single day of the Jubilee of 1450. The Procession went round and through the City, and the Pope had given orders that all who took part in it, even the Cardinals, should go on foot. It was touching to see Princes of the Church, bowed down with age and infirmity, clad in their gorgeous vestments, and with palms in their hands, following it, and praying fervently. All the Clergy and Magistrates, the Ambassadors, and the great men of Rome walked in this Procession carrying lighted tapers. The Pope, although suffering from gout, was there in full pontificals. Seated on a golden chair of state, beneath a Baldacchino, he bore the Holy Head to St. Peter's, which was brilliantly illuminated. It was deposited in front of the Confession. In a lengthy oration, Bessarion invoked the aid of St. Andrew and the Princes of the Apostles for the Crusade. When he had done, the Pope stood up and spoke again: "We promise you", were his concluding words, "Holy Andrew, most worthy Apostle of Christ, to do our utmost to regain possession of your earthly abode, and of your flock. We have nothing so much at heart as the defence of the Christian religion and of the true Faith, which the Turks, your enemies and ours, are threatening to destroy. If the Christian Princes will listen to our voice, and will follow their Shepherd, the whole Church will rejoice that we have not neglected what belongs to our office, and that you have not sought a brother's aid in vain". The relic was then exposed for the veneration of the faithful; and the Festival was closed by the Papal Benediction and the publication of a plenary Indulgence.

In the month of May of this same year, the rich alum-bed of Tolfa was discovered by Giovanni de Castro, a Paduan, and son of the celebrated jurist Paolo. Until 1453, de Castro had managed extensive dye-works in Constantinople, and there he had become acquainted with the Levantine alum and the places where it was found. Pius II, in his Memoirs, tells us that Giovanni de Castro, wandering about the mountains, which extend from near Civit  Vecchia to the sea, and are rich in springs and in forests, found an herb in the March of Tolfa, which also grows on the Alum Mountains of Asia Minor, and then observed white stones which had a saltish taste, and on being submitted to the fire proved to be alum. Giovanni hastened to the Pope to inform him of the discovery. "Today", he cried, "I bring you a triumph over the Turk. Every year he receives more than 300,000 ducats from Christendom for alum. I have found seven mountains full of this substance, which elsewhere in the West is only obtained in small quantities, and in a few places. There is enough here to supply seven-eighths of the world, and plenty of water near at hand. This, and the proximity of the sea, gives every advantage for the working of the beds. Thus, a great gain may be withdrawn from Turkey, and fresh resources for carrying on the Holy War' may be furnished to you".

Pius II at first looked on the whole affair as the dream of an astrologer, but experts confirmed its reality. Some Genoese, who had learned the way of working alum in the East, were summoned: "They shed tears of joy when they recognized the mineral. The process of baking proved the quality to be excellent; 80 pounds of it were worth 100 of the Turkish alum. The Pope determined to employ the gift of God to His glory in the Turkish war; he exhorted all Christians henceforth to buy alum only from him and not from the Unbelievers". The working of the beds was at once begun; and, according to the chronicler of Viterbo, 8000 persons were employed in it as early as the year 1463. The technical part of the business was, from the first, left by Pius II entirely to the discoverer who, conjointly with a Genoese and a Pisan, founded an Alum Company; this company took the Apostolic Treasury into partnership. The Tolfa alum, which is

still highly esteemed, was soon in general request, and Castro became famous; his discovery brought a yearly income of 100,000 ducats to the Papal Treasury.

While this new and unexpected source of revenue had been opened to assist the Pope in his war, the Infidels had brought nearly the whole Archipelago into subjection. Almost immediately after the fall of Sinope and Trebizond, Mahomet had sent a powerful fleet to the Aegean Sea. The object of this expedition was to put an end to the Genoese rule in Lesbos, to extort a higher tribute from the Maona of Chios and the Duke of Naxos, and, if possible, to expel the Knights of St. John from Rhodes and its dependent islands. These last, on whose behalf the Pope subsequently appealed to Germany, were able to hold their own; but in September, 1462, the rich Island of Lesbos was conquered by the Turks, and fearfully devastated.

In the following year the Unbelievers directed their forces against the few remaining Southern Slavs, who still retained their independence. Bosnia was in the greatest danger, and the designs of Mahomet were greatly forwarded by the unfortunate state of its internal affairs. The country was distracted by feuds, there was discord among the members of the ruling house, and fierce sectarian dissensions. Stephan Thomaschewitsch, who came to the throne in 1461, had much to suffer from this last cause.

Stephan made peace with his step-mother Queen Catherine, and with Matthias Corvinus, and in every way favoured the Catholic Church. "The Slavs, following the example of the Roumanians, preferred servitude under the Turks to the freedom which the Latin world brought them". The numerous Patarenes in Bosnia entered into secret alliances with the Sultan, and slowly prepared the storm which at last was to shroud their country in "the lasting night of Ottoman bondage".

The Bosnian King's refusal to pay tribute in 1462 finally determined Mahomet II to carry out his purpose of reducing the country to the condition of a Turkish Pashalik. Being at the time occupied in Wallachia, he postponed his vengeance until the following spring. Stephan Thomaschewitsch employed this interval in preparing, as best he could, to meet the threatening danger. The Pope helped him according to his ability. Venice, of all powers the one best able to grant assistance, was indifferent, and absolutely rejected the proposals of the Bosnian Ambassadors for an alliance against the common enemy.

The Sultan's plan was to take the King by surprise before help could reach him from any quarter. He kept the project secret, and granted a truce of fifteen years to Stephan, who was terribly alarmed by the immense warlike preparations of Turkey. Mahomet then advanced with 150,000 men, sent some of his troops against the Save to keep Matthias Corvinus employed, and with the rest proceeded to the Bosnian frontier. In May, 1463, the Turkish host encamped before the fortress of Bobovatz. Mahomet had made up his mind to a protracted siege; but after a few days, Radak the Commandant, a Patarene at heart, gave up the bulwark of the country. When this traitor claimed the reward promised by the Sultan, the tyrant caused him to be beheaded.

The general consternation produced by the fall of Bobovatz, to which further treachery was added, facilitated the work of conquest. The unfortunate King, who had fled to the strong Castle of Kljutsch on the Save, was beleaguered by the Turks. Want of victuals and ammunition constrained him to capitulate; life and liberty were promised him on condition that he would himself summon all places, not yet conquered, to surrender to the Turks. And now all the horrors by which the cruel policy of the Sultan loved to break conquered nations fell upon the land. Those who could sought safety in



flight. A brave Franciscan drew Mahomet's attention to the threatened depopulation of the territory he had just acquired, and the Sultan granted to his Order a Deed by which the free exercise of their religion was permitted to the Christians. From this time forth the Franciscans were the only shield and refuge of all Bosnian Christians.

Not content with the subjugation of Bosnia, Mahomet next cast his eyes on Herzegovina, but soon found that the conquest of that mountainous country could not be so easily accomplished. On his way back to Adrianople, he caused the letters he had granted, ensuring freedom to the King of Bosnia, to be declared invalid, and had him beheaded, together with his uncle and nephew. The Queen Maria and the Queen-mother Catherine escaped death by flight; the latter lived first at Ragusa, and, from the year 1466, in Rome. Supported by the Pope, she, with other noble Bosnian lords and ladies, inhabited a house near St. Mark's, and afterwards one in the Leonine City. Here she died on the 25th October, 1478, at the age of fifty-three, having bequeathed her kingdom to the Holy See, unless her children, who had become Mahometans, should return to the Catholic Church. The grave of the landless Queen is to be seen in Sta Maria Araceli. Her full-length figure is sculptured on the stone, her crowned head resting on a pillow, at whose sides are two coats of arms; her hands are laid upon a book, with an inscription which describes her lineage, dignity, and age.

Even before the tidings of the subjugation of Bosnia had reached Italy, the Pope, during many sleepless nights, as he himself declared, had thought of a new expedient for infusing fresh vigour into the struggle with the Turks: sickly as he was, and feeble from age, he would undertake in person the Leadership of the Holy War.

Pius II imparted the project, in the first place, to six Cardinals in whom he placed special confidence, supporting his view by a retrospect of his former fruitless efforts to unite Christians against the common foe. "When the idea of a Convention occurred to us", he said, "what occurred at Mantua showed us that the plan was a vain one. When we send Ambassadors to ask the aid of the Princes they are mocked. If we impose a tithe on the Clergy, appeal is made to a future Council. If we publish Indulgences, and invite contributions, by means of spiritual favours, we are charged with greed. People think all this is done merely for the sake of extorting money; no one trusts us. We have no more credit than a bankrupt merchant. Whatever we do is interpreted in the worst manner; people measure our sentiments by their own. We see but one resource, perhaps the last. In the year that Constantinople fell Duke Philip of Burgundy made a solemn vow to take the field against the Turks if some great Prince would place himself at the head of the expedition. Up to this time no one has offered. Well, then, in spite of our age and infirmity, we will take upon ourselves the warfare for the Catholic Faith. We will go into the battle, and call upon the Duke of Burgundy to follow. If the Vicar of Christ, who is greater than the King and the Emperor, goes to the war, the Duke, when his oath is appealed to, cannot with honor stay at home. If Philip embarks at Venice we will wait for him at Ancona, with as many Galleys as we can make ready, and with our whole force. The Duke will bring about 10,000 men. The French King will be ashamed not to send at least as many, for he promised 70,000. Volunteers will come from England, Germany, and Spain; those who are threatened by the Turks will rise everywhere, in Europe as well as in Asia. Who will refuse his aid when the Bishop of Rome offers his own person? Above all, however, the Venetians must be induced really to take part, for they best know how the Turks should be attacked, and all the seas are open to them. If they agree, and if Burgundy and France also consent, we mean to proceed boldly to impose on all Christians a five years' truce under pain of Excommunication, to lay a contribution on all the clergy under the same penalty, and to

invite the support of the laity by granting Indulgences and spiritual favours. We hope that the publication of this determination will act as a thunder-clap to startle the nations from their sleep, and inflame the minds of the faithful to stand up in earnest for their Religion”.

## CHAPTER VII

## PLANS OF REFORM

By the Capitulation Act at the Election of 1458, the new Pope was expressly bound to undertake the reform of the Court of Rome. In the case of a man like Pius II, this motive of action was scarcely needed, for he had learnt life in all its phases, and amassed a wealth of experience, combined with multifarious knowledge, which was unequalled amongst his contemporaries. No one knew better than he that great and terrible evils existed in all the other countries of Christendom, as well as in Rome and Italy. At the beginning of his Pontificate, Pius II certainly was not wanting in zeal for the work before him. Evidence of this disposition is found in a fact which has hitherto remained unknown to students of history. The Pope appointed a Commission, composed of several Cardinals, Bishops, Prelates, and Doctors, to deliberate concerning the Reform of the Roman Court. "Two things are particularly near my heart", said Pius to the members, of this Committee,—“the war with the Turks, and the Reform of the Roman Court. The amendment of the whole state of ecclesiastical affairs, which I have determined to undertake, depends on this Court as its model. I purpose to begin by improving the morals of the ecclesiastics here, and banishing all simony and other abuses from hence”.

Of the projects brought forward on this occasion, two are before us, that of the learned Venetian, Domenico de' Domenichi, and that of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, which latter was embodied in a Papal Bull. The Cardinal, who was an intimate friend of the Pope, took a wider view of the question than Domenichi, and drew up a scheme for the general reform of the Church. According to it, three Visitors were to be chosen; and, beginning with Rome and the Court, were gradually to extend their labours throughout the whole Church. Fourteen Rules were laid down for the guidance of these Visitors, who are to be “grave and proved men, true copies of Christ our model, preferring Truth before all else, combining knowledge and prudence with zeal for God, not striving for honor and riches, but detached from all things, and spotless in thought and deed, a burden to none, contenting themselves for food and raiment with what is appointed by the Canons, to which they are bound by oath”.

The substance of the Rule for the Visitors may be summed up as follows : From among those to be visited, three sworn men are to be chosen, with whose cooperation the reform is to be carried out. Its ultimate aim is a return to primitive conformity with the precepts of the Church, so that everyone, ecclesiastics and laity, may live in a manner befitting his vocation and, condition. Detailed directions are given in regard to beneficed persons, specially aimed at the abolition of pluralities; the incorporation of Church preferment in Chapters and Convents is strictly forbidden; a very important clause threatens all secular and regular Clergy, who, under pretext of Papal privilege,

oppose the reform, with the loss of their prerogatives. Those who despise Papal censures are to be deprived of their benefices, and the faithful to be forbidden to attend their ministrations. The Visitors are recommended to pay special attention to Hospitals, to the fabric of Churches, to fraudulent dealers in Indulgences, to the enclosure of nuns, to the genuineness of Relics, and whether the veneration in which they are held is excessive, also the reality of alleged miracles, particularly Bleeding Hosts. Finally, the Visitors are to be zealous in eradicating open usury, adultery and contempt of the commands of the Church; to suppress all factions, to cleanse all places from the defilement of soothsayers, sorcery, and all such sins, by which the Divine Majesty and the Christian commonweal are offended, and to do their best to bring back the purity of the early Church.

The second part of Cusa's project concerns the amendment of the Court of Rome. Beginning from the Pope, a list of reforms is called for affecting the Cardinals, the Court officials, and the Roman clergy. He who remarks anything calculated to give scandal, even in the Supreme Head of the Church, is to speak out freely. The Court is not to be an asylum for idle and roaming Prelates, Beneficiaries, and Religious, or to furnish them with opportunities for suing for higher dignities and amassing benefices. All who, for any just reason, are detained there, must conform to the rules of the Church, in conduct, morals, clothing, tonsure, and observance of the Canonical hours. Members of the Court, even laymen, who lead immoral lives, are to be sent away. The office of the Penitentiary is to be most closely examined. Here, as well as in the other offices, Cusa urges the removal of novelties which have been introduced for the sake of gain; if nothing better can be done at present, at least the Court might be brought back to the state it was in at the accession of Martin V.

The plan of Domenico de' Domenichi is equally bold. His long residence in Rome had given this distinguished scholar and diplomatist a thorough acquaintance with existing evils. The scheme of reform for the Roman Court, which he submitted to the Pope, is divided into twenty-two sections. The first two are directed to prove the necessity of Reform, and depict in dark colours the prevailing corruptions. Hence Domenichi concludes that the work of renovation must begin with the Pope and the Cardinals, then be extended to the Bishops, and ultimately to the other members of the Church, and that none should venture to put hindrances in the way. The fifth section brings him to his special subject. He begins with Public Worship, the ceremonies to be observed by the Pope, and of the silence which should be maintained by the Cardinals and Prelates in Church. A Chapter is devoted to the duty of Almsgiving, especially as incumbent on the Pope, who should be the father of the poor. Indulgences, according to Domenichi, should be granted but rarely. Nepotism is strongly condemned; in making appointments, good and learned men are always to be preferred; but Domenichi does not disapprove of the advancement of virtuous members of the Pope's family! Those who immediately surround the Supreme Head of the Church must be blameless; above all, they must be absolutely incorruptible.

In the eleventh section Domenichi touches a fundamental ecclesiastical abuse; that of the plurality of benefices. This demands strong measures, especially in the case of reversions. Sections 12-17 refer to the life of the Cardinals and higher Prelates. Those who compose the Supreme Senate of Christendom are to set a good example, to hear Mass in public, to eschew all luxury and pomp; the members of their households are to wear the tonsure, and to be clad as clerics. Grievous abuses have crept in, and give great scandal to those who come to the Court. Sumptuous banquets must not be given by the Cardinals and Prelates, not even to do honor to Ambassadors; Domenichi would have

jewels and gold and silver plate almost completely banished from the houses of Prelates. In the case of Bishops and beneficed Clergy, the duty of residence is strongly urged. Young men who frequent the Court instead of devoting themselves to study, and seek to rise to ecclesiastical dignities by the favour of Cardinals, are severely blamed. A special Commission to insist on the duty of residence is suggested. The eighteenth chapter condemns the custom which prevailed at the Papal Court, of allowing Protonotaries and Ambassadors to take precedence of Bishops. Penitentiaries should be forbidden to receive anything from those who made confession to them. Above all, a regular salary ought to be assigned to the Court officials, especially to the Abbreviators and members of the Rota, and all other gains be forbidden. Finally, Domenichi expresses the wish that the Decrees of Constance and Basle, for the amendment of the Court, may be carried out as far as they suit present circumstances. In the last section he recommends the institution of a Congregation of Cardinals and Prelates to effect the reform of the Court officials, especially those of the Chancery, who should make it their business to eradicate everything approaching to Simony.

Unfortunately these extensive reforms were only partially undertaken. The fact that Pius II summoned such a man as St. Antoninus to take part in his Commission, and also caused a Bull to be drafted directed against the prevailing abuses, will prove that, for a time, he seriously intended to carry out this important work. But, in the end, he did not venture to engage in a gigantic conflict with all the evils which had invaded the Church, and contented himself with opposing isolated abuses. The alarming advances of the Turks, and the struggle for the existence of Christendom, soon engrossed his attention, and, if his whole energies were not absolutely absorbed by the Turkish question, an unusual combination of troubles in Italy, France, Germany, and Bohemia, claimed a part of his care. The question of Reform was driven more and more into the background, and in the interests of the Church, this cannot be sufficiently regretted. It remains certain, however, that Pius II was not altogether inactive in this matter. As early as June, 1459, the Bishops were restored to their proper precedence over the Protonotaries. The Apostolic Referendaries were required, on their entrance on office, to swear that they would not receive any presents. It is evident that the abuses in the Penitentiaries must also have been corrected, for the simple, moderate, and upright Calandrini was appointed Grand Penitentiary. Pius II carried out an expressed desire of Domenichi's when, in the year 1460, he set on foot a thorough visitation and Reform of the Penitentiaries of St. Peter's, the Lateran, and Sta Maria Maggiore. Ordinations not in accordance with the canonical prescriptions were strictly forbidden by a Bull, issued in 1461. Strong measures for the suppression of concubinage among Seculars and Regulars in the Diocese of Valencia were adopted in 1463. Peter Bosham, who went as Nuncio to Scandinavia in 1463, received a special charge to see to the reform of the clergy in those parts. Pius II also took pains to enforce the duty of residence on incumbents in the Venetian territory.

Cardinals who, like Rodrigo Borgia, forgot the dignity of their position and gave themselves up to a licentious life, and worldly members of the Sacred College and of the Roman Court, were often sharply rebuked by the Pope. His zeal for the restoration of Monastic Discipline is especially worthy of praise. The terrible descriptions given by well-informed contemporaries, such as Johannes Ruysbrock, Johannes Busch, and Jakob von Jüterbogk, bear witness to the enormity of the abuses. Soon after his accession the Pope published a Decree to hinder members of Mendicant Orders from withdrawing themselves from the jurisdiction of their superiors, under pretext of studying. Later on we find him proceeding against relaxed Convents in different

countries, especially in Italy, Germany, and Spain. He bestowed many favours on the admirable and exemplary Benedictine Congregation of St. Justina, at Padua; confirmed all its former privileges, and aggregated to it convents which were in need of reform. The amendment of the Convents of the Order of Vallombrosa was undertaken in 1463. In Florence and Siena, Pius II sought to restore Monastic Discipline. Measures were taken for the Reform of the Humiliati in Venice, of the Dominicans at Forli and Reggio, and of the Carmelites at Brescia. Martial Auribelle, the unworthy General of the Dominicans, was removed from his position by the command of the Pope. Pius II was encouraged to take a peculiar interest in the renovation of the Carmelites, on account of the character of their General, John Soreth, a man who combined gentleness with austerity, and who had all the knowledge of the necessities of the case demanded by such a work.

The Pope did, comparatively speaking, a great deal for the improvement of the German Convents. Amongst other entries of the kind in his Registers are ordinances for the reform of the Scotch Abbey at Ratisbon, and of the Poor Clares at Basle, Eger, and Pfullingen. At the very outset of his reign he warmly acknowledged and commended the devoted labours of the Benedictine Congregation at Bursfeld, and extended to it the privileges which Eugenius IV had granted to that of St. Justina in Padua. Subsequently he supported this Union of German Benedictines in various ways; two Bulls in their favour bear date 1461.

It has been remarked that the external constitution of the Bursfeld Congregation was characterized by a centralization which did not belong to the original Benedictine rule. This change was due to the circumstances of the period. Isolation had latterly brought much evil to Convents. In consideration of this fact Pius II, in 1461, contemplated the union of the three Congregations of Bursfeld, Castel, and Mlk. Although this great scheme was not carried into execution, this was not due to any diminution in the reforming zeal of the Pope. In April 1464, the Papal Nuncio, Jerome, Archbishop of Crete, in support of the reform of the Benedictine Convents, declared that nothing was more pleasing to the Pope than this salutary work. The nobles, however, were its chief opponents. In Bamberg there seemed danger that the occupation of the Abbey of St. Michael's Mount by reformed monks not belonging to the Franconian nobility would provoke a civil war. When we consider the wealth of the Benedictine Order, we can understand the interest of the nobility in preventing the Reform of these Abbeys. The reform of the Bavarian Premonstratensians, and of the Dominicans in the Netherlands, was also promoted by Pius II.

Among the Franciscans he favoured the strictest, that is to say, the Observantines. A series of Bulls shows that he confirmed donations made to them, permitted them in some places to build new houses, and conferred privileges on them; favours calculated to give them a greater hold on the people. In his many journeys the Pope loved to rest at their houses. In obedience to a Papal command the Conventuals withdrew from the Convents at Tivoli and Sarzana to make way for the Observantines. In Spain and Germany, also, he befriended them, and they, on their side, were indefatigable in preaching the Crusade. In 1464 he gave to the Vicar-General of the Observantines out of Italy authority to proceed independently against any members of the Order who might fall away from the Faith, a privilege which was, however, withdrawn by later Popes. The favours shown to the Observantines advanced the cause of real Reform, for their preachers in Italy were most successful in combating the prevalent immorality; the party passions that burst through all bonds; and the usury by which the people were impoverished. They were the chief originators and promoters in Italy of one of the most

useful Institutions of that time, the public pawn-offices. These *Montes pietatis*, as they were called, relieved the immediate necessities of the poor, and saved them from becoming the prey of the usurer.

No less fruitful were the labours of the Franciscan Observantines among the heathens and Infidels. In their missionary work they displayed a courage and constancy such as were no longer to be found among the Secular Clergy or the other Religious Orders. In Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Croatia, in Moldavia and Wallachia, in all provinces which had already fallen or were inevitably falling under the power of the Crescent, the Observantines, step by step, and often sword in hand, defended the Christian faith. They had houses in Jerusalem near the Holy Sepulchre, and in other parts of the Holy Land, in Rhodes, and in Crete. They were established in Minorca and Iviza, and thence they accompanied the expeditions to the Canary Isles and Guinea, where there was a great dearth of Secular Clergy. There, on the West African Coast, Negro slavery in the time of Eugenius IV had just begun to appear. In the days of Pius II it had attained such proportions that even the converts of the Missionaries were not safe from Christian slave-dealers. When the Pope heard of these doings, he at once, in a Brief of the 7th October 1462, to the Bishop of Ruvo, condemned the nefarious traffic, and threatened all Christians who should dare to drag the new converts into slavery, with severe ecclesiastical penalties. Pius II also actively promoted the ransom of Christians who were in captivity among the Turks.

The Jews, who in those days were often the victims of much unjust oppression, also excited the compassion of the Pope. During the Congress at Mantua, a Jewish Deputation brought their grievances before him. He desired the Bishop of Spoleto to examine carefully into their complaints, and then issued a solemn Decree, forbidding the baptism of Jewish children under twelve, against the will of their relations, and also the practice of compelling the Jews to do servile work on Saturday. He manifested the same freedom of spirit in regard to astrology, the interpretation of dreams, and other forms of magic, which, in those days, were so much in vogue.

The foregoing pages have brought Pius II before us as the zealous opponent of the adherents of National Churches and the Supremacy of Councils. As there were in his earlier writings, especially those belonging to the period of his sojourn in Basle, many things to which this party could appeal in support of their opinions, he felt called upon to make a solemn retractation of his former errors. This was done in the celebrated Bull of Retracting, addressed to the University of Cologne on the 26th April 1463. Pius II begins by recalling to mind the Dialogues which, while as yet only in minor orders, he had addressed to the University of Basle, in defense of the Supremacy over the Pope, claimed by the Council held in that City. "Perhaps", he proceeded, "this may have led some of you into error. If God should now require this blood at our hands We can only answer by an acknowledgment of our sin. But it is not enough to pray for mercy from God, We must also seek to repair our fault. Misled, like St. Paul, We have said, written, and done much that is worthy of condemnation, and, in ignorance, have persecuted the Church of God and the Roman See. Therefore We now pray : Lord, forgive us the sins of our youth! Meanwhile our writings are no longer in our own power but in the hands of many, and may, if misused by the evil-minded, do great harm.

"We are therefore obliged to imitate St. Augustine, and retract our errors. We exhort you, then, to give no credit to those earlier writings which oppose the Supremacy of the Roman See, or contain anything not admitted by the Roman Church. Recommend and counsel all, especially to honor the throne on which our Lord has placed His Vicar, and do not believe that the Providence of God, which rules all things and neglects none

of His creatures, has abandoned the Church Militant alone to a state of anarchy. The order given by God to His Church requires that the lower should be led by the higher, and that all, in the last resort, be subject to the one Supreme Prince and Ruler who is placed over all. To St. Peter alone did the Saviour give the plenitude of power: he and his lawful successors are the only possessors of the Primacy. If you find in the Dialogues, or in our letters, or in our other works—for in our youth we wrote a great deal—anything in opposition to this teaching, reject and despise it. Follow that which we now say; believe the old man rather than the youth; do not esteem the layman more highly than the Pope; cast away Aeneas, hold fast to Pius”.

To confute those who attributed his change of mind to his promotion to the Papal dignity, Pius takes a retrospect of the Basle period, and shows that he had come to acknowledge the truth long before his elevation. This is proved by the letter of recantation which Aeneas Sylvius addressed to the Rector of the Academy of Cologne, in August 1447.

At the conclusion of the Bull the Pope again insists on the monarchical constitution of the Church. What St. Bernard taught regarding Eugenius III is to be applied to Eugenius IV, and to all successors of St. Peter. The summoning of General Councils and their dissolution appertains to the Pope alone; from him, as from the head, all power flows into the members.

The decision with which Pius II resisted the Conciliar Party was also manifested in regard to the encroachments of the temporal power on the liberty of the Church. In Italy he had to defend himself against attacks of this kind from Siena and Venice, and from Borso d'Este. The appointment of Bishops to the Sees of Cracow and Leon involved him in disputes with the monarchs of Poland and Castile and Leon. In these two cases he was defeated, but in Aragon a Pragmatic Sanction, which threatened the liberty of the Church, was annulled. This matter was brought to a satisfactory conclusion by Stefano Nardini.

If Pius II pronounced many censures, the circumstances of the time were the cause. As far as in him lay he was circumspect in the employment of these weapons, and their increasing inefficacy is one of the most serious tokens of the waning influence of the Church.

In 1459 he felt bound, in defence of the integrity of the Faith, to take measures against the heretical writings of Reginald Pecock, who was tainted with the errors of Wickliffe, and had, in 1457, been deprived of the Bishopric of Chichester. The Pope also gave orders for the punishment of a rigorist sect which declared celibacy to be necessary for salvation. These errors sprang up in Brittany while Picardy was infested by numerous Waldenses, against whom Pius II pronounced severe sentences. “In the very States of the Church a sect appeared which would acknowledge no one as successor of St. Peter who did not follow his Master in poverty”, a description which must apply to the Fraticelli. In Bergamo a Canon of the Cathedral taught that Christ suffered, not from love to the human race, but constrained by astral influences; that in the consecrated Host He is present, not in His Humanity but only in His Divinity; and that theft and robbery are not mortal sins. The Dominican, Giacomo da Brescia, and the Papal Auditor, Bernardo da Bosco, induced the unhappy man to abjure his errors, which, by the Pope’s command, he expiated by confinement in a convent for the rest of his life.

The name of Giacomo da Brescia is connected with a dogmatic dispute which, even in the time of Clement VI, had divided the Franciscans and Dominicans. The question



between them was, whether the Blood shed by our Lord in His Passion, and reassumed at His Resurrection, was, during the three days He remained in the Sepulchre, hypostatically united with the Godhead, and therefore entitled to worship? The celebrated Minorite Preacher, St. Jacopo della Marca, in the pulpit at Brescia, on Easter Sunday, 1462, maintained the negative, and was, at the instance of the Dominican, Giacomo da Brescia, publicly accused of error and heresy. A hot dispute at once arose between the Franciscans and Dominicans which the Bishop of Brescia in vain endeavoured to appease. Then Pius II, under pain of Excommunication, forbade any one to preach publicly or privately on the question. Notwithstanding this prohibition the agitation continued, and accordingly, at Christmas, 1462, a great Disputation was held by the Pope's order, and in his presence. Domenico de' Domenichi, Lorenzo Roverella, and the Franciscan, Francesco della Rovere, greatly distinguished themselves. After three days of discussion a consultation was held with the Cardinals, most of whom, as well as Pius II, pronounced in favour of the Dominican opinion. A definite Decree on the subject, however, was deemed inopportune; the services of the Minorites as preachers of the Crusade were indispensable, and Pius II was therefore unwilling to offend them. The fact that, in August, 1464, the Pope was again obliged to forbid preaching and disputation on this point, shows that the conflict continued.

Although Pius II did not follow the example of his predecessors in instituting any new Church festivals, he observed those which already existed with great solemnity. This remark is especially applicable to the Feast of Corpus Christi. In 1461 Pius was in Rome at the time, and himself carried the Host in the great Procession, in order to express his veneration for the Holy Sacrament of the Altar. In the following year, when he was at Viterbo seeking relief from the gout which caused him so much suffering, the Feast was celebrated with surpassing splendour. All the pomp and pageantry of the Renaissance were pressed into the service of religion. From the Church of St. Francesco to the Cathedral, in the streets through which the Procession was to pass, all booths and other obstructions were cleared away, and the work of adorning the houses was distributed amongst the Cardinals, Prelates, and members of the Court then in the City, the Pope reserving a share for himself. The rich tapestries of the French Cardinals were a marvel to behold. Other members of the Sacred College prepared *Tableaux Vivants* representing appropriate scenes. Torquemada exhibited the Institution of the Blessed Eucharist: a statue of St. Thomas Aquinas was included in the group. Carvajal depicted the fall of the Angels; Borgia had a fountain of wine symbolizing the Blessed Sacrament, with two adoring angels; Bessarion's represented a choir of angels. There were also exhibitions which we can scarcely understand in the present day, such as combats of savages with wolves and bears. A Holy Sepulchre was erected in the market-place, from which, as the Pope drew near, the Saviour arose, and, in Italian verse, announced the redemption of the world. The tomb of the Blessed Virgin was also to be seen, and, after High Mass and Benediction, her Assumption was represented by living figures. The streets through which the Procession took its course were hung with garlands; there were sky-blue awnings decorated with golden stars; gorgeous triumphal arches and altars of repose had been erected, and sacred music resounded on every side. Thousands of persons had congregated from the surrounding neighbourhood. Pius II in full pontificals bore the Blessed Sacrament. The chroniclers of Viterbo affirm that so glorious a festival had never been celebrated, either in their City or in any part of Italy.

Canonizations were always celebrated by the Popes with great magnificence. The Pontificate of Pius II witnessed only one event of this kind, that of St. Catherine of Siena. She died at the age of thirty-three, and, like St. Francis of Assisi, was at once

venerated by the people as a Saint. Her letters were widely read; even a rationalistic historian describes them as a magnificent book of devotion, parts of which seem more like the words of an Apostle than those of an unlearned maiden. Her likeness, copies of which had, by the beginning of the 15th century, been multiplied in Venice, was in the possession of thousands. Yearly, on the day of her death, her feast was kept at the Dominican Convent, her panegyric preached, and wreaths of flowers and crowns were laid before her picture. In the evening a dramatic representation of the principal scenes of her life was performed in the Court of the Convent. The choruses sung on this occasion are still preserved; the following is one of them: "O sweet city of ours, Siena, birth-place of the Holy Virgin, the glory of this poor maiden outweighs all thy other glories".

The Holy See had never forgotten its debt to this simple nun. Several of the Popes, especially Gregory XII, had taken the cause of her Canonization in hand, but the troubles of the time, and afterwards the jealousy of the Franciscans, prevented its completion. The question was again raised by the Sienese Ambassadors in the time of Calixtus III. Pius II gave it his attention immediately on his accession, and entrusted the necessary investigations to certain Cardinals. At the Congress of Mantua further progress was made in the matter, but, as the Holy See proceeded with its usual circumspection, it was not concluded until 1461. Consistories were held on the 8th and 15th June, and in the latter the Canonization was finally decided. Great preparations were made; an Ambassador estimates the expenses at 3000 ducats. On the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, Siena's most distinguished son declared that the Church had raised the greatest of her daughters to the Altar. The Pope himself drew up the Bull of Canonization. To a Sienese", he says, "has been granted the happy privilege of proclaiming the sanctity of a daughter of Siena". Pius II further composed an Epitaph, the Office, and several Latin hymns in honor of the new Saint.

The Italians, in whose hearts the memory of Catherine was ever fresh, were full of joy, which found expression in solemn processions. The inhabitants of Fontebranda, the quarter of Siena in which she was born, turned the house into an Oratory. This Sanctuary has been beautifully decorated, and still contains many relics of the Saint. Other memorials of her abound in the ancient city. Pinturicchio painted her Canonization in the library hall of the Cathedral, and in the Chapel of S. Domenico, where her head is preserved, Sodoma's picture is perhaps the most beautiful and touching likeness of her that exists. Rome also has many memorials of the Saint; in 1855, when Pius IX laid her body in a new resting-place beneath the High Altar of S. Maria Sopra Minerva, and again, in 1866, when the same Pontiff added a fresh jewel to her Crown by declaring her Patroness of the Eternal City, the Romans did not fail to pay due honor to her memory.

After the election of Pius II the Sacred College numbered twenty-three, members, of whom only seventeen were then present in Rome. Late in the summer of 1459, when James of Portugal and Antonio de la Cerda were removed by death, the Pope had but fifteen Cardinals around him. This circumstance, and the opposition manifested by the French party immediately after the Conclave, compelled him at once to consider the question of further creations. These were violently opposed by some Cardinals, especially by Scarampo. The Pope, however, stood firm; it was necessary that he should secure a devoted majority. This must be remembered in our judgment of the much blamed practice of promoting relations. In the Apostolic Senate, as he found it, Pius II had determined adversaries and few friends, and this compelled him to make fresh nominations.

Not until March, 1460, was all opposition overcome; on the 5th of that month Pius II created his first batch of Cardinals at Siena. Those chosen were all excellent men. Angelo Capranica, brother of the estimable Cardinal Domenico, was distinguished by his austerity, piety, and uprightness, and was also considered to be an admirable administrator. Bernardo Eroli was celebrated for similar qualities. Although raised to the Bishopric of Spoleto, and invested with several small offices, he had continued poor. Pius II had the greatest confidence in him, and showed him marked favour. Some of the Cardinals opposed his elevation on account of his plebeian origin and needy position, but the Pope took no heed of their objections. He made him Legate for Perugia, and Eroli held this appointment until his death, many years later. He was stern in manner, even harsh and rough, but all who knew him were obliged to confess that he not only thoroughly understood justice, but also practised it.

The brave Niccolò Forteguerra, the third of the Cardinals created on this occasion, combined diplomatic skill with remarkable military talents, and was distantly related to the Pope. The reader will remember the services he rendered to the Papal cause in the war against the party of Anjou and Malatesta. The assertion of a modern historian that there was more of the soldier than of the priest in Forteguerra, is contradicted by the opinion of well-informed contemporaries.

His youthful age was all that could be brought against Francesco de' Todeschini-Piccolomini, son of the Pope's sister, Laudomia. He was a man of distinguished culture, versatile capacity, and estimable life.

Alessandro Oliva, General of the Augustinians, was in every sense an admirable man. Pius II introduced him to the Cardinals, "elect of God, and perfect like Aaron". In the fifth year of his age, his parents had consecrated him to God and the Blessed Virgin; for forty-two years he had belonged to the Augustinian Hermits, who adhered strictly to the ancient rule, and laboured assiduously to restore the failing credit of the Order. He had for many years been professor of Philosophy at Perugia. Later he traversed the greater part of Italy as a zealous and inspired preacher. Elected General of his Order in 1458, his life was a shining example of perfection. From his unwearied efforts to appease party contests in the Italian cities, he was called the angel of peace. His summons to the Senate of the Church took him completely by surprise, and his friends had to supply the necessary outfit. Elevation to the purple made no change in his austere life, or his rule of devoting six hours every day to the Canonical Office. He was often seen to shed tears when offering the Holy Sacrifice. Although his income was but small, Oliva was always ready to help the poor Exiles, needy Churches and Convents, and Greek Schismatics returning to the Church. He was a zealous patron of learned men. Gentle towards others he was severe towards himself, and wore a hair shirt beneath the purple. He never quitted his modest dwelling except to visit the Pope, the Cardinals, or the Churches. A heavy blow was dealt to the Church, when, in August, 1463, he was carried off by a fever at the age of fifty-five. Pius II himself undertook the charge of his funeral, and presided at his obsequies. In his Memoirs, he writes of him with deep feeling: "He was an ornament to the Sacred College. The lustre shed by his learning was only equalled by the radiant purity of his life. Many men might have died, and no harm be done; this death inflicted a severe wound on the Church".

If to have made such a man Cardinal, is one of the glories of Pius II, the general belief which prevailed that Oliva, if he had lived long enough, would have been the next Pope, reflects equal credit on the Sacred College.

The sixth new Cardinal, Burchard of Weissbriach, Archbishop of Salzburg, was retained *in petto*, as the Pope did not wish to offend the other ultramontane Princes. The rest were, contrary to all expectation, published at once on the 5th March 1460. Pius II admonished them in an impressive address on the duties of their high office. On the 8th March, Forteguerra, Erola, and Oliva received the red hat, and on the 19th their titular Churches of S. Cecilia, S. Sabina, and S. Susanna. On the 21st of March Capranica and Todeschini-Piccolomini also arrived, and, five days later, the Churches of S. Croce in Gerusalemme and S. Eustachio were assigned to them. Cardinal de Castiglione dying on the 14th April, Todeschini-Piccolomini was, on the last day of that month, appointed Legate of the Picentine Marches.

All the Cardinals published on the 5th March were Italians. It was impossible, however, permanently to disregard the feelings of the Ultramontane powers. As early as December, 1460, Pius II began to speak of the necessity of showing them consideration in this matter, but he again encountered violent opposition. A year elapsed before he was able to carry out his purpose. On the 18th December, 1461, three Italians and three Ultramontanes were added to the Sacred College. Among the Ultramontanes, the names of Jouffroy and d'Albret have already come before us. Their elevation, like that of Jayme de Cordova, Bishop of Urgel, and of Francesco Gonzaga, was due to princely influence. From the time of the Turkish Congress close relations had existed between Pius II and the family of Gonzaga, and from a yet earlier period between the Pope and the Hohenzollerns. Lodovico, the most cultured noble of an intellectual age, sympathized with the Pope in his efforts for the promotion of Science and Art. Francesco, who was twenty years of age, was pursuing his studies at Padua when the Purple was conferred upon him. His tendencies were anything but ecclesiastical. He took, however, a lively interest in Literature and Art.

The two other Italians who entered the Sacred College, Bartolomeo Roverella and Jacopo Ammanati, came of poor families, and were distinguished by a good humanist culture. Roverella had to thank Nicholas V for his nomination to the Archbishopric of Ravenna. From that time forward, he had been unceasingly occupied in political Embassies or the administration of the States of the Church, under Pius II he had governed the March of Ancona and Umbria, and he had especially distinguished himself in the Legation in the kingdom of Naples during the war against the Anjou. Vespasiano da Bisticci praises the conscientiousness, the fear of God, the simplicity and humility of Roverella. Ammanati was born in 1422, at Villa Basilica near Lucca, and went at an early age to Florence, where he laid the foundation of his classical studies. In the time of Nicholas V he came to Rome; there he lived in the greatest poverty, entered the service of Capranica, and under Calixtus III became Apostolic Secretary. Pius II, on the very day of his election, confirmed him in this appointment. It soon became evident that he enjoyed the special favour of the new Pope, who, in 1460, conferred upon him the Bishopric of Pavia. His episcopal labours were most fruitful, and during his long absence he took care that his place should be properly filled. Ammanati looked up to Pius II, who had received him into the Piccolomini family, and invested him with the rights of a citizen of Siena, with affectionate reverence. The Siennese Pontiff was his ideal in literary matters. His continuation of the Commentaries, and his numerous letters, are quite in the Pope's style; they are among the most important historical authorities of the period. The loss of his *Life of Pius II* is greatly to be regretted. Although not perfectly free from Humanistic vanity and irascibility, the Cardinal of Pavia was a good man: his will bears witness to the generosity and kindness of his disposition.

The elevation of the Archbishop of Salzburg was not published till the 31st May, 1462, at Viterbo. There is no authority for the assertion that the Bishop of Eichstatt, John III von Eich, was also at this time raised to the Purple. There can be no doubt that his zeal in the reformation of his diocese well deserved such a distinction; but the Calendars of Eichstatt do not mention it, and the fact that the Consistorial Acts of the Secret Archives are equally silent is conclusive. In the year 1463 the Sacred College lost two of its members, Prospero Colonna and Isidore. Their places, however, were not filled, though, during the remainder of Pius II's Pontificate some princes sought to bring about fresh creations of Cardinals.

Pius II was not an enthusiast for Art, like his predecessor Nicholas V, or his successors Paul II and Leo X; nevertheless he appreciated it keenly, and did much for its promotion. Numerous architects, sculptors, painters, goldsmiths, and miniature painters were employed by him; but the government of the Church was the engrossing interest of his life.

Both the Vatican Palace and St. Peter's were embellished by this Pontiff. The tribune for the Papal Benediction, and the new Chapel of St. Andrew, which he caused to be erected, are important works, and deserve special notice. "A spacious platform, to which an imposing flight of steps 133 feet wide led up, then occupied that side of the Piazza of St. Peter's, where Bernini's colonnades now meet. Beyond this platform was the entrance to the Atrium, supported by columns, which had to be traversed in order to reach the five doors of the ancient Church. On this platform Pius II erected the new tribune, having first restored the steps which were much dilapidated, and adorned them with colossal statues of SS. Peter and Paul". In 1463 the celebrated Mino da Fiesole was employed here. Antique pillars supported the tribune, which was covered with marble sculptures. The Chapel of St. Andrew, to the left of the principal entrance of the ancient Church, was built to receive the head of that Apostle. This beautiful shrine was destroyed when the Basilica was rebuilt. Some fragments of the magnificent reliquary, in which the head of the Saint was kept, are preserved in the Grotto of St. Peter's. Recent investigations have proved that all Pius II's great works were carried out under the direction of the sculptors, Paolo di Mariano (Romano), and Ysaias of Pisa.

The roof of St. Peter's, the Lateran, Sta Maria Maggiore, S. Stefano, Sta Maria Rotunda (Pantheon), the Capitol, many of the bridges, and also the wall encircling the city, were repaired by Pius II. It is evident that the mighty projects of Nicholas VI had no attraction for him. Rome was to him the city of ruins. While yet a Cardinal he gave expression, in a well-known epigram, to that sense of the transitory nature of all earthly things which the Eternal City, more than any other place in the world, tends to impress on the mind.

O Rome! thy very ruins are a joy,  
 Fall'n is thy pomp, but it was peerless once!  
 The noble blocks wrench'd from thy ancient walls  
 Are burn'd for lime by greedy slaves of gain.  
 Villains! If such as you may have their way  
 Three ages more, Rome's glory will be gone.

This feeling comes out still more strongly in the Bull issued by Pius II, on the 28th April, 1462. In it he forbids the injury or breaking down of ancient buildings in Rome, and in the Campagna, even on private property, reserving to himself the right of making any alterations that may become necessary. The Pope's account books show that he frequently availed himself of this right. A Roman citizen, Lorenzo, the son of Andrea Mattei, was appointed architectural superintendent of the City. Many buildings were erected, mostly for military purposes, and various restorations carried out in the States of the Church by the Pope's order, and at this expense, at Assisi, Civita Castellana, Civit'a Vecchia, Narni, Nepi, Orvieto, and Viterbo. A new harbour was made at Corneto, and, as we have already mentioned, a fort was built at Tivoli.

The ancient city of Siena is still full of memories of Pius II and the Piccolomini. In the Cathedral an inscription records his gift to it of an arm of St. John the Baptist; also that he had raised it to the rank of a Metropolitan Church, and, in 1460, granted an Indulgence there. A second inscription on the uncompleted wall of the projected larger Cathedral commemorates his prolonged stay at Siena. We have more than once mentioned the frescoes in the Cathedral Library, which are so striking a memorial of this Pope, "in their abiding freshness and the splendour of their unfading colours".

The lover of the past, as he walks through the streets of the City, which still retains a mediaeval air, will notice on many of its houses and palaces the armorial bearings of the Piccolomini; he will admire the graceful vaulted hall (Loggia del Papa) which, according to the inscription, Pius II dedicated to his family. The builder of this Loggia, commenced in 1460, was Antonio Federighi. The architect, Bernardo, designed the plans for the dwelling which Pius II caused to be erected for his sister, Caterina, in the principal street of Siena (Palazzo Piccolomini della Papesse, now Nerucci), and also for the magnificent Palace commenced by Giacomo and other Piccolomini, which still bears their name. The stately splendour of the early Renaissance architecture is strikingly exemplified in this building, and yet more in the magnificent works in the Pope's birthplace.

Midway between Orvieto and Siena, near the ancient military road to Rome, and at three hours' distance from Montepulciano (famed for its wine), the Episcopal City of Pienza is enthroned upon a hill of Tufa. It is a straggling place, almost isolated in the Valley of Orcia, and the hill on which it is built slopes steeply down towards the South East. Here once stood the Castle of Corsignano, and, in its neighbourhood, the country-house where the Pope was born. While still a Cardinal, Pius II, with "that warm love of home, which was a marked feature in his character", had adopted the poor parish; in 1459, after his elevation to the Papal Throne, he determined to adorn it with a new Cathedral and a Palace. The works were at once begun; and, in 1460, the Pope personally inspected their progress. On account of the strained relations between Pius II and the Republic, he did not visit Siena in 1461, or either of the two succeeding years, and devoted all the more attention to his birth-place. In 1462 it was invested with municipal privileges, and named Pienza, and the Cardinals and Court officials were called upon to build residences there. By the month of June, 1462, the Cathedral was sufficiently completed to be consecrated; and, in August of the same year, the City was made an Episcopal See.

Pius II calls the Director of these works by the name of Bernardus Florentinus, and in the Papal accounts he is styled Mastro Bernardo di Fiorenza. It is not, however, clear whether he is the same as Bernardo Rosellino, or Bernardo di Lorenzo, who built the vestibule of S. Marco in Rome. The original estimate was considerably exceeded, yet Bernardo continued in favour with the Pope, and was even entrusted with fresh

commissions. The Bishop's Palace, the Canon's residence, and the Town Hall are also his work.

The buildings we have mentioned are picturesquely grouped round a little square in which a fountain plays; to the south is the Cathedral, with its beautiful facade; near it, on the eastern side, is the grave and simple House of the Bishop (Vescovado); on the west the great Palace of the Piccolomini, an imposing edifice in the Florentine rustic style. Though now sadly dilapidated, the interior, with its richly-coloured coffered ceilings, and beautiful doors and chimney-pieces, bears witness to the taste of the truly artistic Prince. Each of the three storeys on the southern side, overlooking the garden, has an open gallery which commands that magnificent view of the Etruscan hills, on to the basalt summits of Monte Amiata and wild Radicofani, which had such charms for a lover of nature like the Pope. Almost opposite the Cathedral, and separated from the Bishop's Palace by the principal street, is the Town Hall (Palazzo del pretorio), richly decorated in Sgraffito; a true work of the bright and joyous early Renaissance. It has an open court, and at one corner a beautiful Campanile ornamented with elaborate iron-work. The Cathedral, which has three doors, stands like that of Siena, with its choir overhanging the steep slope of the hill, and has under the High Altar, in imitation doubtless of that church, a Crypt accessible from the interior, which forms the Baptistery. The plan of the edifice is that of a Church with three Naves of equal height, an arrangement very unusual in Italy. It appears to have been begun from the choir; there are many traces of the Northern Gothic style, the pointed windows have rich late Gothic ornaments. When we come to the beautiful facade, all these disappear, and the Renaissance reigns supreme. It is interesting to note the circle of chapels round the choir, contrary to the manner of the Italians. The general impression conveyed by the whole is that the architect had been desired to introduce certain Northern ideas, and this accords with the statement in the Pope's Memoirs. He says he had decided on the form of a church with Tribunes, because, from the examples which he had seen in Austria, it appeared to him more beautiful and lighter. The Castle Church at Wiener-Neustadt (A. D. 1449), the Cathedral at Graz (A. D. 1449), and St. Stephen's at Vienna, may have suggested this type to him.

The interior of the Cathedral was cased with marble, and the Pope issued a special Bull prohibiting the introduction of paintings, tablets, or any kind of adornment that could interfere with the effect of its glistening whiteness. The stalls in the choir are extremely beautiful, with the Italian-Gothic carving and intarsia work, and on them the Pope's armorial bearings, supported by angels, with the date 1462, are introduced. On the other hand, almost all the furniture of the Church, holy water stoups, lectern, font, are of the best early Renaissance. A tabernacle in the same style as the Church is still to be seen in a chapel to the left, near the High Altar; in the other chapels are three altars with Italian wood-carvings in basso relievo, and pictures of the Sienese School. In one of these chapels relics are kept, amongst others a portion of the head of St. Andrew.

Pius II's Gothic Pectoral Cross and Chalice are preserved there, the latter high and wide in the cup. The richly embroidered Cope of the Pope is also there, with a number of more modern vestments.

Campanus, Pius II's Court Poet, celebrated in verse the new creation of the early Renaissance, the effect of which is indeed strikingly complete and harmonious :—

If I, Pientia, stand on high  
In pomp and splendour drest,

My very name will tell you why  
To me above the rest  
Of country-towns there should be giv'n  
A city's laws and state,  
A rich Cathedral, solid walls,  
A Palace fair and great.  
Pius, the Pontiff, loves full well  
The cradle of his race,  
Envy me not, that he bestows  
On me his special grace!



## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE CRUSADE AND DEATH OF PIUS II

THE Pope's heroic determination to place himself personally at the head of the Crusade, in hope of thus inducing all the Christian Powers to take part in it, had at first been kept secret. In March, 1462, it was communicated to six of the Cardinals, and was approved by them. They considered that it well became the Vicar of Christ to follow the example of his Master by giving his life for his sheep.

Pius II had also, in a confidential autograph letter, informed the Doge of Venice, Prospero Malipiero, of his purpose. The reply of the Venetians was favourable, but so vague in its terms that it gave no indication as to whether they contemplated any change of policy. Hitherto these selfish traders, looking to their commercial interests alone, had been careful to keep as far as possible on good terms with the Porte. At all the Conventions for organizing united resistance to the Turks, their ambassadors either kept away altogether, or arrived too late, or unprovided with sufficient powers, or else they insisted on impracticable conditions. The Pope's exhortations were all in vain. The Venetian Government was unremitting in its preparations for the struggle which must eventually break out between the first naval power of the West and the new Empire on the Bosphorus. But, meanwhile, it was resolved to put off the evil day as long as might be.

The Doge, Prospero Malipiero, the leader of the peace party, died on the 5th May, 1462, and on the 12th of the same month Cristoforo Moro was elected as his successor. Great hopes of a change of policy, favourable to the Christian cause, seem to have been entertained at Rome. Cardinal Bessarion, in his letter of congratulation, said that a staunch defender had been won for the cause of religion, by this election. The Pope, not content with merely writing, sent a special Ambassador, who made an oration in the style of the period, expressing the joy with which he welcomed the elevation of the Doge. Most of the Cardinals wrote separately in the same strain.

The desired change, however, did not immediately take place, and Venice, while diligently continuing to make ready for war, was equally assiduous in her efforts to defer it. In September, 1462, Lesbos was conquered by the Turks, while the Venetian Captain-General looked on at the head of a well-armed squadron of twenty-nine galleys without venturing to interfere. The extraordinary activity now displayed by the Sultan in strengthening and organizing his naval forces made it evident that the commencement of the decisive struggle was not far distant. Nevertheless, a powerful party still remained in Venice, which advocated conciliation and diplomacy.

The refusal of the Venetian authorities at Modon to give up a Christian slave, although in itself a trivial matter, at last brought down the avalanche. In November, 1462, Omar Pasha ravaged the environs of Lepanto. The Pasha of the Peloponnesus in the following spring attacked the Venetian colonies in Argolis, and on the third of April,

with the assistance of a treacherous Greek priest, obtained possession of Argos. Although it was now perfectly evident that the Porte meant the annihilation of the Venetian power, the Signoria still hesitated to declare war. In the same spirit the Republic received the Ambassadors of the oppressed King of Bosnia very coldly, and absolutely declined the alliance which they proposed. Its action was very different when it was a question of supporting Malatesta in his revolt against Pius II, and appropriating the territory of the Church on the shores of the Adriatic. Accordingly, by the end of June, Bosnia had become a Turkish province. The danger to Ragusa and the coast of Dalmatia caused great agitation throughout the whole of Italy, and the war party took advantage of this to make another attempt to obtain a hearing. Vittore Capello, a man of strong and resolute character, was at their head. In a long speech he asserted that further delay was treason to the Republic. He pointed out that the seizure of Argos clearly showed that the Sultan meant to try how far he could go. If his course were not checked, he would take possession of the other Venetian cities in the Peloponnesus, and even of Negroponte. It was necessary at last to show this barbarian the power of the Christians; Constantinople, the Peloponnesus, and, finally, Bosnia, had been lost by delay. If they still remained with folded hands what could be expected but that the rest of the possessions of the Republic would be taken, and her subjects reduced to slavery. The war party now became predominant, although their opponents still formed a considerable body.

The panic occasioned in Venice by the conquest of Bosnia is evidenced by the altered tone of the instructions given to Bernardo Giustiniano, the Venetian Ambassador to Rome. On the 10th June he was commissioned to impart the sad tidings to the Pope and the Cardinals. A fortnight later he was instructed to describe the further advance of the Turks into Croatia, and the danger which threatened Italy, and also to declare that his government had resolved to resist the enemy to the utmost. The Ambassador was to request the Pope's permission for the levy of the tithes, and the twentieth and thirtieth parts by the Signoria in their dominions, so that the war might be carried on, not merely for their own defence, but also for that of the other Christians.

In spite of all these fair promises it soon appeared that the Venetians meant to carry on the inevitable war, as far as possible, with a view to their own private interests. These intentions were not hidden from their contemporaries. Pius II drily says that the commercial position of the Morea, and the 300,000 ducats yearly derived from its customs, had won the Venetians over to the war.

Another consequence of the fall of Bosnia was the termination of the unholy war which had divided the forces of the Hungarian kingdom, and dangerously weakened this strongest bulwark of Christendom against Islam. To the Legate, Cardinal Carvajal, belongs the credit of having recognized the real position of affairs, as well as the needs of Christendom, and laboured unremittingly for peace while keeping aloof from the dynastic questions whose evil effects were before his eyes. The actual conclusion of the treaty in the year 1463 (24th July), at Wiener-Neustadt, was brought about through the mediation of the Pope. In it Corvinus was acknowledged as King for life, and in the case of his death, without legitimate issue, the succession was secured to the House of Hapsburg.

The Pope, however, could not be satisfied with the adhesion of the Hungarians and Venetians alone. To succeed in such a task the cooperation of the whole of Italy and the Emperor, together with France and Burgundy, must also be secured. Bishop Lorenzo Roverella of Ferrara had been sent at Easter, 1462, to the last-named countries. But Louis XI would have nothing to say to the war, which he declared to be a mere trick

designed to shelve the affairs of Naples. Philip of Burgundy, who was ill at the time, promised to send Envoys to Rome. As they did not arrive, Pius II sent Lucas, the Dalmatian, as Nuncio, to hasten them. He was not at first more successful than his predecessor, but the Duke, being again attacked by serious illness, looked upon this as an admonition to fulfil his vow. The moment he recovered he announced himself ready to accomplish it.

The Pope received these happy tidings on the 2nd July, and at once imparted them to the Italian powers, and invited them to a Congress at Rome. At this moment he might have cherished the hope of at last seeing the work, to which he had devoted the labour of years, worthily carried out. On the 5th of July Bessarion went as Legate to Venice. The object of his mission was to induce the Signoria formally to declare war against the Turks, to arrange details in regard to the general Crusade, and to settle the dispute between Venice and the Emperor about Trieste.

The Greek Cardinal arrived on the 22nd of July in Venice, and was received almost as if he had been a crowned head, but his negotiations were not rewarded by the immediate success which his zeal for the holy cause had expected. The Signoria gratefully accepted the Pope's support, and the permission to levy tithes, twentieths and thirtieths in its territory, but made difficulties as to the formal declaration of war, and did not fail to intercede for the rebellious Malatesta. "Most Holy Father", wrote Bessarion, on the 26th July, "I do not understand, and very greatly wonder, why the Venetians make such difficulties about a formal breach with the Turks, for they have already made, and are continuing to make, great preparations by land and sea. This is now done quite openly; whereas, formerly, the very appearance of preparation was avoided. Therefore I hope that they will soon come to the point". By dint of unremitting exertions he was able, on the 29th of July, to write to Rome announcing that the declaration of war with the Porte had been decided on the day before. Yet a full month more passed before the Crusade was publicly preached in Venice, or the levy of the tithes—twentieths and thirtieths, in accordance with the Decree of Mantua—proclaimed for the whole territory of the Republic.

A part of the Legate's commission was now discharged, but the negotiations regarding the general Crusade presented difficulties of a yet more serious character. The Venetians again put in a plea for Malatesta. Bessarion applied for further Instructions and the Legate's request for the cessation of the war with Trieste was at first unheeded; peace was not made until the 14th November, and was but of short duration.

An offensive alliance entered into in September, 1463, between Venice and Hungary, was a most important event. These two powers, equally threatened as they were by the aggressive policy of Turkey, bound themselves only to lay down their arms by mutual consent. The Venetians were to attack the enemy with a force of forty Galleys, and also to send cavalry and infantry to the Morea and Dalmatia, while the Hungarians were to advance with a strong force on the northern frontier provinces. This compact was communicated to all the other Kings or Princes.

Pius II lost no time in appealing for assistance to Skanderbeg, whose very name was already a terror to the Turks. His harbours and fortresses were advantageously situated for the disembarkation of the Italian troops. The Archbishop of Durazzo was commissioned to call upon the Albanian hero to take part in the contest on which the Western powers were about to enter. He responded by at once commencing hostilities against the Turks, without even waiting to declare war.

Meanwhile the long-looked-for Burgundian mission had reached Tivoli where the Pope was spending the summer. The splendid promises made by its spokesman, the Bishop of Tournay, filled his heart with joy and hope.

The official reception of the Burgundians took place on the 19th September in a public Consistory in Rome, whither Pius II had returned a short time previously. The Bishop of Tournay spoke with enthusiasm of the Crusade, and promised that his master would, in the following spring, begin the war in good earnest, and would, if possible, himself join the expedition, or if unable to do this, would send a representative. The Pope warmly commended the Duke's zeal, and spoke of the Congress of Italian Envoys which was to open immediately.

The political condition of Christendom seemed at this time to promise well for the Crusade. The contest for the throne of Naples was at an end, turbulent Malatesta had been subdued, all Italy was for the moment at peace. "Venice and Hungary, who had already taken up arms, formed a solid coalition, able, without extraneous assistance, to put forth considerable power, and yet happy to accept the cooperation of others. Pius II hoped in the Congress to recover the direction of the whole scheme, and by the offering of his own person, the last means at his disposal, to regain the leadership of the enterprise".

The negotiations with the Envoys of the Italian powers opened on the 22nd September. The Pope informed them of the promises made by the Duke of Burgundy, and enquired what they proposed to do for the defence of the Catholic Faith. The replies of the Neapolitan and Venetian Envoys sounded satisfactory, but that of the Milanese was completely different in its tone. The import of their many words was merely that they had not sufficient powers, and must communicate with the authorities at home. The Florentines adopted the same line, but their reply was even less encouraging, for they insisted on the co-operation of the French King, of whose aversion to the Crusade they were well aware. The Sienese, Bolognese, Lucchese, and Mantuan deputies also declared themselves obliged to consult their respective governments, and receive fresh instructions.

In his answer, Pius II dealt, in the first place, with the question of the tithes, and referred to the resolutions framed at Mantua, and there approved by all parties, with the exception of the Venetians, who, however, were now full of good-will. Every prince might, he said, collect the money in his own dominions, enlist troops, and prepare ships; he would not touch it, only provision must be made for seeing to its proper expenditure. With regard to the condition laid down by the Florentines, he maintained that Italy, being the country most immediately threatened, ought to be the one to begin the Crusade. The Envoys, however, stood firm, and declared themselves unable to enter into any engagement until they had received further powers from their governments; the Venetian Envoys alone formed an honourable exception to this line of conduct.

As time went on the duplicity of the Florentines became more and more apparent, and they proved the most cunning and obstinate opponents of the Crusade. Their conduct was prompted by their jealousy of the projects of political aggrandizement in Italy cherished by the Republic of St. Mark, and the rivalry between the two powers for the possession of the trade of the Levant. The secret hope of the Florentines was that Venice would exhaust herself in single combat with the Turks. Accordingly they were most anxious that the war should not be made the common affair of the West and to effect this object their Envoys shrank from no intrigue. In a private audience they represented to the Pope that the war against the Turks was, after all, taken in hand

merely for the benefit of the Venetians, who, dreaming themselves the successors of the ancient Romans, and the inheritors of their world-wide dominion, aspired, after the conquest of Greece, to subject Italy to their yoke. Would the Roman Church in such a case be able to retain her independence and dignity? The Venetians and the Turks ought to be left completely to themselves; the result would be a protracted war by which both powers would be weakened to the great advantage of Italy and the Christian world.

Pius II pronounced such a policy to be short-sighted, ignoble, and unworthy of the Vicar of Christ. The ambition of the Venetians might indeed be excessive, but dependence on Venice was to be preferred to dependence on the Porte. Even though she might be selfishly aiming at the possession of the Peloponnesus, still her discomfiture by the Turks would be a disaster for Christendom. In the present crisis the only thing to be thought of was how the Turks could be repelled, and the liberty of Europe secured. The future must be left to take care of itself. All must unite, with his assistance and the support of the Duke of Burgundy, the King of Hungary, and the enemies of Turkey in Asia, to attack and vanquish the common foe. In order to make it plain to the Florentines that the conquered territories would not all become the property of Venice, the Pope unfolded a plan for the partition of Turkey. This is the first of many similar projects. The Venetians were to have the Peloponnesus, Boeotia, Attica, and the cities on the coast of Epirus; Skanderbeg was to receive Macedonia. Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia, Wallachia, and all the country as far as the Black Sea, were to belong to Hungary; while other portions of the Byzantine Empire were to fall to the share of various distinguished Greeks. The Envoys also laid great stress on the difficulty that there would be in getting money from the Florentines.

On the following day (23rd September) the Pope in a Secret Consistory laid his scheme before the assembled College of Cardinals. In a long and earnest address, in the course of which he even shed tears, he strove to meet all objections to the undertaking. Peace being restored in Italy, it was now possible, he said, to take up arms against the Turks, and this ought to be done without delay. Now was the time to prove whether the Cardinals' zeal for the Faith had been merely a pretence, or whether they would follow the Pope. He meant to equip as large a fleet as the resources of the Church would permit; and, feeble and old as he was, to take ship himself and proceed to Greece and Asia. "It will be said, of course, what has this sickly old man, this priest, to do with the war? What business have Cardinals and officials of the Roman Court in the Camp? Why do they not stay at home and send a fleet with troops accustomed to fight? Whatever we do people take it ill. They say that we live for pleasure, accumulate wealth, bear ourselves arrogantly, ride on fat mules and handsome palfreys, trail the fringes of our cloaks after us, and show round plump faces beneath the red hat and the white hood, keep hounds for the chase, spend much on actors and parasites, and nothing in defence of the Faith. And there is some truth in their words: many among the Cardinals and other officials of our Court do lead this kind of life. If the truth be confessed, the luxury and pomp at our Court is too great. And this is why we are so detested by the people that they will not listen to us, even when what we say is just and reasonable. What do you think is to be done in such a shameful state of things? Must we not take some steps to regain the confidence which we have lost? You will ask what steps? Truly none that we find ready in these days: we must enter upon new paths, we must enquire by what means our predecessors won for the Church the authority and consideration that she has. These means we also must employ. Her authority must be maintained by the same means which originally served to acquire it. Temperance, chastity, innocence, zeal for the Faith, ardour in the cause of religion, contempt of

death, and the desire for martyrdom, have exalted the Roman Church, and made her mistress of the world. She cannot maintain her position unless we follow in the footsteps of those who created it. It is not enough to profess the Faith, to preach to the people, to denounce crime, and extol virtue. We must make ourselves like those who offered their lives for the heritage of the Lord. We must suffer all things for the flock entrusted to our care, even unto death. The Turks are devastating one Christian country after another. What shall we do? Send troops against them? There is no money to arm them. Shall we exhort the Princes to go forth and drive the enemy out of our borders? That course has already been tried in vain, without success.

“Our cry, Go forth! has resounded in vain. Perhaps, if the word is, Come with me! it will have more effect. This is why we have determined to proceed in person against the Turks, and by word and deed to stir up all Christian Princes to follow our example. It may be that, seeing their Teacher and Father, the Bishop of Rome, the Vicar of Christ, a weak and sickly old man, going to the war, they will be ashamed to stay at home. Should this effort also fail, we know of no other means to try. We are well aware that at our age we are going to meet an almost certain death. But let us leave all to God, His holy will be done! Nevertheless, we are too weak to fight sword in hand, and this is not the priest’s office. But we will imitate Moses, who prayed upon a height while the people of Israel were doing battle with the Amalekites. On the prow of a ship, or on the summit of a mountain, we will beseech our Lord, whose Holy Body will ever be with us, to grant us deliverance, and victory”.

The Pope concluded by calling upon the Cardinals to follow him; only the aged and infirm were to remain at home, with one Legate for ecclesiastical and another for secular affairs, the latter of whom was to be supported by a force of 5000 men, under the command of Antonio Piccolomini. “Thus we commend our grey hair and feeble body to the mercy of God. He will care for us, and, if He does not permit us to return, He will receive us into Heaven, and will preserve the See of Rome, and His Bride the Church, unharmed”.

In spite of these stirring words, the French party in the Sacred College protested against the Pope’s plan. Men like d’Estouteville or Jouffroy were utterly incapable of understanding Pius II’s resolve to imitate the martyr-popes of old. The majority of the Cardinals, however, agreed with him. Carvajal, old as he was, exclaimed with enthusiasm: “It is the voice of an angel. I follow, for it is to heaven that you are leading us”.

During the ensuing weeks the Pope was fully occupied with the details of the enterprise. A commission of Cardinals was appointed to carry on the preparations in the States of the Church, and consultations with the Envoys, regarding the Burgundian proposals, took place almost daily. The difficulties of the expedition were clearly perceived by Pius II, who studied day and night how to overcome them, and the reproaches and objections of the French King, who again threatened Christendom with a Council, only served to inflame his zeal.

On the 6th October, in an assembly composed of the Cardinals and Envoys, the Pope laid down the following regulations in regard to the Crusade:—The war, he said, is to be undertaken in the name of God, and under the banner of the Holy Cross. A supreme leader is to be chosen on behalf of the Church, and is to be obeyed by the others. The spoils are to be divided according to the service rendered by each. As the Duke of Burgundy will set forth next May, everyone is to be ready at that time, and furnished with provisions for a year. In order to avoid differences, a monetary exchange

was to be established. All the Envoys, with the exception of the representative of Venice, agreed to these arrangements. He, however, objected to the disposition of the spoils, and to fighting under the banner of the Church. Before the Assembly broke up the Pope asked those present whether any answer regarding the tax of the thirtieth had been received from their governments. Only Lucca and Bologna replied in the affirmative; the others hoped to receive a reply by the next dispatch.

The negotiations were extremely protracted. The Florentines made more excuses than any of the other powers; Pius II perceived very clearly that they meant to do as they had already done at Mantua. Milan, too, showed but little zeal. The Pope was greatly pained by the conduct of his native city, for which he had done and suffered so much. As long as it was possible they deferred giving any decided answer. Notwithstanding repeated and urgent remonstrances from the Pope, November had arrived, and still no instructions had been received by the Sieneſe Envoy. On the 5th of that month he informed his government that others besides the Pope were astonished at their conduct. On the 12th, he again wrote, adding that Pius II was extremely indignant that they who ought to have been first were the last in this matter. After endless negotiations they finally made up their minds to pay 10,000 ducats, excusing themselves from a larger contribution on the plea of poverty.

Meanwhile the Commission of Cardinals were taking strenuous measures to collect the necessary funds. Tithes, twentieths, and thirtieths were to be levied throughout all the States of the Church; all superfluous ornaments, chalices, &c, were to be sold, and a contribution was to be laid upon all convents without exception. The Crusade was to be published throughout the world, and all Indulgences, but those granted on its behalf, were to be suspended.

On the 19th October, 1463, the Pope and the Duke of Burgundy entered into an alliance with Venice, by which each of the contracting parties undertook to prosecute the war against the Turks, with all the resources they had, from a period of from one to three years, and only to conclude peace by common consent. Pius II also promised that when the Duke of Burgundy came to Italy he would himself set out with him.

It was evident that if other distinguished princes could also be induced personally to take part in the Crusade, as their forefathers had done in the happier days of faith, its importance would be greatly enhanced. Pius I did his best to win such adherents to the cause. In the first instance he applied to his friend and ally, the Duke of Milan, and afterwards to the Kings of Castile, and Portugal.

Francesco Sforza gave an evasive answer, to the bitter disappointment of the Pope, who had hoped to be able to announce the cooperation of this powerful Prince in the Bull which was to make the Crusade known to the whole of Christendom. This Bull had already been approved in a Secret Consistory on the 5th October; and to delay its publication was scarcely possible, for the Burgundian Envoys were anxious to depart, and a pestilence had broken out in Rome.

Accordingly, in the evening of the 21st of October, the Pope summoned the Cardinals and the Italian Envoys to his palace, and called upon them solemnly to bind themselves to carry out the Decree of Mantua on the contributions for the war. All present, first the Envoys of the King of Naples, then those from Milan, Modena, Mantua, Bologna, and Lucca, consented. Details as to the time and the manner of collecting the funds were not discussed. The Florentine and Sieneſe Envoys were not present at this meeting, not having yet received instructions from their governments. Genoa, Savoy, and Montferrat were not even represented at the Congress.

On the morning of the following day, Saturday, the 22nd October, a Public Consistory was held in presence of the whole Court and of all the Envoys. Goro Lolli read the Bull of the Crusade in which the Pope solemnly announced that he and the Duke of Burgundy would take part in the Holy War. Immense spiritual favours were promised to all who should support it. Those who should personally join the expedition, and remain in the field for at least six months, as well as those who should give money according to their power, were to gain a Plenary Indulgence. High and low were called upon in impassioned words to come and join the expedition. “O stony-hearted and thankless Christians! who can hear of all these things, and yet not wish to die for Him Who died for you. Think of your hapless brethren groaning in captivity amongst the Turks or living in daily dread of it. As you are men, let humanity prompt you to help those who have to endure every sort of humiliation. As you are Christians, obey the Gospel precept which bids you love your neighbour as yourself. Think of the miseries inflicted on the faithful by the Turks. Sons are torn from their fathers, children from their mother’s arms, wives are dishonoured before the eyes of their husbands, youths are yoked to the plough like cattle. Take pity on your brethren, or, in any case, take pity on yourselves; for the like fate is hanging over you, and if you will not assist those who live between you and the enemy, those who live further away will forsake you also when your turn comes. You Germans who will not help the Hungarians, how can you expect assistance from the French—and you Frenchmen how can you count upon the aid of the Spaniards if you do nothing for the Germans? With what measure you mete the same shall be measured to you again! The ruin of the Emperors of Constantinople and Trebizond, of the Kings of Bosnia and Rascia, and other princes who have been overpowered, one after another, proves how disastrous it is to stand still and do nothing. As soon as Mahomet has subdued the East, he will quickly master the West”.

Two full hours were devoted to the reading of the Bull: the Pope then announced, for the satisfaction of the Romans, who were extremely averse to his departure, that he would appoint a spiritual as well as a secular Legate, and would confer on him ample powers during the time of his absence. Further, the Chancery, the Apostolic Treasury, the Rota, and the Grand Penitentiary would remain in Rome, so that the faithful might suffer no inconvenience from his absence.

Many people up to this time had looked upon the whole affair as an impracticable dream, but the publication of the Bull produced a great change of feeling. A general opinion began to gain ground that if the Pope and the Duke of Burgundy were spared, the enterprise might be both successful and glorious. The Milanese Envoys concluded their report with the words: “May God, whose cause is at stake, grant long life to the Pope and the Duke”.

In this Bull Pius II took his stand as head of the Christian Religion, and protector of humanity, liberty, and civilization. It was at once promulgated in all directions. Nuncios, Collectors, and preachers of the Crusade were also-appointed, not only for the whole of Italy, but for most of the other States of Europe. All Europe resounded with the cry of the Holy War. The Minorites were foremost in this work, while the Nuncios were indefatigable in calling on the people to render assistance, and in urging their rulers to support the cause. Their success fell far short of what had been hoped. Those in high places had lost the enthusiasm which in the Middle Ages had drawn the Christian world to flock to the scenes where our Saviour had lived and shed His Blood. Scarcely a trace remained of the chivalrous spirit which made men willing to devote their lives to the rescue of the Holy Places out of the hands of the Infidels. Only the middle and lower classes responded, and this chiefly in Germany. In many parts there, the excitement was



so great that, as the Hamburg Chronicle tells us the people forsook their wagons and ploughs to hasten to Rome to take arms against the Turks.

During the later months of the year 1463, Pius II had to carry on wearisome negotiations with the Florentine, Mantuan, and Sienese Envoys, in order to obtain some assistance from the States they represented. The Plague was raging in Rome, many of the Cardinals fled, but the Pope, although suffering much from gout, remained, and sought by every means in his power to promote the great cause he had at heart. He promised to fit out three Triremes and several transports at his own expense, seven of the Cardinals undertook each to provide a Galley, and the others gave hope of further assistance. Among the Italian powers, Borso d'Este, Lodovico of Mantua, and the Republics of Bologna and Siena, engaged themselves to furnish two triremes; Cosmo de' Medici and the Lucchese each one trireme; and Genoa eight large vessels. On the 5th November, 1463, a Decree was published, requiring all the officials of the Roman Court, of whatever degree, to contribute a tenth part of their income for the expenses of the Turkish war. A tax was at the same time imposed on all who should receive benefices within the ensuing six months, and it was decided that the property of all Prelates dying during the continuance of the Holy War should be devoted to defraying its expenses.

A special Treasurer was now appointed to manage the moneys for the Crusade, and this duty was confided to the care of Niccolò Piccolomini, private Treasurer to the Pope. His Crusade Account Book, bound in red morocco, and bearing on its cover the cross and the arms of Pius II, is still preserved. It commences in November, 1463, and is continued until after the death of the Pope. Receipts, as well as payments are accurately entered. The charge made by the personal enemies of the Pope, that he had neglected to make due preparations for the Crusade, is here disproved by documentary evidence. Between the 15th November, 1463, and the 10th April, 1464, 27,255 ducats were expended for this purpose. From the beginning of the new year the amounts paid out became larger. In January, 5000 ducats were spent on provisions; in February, 4500 for the hire of vessels from Rhodes, and 1000 for the Gallies to be fitted out at Pisa; the same sum occurs again in March; in May it rises to 2500 ducats. In that month no less than 12,639 ducats were disbursed, and by August the sum total amounted to 62,309.

“The Holy Father”, writes the Sienese Envoy on the 12th November, 1463, “is indefatigable in his efforts on behalf of the Crusade. His Bull on the subject has been sent into all Christian countries, and will, I believe, lead many to take part in it. God has indeed sent this Pope for the salvation of His people, whose Princes have forsaken them, and left them a prey to the attacks of the Turks”. The Envoy then enumerates all the efforts which Pius II had made from the beginning of his reign, and the obstacles which he had encountered, and rejoices at the alliance entered into with Burgundy, Venice, and Hungary. “If”, he concludes, “the Pope had not taken all these precautions, we should have been worse off now than in the time of the invasion of the Barbarians”.

The Turkish question was at this time the predominant subject in all the Pope's negotiations and interviews with the representatives of foreign powers. In the beginning of November, he said to the Sienese Envoys: “In consequence of the lukewarmness and negligence of Christian Princes, I am constrained to place myself at the head of the Crusade. If we allow the Turks to advance, as they have done of late years, we shall soon all be subjugated. I will do what is in my power; God will help me!”

The zeal of Pius II, and his anticipations of success, received a fresh impulse from the good tidings which came from Greece. General Bertoldo of Este had commenced

operations in July, and all the Greeks and Albanians throughout the Peloponnesus had at once risen in arms. Vostitza and Argos were recovered, and in a fortnight the entrenchments of the Flexamilion were restored. When the Pope was informed of these events by Bernardo Giustiniani, the Venetian Envoy, he immediately summoned a Consistory, and announced the victories in an enthusiastic address.

By the middle of November the death of the Prince of Tarento had almost brought the war in the Kingdom of Naples to an end; and the main hindrance to the Crusade being thus removed, great hopes for the future were entertained. The expectation that Ferrante I would himself take part in the expedition proved delusive. The Pope then tried to obtain the 60,000 ducats which his father had left by will for the Turkish war, but only succeeded in inducing Ferrante to send half the amount in the following March.

On the 25th of October, Pius II had addressed a stirring Brief to Cristoforo Moro, the Doge, calling on him to join the Crusade in person. When the matter came under discussion at Venice, the Doge made difficulties on account of his advanced age, and his want of experience in naval affairs, which made Vittore Capello exclaim: "If your Excellency will not embark of your own free will, we will use force, for we value the welfare and the honor of this country more than your person". The final decision was that the Doge must proceed with the fleet, but four military councillors were given him; and, by his desire, Lorenzo Moro, Duke of Candia, was appointed Admiral of the Fleet. It was also determined that an attempt should be made on the Sultan's life. Preparations for war were carried on with all possible speed; Ambassadors were sent to France and to Burgundy, and negotiations were begun with Usunhassan, Prince of the Turcomans.

Good news had, meanwhile, been received from the King of Hungary. At the end of September he had led his army across the Save, and invaded Bosnia, then advanced by forced marches to the very walls of Jaitza. On the 1st October this important city was retaken; the Citadel held out till December. The severe winter and the utter devastation of the country alone hindered the further advance of King Matthias.

Venice zealously supported the King, in the hope that the Turkish forces, being fully occupied on the Danube and the Save, their action in the South would be hampered. But the power of the Sultan was so great that these anticipations were disappointed. Misfortune after misfortune overtook the Venetians. Bertoldo died of his wounds, the rising in the Peloponnesus subsided, and sickness broke out. The siege of Corinth and of the Hexamilion had to be abandoned, and the arrival of a Turkish army, 80,000 strong, soon reversed almost all the previous success.

The Venetian disasters were far from unwelcome to the Duke of Burgundy. He gladly took advantage of this opportunity to express his misgivings, and defer his departure for two months. Pius II, however, was not inclined to tolerate his delay. On three successive days he wrote to the Duke to encourage him, and keep him to his purpose.

In Venice, as in Rome, the Duke of Burgundy's change of mind caused much surprise; and it was decided that Marcus Donatus should be sent to remonstrate with him on behalf of the Republic. Warlike preparations were pushed on, and Sigismondo Malatesta was taken into the Venetian Service. The report that negotiations for peace were in progress between Venice and the Porte was denied by the Envoys of the former power.

When the Pope declared that he would proceed without the Duke of Burgundy, Venice also resolved not to be deterred by his defection.

From the month of September the personal cooperation of the Duke of Milan had been under discussion. Notwithstanding the evasive answer given by Francesco Sforza, the Pope made repeated efforts to win him to the cause. The position of the Milanese Envoys was at this time a difficult one. Francesco Sforza blamed them for not having kept him sufficiently informed of all that passed at the Roman Court, and especially of the Pope's alliance with Venice; and they, in a long letter, endeavoured to show that his reproaches were undeserved. On the other hand, they were obliged continually to find excuses to make to the Pope for their master's failure to take part in the Crusade. From the correspondence of this period we learn that many in Rome were of opinion that the only object of the Doge of Venice, in promising to join in the war, had been to exclude the Duke of Milan. In December, 1463, the Pope endeavoured to induce Francesco Sforza at least to undertake to appear in person later on, and the Envoys deemed it advisable not to destroy all such hopes, although they well knew that their master had no intention of the sort. For a long time the preaching of the Crusade was forbidden in the Milanese dominions on the pretext of the Plague. When Francesco Sforza, after continued pressure on the part of the Pope, at last promised to send 3000 men under the command of his son, the promise was not made in good faith. Later on, it was discovered that he had even been working at the French Court to dissuade the Duke of Burgundy from the expedition.

The Duke of Milan was at this time occupied with very different matters from the defence of Christendom. While Venice was most deeply involved in the Eastern war, and was compelled after her reverses to send fresh forces to the scene of action, Sforza seized the opportunity to try to gain Genoa and Savona over to his side. The naval supremacy of Venice would be seriously threatened by an alliance between a great Italian power and these important maritime cities. The negotiations were brought to a successful conclusion on the 22nd December, 1463. In the beginning of February the news reached Rome, the Pope having, up to that time, been entirely ignorant of what was going on. At the Papal Court Sforza was believed to have promised that the French King should be made Emperor. Pius II declared to the Milanese Envoy that he would suffer martyrdom rather than permit such a thing to take place.

These proceedings in Upper Italy not only dealt a heavy blow to Venice, but seriously hindered the war against the Turks. The Republic of Genoa had promised to furnish eight large transports which were urgently required; there was now no hope that these would be forthcoming.

The disinclination of Florence for the Turkish war was much more openly expressed. The Milanese Envoy, writing on the nth June, 1463, says: "It is here considered a misfortune that the Turks have conquered Bosnia; but it is not considered to be amiss that the Venetians should have met with a repulse". The opposition of the Florentines to the Crusade was very evident in the instructions given to their Envoy at Rome. The proposals which he was empowered to make were thoroughly unsatisfactory; and when the grant of troops and money could no longer in honor be delayed, it was made as small a one as possible. Hatred of Venice was so deeply rooted in the City that the tidings of disaster which came from Greece were joyfully welcomed. A Florentine chronicler even declares that his countrymen handed over to the Sultan intercepted letters from the Venetians, explaining the plans of the Signoria.

The evident disinclination to forward his undertaking among even most of those nearest to him, was very discouraging to the Pope. In the States of the Church the collection of money for the Crusade was opposed by the laity as well as the Clergy. Pius II was constrained formally to impose contributions, and to insist on their payment. The

spirit of cheerful sacrifice on which he had reckoned was quite wanting. In Corneto, for instance, when he ordered ship biscuits to be prepared, he heard that the Commune meant to levy a mill-tax on the flour employed. Threats of an Interdict were required to make the wealthy city of Perugia do her part. The Bolognese had made the fairest promises; they were only required to provide two Galleys, but even this demand was thought excessive. The Cardinals were very slow in getting their Galleys fitted out. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that no decisive measures could be contemplated for the moment.

The most bitter of his many disappointments was yet in store for Pius II: the Duke of Burgundy broke the vow by which he had bound himself to take part in the Crusade. The party of the Lords of Croix, who were opposed to the war, met with but little resistance from Philip, who was thoroughly enervated by his excesses. In February, 1464, they brought about a meeting between him and the French King. The latter forbade the Duke, who was his vassal, to go to the war, alleging as a reason that the Pope's enterprise would only be to the advantage of the Greeks and the Venetians, and was not for the welfare of Christendom. Philip now thought he had before him a way of breaking his vow and the treaty without disgrace. On the 8th of March he caused his States to be informed that, at the command of the French King, he had been obliged to defer his Expedition for a year. His illegitimate son, Antoine, might, in the meantime, set out with 3000 men. Well-informed persons at once asserted that this offer of assistance would come to nothing. The event proved them to be in the right.

Pius II was at this time at Siena, whence, by the urgent advice of his physicians, he meant to proceed to the Baths of Petriolo. He was so ill that he had not been able to hold a single Consistory, and was harassed with anxiety lest the complications at Genoa should render the Crusade impossible. From beyond the Alps the tidings which reached him were by means cheering. King René had set his face against the Collection of contributions from the clergy in his dominions, and had also appealed to a Council. But the thing which most of all distressed the sick Pontiff was the conduct of the Duke of Burgundy. At first a change of purpose on the part of Philip had appeared to Pius II hardly credible; once more he reminded him of his public and irrevocable vow, and appealed to his honor. The Bull of Maundy Thursday threatened all Kings who should put hindrances in the way of the Crusade with Excommunication. This was aimed at the author of the Duke's defection. Philip's letter to the Pope, received on the following day, made doubt no longer possible, and Pius II declared that its receipt coincided well with Passiontide.

At Easter he heard that the King of Hungary had received the consecrated sword with enthusiasm, but this brief joy was soon mingled with gall. Disastrous news came from the Morea; preparations at Venice were arrested by an outbreak of pestilence; and, furthermore, a Turkish Envoy was reported to be on his way to that City with a view to negotiations for peace.

"It might have been thought that the failure of so many efforts, and the disappointment of so many hopes, would have been enough to cool the zeal of the most ardent soul, and to wear out the patience of the most constant mind. But it was not so with Pius II. As difficulties multiplied, his unwearied diligence kept pace with them, and in proportion to the disregard of his exhortations, his voice grew louder, and its tones more penetrating". On the 4th April, 1464, he went with much reluctance to the Baths of Petriolo. So greatly did he long to reach Ancona, that, as the Mantuan Envoy repeatedly declares, every day seemed to him almost as long as a year. His indignation with the Burgundians was intensified when the news arrived, on trustworthy authority,

that no reliance was to be placed even on the Bastard's expedition. The part played by the crafty Louis XI in these affairs so incensed the Pope that at the end of April he spoke of excommunicating him.

Many of the Cardinals, especially those of French nationality, were of opinion that as Duke Philip was not coming, the Pope would be fully justified in staying at home. Pius II, however, would not listen to this for a moment. Even those Envoys, who were averse to the undertaking, in their reports bear witness that the Pope was determined in any case to keep his promise, and go in person to Ancona, there to await his Galleys and the Venetian fleet, and then to proceed to Ragusa, where he hoped to join the King of Hungary and Skanderbeg.

In the face of suspicions expressed at the time, and subsequently reiterated, it is important to observe that the Milanese Envoy was so thoroughly persuaded of the sincerity of Pius II that he asked leave to settle his domestic affairs before entering on this long journey. Indeed, after he had so solemnly announced his intention to the world, it would have been impossible, even if he had wished it, for the Pope to draw back. On the 4th May Cardinal Forteguerra was appointed Legate of the Fleet. A few days later, he, with the Pope's nephew, Giacomo, went to Pisa to superintend the equipment of the Galleys; while on the 7th of May, Pius II himself left Siena for Rome, where he arrived on the 19th.

The agitation in the College of Cardinals, caused by the Pope's project, was extreme. With the exception of Carvajal, Cusa, and Bessarion, few, if any, of its members were capable of appreciating or seconding the magnanimous resolve of the feeble Pontiff. The idea of following the army into these barbarous Eastern countries was absolutely intolerable to the majority of these ostentatious Princes of the Church. The French Cardinals were particularly opposed to the undertaking. Every possible effort was made to frustrate it. The dangers from the Plague, which was said to have broken out at Ragusa, and from the hostility of the Patarenes in Bosnia, were painted in the darkest colours. The diplomatists joined their voices with those of the Cardinals, but all was in vain. Pius II was not to be moved. None but the aged and sick among the Cardinals, and those entrusted with the affairs of government, were to remain in Rome. All the others were to accompany the Pope. At the end of May he had a fresh attack of gout, accompanied by fever. It was generally considered impossible that he should endure the hardships of the journey. Nevertheless, he declared that he was quite determined to set forth on the promised expedition, even if he were to die by the way.

A last attempt to detain the Pope was made on the 6th of June by the Duke of Milan's Envoy. He explained that his colleague at the French Court was preparing to mediate between Pius II and Louis XI, and to persuade the King to give energetic support to the Crusade in the following spring. To secure this it would be necessary for the Pope to defer his expedition till then.

Pius II understood only too well the real object of this proposition. The King of France had begun by treating him with the greatest insolence, threatening him with a Council, and other vexatious measures. He had also, by keeping back the Duke of Burgundy, done his best to render the Crusade impossible. As threats had proved unavailing, he was now trying another way. From former experience the Pope had lost all confidence in the King's promises. "I have no doubt", he said to the Envoy, "that Louis XI will allow the tithes to be levied, but in the end he will keep them for himself".

That the Pope did not take an exaggerated view of the case is evident from the Reports of the Milanese Ambassador at the French Court. On the 26th May, writing

from Paris, he says that the King is extremely incensed against the Pope, who would not gratify him in regard to the appointments of several Bishops. "The Papal Nuncio", Louis XI declared, "gives himself unnecessary trouble; go and tell him in my name that I will not consent to the levy of the tithes, and that I have no further communication to make to him". He adds that the King repeated this twice. In the course of the interview, Louis XI also spoke of the King of Bohemia's agitation in favour of an anti-Papal Council. Hitherto he had not entered into this movement, but now he was expecting a fresh Mission to treat of this subject. The representative of Milan expresses his conviction that, unless something be shortly done to counteract these measures, a great scandal will arise, especially as the Pope will soon leave Rome to proceed against the Turks; I look upon it as certain that a General Council will be attempted.

Those immediately around the Pope united their remonstrances to those of the Cardinals and Ambassadors, but with no better success. Almost as soon as the fever had left him, Pius II again declared that he would start on this expedition, even if it should cost him his life. On the nth June he appointed Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini his Vicar in Rome and the States of the Church.

In the meantime the arrival of large bands of Crusaders in Italy was reported. The idea of a Pope leading the Crusade in person was peculiarly calculated to touch the lower classes in distant lands. Thousands from Germany, the Low Countries, France, and even from Scotland and Spain, flocked to Venice, Rome, and Ancona. The people had been greatly stirred by the Pope's appeal: If the Princes and Nobles had been what they were three centuries earlier, all the West would have been aroused. Those who came belonged chiefly to the lower ranks of society, and among them were numerous adventurers; many had neither arms nor money. To the Archbishop of Crete was given the double charge of inducing the useless ones to return to their homes, and of providing for those who were fit for war.

It was also reported that some of the Saxon nobles were on their way with well-armed troops; letters were received in Rome, in which they complained of bad treatment from the Duke of Modena, and expressed their confident hope of finding the Pope at Ancona.

Ill as he was, Pius II could no longer be restrained; his friends and physicians might say what they would, the 18th of June was irrevocably fixed for the start. On that day he took the Cross in the Vatican Basilica; commended himself and his cause to the intercession of the Princes of the Apostles; and in a short address, again declared that it was absolutely necessary that he should set forth himself, in spite of his age and failing strength. "Otherwise", he said, "nothing would be done". At Ancona he confidently expected to find not only the Doge but Sforza's two sons, with a splendid band of horsemen and foot soldiers, together with supplies from Siena, from Borso of Modena, and the Marquess of Mantua, from Bologna, Lucca, Ragusa, and Rhodes.

Immediately after this ceremony Pius II left the City. "Farewell, Rome", he exclaimed with emotion, "never will you see me again alive". The journey to Otricoli was made by water, as being easier to the Pope, who still suffered from gout and fever. He also slept on board the vessel, as every movement caused him pain, and mental distress was added to his bodily torments. Cardinal Forteguerra, who was supposed to be already on his way to Ancona, appeared on the second day after the Pope's departure from Rome, and reported that the Galleys at Pisa were not yet completely equipped. At the same time it became known that many of the Crusaders, who had started without resources, and with no idea of the difficulties to be encountered, were returning to their

homes. To save the Pope as much as possible from such disheartening sights, the curtains of his litter were let down whenever a band of these fugitives passed by.

About 5000 Crusaders were on their way to Rome. Cardinal Cusa was sent to meet them, and the difficult task of keeping the impatient crowds at Ancona in order, and superintending their embarkation, was entrusted to Carvajal. Pius II implored, rather than commanded, him to undertake it. "I alone", says Ammanati, "was present at the interview. Carvajal responded, as usual, bravely and heartily, "Holy Father, if I am the man whom you consider most fit for such great things, I will at once obey your orders, and follow your example. Are not you risking your life for me and for your flock? You have written to me to come—here I am; you command me to go—I go. How can I refuse this little end of my life to Christ". Accordingly he started immediately for Ancona.

The weakness of the Pope, and the intense heat, made it necessary to travel very slowly. At Terni, Cardinals d'Estouteville, Borgia, and Erolì joined the Pope's train. At this time a pestilence was raging throughout the neighbouring country, and at Spoleto Cardinal Ammanati fell sick. In the fortress of that city there was a man from the East who professed to be the exiled brother of the Sultan, and many hopes were built on the help he was expected to give in the attack upon the Turks. In Venice, also, the identity of this precursor of the celebrated Dschem was believed, and he was allowed to join the Pope's company from Spoleto. On the 3rd of July Assisi was reached, and on the 7th, Fabriano. Here Count Federigo of Urbino met the Pope, and made a fresh attempt to dissuade him from proceeding any further; but Pius II, who was now somewhat better from the change of air, would not listen to him for a moment.

At Loreto the Pope offered to the Blessed Virgin a golden chalice, bearing the following inscription : "Holy Mother of God, we know that Thy power is without limit, and Thy wonders fill the world; but, as it is Thy will to show it forth, more especially in certain places, and Thou dost daily sanctify this acceptable spot of Loreto with Thy favours, I, a wretched sinner, turning to Thee with my whole heart, beseech Thee to cure me of this consuming fever and cough, and to restore strength to my failing limbs, in the desire and hope that this may be for the advantage of Christendom. Meanwhile accept this gift as a token of my homage. Pope Pius II, in the year of Salvation, 1464".

By the time the Pope reached Ancona, on the 19th July, he was seriously ill. Many of the inhabitants mistrusted him, and dreaded his arrival, on account of the frequent differences which had arisen between him and the city.

The Pope took up his abode in the Episcopal Palace, near the beautiful Cathedral Church of S. Ciriaco, which was built on the site of the temple of Venus. The height on which this ancient Basilica stands commands a charming view of the old city, the picturesque line of coast, and the sea beyond. "The refreshing breezes which blow there, and the brilliant sunshine, seem like air and light from Heaven and the East"

The first act of Pius II was to order public prayers, and to send Cardinals Carvajal and d'Estouteville to quiet the Crusaders, most of whom were Spaniards or French, and spent their time in quarrelling with each other. The majority of them belonged to the poorest class, or were mere vagrants. They had set out without leaders, arms, or money, expecting to have everything provided for them by some miracle. They laid all the blame of their miseries on the Pope, but the summons of Pius II had only been addressed to soldiers well-armed, and fully provisioned for at least half a year. The first thing to be done was to separate those who were without means from those who were sufficiently equipped. This was the task of the two Cardinals, but they were empowered

to grant the Crusade Indulgence to those who had to be dismissed, as though they had been accepted.

Greater efforts even than those made in Rome were now used to detain Pius II. An Envoy, writing on the 22nd July, declared that the Cardinals, the whole Court, and those who immediately surrounded the Pope, were all opposed to his journey. The Cardinals appealed to the Election Capitulation which forbade the Court to be moved without their consent. The physicians told Pius II that if he embarked he would not live more than two days. The Diplomats pointed out the dangers which threatened the Churches of France and Bohemia; but the Pope informed them that he was not afraid of Louis XI, nor yet of the King of Bohemia, who had lately been summoned to give an account of himself; he was resolved to go.

If the whole Pontificate of Pius II was more or less a series of disillusions, their climax was reached in these last days of his life. To the bodily torments of gout, stone, and fever was added the mental anguish of foreseeing that the humiliations of Christendom, and the dangers which threatened it, would continue and increase. The preparations for the expedition had proved so insufficient that it was not possible to think of starting at once. The only power that was ready was Venice, and that was not trustworthy. The Milanese troops were promised, but they did not come. What Florence sent, after lengthened negotiations, was useless. Few among the Cardinals fulfilled their promises. The death of the Pope seemed so near now that all thoughts were occupied with the approaching Conclave. The delusion under which Pius II laboured, as to the possibility of the Crusade, can only be accounted for by his illness, which must have dimmed his naturally clear perceptions.

At Ancona the state of things became more and more serious. There was not sufficient house-room or water; and, with the great heat of the beginning of August, a pestilence broke out, which not only carried off many of the Crusaders, but claimed many victims also from the Cardinals' households.

Extreme was the dismay, when the news came from Ragusa that a large Turkish force was advancing towards the city, threatening it with complete destruction unless tribute were paid, and the vessels which had been promised to the Pope withdrawn. Pius II at once embarked the 400 Archers, who composed his body-guard, in ships well-laden with corn. He then took counsel with Carvajal and Ammanati as to what should be done if Ragusa were besieged. Carvajal, ever ready to sacrifice himself in the service of God, offered to start that very night with the Galleys then lying in the harbour. "And what should hinder me from sailing with you?", said Pius II. "I am resolved to go, if the Turks advance and invest the place". The suffering Pope still believed in the moral effect his presence would have in striking terror amongst the Turks, and in attracting multitudes of Christians. Carvajal agreed with him. "But poor creature that I am", says Ammanati, "I spoke strongly against this plan, for, weakened as I was with fever, I feared that I should die on the way". Carvajal and the Pope, however, adhered to their purpose, until, four days later, they heard of the departure of the enemy.

"Pius II almost succumbed beneath the burden laid upon him by his zeal for the accomplishment of the holy work which he had undertaken. Worn out as he was with bodily suffering, the continued mental strain produced a distressing state of feverish excitement". His agitation was increased by the unaccountable delay of Cardinal Forteguerra and the Venetians, whose ships he had so confidently expected. The Cardinal had at first been hindered by contrary winds; and on the 1st August tidings came that the Plague had broken out in his ships, and in consequence he could not arrive



till at least twelve clays later; but the conduct of Venice was of itself enough to wreck the Crusade.

From the first, the views of the Republic had differed widely from those of the Pope. Pius II had desired that common cause should have been made against the Infidels in a holy war; but to the Venetians, the defense of Christianity was a mere pretext, their real aim being the conquest of the Peloponnesus, a matter of extreme importance to their commercial interests. When they concluded their alliance with the Pope, they may have flattered themselves that he might be led to connive at their purpose. As soon as it became evident that, looking at matters from a higher point of view, he was bent on uniting all Christendom in a common enterprise, their relations with Rome again became strained. Efforts on their part were not wanting to induce the Head of the Church to give up his independent attitude. With a show of zeal for the Faith the Venetian Envoy repeatedly represented the needs of Hungary to the Pope, and urged him to devote all his forces to the war on the mainland; Venice, herself, wishing to keep in her own hands the sole conduct of the naval operations. In the middle of January, 1464, the Venetian Envoy urged that the number of Galleys intended to accompany the Pope should be reduced, and the money to be spent on them sent instead to Hungary. Pius II replied that it would be more to the purpose if Venice were to abstain from arming a few of her own Galleys, and devote the money to Hungary; the number of those destined for the Pope was already less than befitted his dignity. This answer so incensed the representative of the Republic of St. Mark that he declared he had much rather the Pope should stay at home altogether.

Venice continued to make every effort to carry out her purpose. Her Envoys were repeatedly charged to work in this direction, and to quiet the Pope by assuring him that the Republic would have more than forty triremes afloat, which he might look upon as his own, and which would always be completely at his disposal.

The real worth of these promises was soon evident. In April, when the Bishop of Torcello, speaking in the Pope's name, requested Venice to furnish means of transport for a portion of the Crusading army, the Signoria declared that their ships were for the moment employed in the convoy of troops to Greece, and that it would be better for the Crusaders to go by way of Hungary. In the summer, when they began to arrive in considerable numbers in Italy, those who went to Venice did not find a single ship ready for them. In January, forty triremes were to be placed at the sole disposal of the Pope; on the 21st of June, two ships for the transport of the soldiers, then in Ancona, were all that was promised. But how was even this miserable promise kept?

Three weeks more went by; the Pope was at the gates of Ancona, but no Venetian ship had appeared. The Envoy who accompanied Pius II was instructed to report upon the number of Crusaders then at Ancona, and the Pope was assured for his comfort that two large transports were in readiness at Venice. Another week elapsed before they were really sent. When, they at length reached Ancona, on the nth August, they found but a small number of Crusaders waiting to embark. For most of them, wearied with waiting, had left the city at the end of July. According to Ammanati, this was the Pope's death-blow.

What interest in the holy cause could be expected from a government which, in the midst of the preparations for the campaign against the Turks, renewed their war on Trieste? In July, 1464, a detachment of Venetian troops invaded the territory belonging to that city, destroyed the salt works in the Valley of Zaule, and then retired.

The delay of the Doge's departure was equally disgraceful. His reluctance to take part in the war was an open secret. In Venice, however, where the interest of the State was predominant, his personal feelings would have signified little had there been a real desire for the Crusade. The representations made by the Venetian Envoy, at the end of April, to the Pope, would lead us to believe that such existed. Pius II was urged to come to Ancona with all possible speed. But at this very time, as a matter of fact, the only preparations that were being seriously pressed on were those for the war in Greece. The arming of the fleet, which was to sail with the Pope, proceeded so slowly that in June one of the Envoys was of opinion that it would never be completed. At the end of January the number of ships which were to accompany the Doge was fixed at ten. By the 12th July five triremes only were ready. When once the Pope had reached Ancona, further delay would have given open scandal. Accordingly, it was at last determined, on the 26th July, that the Doge should put to sea on Sunday 29th; but Cristoforo Moro still lingered, and a fresh summons on the 2nd August was required to make him leave Venice; even then he did not proceed straight to Ancona, but went first to Istria to complete the equipment of his vessels.

The dissatisfaction caused at Ancona by all this delay was universal. Well-informed persons were of opinion that the Doge would not come; and even after he had left Venice, the Duke of Milan was convinced that Cristoforo Moro would sail home again.

Pius II was in a state of most distressing uncertainty, for, from the time of his arrival at Ancona, no communication regarding the Doge's movements had reached him from Venice. Without the Venetian fleet it was evidently impossible to commence operations; had it arrived in due time, an attempt might have been made to secure the Dalmatian Coast and Ragusa, which was threatened by the Turks. Such had been the intention of the Pope and Carvajal. But day after day passed, and Pius II grew daily worse".

On the 11th August a slight improvement in the Pope's condition was apparent, though the fever still continued. His vital energies seemed to rally for a time, when, at last, on the 12th August, the approach of the Venetian ships was announced. He desired that his Galleys with five of the Cardinals should go to meet them. Then, with great difficulty, he had himself carried to a window of his bedchamber, which looked upon the harbour and the sea. A flood of despondency overwhelmed his spirit as he watched the ships coming in, and, with a deep sigh, he murmured, "until this day the fleet was wanting for my expedition, and now I must be wanting to the fleet!"

It was not long before death set the Pope free from his sufferings of mind and body. On the morning of the 13th August he received the Holy Viaticum, in the presence of his household, and addressed them in words befitting the Vicar of Christ. On the following day the Cardinals gathered round his death-bed. He gathered up his failing powers once more to impress upon their minds the holy work to which he had devoted his life. "My well-beloved Brethren", he said in his gentle and often broken voice, "my hour is drawing near: God calls me. I die in the Catholic Faith in which I have lived. Up to this day I have taken care of the sheep committed to me, and have shrunk from no danger or toil. You must now complete what I have begun but am not able to finish. Labour therefore in God's work, and do not cease to care for the cause of the Christian Faith, for this is your vocation in the Church. Be mindful of your duty, be mindful of your Redeemer, who sees all, and rewards every one according to his deserts. Guard the States of the Church also, that they may suffer no harm. Beloved Brethren, as Cardinal and as Pope I have committed many faults in my dealings with you. I have offended God, I have wounded Christian charity. For those offences may the Almighty have

mercy on me; for that in which I have failed towards you, forgive me, beloved brethren, now, in the presence of death. I commend to you my kindred, and those who have served me, if they prove worthy. Farewell, Brethren! May the peace of God and heavenly grace be with you". The Cardinals listened in tears. For a long time not one could speak. At length Bessarion, in the name of all, made a short reply; they then knelt round the bed to kiss his hand.

The next day being the Feast of the Assumption, Pius II wished again to receive the Blessed Sacrament, and his friend, Cardinal Ammanati, was to bring It to him; but the Pope was not destined to celebrate the Feast on earth. After he had been anointed, he again expressed his desire that the Crusade should be persevered with, and then fell asleep peacefully about the third hour of the night. His last words were addressed to Ammanati. They were a request to be remembered in his prayers. "Such was the end of Aeneas Sylvius, his last hours bearing witness to the depth and earnestness of his zeal for the Crusade".

The body was laid out in the Cathedral on the Feast of the Assumption (August 15, 1464), and afterwards, in accordance with the desire of the deceased Pope, conveyed to Rome, where it was buried in the Chapel of St. Andrew, which he had built.

Pius II had been the soul of the Crusade, and it came to an end with him; his death was "a heavy blow not only to Western Christendom, but also to the Christians of the East, who were already beginning to feel the pressure of the Turkish yoke".

On hearing of the Pope's death, the Doge landed. Francesco Gonzaga, who had recently arrived in his Galley, met him with three other Cardinals, and accompanied him to S. Ciriaco. Here Cristoforo Moro at once had a conference with some of the members of the Sacred College, Cardinals Barbo and Borgia being prevented by illness from taking part in it. At the same time came the tidings of the death of the celebrated Cardinal Cusa, which had taken place at Todi on the 11th August.

From one of the accounts of the conference between the Cardinals and the Doge who had undertaken the expedition much against his will, we learn that the latter made demands which it was impossible to concede. On the 16th August the Archbishop of Milan expressed his opinion that the Venetians evidently repented of their voyage to Ancona and the whole expedition against the Turks

After the Doge had returned to his ship, the Cardinals, who were longing to get back to Rome, determined to give over the Gallies which were lying ready in the harbour to the Republic, on condition, however, that they should be restored if the new Pope were not to approve of the arrangement, or should himself wish to undertake a Crusade. It was, moreover, resolved that the 40,000 ducats which remained of the money collected for the Turkish war should be entrusted to the Venetians for transmission to the King of Hungary. These decisions were imparted to the Doge on the following day. On the 17th, the Pope's body was removed to Rome; his viscera were buried in the Choir of S. Ciriaco. Some of the Cardinals left Ancona the same day, the rest soon followed, for all were anxious to be in good time for the new election.

The Doge left Ancona in the night of the 18th August, and went, in the first instance, to Istria with his squadron. And now came the fulfilment of Pandolfo Contarini's predictions to the Duke of Milan when the Venetian fleet first set sail for Ancona. Cristoforo Moro returned to Venice, and orders were issued at once that the squadron should be dismantled.

A glance at the energy with which Pius II, like his predecessor, Calixtus III, sought to resist the power of the Turks, suffices to show the injustice of the reproach of recent days, that the Popes were responsible for the incubus which even now presses upon Europe in the form of the Eastern question. The Papacy never forgot, in the face of difficulties of all sorts, its duty of Christianizing the East, and was equally persevering in its advocacy of the Crusades as the only way in which the increasing danger of Turkish invasion could be met. The Popes did more in proportion to their material resources than any European power, for the defence of Christendom against this terrible foe. Pius II, on his death-bed while the Crusaders' fleet sailed into Ancona, was the champion and exponent of a great idea, whatever opinion may be formed as to the suitability of the means by which it was to have been realised.

Pius II is one of those Pontiffs whose life and character has called forth the most conflicting appreciations. This is not surprising, if we consider his great talents and varied attainments, so far surpassing those of the majority of his contemporaries, and the many changes which marked the course of his eventful life. It is impossible to defend much of his conduct in his earlier days, or his nepotism when raised to the Papal Throne. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that, as Head of the Church, Pius II did much to restore the dignity and authority of the Holy See; and that, in cultivation and learning, this gifted and genial Pope has had hardly an equal among Princes. The greatest authority on the Renaissance period places him next in order of merit to Nicholas V, admittedly the best of the 15th century Popes. And, besides this, we cannot withhold our admiration and esteem from the untiring zeal with which, although feeble with age and tortured by bodily suffering, he laboured in what he must have felt to be the almost hopeless cause of the Crusade, striving with might and main to organize the forces of the West to resist the imminent destruction with which they were threatened by the Turkish power. This alone will secure for him an honoured remembrance throughout all ages.

END OF VOLUME I OF THE HISTORY OF THE POPES FROM THE CLOSE  
OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

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