

THE
HISTORY OF THE POPES,
FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.
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PAUL III,
1534-1549.



LUDWIG PASTOR

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INTRODUCTION.

Few epochs in the history of the Holy See have exhibited so many events and changes of paramount importance as the pontificate of Clement VII. The radical transformation of domestic and social life, of human knowledge and political conditions, begun in the 15th century, proceeded, under this Pontiff, without a halt upon its onward way. While the great discoveries of this century opened up to Europe a new world and to the Church a vast field of labour, while the transition from the disjointed fabric of the mediaeval state to the solid unity of the new age was beginning, and the titanic conflict between France and Spain was turning Central Europe into an arena of war, the flood-tide of Islamic conquest from the East, accelerated by the disunion among Christian princes, was threatening the West with total annihilation. Under the vacillating and irresolute policy of Clement VII the fate of Italy was decided. Her political independence was sacrificed to the supremacy of Spain, while at the same time the culture of the Renaissance received a blow from which it never rallied. And finally, as the climax of all these events, in which the Popes were vitally implicated, came the disruption of belief, one of the gravest crises which the Church has had to encounter.

Since the captivity of the Popes in Avignon and the great Western schism, in every country in Europe, more or less, grave abuses, galling inequalities, and a dangerous spirit of unrest had heaped up, within the area of the Church, a mass of inflammable material which, if once unexpectedly kindled, was bound to break into a terrible conflagration.

Scandalous as the disorders in the Church certainly were, damming up the well-springs of grace and truth, there was, nevertheless, no ground for despair of recovery. Everywhere healthy forces still abounded by which gradually the elements of combustion might have been removed. That, instead of such a process of regeneration, instead of the reform in head and members longed for by all good men, the worldwide catastrophe arrived which began by separating from the centre of Christian unity a great part of Germany and, in course of time, one-third of Europe, seemed in the minds of contemporaries a judgment of God, whose long-suffering was exhausted. The secularized clergy, episcopate, and Papacy needed chastisement; they must be cleansed and purified through stern calamity.

The peoples and their shepherds made atonement together, but Europe lost her most precious possession, the unity of belief. Instead of the one Catholic Church there arose on local or national foundations a motley confusion of lesser or greater religious societies, torn and split among themselves into many divisions, with new doctrines, new constitutions, new forms of worship. These territorial or national churches were at union on one point only: they rejected the primacy of the Pope and surrendered to the good pleasure of the secular authorities—civic magistrates, princes, and kings—the settlement of man's highest and most sacred relationship, that between him and God.

It was a shock without parallel, involving social and domestic relationships, knowledge and art, for all these things had grown up in close connection with the old Church. Very few ecclesiastical institutions of bygone days remained unaffected by this violent breach with the past. What for fifteen hundred years onwards from the days of the Apostles had been for millions in life and death their supreme consolation and peace, what numberless martyrs and saints had sealed by heroic sacrifices and even their very blood, what the most gifted artists, poets, and scholars had ennobled and illuminated by works of undying fame—was all now destroyed and reviled as the invention of man and the deception of the devil. All the weapons at the disposal of the new age were turned with fury against the teaching and institutions of the old Church and the centre thereof, that Apostolic See which even in respect of civilization had lavished so many blessings on Europe. A vast torrent of abuse in hundreds and thousands of pamphlets and caricatures poured down upon clergy and laity, upon educated and uneducated. The leaders of the religious innovations displayed in this respect an almost superhuman energy; Luther, at their head, could not do enough in the attack on the Church of his fathers. “Let us, dear friends,” he wrote the New Year of 1526, “begin to write afresh, to compose tales and rhymes and pictures. Cursed be he who is idle at this work. It will be a long time yet before the Papacy has had enough of our tongues in pamphlets and songs and lampoons and caricatures.”

Even when bleeding from many wounds and mourning the loss of such noble members as the several states of Germany, Switzerland, the Scandinavian kingdoms and England, the Church still stood firm amid the storm. This indeed was the very moment when the strength of Divine life dwelling within her was made manifest to the eyes of men. It was during the unhappy pontificate of Clement VII, when the climax of trouble had been reached and all seemed lost, that the first signs of recovery appeared. They came from the quarter where they were least looked for; from the heart of the Church itself, which to many seemed doomed to destruction.

Already in the last years of Leo the Tenth the Oratory of the Divine Love had been founded in Rome. From this association, which drew noble priests and laymen to a more earnest observance of their religious duties and to works of charity, the Catholic reformation sprang.

Two members of the Oratory, Gaetano di Tiene and Gian Pietro Carafa, founded a new order of regulars, the Theatines, and thereby created a training school for admirable bishops. Like Carafa in Rome and Naples, the peaceful, wise, and cultivated Gian Matteo Giberti, once also a member of the Oratory, carried out as Bishop of Verona an extensive and effectual work in the ecclesiastical and social spheres. The self-sacrificing enthusiasm of these two men kindled others. Giberti’s incomparable work especially was an incentive to similar efforts; the bishops of Italy began to imitate his pastoral virtues and reforms.

Hand in hand with these Catholic reformers, and true to their principle that men must be altered by religion but not religion by men, others, inspired to the work, began the heavy task of bringing improvement into the conditions of the Church as called for by Clement VII and the circumstances of the time; for the horrors of the war, and, in particular, of the sack of Rome, had given a serious turn to many minds and brought with them a realization of the one thing needful. While in the older orders, often in a very corrupt condition, a real enthusiasm for reform had been awakened, new foundations, after the manner of the Theatines, were arising. Paolo Giustiniani reformed the Camaldolesi, Egidio Canisio the Augustinian Hermits, Gregorio Cortese the Benedictines of Monte Cassino, Francesco Lichetto the Franciscan Observants. A Venetian nobleman, Girolamo Miani, founded the Society of the Somaschi for the alleviation of bodily and spiritual misery in northern Italy; Antonio Maria Zaccaria of Cremona founded in Milan a society of regular clergy called at first Sons of St. Paul and afterwards Barnabites; and the Umbrian

Matteo da Bascio was the pioneer of the Capuchin Order, which, after overcoming many difficulties, was to become of the greatest importance in raising religiously and morally the life of the common people.

While these institutions were in process of creation Angela Merici, who found support and encouragement from Clement VII, was laying the plans of her life's work, the Ursuline Order, a congregation of women aspiring after their heavenly reward through sacrifice and prayer. At the same time Ignatius of Loyola was assembling on Montmartre in Paris the first members of the Company of Jesus, a spiritual army placed unreservedly at the disposal of the Holy See for the accomplishment of Catholic reformation and restoration.

No one then certainly had any idea that these springs of fresh life welling up in so many different places would soon become a mighty stream destined to spread blessings of cleansing and refreshment over Church and Papacy. All these preliminaries to happier conditions in the Church were at first partly hidden and partly confined to such small circles that, in view of the corruption prevailing at the time of Clement's death and the extent of the apostasy of Europe, it seemed to most contemporaries that the complete disorganization of the Church, already so severely injured by unbelief and heresy, was inevitable. To crown all there was the critical condition of the Papal States; if in Rome, in consequence of timely precautions, order was in essentials maintained, yet in many cities of the Papal territory serious disturbances had broken out.

In the midst of a situation thus strained and dangerous, the conclave met on the nth of October 1534. Thirty-five Cardinals were present. Only one, Alessandro Farnese, had been appointed by Alexander VI, and a second, Matthaeus Lang, by Julius II. All the others had received the purple from the two Popes of the house of Medici. Among the creations, however, of Leo X and Clement VII there was so little union and solid co-operation that they were powerless. The position of several Cardinals was, up to the last, pretty well a matter of conjecture. The Sienese envoy Lodovico Sergardi, on the 8th of October 1534, reckoned the Italian party at nine: Pucci, Salviati, Ridolfi, Medici, Cibò, Spinola, Grimaldi, Cupis, and Cesi. As four Cardinals of Italian nationality (Gaddi, Trivulzio, Sanseverino, and Pisani) belonged to the French side, the above-named diplomatist believed that the adherents of Francis I would amount to twelve. One of the Frenchmen, however, Cardinal Castelnau de Clermont, did not arrive in time, so that his vote was lost. In Sergardi's opinion the Imperialists fairly counterbalanced the French: two Spaniards (Merino and Quinones), two Germans (Lang, Archbishop of Salzburg, and Cles, Prince-Bishop of Trent), and seven Italians (Piccolomini, Cesarini, Vincenzo Carafa, Palmieri, Ercole Gonzaga, Doria, and Campeggio). The neutrals he considered were Farnese, Ferreri, Cornaro, Grimani, and Accolti. Yet only two days later Sergardi wrote that Palmieri was more inclined to the French, Doria to the Italians, while Grimani and Accolti showed Imperialist leanings. That Accolti was already at that time counted on as an adherent of Charles V is clear from a despatch of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga of the 10th of October 1534, which differs, however, in many other respects from the statements of Sergardi. According to this document, there was close accord between Grimani, Cesarini, Salviati, and Accolti, whose negotiations with the Imperialists came to nothing. "The Italian party," remarks Cardinal Gonzaga, "boast of having ten members, but in reality they are only four." With regard to the French, the Cardinal comes to the same reckoning as Sergardi.

The leader of the French was the energetic Cardinal Jean de Lorraine, although Tournon carried on the negotiations with the other members of the conclave. The adherents of Francis I formed a compact body, and went very cautiously to work; they kept their choice of a candidate

a close secret; only one thing they made known, that they would exclude any Spaniard, or German, or even an Italian favourable to the Emperor.

It was of great importance for the freedom of the conclave that it was held at a time when a certain political exhaustion, following, by a natural reaction, on the violent events of Clement's pontificate, had settled on men's minds. The fear expressed by many towards the close of Clement's life, that the antagonism between the French and Imperialist parties would lead to a schism, was fortunately not realized. Francis I saw that the election of one of his own partisans was an impossibility; he announced that he would be satisfied with a neutral such as Farnese, and left the accomplishment of his wishes entirely in the hands of his party. Charles V also did not attempt to impose his influence more strongly, and was content to admonish the Cardinals to keep in view the credit of the Holy See and the peace of Christendom, and to give their votes for one unbiassed by party. His ambassador also mentioned Farnese as suitable, besides Cornaro, Ferreri, and Grimani, but remarked that his master had given him no special commands with regard to any of these candidates. The intervention of the two great European powers in this election was thus so limited that King Ferdinand I was under the belief that he was acting in accordance with his brother's intentions when he instructed his agent in Rome to work with all his might on behalf of Cardinal Bernhard von Cles. Of the remaining States of Christendom there was not one that took any steps worth recording to influence the choice of the electors.

The position of affairs on the eve of the conclave was thus summed up by Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga: the elevation of a Frenchman or an Imperialist was as impracticable as that of an Italian openly attached either to Francis I or Charles V. Under the circumstances of difficulty then pressing upon political and ecclesiastical affairs, the only possible candidate was a neutral such as Cornaro or Farnese. According to all accounts Farnese's prospects were the best. The French, and especially their ally Trivulzio, worked for him actively; the other Italians and also the Imperialists were, at least, not opposed to him, but, in the opinion of Ercole Gonzaga, the aforesaid Cardinal must needs be elected speedily, or it would go with him as it did in the conclave after the death of Leo X.

Alessandro Farnese, Dean of the Sacred College, of which he had been a member for forty years, was not only the oldest but intellectually the most important of all the Cardinals. A penetrating intelligence, fine culture, great diplomatic experience and ability could not be denied him even by his enemies. Amid the keen spirit of faction shown by the French and Imperialist Cardinals he had succeeded with admirable tact in maintaining an independent position. Even if his relations with the French Cardinals were good, it was to his exceptional advantage with the Imperialists that repeatedly on previous occasions and especially now, just after the death of Clement VII, he had expressed himself in favour of a general Council, and with it of a thorough reform of ecclesiastical affairs.

The dead Pope had repeatedly designated Farnese as his most fitting successor, and had begged his nephew, Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, to secure for him the votes of his friends, as there was no other man among the Cardinals so competent to uphold the dignity of the Holy See and to govern in Church and State. This recommendation made a great impression on Medici and his friends. The younger Cardinals were influenced by the consideration that Farnese was sixty-seven years of age and his apparently enfeebled health did not hold out the prospect of a prolonged life. Above all, the conciliatory charm, which was one of the Cardinal's characteristics, was a powerful influence in his favour. While so many different grounds for Farnese's election presented themselves, it was also strongly to his advantage that there was a lack of candidates who were at once neutral and of intellectual distinction.

On two previous occasions—in the conclaves from which Leo X and Adrian VI had emerged—Farnese had come very near to the Papacy, and now at last his hour had come. It seemed as if he were already the elected Pope when he entered the conclave; as such he actually quitted it, in contradiction to a well-known proverb. At the very beginning, it is true, a serious difficulty arose; Cardinal Tournon was of opinion that the French, knowing their power, should make an attempt to impose political conditions on Farnese; he was to be informed that the French votes would only be given as part of a bargain; he must bind himself to give up Milan to Francis I. Tournon, however, did not put this proposal into effect.

Already on the evening of the 12th of October the rumour ran through the city that Farnese had been chosen Pope. This was stated so positively that the mob were ready to plunder his palace. The Romans, however, could not obtain certain information, as the Borgo was barred off to prevent the intrusion of armed bands into the conclave.

The rumour was founded on truth; Farnese's election had taken place so quickly that the conclave can hardly be spoken of by that name.

On the first assemblage of the Cardinals on the morning of the 12th, Farnese's preponderant influence was evident, as, in spite of Campeggio's opposition, his proposal that the voting should not be secret was carried. Moreover, no articles of capitulation were drawn up. In the afternoon Jean de Lorraine assembled the French Cardinals, and in the name of Francis I proposed Farnese as Pope. This was communicated to the Italians in sympathy with France, whose leader Trivulzio had already been active on Farnese's behalf, and to Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, also engaged in the same cause. The Frenchmen then went with Medici to Farnese to announce to him his elevation. The first to pay him homage was the nephew of Clement VII, and after the Cardinal of Lorraine had obtained the consent of the Imperialists, all the Sacred College met in the Chapel of Nicholas V, where Piccolomini, as the Cardinal-Bishop next in seniority to Farnese, announced the election. That the precedents might be observed, a formal scrutiny took place on the following morning, the 13th of October, at which Campeggio, who on the previous day had refused to vote for Farnese, also gave in his adhesion with the rest. Not for a very long time had a conclave done its work so quickly and so unanimously.

The new Pope, who took the name of Paul III, was a member of an old and distinguished family belonging to the Papal States, of Lombardic origin according to some, of French according to others. The possessions of the Farnesi stretched southwestward from the lake of Bolsena through the volcanic region, famous for its vintage. In the history of Viterbo, and especially in that of Orvieto, the lords of Farnese played a great part, from the twelfth century onwards. When Pope Adrian IV, in 1154, fled to Orvieto, Prudenzo Farnese received him as representative of the city; in 1177 Pepo Farnese was a signatory of the Treaty of Venice in the name of the Orvietans. Members of the family were also entrusted with high ecclesiastical functions; in 1309 Guido Farnese, as Bishop of Orvieto, consecrated the cathedral. Most of the males of the house followed the profession of arms; as zealous Guelphs they stood true to the Popes, who rewarded their services with fiefs and other marks of favour. Cardinal Albornoz did the same, for even during the exile in Avignon the Farnesi struck many a blow for the Holy See. In later days Cardinal Alessandro the younger had his magnificent castle of Caprarola adorned with numerous frescoes celebrating the warlike deeds of his race. Pier Nicola Farnese was there honoured as the restorer in 1361 of Bologna to the Holy See. Piero Farnese distinguished himself in 1363 in the Pisan war and had a monument erected to him in the right aisle of the Duomo of Florence which is still standing.

During the terrible period of the schism most of the family adhered to the Roman Popes. Urban VI, Boniface IX, and Gregory XII on that account showed them many favours. The actual founder of the greatness of the house, which had kept steadily on the ascendant, was Ranuccio Farnese, nominated a Roman Senator on the 27th of April 1417 by Martin V. The Colonna Pope also honoured the family in other ways. During the first troubled years of Eugenius IV, Ranuccio, as General of the Papal troops, did great service, rewarded, owing to the scarcity in the Papal treasury, by fiefs of which the investiture was for a time limited but afterwards became perpetual. In this way Ranuccio became master of Latera, Valentano, Marta, Montalto, Cassano, and Canino.

The riches and possessions of the Farnese family had already reached a notable height when by the marriage of Ranuccio's son Pier Luigi with Giovannella Gaetani, sister of Nicola, lord of Sermoneta, they came into near relationship with the house which had given to the Church the powerful Boniface VIII. Hereby the Farnesi entered the ranks of the Roman nobility without abandoning the original seat of the family on the lake of Bolsena, where, on the Isola Bisentina, Ranuccio in 1448 erected the family mausoleum. The issue of Pier Luigi's marriage was a daughter Giulia, called "la bella" on account of her great beauty, and two sons, Alessandro and Bartolommeo. The latter, Lord of Montalto, married Iolanda Monaldeschi and founded the ducal line of Latera, which became extinct in 1668, after the Castello Farnese had been sold on account of debts to the Chigi, who derive from it the title of Count.

Giulia, already married in 1489 to Orsino Orsini, caused great scandal by her amour with Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, but thereby led to the further aggrandizement of her family. Her daughter Laura married Niccolò della Rovere, nephew of Julius II. Alessandro Farnese was born at the end of February 1468 at Canino or, as some state, at Rome. Thus his youth fell in the heyday of the Italian Renaissance, of which the lights and shadows were reflected in his life. In Rome Alessandro enjoyed the instruction of the famous humanist Pomponio Leto; later on he finished his education in the house of Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence and at the University of Pisa. Under Innocent VIII he returned to Rome, and soon won the approval of the powerful vice-chancellor, Rodrigo Borgia. His entrance into the Papal service was hindered, for Alessandro Farnese had incurred temporary imprisonment and the ill favour of Innocent VIII on account of his

behaviour in some family quarrel. Notwithstanding the warm recommendations of Lorenzo de' Medici, he was not appointed Apostolic secretary and notary until 1491, when, on the elevation of Borgia to the Papacy, in the following year the fortune of Giulia's brother was made. He was treasurer-general and already on the 20th of September 1493 Cardinal-Deacon of SS. Cosmas and Damian. On the 14th of November 1494 he was given the legation of the *Patrimonium Petri*, and in 1499 the Bishopric of Corneto and Montefiascone. The benefices received by him were not rich, and his income was limited, consequently his position in the Curia was not a prominent one. When in October 1502 he was given the legation of the March of Ancona, his position improved, and gave him the opportunity of showing his cleverness and capacity.

A proof of the Cardinal's extraordinary versatility was the excellent footing on which he stood with Julius II, the great opponent of Alexander VI. He not only kept the legation of Ancona, but received many other marks of favour from Julius. The ambassadorial reports show clearly how close was his intercourse with the Pope. It was also Julius II who legitimized the Cardinal's two natural sons, Pier Luigi and Paolo. Besides these the Cardinal also had an illegitimate daughter, Costanza, and about 1509 a third son, Ranuccio. The mother of Pier Luigi and of Paolo, who died young, was a lady of the Roman aristocracy who lived in the Cardinal's house in the

neighbourhood of the Arenula. It was not until 1513 that this illicit connection of Alessandro's came to an end; up to that date he had not yet received priest's orders.

The first sign that a moral change had taken place in Farnese was disclosed by the way in which he administered the diocese of Parma, conferred upon him by Julius II. at the end of March 1509. As his Vicar-General he appointed a very conscientious man, Bartolommeo Guidiccioni, in whom, as in his superior, more serious principles had taken the place of a careless laxity.

Cardinal Farnese threw himself heartily into the work of the Lateran Council, at the opening of which he had the honour of representing the Pope. In order to give effect to the decrees of that assembly, Farnese held in 1516 a visitation of his diocese, at that time a rare example of ecclesiastical energy. In 1519 he instituted a diocesan synod at which new constitutions for the reform of the clergy were introduced and some old ones made more stringent. In June 1519 the Cardinal, hitherto only in deacon's orders, sought priestly ordination, and on Christmas Day in that year he said his first Mass. There is trustworthy evidence that from that time onwards his moral conduct was without reproach. Even if Farnese in some respects remained a child of this world, yet he belonged henceforward to that number of Cardinals who had yielded to the higher influences now at work. It is deserving of all recognition that he was able to make men forget the stain attaching to his elevation to the Cardinalate by strenuously working his way above the low moral sphere with which, as the favourite of Alexander VI and the offspring of an evil time, he had been conversant.

Cardinal Alessandro's relations with Leo X were very advantageous to him, for they had been friends in youth. The rich benefices bestowed upon him by the Pope made such a large addition to his income that he was able to begin building the huge palace on the Via Giulia which has handed down his name to posterity. Leo X, who personally inspected the edifice while under construction, was also a frequent guest of Farnese on his hunting expeditions, when the Cardinal entertained him with royal splendour in his castle of Capodimonte. When in 1518 Farnese declined, on the pretext of an illness, to accept the post of Legate to the Emperor, the Pope seems to have taken it in good part. That Adrian VI should have granted Farnese a reservation deserves special mention in view of the restraint observed by this strict Pontiff in bestowing favours.

In the long conclave of 1523 Farnese's exertions to obtain the tiara had every prospect of success, but in the end he had to make way for his rival, Medici. It can be understood that at first their relations were somewhat strained. It always rankled to a certain degree that, as Farnese complained, Clement VII. had deprived him of ten years of Papacy; but he was too much the man of the world not to make good his footing with the new ruler as soon as possible. As time went on he succeeded in winning not only the respect but the confidence of Clement VII. In the unhappy years 1526-27 their relations had to undergo a severe test. While one of the Cardinal's sons, Ranuccio (d. 15291), remained loyal to the Pope, another, Pier Luigi, went over to the enemy—the Colonna and the Imperialists. A proof of Cardinal Alessandro's great influence lies in the fact that he was successful in obtaining an amnesty from Clement for Pier Luigi, then, on account of his high treason, lying under the sentence of greater excommunication. Nevertheless, the latter did not venture to return to Rome, but took service under Charles V and, from 1528 to 1529, fought for him in the war in northern Italy, and later he was present at the siege of Florence. The reckless ferocity of Pier Luigi, a genuine condottiere of the Renaissance, showed itself betimes in these campaigns. He married Girolama Orsini of Pitigliano, and by her he had one daughter Vittoria and four sons : Alessandro, Ottavio, Ranuccio, and Orazio.

Cardinal Alessandro, since 1524 Bishop of Ostia, shared Clement's imprisonment in St. Angelo until permission was given him, in 1527, to leave the fortress and go to Spain. He went

first, however, to the free Cardinals at Parma. From that city on the 13th of December 1527 he congratulated the Pope on his liberation. Clement was not slow to avail himself of the services proffered in that letter, for in 1528 he appointed Farnese Legate in Rome. When in 1529 the Pope lay seriously ill the Cardinal was the candidate for the tiara approved by the Kings of France and England; nevertheless, he was so acceptable to Charles V that when the latter came to Italy he was appointed to bid him welcome.

During Clement's last years he was undoubtedly the most commanding personality after the Pope; as a diplomatist he had no rival. His long Cardinalate had afforded him opportunity to amass a greater experience than any of his colleagues; in all important consultations, especially those concerning the Council, he took a predominant part. In the most varying posts—in 1533 he was once more Legate in Rome—he behaved so admirably that he was loved by high and low. The Romans especially delighted in his brilliant state; there was therefore general rejoicing at his election as Pope.

Farnese was looked upon as one of Rome's own sons, and the citizens congratulated themselves that the tiara had fallen to one of their own number, a thing that had not come to pass since the days of Martin V, more than a century before.

The preparations for the coronation took time, for the Romans were making ready a great act of homage to the new Pope. On the evening of the 29th of October a torch-light procession, in which the civic magistrates and great nobles took part, made its way to the Vatican. In its ranks were observable three triumphal cars, the decorations of which symbolized the beginning of a new and more spiritual era; the figure of Rome was supported by those of the Church and Faith. The coronation, held with all splendour on the 3rd of November, gave the Romans a fresh outlet for their enthusiasm; they were entertained with a display of fireworks, and two days later with festivities on the Piazza of St. Peter's. The rejoicings increased when Paul III gave lavish alms to the poor and sick, and removed the oppressive taxes with which Rome had been burdened since the pontificate of Sixtus IV.

Beyond Rome also the choice of Farnese gave almost general satisfaction. In wide circles, especially in Germany, the new Pope's reputation stood high in men's favour. In the latter country his utterances on behalf of a council were well known. The humanists in Italy and France, including even those more or less affected by Protestant ideas, showed their pleasure in letters and poems. From Padua Pietro Bembo wrote to the new Pope that his election was a matter of joy for the sake of all Christendom, and especially of the Romans, who had gone through such heavy trials: "With you at the helm, no shipwreck is to be feared, not even the least deviation from the right course." Among diplomatists the hope reigned that there would now be an end to the continual restless oscillations characteristic of the policy of Clement VII, and men drew their breath with a sense of relief. The friends of reform also set great hopes on the new Pope, who gave promise of the best intentions, commanded respect by his conduct, and heard Mass daily. Sadoletto gave eloquent expression to the expectations raised by this side of Paul's character. In his letter of congratulation he sets no bounds to his expressions of admiration for the new head of the Church: never had an election caused such joy among men; never had any Pope received more numerous expressions of honour; the wishes of Christendom were now fulfilled, and a Pontiff of excellence and wisdom steered the bark.

To God be given thanks for having in times of such danger given them so great a leader, one who would without doubt do all to encourage the best interests of Christendom.

One circumstance alone cast its shadow over the general rejoicing. The health of the Pope, now in his sixty-seventh year, who as late as 1533 had gone through a serious illness, seemed so shattered that only a brief reign was expected. But within that frail body there was a stout spirit and an iron force of will. This energy, combined with a judicious mode of life and a wise economy of strength—plenty of exercise in the fresh air and frequent sojourns in the country,—belied the fears of some and rebuked the hopes of others. It was decreed that this man, whose life seemed to have such a slender tenure, was to have the longest pontificate of any Pope of the 16th century.

At first sight Paul III presented the appearance of a weary, worn-out old man. He spoke in low tones, with great deliberation and prolixity. His bright complexion and small sparkling eyes, which struck everyone, alone denoted the choleric temper, over which, however, he had remarkable control. Consummate discretion kept in check a naturally mettlesome temperament.

Of the many painters, sculptors, and medallists who have handed down to posterity Farnese's outward features, none has succeeded so admirably as Titian. He has painted three portraits of this pontiff; each is incomparable in fidelity to life and suggestive portrayal of the characteristics of the original. The first of these three, belonging to the year 1543, shows the lean, middle-sized figure of Paul III seated in an armchair. He is deep in thought, the body slightly bent forward; the mozetta, a light red tippet trimmed with ermine, covers his shoulders; beneath is seen the fine white Papal garment. All the details are strictly true to nature; the dress, the thin hands, the intellectual head with its long aquiline nose, the piercing eyes and gloomy forehead; the shrewd countenance is framed in a full beard of a greyish-white colour. In a portrait painted later the Pope appears much older; the composition is almost identical with that of the former picture, only the Pope here wears the camauro, or Papal cap, and his posture is still more bent forward; the beard has become more silvered. The fallen-in, shrunken form with the left hand hanging loosely down—the right holds a piece of writing—represents in a striking way the weariness of one well stricken in years. The third portrait, however, reveals the strength and energy dwelling in this apparently failing man, and also gives a glimpse into the family history of the Farnesi.

In a chamber of the Vatican hung with red tapestry sits Paul III in an armchair, his small head covered with the red camauro, the shrunken figure speaks of old age and the burden of care—the hour-glass on the table gives warning of the flight of time. On the Pope's right hand, behind his chair, stands Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in his robes, wearing on his head the red biretta, while on the left, in the front of the group, the youthful Ottavio Farnese bends before the Pope, whose diminutive stature is accentuated by the lofty presence of the younger man. The latter appears to be presenting some petition or apology, and the Pope to be speaking in a low voice; but the energy with which the Pontiff addresses him, the piercing look with which he regards him, betoken the fiery soul still aglow under the weight of years.

Titian's portraits have a rival in the noble bust by Guglielmo della Porta, in which the rare sagacity of the man of ripe experience has been imperishably transferred to marble.

One result of this sagacity was the careful consideration preceding all his undertakings, the deference shown to the opinions of men of experience, and the peculiar tact with which Paul III. handled all his affairs. The slowness of his speech, partly natural to him and partly the result of old age, was increased on formal occasions by his anxiety to express himself both in Latin and Italian in the choicest and most refined manner, often drawing on his memory for classical allusions, as well as by his scrupulous avoidance of tying himself down by a positive "yes" or "no." While trying to arrive at a definite settlement of matters under negotiation, he yet liked to have a free hand up to the last moment. So report the Venetian ambassadors, in agreement with Paolo Giovio. This historian lays great stress on the fact that the Pope employed this method even

with the Sacred College. With a most significant play of features he listened, as a lover of free discussion, to all they had to say, but reserved for himself complete independence in the use he made of their opinions, for he always maintained a position above party. The control that the Pope had over himself was matter for admiration. Always knowing the point at which he aimed and possessing great strength of will, this skilled diplomatist succeeded in tracing out the most secret intentions and schemes and turning them to his own uses. With the same skill he knew how, in a conflict of opinion, to steer clear on a middle course.

The caution and hesitation which preceded the decisions of Paul III, and were so often the mark of Pasquino's witticisms, did not arise, as in the case of Clement VII, from lack of courage, but from shrewd calculation. He was determined always to be the master of his negotiations, and to grasp the favourable opportunity. Once secure of the latter, he acted with a swiftness which surprised even those in his confidence; they came to perceive that in most cases the projects which the Pope was most hopeful of realizing were those of which he spoke the least.

It has been pointed out as a special characteristic of Paul III that he had no chosen confidential circle. Although always friendly and accessible to Cardinals and ambassadors, no one was admitted into the secret recesses of this independent character. The Florentine influence, which had played such an important part in Clement's pontificate, was at an end. According to Vergerio, at the beginning of Paul's reign Cardinals Trivulzio and Palmieri were his nearest advisers; together with them the private secretary Ambrogio Ricalcati held a place of high importance, destined, however, to end tragically at the close of 1537. This unfaithful servant became a prisoner in St Angelo, and in the beginning of 1538 the conduct of state affairs and the official correspondence with the Papal representatives at foreign courts was entrusted to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the youthful nephew of the Pope, and to Marcello Cervini, his first secretary.

Paul III treated the Sacred College with the greatest consideration, and was, as far as possible, on the same footing with all. He was assiduous in consulting them, and gave them always the right of access before ambassadors, so that the latter complained of the difficulty of obtaining audience. What displeased the diplomatists most was the Pope's prolixity and tediousness in the transaction of affairs. They gave way to bitter complaints of the difficulties in negotiating with him, of the impediments in the way of access, of his avoidance of definite decisions, of his being as difficult to inveigle as a cunning fox; it would be easier to get into heaven than to bring him to a final issue. Everyone felt the diplomatic superiority of Farnese, who, as Cardinal, had been able to remain on good terms with six Popes of the most different tendencies and so to preserve his neutrality between the two hostile factions of the Imperialists and French as to arouse distrust in neither and to gain the respect of both.

On his elevation to the Papacy, Paul III set himself to carry out his "diplomatic masterpiece"—to avoid any quarrel either with Charles V or Francis I—and for ten years his success was undeniable.

If the policy of neutrality to which he clung with nervous tenacity, as appearing to him with his wide experience and wise calculations to be not merely on political but on ecclesiastical grounds the only right course to pursue, occasionally brought him into collision with the Emperor, the reason was to be found in the Spanish supremacy in Italy. The French, however, did not on this account gain an advantage in proportion to their hopes and wishes. As a mediator free from party spirit, Paul, recognizing better than his unfortunate predecessor his position as head of the Church, endeavoured to restore that peace to Christendom for which the need was doubled in view of the everpresent menace of the Turk. With an energy equally worthy of acknowledgment he strove to secure not only a permanent equipoise between the two great powers of Europe, but

also the political independence of the Holy See in Italy, and to rescue the last fragment of national liberty left to that unhappy country after the entrance of foreign domination under Clement VII. Unfortunately these high aims were from the beginning marred and frustrated by a nepotism often exceeding all bounds.

Paul III repeatedly sacrificed higher interests, even when of importance to the Church, to those of the Farnese family. Only too often, in his solicitude for those of his own house, whom he loved tenderly, did he prefer their claims to those of peace and the Crusade, and always, where it was possible, did he bind the two together.

The combination of such contradictory interests, together with his adroit efforts to be always the master of circumstances, gave to the policy of Paul III, that tinge of hesitation, that calculated outlook for the auspicious moment, which often drove the most skilled and wily diplomatists to despair. If, from the political point of view, Paul III followed the unfortunate tradition of the Popes of the Renaissance, he occupied a much loftier standpoint in regard to ecclesiastical affairs. During the two generations subsequent to Sixtus IV, the chief charge of each successor of St. Peter, the spiritual rule of Christ's flock, had been thrust into the background. Farnese was fully alive to the serious condition of things and the pressing danger; he saw during his long Cardinalate that a system had grown up which threatened the Holy See with destruction, and with which there must be a break. Determined to do all he could to maintain the credit of his high position, he addressed himself from the beginning of his reign to ecclesiastical affairs in a manner widely different from that of his two Medici predecessors. Spiritual interests claimed more and more the constant attention of the Holy See. The Council, the removal of the many abuses, the infusion of fresh life into the Cardinalate, the limitation of the spread of heresy even now threatening Italy itself, the encouragement of the new orders—all these objects occupied the Pope's earnest solicitude. His services in this direction appear all the greater, if we reflect that they were developed at a period of history when the claims of the Church on the interest and affection of mankind were at their lowest ebb. As a Cardinal, Farnese had himself paid his tribute to the spirit of the age. When later on he devoted himself to the reform of the Church, his conduct had a certain magnanimity which cannot be gainsaid. The rejection of his previous manner of life, which he thus indirectly condemned, confers on him a special title of honour; to have made such a change, in the fulness of years, wrung even from those reasonably opposed to him a tribute of respect.

It cannot, however, be said of Paul III that he was a man of the Catholic Reformation in the fullest sense of that expression. Things new and old contended within him, so that to his contemporaries his character was always somewhat of an enigma. In many respects, especially in his nepotism, he continued as Pope to be a child of the Renaissance under which he had grown up. Into what crooked ways he was led by his affection for his own family is only too often recorded in the history of his pontificate. The court life also by which he was surrounded had many of the worldly characteristics of the Renaissance period. A painful impression, moreover, is produced by the circumstance that he was addicted, after an evil custom of the day, to consulting astrologers as to the propitious hour before entering on any transaction of importance, consistories, audiences, journeys, and so forth. Not less deplorable was his frequent oversight of evils which he himself recognized and condemned. Notwithstanding these great weaknesses, Paul III had sufficient wisdom and adaptability to take into account the altered conditions of his high position and the irresistible onset of ecclesiastical tendencies. He stood at the parting of the ways, so that, although in many respects still the representative of an epoch that had come to a close, yet again he often appears as the inaugurator of a new era. Thus, during the whole of his pontificate he was the moving spirit in Catholic reform, and the pioneer of the Catholic

restoration. Under him a strong Catholic movement gained step by step a sure foothold, and herein lay the practical value and the real significance of his reign. In the history of the Papacy he marks the point of transition between an old age and a new.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONCILIAR QUESTION IN THE YEARS 1534-1537

PAUL III, who already, as a Cardinal under Clement VII, had been consistently friendly to the cause of the Council and had also in the conclave expressed himself to this effect, showed, from the beginning of his reign, that he was still bent on the furtherance of this important object. On the first assembly of the Cardinals after his election, on the 17th of October 1534, he dwelt on the necessity of summoning a General Council, and again on the 13th of November in the first consistory after his coronation. To the ambassador of Ferdinand I he declared that the Council occupied his thoughts day and night, and that he would know no rest until it had been convened. Among other eminent prelates summoned to Rome in anticipation of the Council was Aleander, at this time nuncio in Venice; he was bidden on 23rd November. Pietro Paolo Vergerio, nuncio at Vienna to King Ferdinand, who in his letter to the newly elected Pope had given without disguise a true description of the dangerous state of Germany, and repeatedly pointed out the necessity of immediate conciliar action, was also called to Rome at his own express wish in order to supply the Pope with the fullest information. He arrived in Rome at the end of 1534. In order to have close and uninterrupted intercourse with the nuncio, the Pope took him in the beginning of January 1535 to his hunting lodge at Magliana near the capital. There, in the solitude of the Campagna, the two stayed for some time.

Vergerio soon discovered that the Pope was but little acquainted with the true state of things in northern Europe; it seemed to him that Paul III considered Hungary of more importance than Germany. The ignorance of German affairs had been accompanied under Clement VII by serious results, and it is in a high degree to the credit of Paul III that he showed, in this respect, a much more serious appreciation of the subject than his predecessor, and tried to obtain the most authentic information. Vergerio seemed to be the very man for the situation; during his nunciature in Vienna he had had opportunities of studying the evil conditions of the Catholic Church in Germany and of becoming accurately acquainted with the spread of Lutheranism. All his earnest representations had but little effect on Clement VII, but with Paul III the result was different. He received Vergerio's communications with the closest attention, and seemed also determined that they should have a practical sequel.

In these consultations the question of the Council naturally had a foremost place. Vergerio upheld, only with greater emphasis, the points of view which he had expressed in his letters; Germany, with regard to the Council, had centred hopes on the new Pope which it would be dangerous to disappoint. The daily increasing religious dissension from which the nation was suffering was attributed to the dilatoriness of the Holy See in facing the question of the Council,

now looked to as the only effectual remedy; if some speedy change of attitude were not assumed, there was a fear that the Germans, by an appeal to a national council, might settle their ecclesiastical affairs with a free hand; only if they felt perfectly sure that the Pope would summon a council without delay, could any hope be entertained of their refraining from carrying out such intentions.

Vergerio's words were not thrown away. Paul III declared his readiness to summon a council with despatch and consulted the nuncio as to a suitable locality. The Pope was not in favour of any city in Germany, and proposed Verona or Turin. Vergerio, on his part, suggested Mantua, although it seemed to him open to question whether the Germans would go there.

The representatives of Charles V and Ferdinand I in Rome were as active as Vergerio in pressing for a speedy decision on the conciliar question, so long hanging in the air. Both felt alarm, especially after the elevation to the Cardinalate in the preceding December of Paul's two young nephews, that the Pope might again become negligent. The Imperial and Royal ambassadors were therefore untiring in their representations. All other means had been tried in vain by Clement VII—only an immediate summoning of a council remained—otherwise the whole of Germany would be lost to the Holy See. On the 13th of January 1535, Sanchez, Ferdinand's representative, repeated once more his earnest warnings to the Pope and adjured him to close his ears to the siren song advising a postponement of the Council; in the latter lay the only means of quenching a conflagration that had already spread too far. "By tomorrow," reiterated Paul III, who had been pondering the question more and more deeply,—“by tomorrow the decisive step shall have been taken.”

In fact, on the 14th of January 1535, a general meeting of the Cardinals took place, and on the 15th a consistory was held, in which the Pope earnestly insisted on the necessity of calling and holding a council without delay. In the course of the discussion it became evident that the majority were not of this opinion. On the subject of the preliminary invitation to the Princes to give their consent, on which alone the Cardinals were questioned, a great difference of opinion prevailed. Some considered this an unnecessary step, but the majority, as Ferdinand's ambassador suspected, were determined to put off the dreaded assembly. Paul III took a middle course; through his nuncios the Princes were to be informed that he had made up his mind to summon a council, and in this sense the matter was decided.

The Cardinals of the opposition knew well, from their worldly point of view, what they had to expect from a council. Highly characteristic of the opinions prevailing in these circles was a conversation held by Vergerio with an eminent member of the Sacred College. Speaking to the latter of the bad condition of things in Germany, he was met by the observation, "That is exactly what we Romans wish; the German Princes have now got all they wanted, because from the first they abstained from interference." To Vergerio's reproachful inquiry whether the loss of so many souls was a thing to be regarded thus lightly, the Cardinal in question, whose name unfortunately has not been given, answered: "We do not regard that with unconcern, but before any reform could be begun the whole Church system would have to be broken to pieces." To this frivolous reply Vergerio could not refrain from retorting: "See then that you take heed of the bodies of the Germans if you will not trouble yourselves about their souls! You have no notion how great is the wrath they feel against you all and what a powerful force they represent." "In summa," Vergerio says, at the end of his letter to Ferdinand I, relating the conversation, "these lords of the Church are so preoccupied with their pleasures and schemes of ambition that they know nothing of what is going on in distant Germany."

The Cardinals were soon to be made aware that Paul III did not share their superficial notions and indifference. As time went on they were confronted more and more with the fact that in this, as in many other important circumstances, the elevation of Farnese to the Papal throne had been the beginning of a remarkable change in affairs. If Clement VII had paid too little attention to Germany, Paul III, at the beginning of his pontificate, showed more than ordinary interest in that country. This was seen both in his patronage of German Catholic scholars, so culpably neglected by his predecessor, and in the instructions to his nuncios, in which he insisted on the closest observation of the spirit of revolt from Rome shown by the German people. The altered direction of the Papal policy was finally made manifest in the question of the Council. If the Cardinals and their friends threw doubts on the *bona fides* of Paul in this matter, such insinuations gained no credence with the representative of Ferdinand I. He reported that the Pope was then showing great enthusiasm for the Council, and spontaneously expressed to all persons his wish that it should assemble. Evidence of his sincere good-will was also shown in the commissions received by the nuncios nominated in the consistory of the 15th of January 1535.

Rodolfo Pio of Carpi, Bishop of Faenza, was sent to France; Giovanni Giudiccioni, Bishop of Fossombrone, to the Emperor in Spain. As the conciliar question made the nunciature to Ferdinand I a matter of great importance, this post was entrusted anew to Vergerio, in accordance with the wishes of the King of the Romans, and on account of his previous activity within the sphere of German affairs. It was at first doubtful whether Vergerio would be entrusted with the mission, nor until the Pope had examined him closely during his sojourn at Magliana was the final decision reached.

Vergerio was commissioned to approach not only Ferdinand I, but also the Electors and the other most prominent princes, secular and ecclesiastical, in order to present to them the briefs proclaiming the Council. The nuncio's task was twofold; on the one hand, he was to render possible the actual session of the Council, by coming to a special understanding as to the spot in which it should be held, the preference being given to Mantua; on this point he received the important intimation to pass over in silence the previously determined conditions by which the question had been encumbered in Germany. On the other hand, Vergerio was to cut the ground from under the feet of those striving to bring about the dangerous experiment of a German national council. With regard to the place of meeting, the nuncio's position was a difficult one, for not merely the Protestants were averse to the Council being held on Italian soil, but several Catholic princes and bishops were advised that they were bound by the decisions of the Imperial Diet calling for a council in Germany. The greatest caution had to be observed to prevent the wishes of Paul III on this point from seeming to be dictatorial, and yet it was the nuncio's duty to uphold intact the authority of the Holy See on this very question. Vergerio resolved in dealing with this incident to take the ground that although the Pope had the right to summon the Council where he chose, he was yet determined, out of fatherly good-will and respect for the German nation, to invite the previous assent of the latter to his choice of the appointed locality.

Vergerio received his credentials on the 10th of February 1535, but did not leave Rome until somewhat later. Before his departure, Paul III wrote to various prominent German scholars, among whom was Frederick Nausea, and begged them to support the nuncio in his exertions on behalf of the Council. The brief to Ferdinand I bears the date of the 10th of February. In it the Pope informs the King that on his recommendation he has again bestowed the nunciature on Vergerio, not only to his court, but to all the Princes and Circles of the Empire, with the task, in precedence of all others, of bringing about the Council on which his, the Pope's, heart was so set. Shortly before Easter, probably on the 23rd of March, the nuncio, after a hazardous journey, reached Vienna. In his despatch to the Papal private secretary, Ambrogio Ricalcati, on the 25th of

March, he describes his first negotiations on the question of the Council with King Ferdinand, Cardinal Cles of Trent, and other personages then resident in Vienna, especially the Landgrave Philip of Hesse and Duke Henry of Brunswick.

In spite of his urgent representations, Vergerio at first found the court of Ferdinand little inclined to believe in the honesty of Paul III's intentions. According to Contarini, the Venetian ambassador at Vienna, it was said that the Pope and Cardinals had as little interest in the Council as they had in the things of the world to come. They knew only too well that a council meant, first of all, the confiscation of their own temporal possessions, and to the clergy, in general, a prohibition of pluralities. They would be restricted to single benefices, the duties of which they would be pledged to fulfil in return for revenues received. This sort of temper had been fostered by the repeatedly disappointed hopes of a council during the reign of Clement VII. The general distrust thus caused was not the only difficulty Vergerio had to encounter in carrying out his task in Vienna; he was also beset by grave political disagreements.

The result of a conversation with King Ferdinand on the 3rd of April was committed to writing by Vergerio on the same day in a minute for the King. Herein the necessity is set forth of inviting the Emperor's opinion and asking him to confer greater prestige on Vergerio's journey to Germany by giving him the support of an Imperial envoy. With regard to Ferdinand's wish that the Council should be held at Trent, Vergerio desired to apply ad interim to the Pope and ask his permission to propose that city. Ferdinand would himself write to Paul to thank him for his intentions and to exhort him to their execution, while, pending the Emperor's reply he would inform the German Princes of the decision arrived at, and of the nuncio's early arrival.

In a despatch to Ricalcati, on the 7th of April 1535, Vergerio speaks of the King's great satisfaction, of that of the Cardinal of Trent, the Privy Council, and the court at the Pope's intention of taking the Council seriously in hand. Even the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, although in other respects never losing an opportunity of casting ridicule on the Catholic religion, had shown himself favourably disposed on the question of the Council, although declaring that it could not possibly be held elsewhere than in Germany. Duke Henry of Brunswick, also present in Vienna, had spoken of Trent as a suitable place, and one to which the Lutherans also were not likely to offer objections. In his despatch of the following day, Vergerio returns to the subject of Trent in greater detail. King Ferdinand, the Duke of Brunswick, and the whole court are in favour of it. The nuncio then gives his own reasons why Trent recommends itself under the given circumstances as the place of convocation, and begs permission to propose it as most helpful to his mission in Germany, especially with the Protestants, and likely to enhance belief in the honesty of the Pope's intentions. Vergerio thinks that the Council, in order to facilitate its realization, might be opened at Trent and then transferred later on to Mantua. On the 9th of April the Grand Master of the Imperial court, Adrian de Croy, arrived in Vienna; he at once conferred with the nuncio on the subject of the Council, and was able to report on the Emperor's great interest in the general gathering of the Church. On the 16th of April Croy left Vienna to visit, at his master's commands, the German Princes, beginning with the Bavarian Dukes, and to encourage opinions favourable to the Council.

Vergerio himself began the first part of his journey through the Empire on the 17th or 18th of April. His first business was with the Princes of Bavaria and with some of the Suabian and Franconian Circles. As he had no plenary instructions from Rome concerning Trent, he confined himself to his original commission of recommending Mantua to the German Princes, a city already provisionally assented to by Ferdinand subject to the expression of the Emperor's opinion. Cardinal Matthaeus Lang of Salzburg, to whom Vergerio went first, set before him the necessity

of first awaiting the answer of Charles V before visiting the other Circles; for no Prince or Estate of the Empire would give him a certain pledge with regard to the Council and its appointed place of meeting if he could not meet them with the previously ascertained agreement of the Pope with the Emperor and the King on this question of locality; he also recommended that he should be accompanied by an Imperial envoy, and told him that he might at once pay his visit to the Bavarian Princes to ask their advice. Vergerio, therefore, sent a request to Ferdinand to apply again to his brother for an early reply.

The nuncio reached Munich on the 30th of April, where Duke William expressed to him his great satisfaction at the Pope's decision and earnestly besought him not to relax his efforts. He personally, William declared, had the Council at heart, and was prepared, like his brother Louis, to be present wherever it might be held. He advised the nuncio now to visit the other Princes and Prelates of the Circle in order to meet the generally prevailing doubt as to the Pope's intentions by this express announcement of his decision. The Duke wished afterwards to call a diet of the Circle in order to bring before it the question of the Council; he was particularly anxious that the question should be discussed by the different Circles, but gave a warning against a general assembly of the Empire as likely to lead to a national synod. In respect, of the question of locality, Duke William also thought that a previous agreement between the Emperor and the Pope was indispensable; to Mantua he had objections, as the other Circles would put difficulties in the way of such a choice; he therefore recommended the proposal of Trent and the Count Palatine, Philip of Neuburg; lastly, the Bishop of Augsburg, Christoph von Stadion, who gave him full information about Suabian affairs. In his reports the nuncio, full of sanguine expectations, shows himself uncommonly gratified by his reception by all these Princes and their great desire to meet him on terms of understanding. He found that a favourable opinion of Paul III was general, and that his own mission and manner of conducting it made a good impression.

Vergerio's hopes of successful results were not a little strengthened by the very friendly reception he met with, contrary to expectation, in Ratisbon and Augsburg. All these cities of the Empire had gone over almost entirely to Protestantism—in Ratisbon Catholic worship drew to it not more than twenty persons. The municipal authorities received the Pope's representative with all the honour due to him; the customary present of fish and wine was sent to him as a welcome; in Ratisbon some of the members came to meet him and bore him company at dinner. On this occasion they were eager to be informed whether the Pope was really thinking of calling a General Council. When Vergerio replied in the affirmative, they lifted up their hands, thanked God, and broke out into praise of Paul III. Some of the councillors spoke without reserve of the spiritual confusion among them and said how greatly they desired some authoritative decision on religious matters.

Vergerio had the same experience in Augsburg. He entered the city, not without fear of popular hostility, for here it was still a matter of life and death to say Mass. All the greater was his astonishment when he found himself respectfully received not merely by the civic authorities, but by the populace. He inferred from this that the magistracy, on hearing of the summons of the Council, would now exercise more restraint in the introduction of innovations. In a letter to Ferdinand from Neuburg on the 16th of May, he expressed the hope that gradually the former disappointment and distrust with regard to the sincerity of the Pope's intentions would give way to the conviction of his earnestness in the question of the Council; at the same time he begged that he might be informed at once of the Emperor's decision, as this was an imperative necessity for the further execution of his mission. This decision Vergerio received in a letter from Ferdinand of the 21st of May. The contents, however, were such that not much was gained in the interests that the nuncio had at heart. Charles V's instructions were, in fact, that he would give no definite

directions as to the place where the Council should be held, but leave the choice and authoritative decision to the Electors and other Princes of the Empire, and that he would agree to any place unanimously chosen by the Estates. In Rome, shortly before, information had been received through the Spanish nuncio that the Emperor approved of Mantua.

After visiting the Bavarian, Franconian, and Suabian Circles, Vergerio returned to Munich at the end of May. He then found that new and very serious difficulties had arisen. Their instigator was the Chancellor, Leonhard von Eck, and they were fundamentally a part of the anti-Imperial policy of this schemer. During the nuncio's absence Eck had come forward with fresh proposals and had persuaded Duke William to adopt them; their substance was simply that the Pope and Emperor, without further consultation with the German Princes, should come to an agreement as to the meeting of the Council. Paul III was, first of all, to obtain from Charles V the promise that the decrees of the Synod should be strictly carried out "even in the teeth of the whole German nation, if that were necessary, and by armed force." If the Pope obtained this guarantee he might on his own initiative, without any further negotiations with the Electors or other persons in Germany, choose and appoint a city of Italy agreeable to him as the scene of the Council, immediately proclaim the Synod, and open it without delay, even in the absence of the Germans, if they were unwilling to appear on the simple proclamation. But afterwards they should be compelled with a strong hand to acquiesce in the decrees of the Council. Vergerio pointed out the impracticability of such proposals, but he was hardly successful in changing the Duke's mind. The nuncio saw through the Chancellor Eck; he knew well that the latter was not actuated, as he wished it to appear, by Catholic zeal, but by the old rivalry between Bavaria and Austria; hate of the house of Hapsburg lay behind these crude proposals; the Emperor, drawn into opposition to all Germany, would be placed in a troublesome and dangerous position. From that moment nothing more was said of a Bavarian Diet to discuss the Council as previously mooted by Duke William.

On the 6th of June Vergerio returned to Vienna, where, before entering further on his journey through the Empire, he hoped at last to learn clearly what the Emperor intended as to the seat of the Council and to settle the arrangements for his further progress with Charles and his council. He lost no time in telling Ferdinand that great danger would arise if he were obliged to announce that the Emperor had not declared himself in favour of any particular place, but had left the choice to the Princes; this could only lead to a national synod or to the choice of some spot in Germany prejudicial to the interests of the Church.

In a memorial presented to Ferdinand before the 23rd of June 1535, Vergerio urged on the King the necessity of providing him, before he renewed his journey, with a Royal letter to all the Estates and Circles of the Empire dealing with an agreement between King, Pope, and Emperor in respect of Mantua. He waited, however, in vain for any such declaration. As the negotiations at court concerning his further proceedings went on, he was met with the request that he should confine himself at first to laying before the Princes the instructions of Paul III; but if he were asked expressly what the Emperor and his brother thought of the question of the locality of the Council, he should reply that "he believed that their Majesties would not dissent from the Pope's wishes." In a letter of the 23rd of June 1535, Vergerio laid before the Papal private secretary, Ricalcati, the serious objections that he had to such a course. Such a reply would not for a moment accomplish anything to the good of the Council among the really Catholic Princes, while among Protestants its effect on the Council and the reputation of the Holy See would be injurious, and the worst and most dangerous course would be to allow the negotiations about it, once begun, again to become dormant; on the contrary, they must be kept in motion to show that on the Pope's part at least there was no remissness; on these lines he intended to carry on his mission, but, for a

while, would confine his visits to the Catholic Princes. Meanwhile Paul III might exert himself to get a clear statement from Charles V in favour of Mantua. With such a statement in his hand the nuncio would at once procure the assent of King Ferdinand and all German Catholic Princes, and could then enter into negotiations with the Protestants also on a secure basis. It did not, however, fit in with the policy of the Emperor, then occupied with the expedition against Tunis, to make such a declaration immediately, leading, as it might, to difficulties in Germany.

From Rome Ricalcati wrote to Vergerio on the 23rd of July 1535 that Paul III was astonished that Charles V, who had already given his consent to Mantua, held back from an express declaration on account of Germany. The nuncio was on no account to give his consent to the choice of place becoming the monopoly of the German Princes. For the rest, the Pope, to whom the speedy assembling of the Council is a matter of sincere and vital interest, exhorts the nuncio to continue to promote its interests to the utmost of his ability. On the 29th of July Paul III wrote again to Guidiccioni, his representative at the court of Charles V, to try and bring the Emperor to make an explicit declaration in the face of his brother and the German nation. Meanwhile Vergerio was given a free hand as knowing the Pope's intentions and his determination that the Council should be held; only, he was once more warned to keep clear of any forbidden concessions on the question of place, as a city out of Italy could not be thought of.

Vergerio had now, on the 19th of July, started from Vienna on his second journey through the Empire. In accordance with his last transactions with Ferdinand, he resolved to travel slowly in expectation of the Emperor's answer, for which the King of the Romans had again applied, and at first to visit only Catholic Princes, especially the Bishop of Bamberg, the head of the Franconian Circle, and the Elector Palatine. In his despatches he dwells, as always, on his devotion to the cause and the advantages which would accrue to the Emperor and his brother, at this particular moment, if they were to take a firm initiative in the matter of the Council, so that the Pope might in a special manner bind the German Princes to him by his decisive furtherance of this affair. At Ratisbon Vergerio met the Counts Palatine Philip and Frederick and was invited by them to the marriage of the latter at Heidelberg on the 15th of September. They personally accompanied him on the journey. Both Princes promised, in letters expressing loyalty to the Pope, to proclaim their ardour for the Council. If this already filled the nuncio with intense pleasure, his hopes were raised still higher by the marks of honour awaiting him on his reception by the Lutheran Margrave, George of Brandenburg.

Vergerio, in accordance with his original programme of addressing himself at first only to the Catholic Estates, had not thought of visiting this Prince. But when he heard in Neuburg that George's residence at Ansbach was only eight miles away, doubts arose in his mind whether the Margrave, whose connections were so influential, would not take it amiss if a visit to him were omitted, especially as it was impossible to avoid touching his territory. Vergerio therefore came to the rapid decision on the 3rd of August to visit George at his seat. The Margrave at once sent an escort of honour to meet him and invited him to alight at his castle. At Ansbach itself the nuncio was received with tokens of the greatest pleasure; during his two days' stay his host was unwearied in his hospitable attentions. In the course of their negotiations on the question of the Council, the Margrave showed good-will and the utmost readiness to come to an understanding; he declared that certainly the previous resolutions of the Diet of the Empire stood in the way of a council being held out of Germany, but promised to use his influence with the other members of the Schmalkaldic League, apart from whom he could give no independent promise, in a sense corresponding to the wishes of Paul III and Charles V. The resolutions in opposition to a council in Italy could be again repealed by the Princes; but he was glad that the Pope had determined, as was now the case, before fixing a specified place, to consult the Princes on this point, whereas to

adopt the view of the Bavarian Chancellor Eck would be kindling a fire of hostility towards Pope and Emperor in Germany. George had also no objections to raise against the retention of the ancient forms in the Council. Vergerio became convinced that on this important point he would also exert himself to restrain the other Protestants from putting forward fresh demands. The Margrave's declaration by word of mouth was in keeping with a letter to the Pope of the 4th of August handed by him to the nuncio. This was couched in the most submissive language, and expressed the hope that the future Council would remove the discord in the Church and restore unity, objects towards which he was determined to co-operate to the best of his power. Vergerio thought it impossible to doubt that here he was dealing with something more than fine words. Indeed, the tears sprang to the Margrave's eyes when the nuncio, on taking leave, referred to the responsibility for the welfare of his subjects' souls that he had brought upon himself by introducing the Protestant teaching. George excused himself for the innovations on the grounds of the wishes of his people and the example of other States, and said earnestly that things should thus continue only until the Council. In farewell George remarked: "I indeed wish that the good Pope himself could have seen the few tokens of my attachment that I have been able to show you during the last two days; then I might still have hoped that his Holiness would have looked upon me as his servant. Commend me to him, and inform him that I place myself at his disposal."

After all this it is easy to understand how Vergerio formed fresh hopes for the success of his mission as regards the Council, and for the solemn reconciliation of those who had fallen away. He now considered that the time had come to visit Augsburg also. There he found the like friendly welcome; to his proposals concerning the Council, the civic authorities replied that they would not be wanting in support of such a Synod if it were held in agreement with the Emperor and the King of the Romans.

The Bishop of Bamberg, Wigand von Redwitz, to whom Vergerio delivered two briefs, one private and one for the Franconian Circle, declared that he agreed to Mantua or any other place on which the Pope was at one with the Emperor and King Ferdinand. Also, the Bishop of Wurzburg, Conrad von Thüngen, spoke in the same sense in spite of objections raised by his counsellors.

In the meantime the news of the brilliant success of Charles V at Tunis had reached Germany. This gave the nuncio fresh hope. The Emperor now stood as a free agent before the German Princes, and could, if necessary, enforce obedience, without bowing any longer to those diplomatic considerations by which his hitherto evasive attitude towards the Council was explained. The Pope, thought Vergerio, might, under these more favourable circumstances, seize the opportunity to exhort Charles to use his authority with greater force. If the Emperor did this, even within limits, by so doing he would now afford the best prospect of a speedy as well as peaceable meeting and session of the Council. But the near termination of Vergerio's mission laid on the Curia also the necessity of now urging the matter on at once, for it would do irreparable harm to the Pope's reputation and the interests of the Church if the propitious moment now within reach were allowed to pass by unused. Vergerio repeats the proposal he had already made, to come at once to Rome on the close of his mission, in order to make a report to Paul III from his own lips, and then, if need be, to proceed from Rome to the Emperor to lay before him also information on the position of affairs in Germany.

After visiting the ancient episcopal cities of Franconia, Vergerio passed on by way of Heidelberg to the Rhine. Still joyfully elated by his hitherto successful journey, he had no suspicion that a great disappointment was in store for him. This came from the Elector Louis of the Palatinate, who, although he certainly passed externally for a Catholic, was already strongly

under the influence of Protestantism. It was only with great difficulty that the nuncio was able to get a hearing from the Elector at all. At last, on the 24th of August, he succeeded in meeting and laying his case before him. In his answer, which the Elector gave in writing, the latter certainly thanked the Pope, and praised his fervour on behalf of the Council, but explained that the previous resolutions of the Diet did not permit him to accept Mantua, an Italian city, as its seat. In his oral communications with the nuncio beforehand he had used much blunter language on this point, saying that it was not the business either of Paul III, or of the Emperor in conjunction with the Pope, to appoint the place of meeting; that belonged only to the Diet of the Empire. Vergerio pointed out in his reports to Rome the necessity of encountering with determination this dangerous opinion, which, if it obtained many supporters, would probably lead to a national council; the Pope must make efforts, through the Emperor, to dislodge the Elector from this standpoint. Vergerio himself tried to bring the influence of Louis' thoroughly Catholic-minded brother to bear. He therefore wrote to the latter, as well as to King Ferdinand.

In view of the attitude of the leading secular Elector, it was for Vergerio a matter of great gratification that he received at that time favourable answers from a succession of other Princes and Prelates: as, for example, from the Master of the Teutonic Order, Walther von Cronberg, whom Vergerio had visited at his castle of Mergentheim; then from the Bishop of Spire, Philip von Flersheim; from Bishop Henry of Worms, Count Palatine of the Rhine; from the Margrave John Albert of Brandenburg, coadjutor of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, as Vicegerent of the Cardinal Albert, absent in Mainz; from the Elector of Treves, Johannes von Metzenhausen; and the Cardinal of Liege, Eberhard de la Mark. The latter said that in his opinion the Council certainly was a dangerous measure, but one which, in the existing state of things, had also become an unavoidable remedy. He approved thoroughly of the way in which the question had hitherto been handled, and also declared himself in favour of Mantua as a very suitable place. Duke John of Cleves, whom Vergerio visited at Dusseldorf, gave indeed, on account of his connection with France, a more reserved answer, but his demeanour was such that there appeared to be no ground for serious anxiety. The Duke of Guelders and Vergerio were unable to discuss the matter together, as the neighbourhood round Munster was unsafe on account of roving bands of soldiers. The nuncio, therefore, addressed this Prince by letter. The Elector Hermann von Wied, whom Vergerio met in Paderborn after vainly awaiting in Cologne his return from Westphalia, displayed, contrary to expectation, a gratifying spirit of friendliness in the matter of the Council.

Thus, so far, the progress of the journey, after most of the Catholic Princes had been visited, among whom only the Elector Palatine had assumed an unfriendly attitude, seemed to justify the best hopes, as Vergerio, always at pains to extol his own services, had also informed the Pope in a letter written at his direction by Frederick Nausea.

But the most difficult moment of the nuncio's mission was yet to come. During a six days' journey from Paderborn to Halle, to meet Cardinal Albert of Mainz, rendered very troublesome on account of the cold season having set in, Vergerio had an opportunity of realizing from personal experience the dangers arising from the hostile temper of the Protestant populations. Satisfied with his negotiations with the Cardinal, he went on from Halle to Berlin to the Elector Joachim II, whom Albert had still been able to hold back from a public acceptance of Lutheranism, by pointing to the Council as a future certainty. All the greater was Vergerio's satisfaction when this Prince also spoke in conciliatory terms. Joachim's written reply contained, indeed, certain reservations. On the assumption that the Pope and Emperor agreed on the choice of Mantua, he declared himself in favour of that city, and accepted provisionally the decrees of the Council so far as they did not deviate from the word of God and the Gospel.

On his way from Halle to Berlin, Vergerio passed through the territory of the Elector John Frederick of Saxony, then resident in Vienna. The danger of traversing this most Protestant country was increased by an outbreak of plague. Nevertheless, the nuncio went on, but on account of the epidemic did not take up his quarters in one of the villages, but in Wittenberg. To his astonishment he found himself cordially welcomed by the electoral captain Hans Metzsch. The castle of the Elector was assigned to him as a lodging, where he also had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with a Lutheran religious service. Vergerio reported to Rome that all the respect and honour due to his position were paid to him just as if they were living in the good old days. Metzsch and other officials were profuse in their praises of the Pope who was so friendly to the Council; from this behaviour of the greatest opponent of the Holy See, Vergerio drew hope and consolation. He was strengthened in his opinion that the summoning of the Council would detach many from Protestantism by the meeting which took place in the electoral castle between him and the originator of the German schism, Luther, who appeared accompanied by Bugenhagen, wearing his best clothes, with a gold chain round his neck, carefully shaved, and having his hair neatly trimmed; “for,” he had said to his astonished barber, “in the presence of the Pope’s ambassador I must look young, so that he may think that I am still good for some time to come to have a hand in many things.” And he succeeded in his object; Vergerio, in his report to Rome, remarked that, although Luther was fifty years of age, he was strong and hearty, and that he looked not yet forty. “The first question he put to me, as I remained silent,” Vergerio proceeds, “was whether I had heard in Italy the current report that he was a German sot.” In further talk Luther boasted of his marriage with Catherine Bora, and defended the arbitrary ordination of his followers. Vergerio listened to all his defiant remarks with great self-control, and only retorted now and then with a word or two. His restraint, however, came to an end when Luther declared: “We, through the Holy Spirit, are certain of all things, and have no need in truth of any Council; but Christendom has need of one, that those errors may be acknowledged in which it has so long lain.” When Vergerio rebuked this arrogance, and put to Luther the question whether he thought that the assembly of the universal Church sitting under the protection of the Holy Spirit had nothing to do but decide what he deemed good, his antagonist interrupted him with the words: “I will yet appear at the Council, and may I lose my head if I do not uphold my cause against all the world; that which proceeds from my mouth is not my wrath, but the wrath of God.”

From Luther’s often repeated declaration that he would present himself in Mantua, or in any place chosen for a like purpose, Vergerio too hastily concluded that on this point also the Elector of Saxony was in agreement with him. On the 13th of November he despatched from Dresden to the private secretary of the Pope a detailed report of this remarkable interview. In it he also described Luther’s outward appearance, laid stress on his faulty Latin, and on something demoniacal that lurked in his character. The eyes of the great foe of the Papacy, restless, deep-set, and flashing with a certain fire of rage and frenzy, made a great impression on him. From Berlin Vergerio betook himself to Duke George of Saxony, who, in his answer to the Pope, gave his decided approval of the choice of Mantua, already designated by him as a suitable place.

As the nuncio had already at an earlier date met in Vienna one of the two heads of the Schmalkaldic League, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, nothing now remained to do but to meet the other, the Elector John Frederick of Saxony. The latter tried to avoid a meeting with Vergerio, but he was not to be put off; he waited for the Elector in Prague, and stated his case personally with seriousness and dignity. In this conference John Frederick did not pronounce Mantua to be absolutely impossible, but at the same time referred to the resolutions of the Diet in which there was the demand for a German council. A definite answer he declined to give, on the ground that

he must first consider the matter with his confederates, who were to meet at Schmalkald in December. In view of this, Vergerio might submit his proposals in writing.

Vergerio's address to the members of the Schmalkaldic League was dated the 1st of December 1535. On the 21st of that month the League drew up their answer, signed by the Elector John Frederick of Saxony, Duke Francis of Brunswick-Lüneberg, and also by the Landgrave Philip of Hesse. They made it clear that they were conscious of their political preponderance and were now inclined to refuse the Council, when it was offered, for which in the days of their weakness they had been loud in demand; before the general feeling in favour of it, which was widely spread even in Protestant circles, the Schmalkaldic Princes dared not venture to say this openly. But in their reply they clearly and in terms insulting to the Pope rejected any council the forms and order of which should be of Papal appointment, and generally any assembly held outside the borders of Germany. Even if they considered a council necessary, it must yet be one entirely free, to which should be chosen, on the combined decision of the Emperor, kings, potentates, princes, and authorities, suitable and impartial persons of all ranks, to examine into the controversies of religion and decide upon them according to God's word.

As the Schmalkaldic League knew perfectly well that such a Council was impossible, they only wished to indicate by this demand that they had no desire for a General Council at all. The declaration touching the forms and order of the Council was especially characteristic of the absolutely negative character of the Schmalkaldic proposals. When Clement VII had wished two years before to have the former fixed and settled, the reformers had protested against this. In their reply they had characterized such a proceeding as deceitful. They now predicted the same of the new Pope, although Paul III had declared that it should be left to the assembled Council itself to treat and deliberate as to the manner in which the procedure should be carried out; now they went so far as to demand that this should be determined beforehand, and indeed, as in their answer they went on to show, in such a way that the Pope, as their opponent, should not even be permitted to have any influence on the Synod, since he was to appear there not as a judge, but simply as a party to or rather as the accused in a suit in which he would be called upon to clear himself of his sins and errors.

In this attitude of total rejection of the Council the Schmalkaldic Princes were strengthened by Henry VIII of England and Francis I of France. The English King had sent a special embassy to Schmalkald to submit the proposal that he should ally himself with the League, especially in the refusal to accept the Council at Mantua as well as any other of which the Pope was President; he was ready to defend the Confession of Augsburg if only one or other of its articles were, as the result of a common agreement, improved.

Francis I also paid his court to the Schmalkaldic confederates and endeavoured to confirm them in their opposition to the Emperor and the Pope. He feared, as the Venetian ambassador knew well, that if the Council should result in a balance of the religious situation, the restoration of the authority of Charles throughout the Empire would ensue; against this every energy was to be directed. While Francis in his own country was taking cruel measures against his Protestant subjects, he was posing as the protector and friend of the Protestant States in Germany. In the autumn of 1535, just as Vergerio was travelling to the German court, the French envoy Guillaume du Bellay was urging the Protestant Princes of Germany to give no countenance in any way to a General Council such as that for which Charles V and Paul III were striving, since in such an assembly the majority of votes would be on the side of the latter; Lutheranism, should the Council take place, would be undone. At the same time the envoy was instructed to work for the summoning of national councils in Italy, France, and England.

In Rome the ambassador of Francis I used very different language. When Jean du Bellay, just nominated Cardinal, was appointed to the Papal court at the end of June 1535, he was instructed by his treacherous master, to whom religion was merely a political tool, to give the Pope the fairest assurances with regard to his support of the Council and the return of the German Protestants to the Church. Nothing, the Cardinal was to insist, was a matter of such desire to Francis as a good Catholic Council bent on the extirpation of error. With regard to place, the King was resolved to be guided by the opinion and wishes of the Holy Father, both on account of the Papal authority and of his own attachment and loyalty to the person of Paul III, who certainly in all his transactions had always before his eyes the welfare and peace of Christendom. The King's transactions with the Protestants, so the Pope was to be further assured, aimed at bringing them to a recognition of Paul's supreme authority as chief ruler of the universal Church. If success attended the King's efforts, Paul III might go on to summon a council at Rome and there display that authority in fitting splendour!

Assurances quite as flattering were given to Rodolfo Pio of Carpi, Bishop of Faenza, who had been appointed nuncio to France in January 1535, and arrived at the French court at St. Germain on the 17th of February. Thenceforward he was constantly in close proximity to the King. In the very first audience granted to him Francis praised the Pope's firm determination to hold the Council, and recommended Turin for its sessions; at the same time he expatiated on his exertions to bring the German Protestants into submission to the Holy See. When later on the nuncio returned to the question of the Council, Francis declared that such an assembly had his sympathy, but that the Emperor was determined that it should meet only within his own dominions, and to that France could not consent. This difficulty was always subsequently raised on the French side in order to avoid a direct promise. Carpi was unwearying in making counter-representations; at last he succeeded in obtaining the King's conditional consent to Mantua. On account of this declaration and of Cardinal du Bellay's assurances, there were grounds for the indulgence of the hope in Rome that the assembling of the Council would at least meet with no hindrances on the part of Francis.

Vergerio, who had returned to Vienna on the 7th of December 1535, still took an optimistic view of the results of his journey. He had, in fact, succeeded in renewing hope in the Council among the Catholics of Germany, dispirited and embittered by the behaviour of Clement VII, and in checking the threatened reference of ecclesiastical affairs to a national council. Yet he had not achieved much more than this negative success; for even if the Catholic Estates, with the exception of the Palatine, had agreed to Mantua, it was on condition that they were first sure of the Emperor's consent; the latter, however, maintained an obstinate reserve.

On one portion of the Protestants, especially on the cities of the Empire, among whom there was a vague feeling of enthusiasm for the Council as the panacea for the ills and divisions of the Church, Vergerio's ever-increasing fervour had certainly a great effect. But the nuncio's over hopeful temperament had exaggerated this result to so remarkable an extent that he looked upon the acceptance of the Council and the reconciliation of the Protestants to the old Church as things close at hand.

The aversion of a great number of Protestants to any council, giving vent to itself in popular agitation, was overlooked by Vergerio as well as the fact that with regard to the General Synod of the Church two fundamentally opposed conceptions existed. The Catholics continued to hold fast to the belief that the Council came to its decisions assisted by the Holy Spirit, and that therefore such decisions were unconditional. The Protestants, upholding the dead and ambiguous letter of the Bible to be the supreme arbiter in matters of belief, would only consent to the decisions of the

Council in so far as they agreed with their own interpretations of the Scriptures. The Council they aimed at was one so constituted that the acceptance of their doctrines was a matter of certainty. Thus the praises of the Council in Protestant mouths were to a great extent discounted.

How much value, generally speaking, was to be set on the fine words of the authorities of the Imperial cities is disclosed by the fact that a year later the civic council of Augsburg took forcible possession of the cathedral and of the monastic churches and drove the Bishop and Chapter, together with all the rest of the clergy, out of their city. The very cordial reception given to Vergerio by George of Brandenburg, to which the former attached so much weight, had not in any way led to favourable results for the Church. The Margrave remained afterwards, as before, a partisan of the Protestant cause. who remarks that the moment seized upon for the appearance of this pamphlet, just when Paul III was evincing a friendly disposition towards the Council, was chosen with the "keen penetration of a demagogue."

But of greater and more decisive importance was the Schmalkaldic declaration of the 21st of December 1535, of which the nuncio certainly knew nothing before he left German soil. The Elector Palatine had now as associates in his opposition to the Papal Council two such powerful magnates as the rulers of Saxony and Hesse. On a sober consideration of the facts, it must be admitted that, as far as the Protestants were concerned, Vergerio's mission had been a failure.

In Vienna he was met by the command to return at once to Rome to make a personal report. Accordingly, on the nth of December 1535, he began his journey across the Alps, and on the 7th of January 1536 he was in Rome, and made his report to the Pope, who at once sent him to Naples⁴ to inform the Emperor how the affairs of the Council stood in Germany. It was here that he received the answer from Schmalkald, which had been sent after him, and which he also wished to communicate to Charles. The Emperor, he wrote to Ricalcati, shall thus learn how the shamelessness of these Princes increases when they see how lukewarm the head of the Empire is in these matters. The excited tone of the letter shows how great a blow to the nuncio was this shattering of his illusions. After repeated negotiations with Granvelle and Covos, whom Vergerio pressed hard, he hoped that he had convinced them and the Emperor of the Pope's earnestness respecting the Council and of his sincerity towards Charles.

The presence of Charles in Rome was of decisive importance for advancing the affairs of the Council. Although the opposition of the French party was maintained on this occasion, the two supreme heads of Christendom came to a complete agreement on the conciliar as well as on other questions. Three days after the arrival of the Emperor, on the 8th of April, it was decided, in an extraordinary congregation of Cardinals, in spite of the opposition of the anti-imperialists, to summon the Council, and a commission was appointed to draw up the Bull. The members were the Cardinal-Bishops Piccolomini and Campeggio, the Cardinal-priests Ghinucci, Simonetta, and Contarini, the Cardinal-deacons Cesi and Cesarini, with whom Aleander, Bishop Ugo Rangoni of Reggio, and Vergerio were also included. The drafting of the Bull was entrusted to Aleander.

The Emperor was so much gratified by the Pope's conduct with regard to the Council that the day before he left Rome, Easter Monday, the 17th of April 1536, in presence of the Cardinals and the diplomatic body, he thanked him for the good disposition he had shown on this occasion. He then left Granvelle and Covos in Rome to act as plenipotentiaries. They were to submit the Bull convening the Council, after it had been received from the commission, to a further examination. Their amendments, which gave greater prominence to their master's endeavours to call the Council into existence, were complied with. Upon that the French ambassador made a similar demand that mention should be made of his sovereign's services. The opposition of the Imperial representatives was so violent that with difficulty a compromise was arrived at whereby

the wishes of the Frenchman received consideration in a somewhat modified form. Vergerio also animadverted in two particulars on the draft of the Bull. In a special minute he recommended the omission of the phrase “according to the form of the earlier Councils”, as provocative of passionate disapproval in Germany and prohibitive, at the outset, of the participation of the Protestants in the Synod. This alteration was accepted. Vergerio’s second proposal was that before the Council was summoned to meet at Mantua the assent of the German Princes should once more be invited. This strange suggestion, by which everything already attained would again have been made an open question, threw the representative of Ferdinand I into the greatest dismay, for at the same time the antiimperialist opposition was unabated. Fortunately the suggestion was not accepted.

On the 29th of May 1536 the Bull of Convocation was passed in consistory. At the same time Paul III issued a decree that, in the event of his death during the Council, the Papal election should be vested in the Cardinals only, and not in the general assembly of the Church. In the following consistory on the 2nd of June the Bull, bearing this date, was published; two days later it was promulgated on placards at St. Peter’s, the Lateran, the Cancellaria, and on the Campo de’ Fiori.

In this document Paul III dwelt on the anxieties to which he was exposed by the Protestant errors, the reform of the Church, the wars in Christendom, and the distress attendant on them. After mature consideration he had come to the conclusion that no better remedy was to be found than in following the truth, which in like circumstances had approved itself as the best to his predecessors—the convening of a General Council. During his cardinalate he had already wished this, and since his elevation had spoken openly in favour of a council, and communicated his views to the Princes. Now, with the consent of the Cardinals, he summoned one at Mantua, a place secure, well situated, and adapted for the reception of such an assembly. All Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots were invited to meet there on the 23rd of May 1537. The Princes were to send envoys if they themselves were hindered from coming, but he hoped that they would appear in person. The Emperor, indeed, in his own name and that of his brother Ferdinand, had both in the past and now again during the present pontificate urged the necessity of a council; Francis I also had declared his agreement. He called upon the Princes to give unimpeded access to the Council to all of their subjects who were minded to take a part in it, in order that such an assembly might ordain things profitable and serviceable to the honour of God, the exaltation of the Church, the extirpation of error, the unity and well-being of the faithful, and the accomplishment of a combined movement against the infidel. All mention of the form to be observed, as well as any reference to former councils, so objectionable to the Protestant Estates and theologians, was avoided in the proclamation.

The next step was the nomination in consistory on the 9th of June 1536 of three Cardinal-Legates to announce to the Emperor, the King of France, and the King of the Romans the publication of the Bull—Caracciolo to the Emperor, Trivulzio to Francis I, and Quinones to Ferdinand. By the end of July the other envoys of the Council were appointed. On the 10th of September the Netherlander, Peter van der Vorst, Bishop of Acqui, the nuncio for Germany, and Panfilo de’ Strasoldi, the nuncio for Poland, and on the 24th of October the General of the Servites, Dionisio Laurerio, designated for Scotland, received the briefs and instructions appertaining to their office. To Strasoldi were also assigned the arrangements for the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg.

The announcement of the summons of the Council in Hungary and Bohemia fell to the lot of Giovanni Morone, Vergerio’s successor at the court of Ferdinand. He was accredited as

permanent nuncio on the 21st of October 1536, the special instructions concerning the Council dating from the 24th of the same month. The most difficult of these nunciatures was that of Peter van der Vorst to the Princes of Germany. The very choice of this Netherlander, who in the days gone by had come to Rome with Adrian VI, implied a friendly disposition on the part of the Pope, to which a further emphasis was given by the fact that the staff of the nuncio's mission was entirely composed of Germans and Netherlanders.

Van der Vorst was strictly enjoined in his instructions not to be drawn into religious disputations, as experience had taught that these only stiffened the dissentients in their opposition. The discussion of such subjects must be declined on the ground that the Council was close at hand, wherein every man would be allowed the free utterance of his opinion. Van der Vorst above all was to preserve uniformity in the delivery of his message, and when difficulties were raised about Mantua, to point out that that city had been the consentaneous choice of the Emperor, the Pope, the King of the Romans, and a great number of the German Princes; whoever had objections to bring forward was at liberty to apply directly to the Pope.

Peter van der Vorst entered Imperial territory on the 13th of October 1536, at Trent. He then visited Brixen and passed through the Pusterthal to Steiermark, where, in the beginning of November, he met Ferdinand at Bruck and accompanied him to Vienna. The nuncio, of whose journey an attractive account by his secretary Cornelius Ettenius exists, on leaving Vienna, first visited the Princes of the Bavarian Circle: the Bishop of Passau, Cardinal Lang of Salzburg, Duke William of Bavaria, Bishop Philip of Freising and his brother, the Palatine Frederick, and lastly, the Bishops of Eichstatt and Augsburg. All the above Catholic Princes gave van der Vorst a friendly and sympathetic reception. They praised the Pope's determination to hold the Council regardless of the fresh outbreak of hostilities between Charles V and Francis I.

The nuncio then turned, not without fear, to the Protestant Estates; first to the Margrave George of Brandenburg-Culmbach, and to the Council of the Imperial city of Nuremberg. Vorst found no unfriendly disposition in either. The Margrave certainly made no concealment of his Lutheran sympathies, but received the intimation of the Council with a courteous expression of thanks. He, however, like the Nurembergers, declared his inability to give any promises without a previous understanding with the Schmalkaldic League. In Bamberg, where the Bishop received his invitation to the Council with respect, van der Vorst was detained six days owing to an inundation. From Wurzburg, on whose aged Bishop the nuncio lavished praise, he proceeded to the Elector John Frederick of Saxony, upon whom, as the most powerful of all their magnates, the decision of the Protestants depended.

The Saxon Elector treated the nuncio from the first with the most unseemly lack of consideration. Vorst had announced to him, in the most courteous terms, the object of his mission. John Frederick answered from Grimma on the 1st of February 1537 that he had already begun his journey to Schmalkald to join the League, and that it was impossible for him to fix a place of meeting; the nuncio might, if he chose, go there, and there was all the more reason for his so doing as the matter in question would come under discussion by the League, while the Elector himself could give no individual decision. To this John Frederick adhered, and on the 5th of February he came to Weimar, where Vorst was at that moment staying. The latter now hoped to obtain an audience, but the Elector kept out of his way; he went so far as to turn off the road leading past Vorst's inn, so that the nuncio might not even catch sight of him.

After this treatment Vorst was undecided whether he should fall in with the invitation to appear at Schmalkald. But as the Elector of Mainz, whom he visited at Calve, near Halle, strongly advised him to do so, he made up his mind to make one more final endeavour. In spite of illness,

in spite of ice, snow, hail-storms, wind, and floods, he made the six days' journey to Schmalkald, arriving there on the 24th of February.

There the Imperial Vice-Chancellor Held had already been making urgent representations to the Protestant Estates that, having constantly appealed to the Council, they ought, now that it was summoned, to accept their invitation and send delegates. Held was able to show that the Synod which the Emperor had so zealously promoted was now a matter of real earnest; since almost all other nations and the majority in the Empire as well had agreed upon it, the Protestants alone ought not to fall short of the rest of Christendom in foresight and zeal. The Pope had proposed a council without limitation of reference, and without enumeration of conditions. It was to be held, even if not in Germany, yet in a fief of the Empire, in some city lying near to the boundaries of Germany. It was to be the means of restoring unity to the Church, securing peace to the Fatherland, and enabling the nations of Christendom to offer a united resistance to the attacks of the Turk.

It has been correctly remarked that this was a turning-point for the German people, of the same cardinal importance as that of the year 1523, when, in the Diet of Nuremberg, Adrian VI, trusting to his German compatriots, appealed to them for help in upholding within the Empire the laws and order of the Church. If the Council were now to be rejected, there remained, as the Papal representative foresaw, hardly any hope of the reconciliation of the lapsed, or of a removal of the scandals from which Germany was suffering. Even on the Protestant side there were many, Melanchthon foremost among them, who dreaded the results of a permanent breach. This spokesman of the party therefore once more maintained his opinion at Schmalkald: that the Council ought not to be summarily rejected. For even if in such an assembly the Pope could not act as judge, he was yet within his right in convening it. Nuremberg, among the cities, had directed its envoy to do all he could to prevent the confederates at Schmalkald from refusing to attend the Council. But the decision lay neither with the theologians nor with the cities; it had long since been in the hands of the Princes, who were not slow to perceive that the Pope's invitation touched the matter to the quick. It struck at the combination of the ecclesiastical and temporal authority; at the subordination of the Church to the secular power; at the tenet *cujus regio ejus religio*, even if this expression had not yet been formulated.

When, in 1530, in the Confession of Augsburg, the Protestant Estates demanded a council, they had no clear conception of how that assembly was to be formed, or how its decisions were to be given. Even later they came no nearer to a solution of this question, for, on the whole, they did not seriously believe that the Council would ever meet.

Indeed, the stronger their hopes of failure were, the noisier and more reckless were their complaints that the Pope was making a dupe of Christendom. And now, when the Papal invitation stared them in the face, great was their perplexity. They had to take their stand on one side or the other. The first to recognize this was the Elector John Frederick of Saxony.

Already on the 24th of July 1536 the Elector had asked his theologians and jurists at Wittenberg to draw up an opinion on the Council. His own view, expressed in a memorial composed by himself, was in favour of the rejection of the Papal citation; he even thought that the nuncio should be refused a hearing, and that on his arrival in Germany he should be met by a messenger bearing a protest against the summons of Paul III. The first opinion of the theologians and jurists, most probably drawn up by Melanchthon, did not satisfy the Elector. While certainly opposed to the Council, it did not express this opposition in sufficiently downright terms, and in particular did not give due consideration to the proposal that the promulgation of the Bull convening it should be met by a counter protest.

On the 6th of December the Wittenberg theologians handed to the Elector a fresh opinion with which he was satisfied. Here the contingencies which might follow the Council were discussed. If, for example, the marriage of priests was forbidden, that was to be regarded as an injury to the common welfare against which “measures of self-defence might be taken such as one would take against murder in the street.” Princes and authorities are in duty bound to prohibit “open violence and immorality as they would a violation of the marriage tie. All the more are they in duty bound to prohibit open idolatry.” Luther affixed his signature to this announcement with the words, “I, Martinus Luther, will help you with my prayers, and also, if needs must, with my fists”.

Somewhat earlier the Saxon Elector had asked Luther to draw up the articles on which, as on an authoritative and unalterable basis, the Protestants were to take their stand against the Council. By the end of 1536 this work was finished, and the approval and subscription of the Wittenberg theologians obtained, Melancthon making the remark that, if the Pope would accept the “Evangelium,” his superiority over the rest of the episcopate, according to human *law Jure humano*, might be admitted for the sake of peace. These articles were known as the Articles of Schmalkald; they were twenty-three in all, agreeing in many points with the Confession of Augsburg. But an entirely different spirit animated the present document; its whole tendency was in opposition to the Augsburg Confession. The latter was an endeavour to remove points of difference, and to retain as nearly as possible the semblance of Catholic teaching. As regards its composition it rested theoretically on old Catholic principles in its appeal to a General Council summoned by the Pope. The Augsburg Confession in its essentials was certainly the work of Melancthon, but the Schmalkaldic articles, the work of Luther, declared in the very preamble that Protestants had no need of a council. They asserted the contrary sharply, and in the most bitter and most insulting language; they said, for example, of the Holy Mass: “Above all, from the evils of this dragon the scum and vermin of all manner of idolatry, has been begotten.” Purgatory was called a “phantom,” celibacy a “doctrine” of the devil. Of the Pope they declared that, “since he was *not jure divino*, i.e. by God’s word, the head of Christendom, it therefore followed that all that he had done and purposed in the name of such false, impious, iniquitous, and usurped authority had been and still was an empty and devilish business, bringing corruption on the whole Catholic Church and destroying the first article of belief in the redemption of Jesus Christ.” “As it is impossible for us,” this document goes on to say, “to worship the devil himself as Lord and God, so is it impossible for us also to suffer his apostle, the Pope or Antichrist, to be head and lord within his government, since the Papal rule is lying and murder and destructive both of body and soul; therefore we cannot kiss his feet or say, Thou art our gracious Lord; but rather, with the angel in the book of Zacharias, The Lord rebuke thee, Satan!”

The Elector of Saxony was highly satisfied with this declaration of war, and in entire agreement with it. If the Schmalkaldic articles, owing to Melancthon’s influence and Luther’s illness, were not accepted officially still the League acted in the question of the Council in full accordance with their spirit. The Emperor’s representative, the Vice-Chancellor Held, was informed that the holding of the Council in an Italian city must be unconditionally rejected. In the further course of their reply they even denied to the Pope and his ecclesiastical court the right to participate in the Council on account of their “errors and abominations.”

The treatment of Paul III’s representative at Schmalkald has hardly any parallel in the history of diplomacy. Vorst was received by the Elector on the 25th of February. After stating his case he presented an authentic copy of the Bull of citation and two briefs, one of which was addressed to John Frederick as Elector and the other to the same Prince as convener of the Saxon Circle. He took the documents and laid them on a table in front of him. All he said to Vorst was

that he had nothing more to communicate to him, then stood up laughing and left the room to take advice with his counsellors, leaving the Bull and briefs behind him. His council afterwards made excuses for him, saying that the other Princes had requested him to meet them in order to discuss matters of grave importance. They also declared that their master could give no answer until he had first conferred with his allies of the League; under the circumstances the nuncio could only return to his lodgings and take the briefs with him. Van der Vorst replied calmly and with dignity to this somewhat summary intimation. He begged his Grace the Elector to read the briefs and the Bull, as he would then be better able to consult the Princes about them. But John Frederick's chancellor insisted that the nuncio should take the briefs away. Van der Vorst replied that it was neither fitting nor right to do so ; once they had been placed in the Elector's hands, he, the nuncio, could not withdraw them. Granted even that the Elector had not said in express words that he accepted them, he had yet given it to be understood by his silence that he did not refuse them; the chancellor ought to convey the briefs to his master, for how, without having read them, could the latter take counsel upon them? The chancellor now broke out and accused the nuncio of scholastic and sophistical devices. Van der Vorst persisted in his refusal to take back the briefs as a proceeding incompatible with the dignity and honour of his mission.

The others also treated the nuncio with a mortifying want of consideration. The Landgrave of Hesse, and the Dukes of Pomerania, Württemberg, and Lüneburg refused him audience altogether if he had nothing else to say than what he had addressed to the Elector. It was not until the 2nd of March that the written reply of the Schmalkaldic confederates was delivered. This, corresponding to the one received on the 24th of February by the Vice-Chancellor Held, contained a flat rejection of the Council; the briefs were handed back unopened to the nuncio. These clumsy insults, which were totally wanting in finesse, showed that a spirit of irreconcilable opposition had taken possession of the Princes and theologians assembled at Schmalkald. From their former demand for a council they had now advanced to the stage of unconditional rejection.

How strange this repudiation of the vehement demands of the Augsburg Confession must have seemed. Although it would have been easy for van der Vorst to have answered the charges brought against the Pope in the Schmalkaldic reply, he refrained, in accordance with his instructions, from all disputations, and all the more willingly because, although a German by birth, he felt that his personal safety was threatened. The partisans of the National Church movement had done all they could to stir up a temper of hostility to the Council and to the Pope by scattering broadcast ribald lampoons in verse. In these van der Vorst also was personally attacked.

At the close of the Diet at Schmalkald on the 6th of March 1537 those present undertook to meet together again at a future date to consider the Council. Melancthon was commissioned to draw up in the name of the Estates, for the Kings of France and England, a justification of their action in rejecting the Synod. Not satisfied with the mere refusal of the General Council summoned by the Pope, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse had actually entertained the idea of opposing to the Papal Council a national and "evangelical" assembly of their own, to be convened by Luther together with his "assistant Bishops and ecclesiastics." This "free" council was to meet in Augsburg under the protection of an army of at least 15,000 foot soldiers and 3000 horsemen, and it was hoped that the Emperor might be induced to be present. But what with Luther's illness at Schmalkald and the dissensions amongst the Protestants themselves, this venturesome scheme came to nothing.

Van der Vorst had gone away from Schmalkald to Zeitz, where he arrived on the 13th of March 1537 and proclaimed the Council to the Princes staying there: the Elector Joachim of

Brandenburg, Duke George of Saxony, and Duke Henry of Brunswick. They returned favourable answers. In a report from Zeitz on the 23rd of March Vorst declared that it was by no means the case that all the Lutherans were against the Council, and that popular expectation was still hoping for one although the Schmalkald faction had done all they could to bring discredit on the proposal. In the course of his journey the nuncio visited the Bishops of Bremen, Hildesheim, and Munster, and later on the Duke of Cleves and the three ecclesiastical Electors on the Rhine. While all the above named accepted the Council, the Elector Palatine Louis was not more friendly than in the days of Vergerio. Vorst's mission came to an end with his visit to the Netherlands; and on his return he also proclaimed the Council in Switzerland.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONCILIAR QUESTION IN THE YEARS 1537-1539

In addition to the internal hindrances arising from the brusque refusal of the Schmalkaldic leaders, a still greater difficulty sprung up in external affairs; this was the renewal of hostilities between Francis I and Charles V in the summer of 1536.

The French King, always antagonistic to the Council, now found the wished-for excuse. On the 5th of September 1536 he informed the nuncio, Rodolfo Pio of Carpi, Bishop of Faenza, that in the existing conditions of war it would be impossible for his prelates to go to Mantua; the Council would be under the influence of the Emperor, and would only represent particular interests; such an assembly would only aggravate the evils existing in Christendom. When Carpi, raised to the Cardinalate and withdrawn from France in April 1537, was taking leave of Francis, the latter spoke in still stronger terms of his objection to Mantua. In like manner he showed himself an outspoken opponent of the Council to Carpi's successor Cesare de' Nobili; with Catholic assurances on his lips, he was in substance upholding the demands of the German Protestants.

How seriously in Rome and elsewhere within the sphere of Catholic sympathies the question of the Council was taken is shown by the comprehensive preliminaries now in the meantime claiming attention. As soon as the general assembly of the Church at Mantua was announced, Johann Faber, the zealous Bishop of Vienna, prepared an exhaustive memorial for the Pope dealing in detail with all the questions affecting the Council. Paul III, in the reply which he ordered to be sent to Faber, commended his earnestness, agreed to his proposals, and begged him to devote himself to the new work which this indefatigable prelate had undertaken—the compilation and refutation of the errors of their opponents. Fuller intercourse with the German theologians was the mission entrusted to the nuncio Morone, who on his arrival in Vienna had at once placed himself in close communication with Faber and the Cardinal of Trent.

In Italy Gaspar Contarini was foremost, as soon as the Council had been proclaimed, in entering on a wide range of studies in order to prepare himself and others for the work of the Council. In the winter months of 1536-37 he finished a review of the history of earlier councils intended to supply the Pope with rules for the conduct of a council, and with a summary of former decisions against false doctrines. In presenting it to Paul III he at the same time expressed his thankfulness and joy that the summons of the Council was an accomplished fact. Bartolommeo Guidiccioni, formerly the intimate friend of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and for many years his Vicar-General in Parma, whom Paul III, soon after his election, called to Rome to listen to his advice on the initiation of works of reform and on questions of the Council, also threw himself, on his return to Carignano from Rome in the summer of 1535, into close study of all questions

concerning the General Council. The result was a manuscript work “de Concilio,” presented to the Pope.

In July 1536 Paul III formed his long-planned Commission of Reform with the object of having at his disposal practical and consultative help in making preparations for the Council. One result of this Commission, begun in November 1536, of whose members Sadoletto, Carafa, and Pole were nominated Cardinals on the 22nd of December, was the famous report on ecclesiastical reform, which must be considered as the programme of the Council’s reconstructive work.

Paul III, in spite of all the difficulties caused by the opponents of the Council as well as by the existing political embarrassments, never gave up the thought of a punctual opening of the Synod. In February 1537 he still spoke of a speedy assembling at Mantua, and began to make preparations for the journey thither. He held fast to this intention even afterwards, although the majority of the Cardinals on the commission, excepting only Contarini, Sadoletto, and Carafa, were of opinion that no beginning could be made before the Germans appeared in Mantua. But at the last moment difficulties arose in a quite unexpected quarter—they came from the Duke of Mantua himself.

In a brief of the 15th of February 1537 the Pope, referring to the high confidence he reposed in him in choosing Mantua as the seat of the Council, invited Duke Federigo Gonzaga to make the necessary preparations in his capital for that event. In his answer of the 24th of February the Duke thanked the Pope for his announcement and for the honour conferred upon him by the Council holding its sessions in his city—a circumstance which he had hitherto, in the absence of anything like authorized assurances, regarded merely as “rumour.” He expressed his willingness to make preparations, but declined to incur a general responsibility for the security of the Council, and begged the Pope to send someone with plenipotentiary authority with whom the necessary matters might be arranged. The Pope thanked the Duke on the 21st of March for his ready willingness, and set his anxiety at rest by the assurance that no further protection would be necessary than would be sufficient to maintain public order in the city; at the same time he bestowed upon him the Golden Rose by the hands of his chamberlain, Giovanni Battista de Grassis.

Before receiving the brief of the 21st of March Duke Federigo, in a letter to his brother Cardinal Ercole, of March the 24th, had explained in full that for the protection of the Pope and Council as well as for his own security and that of the city of Mantua an armed guard of exceptional strength must be provided. Cardinal Gonzaga hesitated to communicate this letter at once to the Pope, as his brother had intended him to do. Paul III was thus able on the 3rd of April to recall Cardinal Carpi from France in prospect of the impending opening of the Council and his own early journey to Mantua.

It was not until the 9th of April, when the Pope in consistory wished to come to a decision on the date of his journey, that Cardinal Gonzaga delivered to him the Duke’s letter of the 24th of March, which was then read aloud. On the same day the Pope directed Ricalcati to inform the Duke that his demand, as unnecessary as it was harmful, could not be acceded to; at the same time he asked for an answer, by return of courier, informing him of the Duke’s final decision. Upon this the Duke sent his secretary, Abbatino, to Rome, where he arrived on the 15th of April, and on the following day laid his message before the Pope. The Duke’s answer, orally conveyed, was that he adhered to his demand. Abbatino defined this in precise terms; it would be necessary for the Pope to have in his pay a bodyguard of 1500 foot soldiers and 100 horsemen, the total number of whom, indeed, need not be levied at first, but, in the Duke’s candid opinion, they would have to be brought up to full strength as the concourse of visitors to the Council increased.

In two consistories held to consider this incident, the Cardinals as well as the Pope were of opinion that Gonzaga's demand could not be entertained. Even if, according to the declaration of the Schmalkaldic League, their Princes were no longer to be reckoned with on the representation of the Council, still no pretext should be afforded them for decrying the Council as incapable of free action. The majority of the Cardinals were in favour of prorogation; only Sadoletto and Schonberg voted for the opening of the Council on the appointed day, but in another place; the former proposed Piacenza and the latter Bologna. Accordingly, in the consistory of the 20th of April, in presence of the princely envoys, the prorogation of the Council until the 1st of November was announced. The reason given in the Bull was the impossibility of meeting in Mantua in consequence of the Duke's unrealizable demand—unrealizable not merely on account of the cost involved, but especially because the Pope thought it unfitting, and that a council held under arms would form a vicious precedent. In the meantime another suitable place was to be decided on.

In special letters the Pope announced to the Princes and nuncios the prorogation of the Council. In order that the bishops already on their way to Mantua should be spared the unnecessary continuance of their journey, the Bishop of Segni, Lorenzo Grana, was sent to meet them at Trent. He wrote from thence to the Pope on the 14th of May, after a nine days' stay, that no bishops had as yet arrived, and none were any longer expected. Only the Bishop of Wurzburg had made inquiries of Cardinal Cles concerning the Council and had received the information required. The German nuncio Morone was also entrusted with the like task of intercepting visitors to the Council who might already have started on their way.

Paul III gave special directions to the nuncio Giovanni Guidiccioni to inform the Emperor thoroughly on the whole position of the conciliar question. The Pope had not experienced for a long time anything more disagreeable than the action of the Duke of Mantua, so regardless as it was of the Holy See and of the general welfare of Christendom. Nevertheless he was firmly resolved to hold the oecumenical Council under any circumstances, and that too in a place to which no Catholic could reasonably object. The Lutherans, by their answer given at Schmalkald to the nuncio and the Emperor's representative, had shown that they were wholly averse to a council. The matter therefore had now become the concern of Catholics only.

His Holiness, however, was unwilling that a single Catholic nation should hold itself aloof, as otherwise there arose the danger of a schism. Mantua was now out of the question not merely on account of the Duke's unfair behaviour, but also because the French, whose tacit consent had been gained previously with difficulty, would not now, after the prorogation, listen to the mention of such a locality. The Pope therefore wished to obtain the Emperor's opinion as to some place in Italy to which no Catholic could take exception. As there was no time to lose, he begged for as speedy a reply as possible; failing that, he had thought of asking the Venetians to consent to one of their cities, Verona possibly or Padua, being set apart for this sacred function. As the Venetians were the common friends of Europe, it might be assumed that no one, even in Germany, would be dissatisfied with such an arrangement. In the event of a refusal on the part of the Republic, the Pope had made up his mind to summon the Council as soon as possible at Bologna or Piacenza. These places offered all that was necessary, and recommended themselves to all Catholics as cities of the Church, the common mother of Christendom, where especially the Holy See observed a constant neutrality. Further, in order to obviate any objection to the choice of one of these two Papal cities on the plea that it would hamper the freedom of the Council, the Pope promised to place the particular city, in which the General Council should be held, under the jurisdiction of the Synod so long as the sessions lasted. Paul III asked the Emperor for a speedy answer in order to be able to give timely notice of the locality chosen, whither he himself would go in the beginning of October, in order, with God's help, to open the Council, which the afflictions of the

Church had made a crying necessity, and which in days long before his elevation to the Papacy had been the object of his great desire. An instruction for the information of King Ferdinand, corresponding in substance to the message to the Emperor, was also sent to the nuncio Morone.

The King of the Romans showed little inclination to meet the Pope's wishes. As soon as he heard of the prorogation through Morone, and the latter suggested to him Bologna or Piacenza, he declared himself opposed to a city within the Papal States on account of the Lutherans; this difficulty he raised again when the nuncio laid before him the Pope's intentions as contained in the instruction of the 27th of April. Morone vainly represented that the Lutherans, who would have nothing more to do with the Council, were ruled out of court; the nuncio's request that some of the Princes should be informed of its postponement, Ferdinand also dismissed as useless. So long as a state of war existed between Francis I and the Emperor, the Council could not be held, even if the Pope renounced his neutrality and made an alliance with Charles. For the rest, Ferdinand again suggested Trent as a suitable place, but explained that he would acquiesce in all particulars with the Emperor's wishes. Udine was also mentioned as a fitting locality, convenient for persons of all nations, if a choice were to be made in Venetian territory.

Francis I continued as hostile to the Council as before. In the first audience granted to the new nuncio, Filiberto Ferreri, Bishop of Ivrea, he adhered to his opinion that in the existing conditions of war it was impossible to hold a General Council; he added, however, that in default of his personal presence he would also forbid his prelates to undertake the journey to the Council. To the nuncio's request that the conciliar Bulls might be published in France, he made no reply. At Ferreri's next audience, not obtained till a month later, through the good offices of the Cardinals of Lorraine and Bourbon, Francis still held by his assertion that a council was impossible during the war. On this occasion the King informed the nuncio that he could not give an immediate decision with regard to the place to be determined on. If the Pope proposed a city free from objections, he would give his adhesion, as he intended to appear in person and bring with him the collective Gallican hierarchy to the Council.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable replies from France, the Pope's endeavours to compass the assembling of the Synod were not relaxed. By briefs of the 22nd of June 1537, the Cardinals absent from Rome were recalled to take part in discussions preliminary to the Council. A special summons was also sent to Filippo Trivulzio, Archbishop of Ragusa, in a brief dated the 31st of July.

The question of locality, since the choice of a city belonging to the Papal States had been given up on account of the anticipated opposition of the Princes, was at last happily solved after long negotiations with Venice. On the 29th of August 1537 Paul III addressed a brief to the Doge and Signoria. As in the present divided state of the Princes of Christendom there was hardly a spot in the whole of Italy acceptable and without suspicion to all parties for the meeting of a General Council, the Pope, under these circumstances, turned to Venice as the one neutral body politic in the peninsula in possession of cities suitable for the above purpose, and begged the Republic, by granting the use of one of the latter, to assist him in this pious undertaking. At first the Signoria declined on account of the difficulties then besetting them from the advance of the Turks against Corfu, and entrusted this reply to their orator at the Papal court on the 6th of September. But the assiduous efforts of the nuncio Verallo and Cardinal Grimani succeeded at last in obtaining a favourable result; although the scale was certainly turned by the news of the raising of the siege of Corfù by the Turks. The decree of the Venetians consenting to Vicenza as the seat of the Council was drawn up on the 21st of September, and on the 25th of that month their envoy

was ordered to communicate this decision to Paul III. He delivered his message on the 28th of September at Nepi, where the Pope was then staying.

Paul III, highly delighted at the permission to use a city so well adapted for the purpose, at once gave the necessary instructions, and returned almost immediately to Rome to make preparations for his journey to Bologna. The Pope would have much preferred the 1st of November for the opening of the Council; but since the short interval made it hardly possible for the Transalpine Bishops to arrive punctually, he thought at first of deferring the Council until the 1st of January. To the Signoria of Venice the Pope sent his thanks at once in a brief that was read aloud in Venice on the 5th of October. In a secret consistory on October the 8th it was agreed that the prorogation of the Council should be prolonged to the 1st of May 1538. The Bull announcing the choice of Vicenza and the second prorogation up to May the 1st is also dated the 8th of October; Aleander was the draftsman. In briefs of the 18th of October these measures were announced to the Christian Princes.

It was thought in Rome in November that the Pope, as soon as the Christmas celebrations were over, would leave for Bologna and from there proceed to Vicenza. As usual, opposition was shown by the Cardinals to the departure of the Supreme Pontiff, but Paul III did not show any inclination to consider their wishes. In December he spoke decidedly of his wish to undertake the journey northwards in January. Nevertheless, there were not a few in Rome who persisted in their belief that the Synod after all would meet there; others suspected the good-will of the Venetians.

On the 5th of December 1537 the Bishops Matteo Giberti of Verona and Ugo Rangoni of Reggio were nominated nuncios in secret consistory. They were first to go to Venice and express the Pope's thanks in person to the Signoria, and then to Vicenza. After they had both fulfilled their mission to Venice they left that city for Vicenza on the 23rd of January 1538 in order to set on foot the external preparations for the Council. Their first business was to arrange quarters for the expected Princes and prelates, and then to see to the structural alterations in the cathedral, where the sessions of the Council were to be held.

In a consistory of the 19th of December 1537 Legates were appointed to discuss the affairs of the Council together with the preliminary peace negotiations: Cardinal Cristoforo Jacobazzi to the Emperor, and Cardinal Rodolfo Pio of Carpi to the King of France. Jacobazzi, who joined the Emperor's court at Barcelona on the 17th of January 1538, afterwards had repeated conversations with Covos and Granvelle. The latter declared that Charles V would leave nothing undone to secure the accomplishment of this sacred and necessary work. The only point, therefore, that called for discussion was whether the Pope would be successful in obviating the hindrances arising in other directions, especially the opposition of the German Protestants, who were not only themselves animated by hostility to the Council and striving for a national synod, but by their threatening attitude were also hindering the Catholic Princes and prelates of Germany from attending the Council. A second obstacle of importance was created by the position taken up by the King of England, who was doing all in his power to incite Francis I and Charles V against the Holy See.

The promptings of Henry VIII produced no effect on the Emperor. With Francis I, on the contrary, they were not unsuccessful. Cardinal Carpi, as well as the nuncio Ferreri, reported the King to have declared that he would have nothing to do with the Council previous to the conclusion of peace. According to Carpi's despatches the King made his participation in the war against the Turks and the Lutherans, as well as in the Council, contingent upon the prior surrender of Milan into his hands. On the other hand Ferdinand I, in his reply to the brief of the 18th of

October, expressed great joy and his gratitude to the Pope, as well as his entire readiness to help on the Council in every way.

The beginning of the new year saw the Pope actively engaged in making preparations for the general assembly of the Church. In the consistory of the 7th of January 1538 he nominated for this purpose a commission of nine Cardinals: this consisted of the Cardinal-Bishops de Cupis and Campeggio, the Cardinal-priests Ghinucci, Simonetta, Contarini, Carafa, and Sadoletto, the Cardinal-deacons Cesarini and Pole, who were also the most distinguished members of the Sacred College and the most friendly to the movement of reform. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga then wrote to Contarini that he could not believe that the Princes could maintain much longer their opposition to the Council. Gonzaga's expectations and hopes went so far as to lead him to suppose that the influx of those attending the Council would be so great that the walls of Vicenza would be incapable of holding them.

The commission appointed in January lost no time in setting to work. There was a mass of questions to be answered. Who should preside over the Council—the Pope or his Legates? Who was to have the right of voting? How were votes to be given? What learned experts were to be asked to assist? Were settled points of doctrine to be reopened to discussion? A question of great importance was whether attempts at union with the Protestants were to be made, or whether the Council was to rest satisfied with an authoritative repudiation of their doctrines. Further still, what position was to be taken towards the grievances of the German nation, and the demands made even in Catholic quarters for the administration of the chalice to the laity and the permission of marriage to the clergy? And there yet remained the problem, how discussion on the Pope's relationship to the Council, a point never definitely settled by the Synods of the 15th century, was to be prevented. Nor was it of less importance to meet on some assured basis the claims of the Princes to intrude on the juridical sphere of the Church.

Outside of German affairs the English schism and the recovery of the Scandinavian kingdoms called for consideration. Together with these questions of supreme moment there were others, such as the utilization of monastic buildings either abandoned or despoiled, and the efficient maintenance of peace and order in Rome—questions, seemingly no doubt of inferior importance, but not on that account to be treated with indifference. Business of such magnitude necessarily called for a division of labour. Accordingly Campeggio was requested by the commission to make proposals as to the position to be taken with regard to the “grievances of the German nation.” This choice hardly calls for explanation, since this Cardinal, together with his brother Tommaso, had already, in 1536, gone thoroughly into the circumstances, and had drawn up an exhaustive report on the difficulties of the question. Points of dogma were entrusted to the experienced hands of Contarini, who for the purposes of his task formed a special sub-committee of theologians with whom he was in constant consultation.

The commission of Cardinals also submitted to thorough discussion the question whether the Pope should go in person to Vicenza or send Legates in advance. Their decision was given in consistory on the 20th of March 1538; it was to the effect that, in view of the uncertainty of the opening of the Council on account of the continuance of the war, the Pope should not run the risk of a premature appearance in Vicenza, but be preceded there by Cardinal-Legates. At the same time, however, proof should be given that, where the welfare of Christendom was under consideration, the aged Pope would not shrink even from personal exertions. Accordingly it was resolved that, in order to promote peace between the Emperor and Francis I, Paul III should betake himself to northern Italy. If this great and difficult task were accomplished, the Council would also become a certainty, and the Pope then might without danger proceed to Vicenza.

The Legates appointed on the 20th of March 1538 were Cardinals Campeggio, Simonetta, and Aleander. All three seemed eminently suited for the task; Campeggio had taken a very important part in the discussions of the commission, and proved his acquaintance with the questions under debate; Simonetta ranked high as an expert in canon law; Aleander, who only a week before, on the 13th of March, of the German Nation, had received the purple, was undoubtedly one of the most competent judges of the intricate affairs of Germany, and had also already in the two previous years applied himself thoroughly to conciliar affairs.

The Legates ought, as soon as they were nominated, to have set out for Vicenza. But their departure from Rome was somewhat retarded, as the necessary funds were not forthcoming, and there was also a delay in the preparation of the necessary Bulls. Aleander started on the 1st of April and Simonetta on the following day, but Campeggio, owing to illness, was unable to follow them at once. Aleander, in the first instance, went to Venice to procure from thence books and documents which he had need of for the Council; then, on the 15th of April he went on to Padua, there to await both his colleagues, in order to make a simultaneous entry with them into Vicenza. The intention of the Legates to make their solemn entry into that city on the 1st of May was frustrated by Campeggio's illness. It was not until the 24th of April, when Aleander already had been waiting nine days in the Benedictine monastery of St. Justina in Padua, and Simonetta in the adjacent Benedictine house in Praglia, that news reached them from Campeggio, who informed them from Loiano, in the neighbourhood of Bologna, that he had reached that place on the 22nd of April and left on the following day to keep Easter week in Bologna, but that he intended to begin his journey to Padua on April the 29th, where he hoped to arrive in about four days. Thereupon Aleander and Simonetta hesitated whether they should wait for Campeggio or make their entrance without him on the 1st of May into Vicenza—a step which seemed to them of great importance in view of the tone of feeling in Germany. In the event they determined, out of consideration for Campeggio, to wait until May the 4th, and communicated their resolve to him. The Papal Master of Ceremonies, Giovanni Francesco Firmano, who was to have assisted at the entrance of the Legates, reached Vicenza on the 14th of April, but on the 24th was again recalled by the Pope to Piacenza.

Paul III had set out on his journey to Nice to negotiate a peace between Charles V and Francis I on the 23rd of March, but while on his way he had received tidings from Vicenza that no one had appeared there from Germany or elsewhere to attend the Council. The date of the opening was close at hand without there being any possibility of giving effect to it. The Pope therefore saw himself compelled to announce from Piacenza on the 25th of April 1538 that the Council was once more postponed until a further decision was arrived at.

On receiving this intelligence the Legates thought that there would only be a short respite; they wished, even if the Pope should further decide not to furnish them with official powers to open the Council, to carry out nevertheless their solemn entry into Vicenza as previously intended, for they considered that their presence there was now necessary, as otherwise they would only confirm the ill-disposed in their belief that the Council had never been seriously intended. After Campeggio had met his two colleagues in Padua on the 1st of May, their entry was positively fixed for the 12th, unless in the meantime they received a prohibition from the Pope. As this did not take place, and the Master of Ceremonies, Blasius de Martinellis, was actually sent by Paul III to assist them, the entry was made on the appointed day with full ceremonial, as the Legates at once reported. The burgesses of Vicenza, who had hitherto viewed the whole proceeding with indifference, ordered a costly baldachino to be got ready for the Legates; still much remained to be done to complete the repairs of the Cathedral. Only five bishops took part in the entry with the Legates, namely, in addition to Tommaso Campeggio, Bishop of Feltre, the Cardinal's brother,

the two nuncios Rangoni and Giberti, Pietro Paolo Vergerio of Capo d'Istria, and Filippo Donato of Retimo. There was also present in Vicenza since the 30th of April Johannes Magnus Store, Archbishop of Upsala, banished from Sweden and now sojourning in Rome. He, however, was hindered by illness from taking part in the solemnities of the entrance.

While Paul III, on meeting the monarchs at Nice, achieved a partial political success and on the 18th of June was able to conclude between them a ten years' cessation of hostilities, he found that both evinced towards a speedy opening of the Council a disposition than which nothing could be less favourable. The Emperor was as much convinced as ever of the necessity for a General Council, but in presence of the widespread indifference throughout the world, his enthusiasm also began to slacken. Francis I, instigated against the Council by Henry of England, made no further concealment of his objections to the choice of locality. In his second conference with Paul III Francis rejected, with laughter, the proposal that Milan should be held for three years by King Ferdinand while he should at once give up his alliance with the Turks and agree to a council. It would be much "more honourable," he observed, if the Pope, perhaps, or Venice, were to be the depository of Milan, but even in this case he could give no pledges to the Emperor regarding the Council. The Pope's proposal, that Francis as well as Charles should send at once the prelates at their respective courts to Vicenza with commands to the others to withdraw, had not the slightest chance of success. On their journey together to Genoa the question of the Council was once more made the subject of close discussion between Paul III and Charles V. Both at last came to the agreement that the Synod must again be put off until Easter in the following year. This was settled in a congregation of Cardinals at Genoa on the 28th of June 1538. The Bull dated from that city on the same day gave as the reason for this third prorogation the wishes of the Emperor, of the King of France, and of King Ferdinand, as well as the non-appearance of the bishops at Vicenza.

The Bull of the 28th of June 1538 was not sent off until August the 2nd, and reached the Legates on the 9th, on which day accordingly their functions came to an end. Copies of this document were despatched to the nuncios at the court of the Emperor, of King Ferdinand, and of the Kings of France and Portugal, with orders that they should be published and disseminated through the press. The nuncios in Spain, France, and Portugal were also specially enjoined, in letters dated the 30th of August from Cardinal Farnese, to impress strongly on the prelates of those countries to assemble at Vicenza at the following Easter without waiting for fresh citations, for it was the hope of Paul III, now that concord had been restored between the two monarchs, that the Council, by God's grace, might be enabled to meet, under any circumstances, at the time indicated.

The Pope had done all he could to show the sincerity of his wish to make the Council at Vicenza a reality. If circumstances had stood in the way and made the opening in May 1538 an impossibility, he at least was not to blame; no ground could be adduced to throw doubt on the sincerity of the zeal displayed by him on that important occasion.

No mention had been made in the Bull of the 28th of June of a point which had a bearing on the prorogation of the Council to the following year. This was the notion first suggested personally in May 1538 by the Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg to King Ferdinand, that independently of the Council, which was still indeed rejected by the Lutherans, an attempt should be made in Germany to come to an understanding with the latter, for which purpose the Pope might send commissaries to that country. Joachim was of opinion that certain concessions, especially with respect to the administration of the chalice to the laity and the marriage of the clergy, would be indispensable. Ferdinand, who grasped eagerly at the idea of such an attempt at

an understanding—for in the interests of a strong movement against the Turks his whole heart was in the unification of Germany—wished Joachim to make the suggestion to the Emperor, who could discuss it with the Pope. He took the nuncio Morone into his confidence in order that the latter might inform Paul III beforehand of the scheme. Morone did so in a despatch of the 2nd of June, although the plan seemed to him open to objection on account of the demand for concessions; but he suggested that the Pope might perhaps during the Council order a committee to sit, in lieu of the Synod, to consider terms of agreement with the Protestants, although certainly not in the sense of Joachim's proposal. Very soon afterwards Ferdinand again returned to the subject with the nuncio, and the latter now took the view that the Pope must either go forward with the Council and propose concessions or send commissaries to Germany as desired, for otherwise the Papal authority and obedience in Germany would be in the greatest danger.

When Charles V and Paul III had their last conference in Genoa at the end of June 1538, the former had come round to his brother's suggestion of a "Concordia," while the Pope had also been informed of this scheme in Morone's letter of June the 2nd. Ferdinand's proposal strengthened the Emperor in his wish to obtain a postponement of the Council to a very decided degree; the Pope, under existing circumstances, had no other course left to him than to assent. Thus simultaneously with the prorogation of the Council the despatch of Cardinal Aleander to Germany was agreed to between the two supreme heads of Christendom.

The first intimation of the mission awaiting him was received by Aleander through Ghinucci's letter of the 29th of June. His nomination took place at Lucca in a consistory held on July the 4th. From the same day dated the Bull conferring on him full powers "to take measures not repugnant to the Christian religion and the orthodox faith" to restore the separated members of Germany to the unity of the Church in accordance with the idea originated by the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg and advocated by the King of the Romans. Further details concerning his mission were communicated to him by Fabio Mignanelli, who had formed one of the Pope's suite at Nice and Genoa and been appointed to accompany Aleander into Germany. Mignanelli was instructed to convey to the latter Farnese's letter of the 6th of July, and to supply him provisionally with further instructions.

Aleander, in a letter dated July the 14th, announced to the Pope his acceptance of the task proposed to him. He was under orders to start from Vicenza for Germany as quickly as possible, but owing to various causes his departure was delayed; it was the 13th of August when he at last got away. In the beginning of September Aleander and King Ferdinand met at Linz. Mignanelli, appointed to succeed Morone as nuncio to Ferdinand on the 3rd of September, followed him in the same month. Aleander's mission to Germany, as far as it concerned questions of religion, was quite unsuccessful. He personally was full of enthusiasm and devotion for his task, but neither with the King, to whom his appointment was from the first unacceptable, nor in any other quarter did he meet with sympathy and support. By the Protestants, to whom he was an object of particular odium as the author of the Edict of Worms, his presence in Germany was as good as totally ignored, and the Legate found himself excluded from any participation in negotiations passing between the two parties.

Nor was the question of the Council helped by Aleander's legation. The religious policy of Charles V and his brother had received a direction from their adoption of the scheme of concord, which stood for years to come in the way of the realization of a General Council of the Church. When on the 2nd of November the nuncio Mignanelli presented to Ferdinand the Bull for the prorogation, the latter certainly gave the fullest assurances with regard to his future attitude towards the Council, but very soon afterwards he changed his tone. In the course of a long

conversation with Aleander on the 8th of December he spoke of the necessity of a “true and general reform in Christendom” as the only remedy, but said not a word in mention of the Council. Mignanelli, to whom the Imperial envoy Johann von Weeze, formerly Archbishop of Lund, as well as Cardinal Cles of Trent and others at court gave only negative replies when the question of the Council was brought up, came himself to think that it would be useless to hold one without the assistance of the lapsed Catholics and without the power of bringing them under obedience; to do so would only bring on the Pope personally needless trouble, and expose Rome and the Holy See to great danger without any previous certainty of success.

Aleander, after his experience of the non-committal attitude of the Princes and diplomatists, could not have any hope of anything better even if, in the circles of the Catholic theologians, he still found much earnest sympathy with the Council. As from the Bishop of Vienna, Johann Faber, who had also submitted to the Pope, through his agents in Rome, a forcible entreaty to hold the Council, so also Aleander reported to Farnese, on the 22nd of February 1539, that there reached him numerous written and personal inquiries as to the Synod from other prelates and learned men who in the ecclesiastical distress of Germany were clamouring for the Council as drowning men clamour for succour. The substance of his answer had always been that the Pope, by the summonses to the Council already issued, had shown his sincere wish to convene that assembly, but the hindrances to it had become so formidable that only the most limited hopes of success could be entertained. But, on the other hand, he had also called attention to the nature of those hindrances: to the attitude of the Lutherans, who, in contradiction to their earlier appeals to a council, were now declaring that they were determined to adhere to their errors; to the non-appearance of the prelates at the appointed time for the opening of the Council in the past year at Vicenza for, whether unable or unwilling to come themselves, they had not, in a single instance, sent procurators or written letters of apology; and lastly, to the notorious behaviour of the temporal Princes, as yet the reverse of friendly to the meeting of the Synod. This ought to convince them that the Pope was as sincere in his intentions concerning the Ecumenical Council as he was in his efforts to bring about peace between Christian Princes, and that the fault did not lie with him if the Council were not held. In this sense he had replied to Faber and Nausea and written to Eck and Cochlaeus, who were to communicate his opinion to all those whose demands for the Council found such vehement expression. Aleander thought it would be an excellent thing if similar answers to inquiries were to be sent from Rome also, and corresponding instructions issued as well to every nuncio abroad.

Not less unpropitious was the attitude of France in spite of the armistice of Nice. The nuncio Filiberto Ferreri wrote from Laon on the 28th of October 1538 that, on presenting the Bull of prorogation to the Constable Montmorency, he had represented to the latter that, notwithstanding the Turkish danger, there would be no impossibility in holding the Council at the time appointed and getting through its most important business quickly and easily, if the King of France and the Emperor would throw for a while their particular interests into the background and make common cause together to bring the German Protestants into submission and a temper of obedience to the Church; the war against the Turk would not thereby suffer, but at last be put in a condition, through the combined participation of united Christendom, to achieve substantial success. Montmorency certainly showed that personally he was in sympathy, but he explained to the nuncio that the King would not agree to the Council, nor permit the publication of the Bull of prorogation, unless his “own” (that is, Milan) was first of all restored to him; on the German Protestants he could only bring friendly representations to bear; to take in hand an understanding with them was the affair of the Emperor. To the nuncio’s reply that the Pope was the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Montmorency’s only rejoinder was to repeat once more that without a peace and the restoration

of Milan neither the Council nor the Turkish war could be thought of. In January 1539 the Papal chamberlain, Latino Giovenale Manetti, sent to France with special instructions, also reminded Francis of the Council in his presentation audience. He received the answer that no success could be anticipated from such an assembly until peace had previously been concluded between the King and the Emperor, and both could intervene with their authority for the execution of the decrees of the Council.

Farnese at once informed the ambassador at the Imperial court, Giovanni Poggio, and the Legate Aleander, of Manetti's mission to France and the reply made to him by Francis I, Paul III, in the first instance, wished that, in the interest of the Turkish war, the Emperor should be in Italy in the spring; this would also be of advantage to the affairs of the Council; with regard to the latter, the Pope was of opinion that it was neither serviceable nor honourable to have repeated prorogations, since thereby an opportunity was only given for the ill-disposed and calumnious to vent their fury.

Paul III, in spite of the unfavourable reports that continued to come in from the various courts, did not despair of the possibility of holding the Council. On the 30th of March 1539 Farnese instructed the nuncio Ferreri to urge incessantly on Francis I that the bishops of his kingdom should now go to Vicenza. But the only answer given to the nuncio, as he informed Farnese on May the 9th, was the declaration of the Constable that the Pope must not open any council, which would still be only an Italian council, until he had succeeded in bringing back the Lutherans to the Church. On the 13th of May, Manetti left France on his return to Rome, and reported that Francis would have no council without the Lutherans, and therefore objected to Vicenza, as they would not go there; but he was also against one in Germany, and proposed Lyons, or at any rate a French city.

In April 1539 the Pope was still waiting for a favourable decision on the Emperor's part concerning the Council, and asked for one repeatedly, as the date of opening was drawing near and the despatch of the Legates to Vicenza could not be deferred much longer. Instead of this, the compliancy of the Imperial diplomatists led at this moment to the conclusion, in Germany, on the 19th of April 1539, of certain very questionable agreements with the Protestants known as the Respite of Frankfort. According to this arrangement, from the 1st of May onwards, for fifteen months, a "Respite" was to be guaranteed to the adherents of the Confession of Augsburg, during which period none of them was to be molested on account of his religion, while the procedure of the Imperial Court of Chancery was also to be suspended. In return the Protestants were to refrain from all acts of aggression against the Catholics, but on the 1st of August a committee of learned theologians and pious, peace loving laymen was to meet at Nuremberg to discuss the terms of an agreement in matters of religion. The stipulation to include the laity encroached upon the constitution of the Catholic Church, and was therefore inadmissible by the Pope and the Catholic Estates. According to the Catholic conception the decision on matters of faith was vested exclusively in the authorities of the Church, the Pope and the Council. The Protestants, on the contrary, wished to set aside Pope and Council and decide on matters of religion through a conference of theologians and laymen approaching closely in form to a national council. This was in conformity with the Respite of Frankfort, against which the Cardinal-Legate Aleander opened a campaign bearing witness to the vehemence of his temperament. In consequence of his reports, the Pope, taking advantage of the mission of condolence on the death of the Empress, despatched to Spain in May under Cardinal Farnese, laid before the Emperor, as he also did later through Giovanni Ricci, appointed nuncio for that purpose, his complaints against the Frankfort resolutions, and begged Charles to refuse to them his ratification.

At the time of the Frankfort negotiations there was much discussion in Rome as to the issue of the conciliar affairs. Opinions were divided; three possibilities were considered: either to open the Council at the time appointed, a course favoured by the majority of the Cardinals, or to prorogue once more, or finally suspend it. The Pope's inclination certainly was to open the Council, but, if again there was no attendance of prelates at Vicenza, to suspend it indefinitely, against which proposal the Imperial ambassador entered a protest in order to demand a fresh prorogation. Paul III showed, however, as he had already repeatedly declared, that he had no longer any inclination to keep postponing the Council from one date to another, as it was sufficiently well known what injury was thus inflicted on the repute of the Holy See. He succeeded in a short time in winning over the greater number of the Sacred College to his view that the Council must either be held at once or indefinitely postponed until circumstances were once more so altered as to offer a real prospect of the Synod becoming a practical possibility.

Accordingly, in a consistory held on the 21st of April, the nomination of the three Conciliar Legates who should proceed to Vicenza took place. At first the three appointments of the previous year—Campeggio, Simonetta, and Aleander—were reaffirmed. In place of Campeggio, who was already ill and died not long afterwards (20th July), the Cardinal of Ivrea, Bonifacio Ferreri, was chosen on the same day. The departure of the Legates, however, was delayed until the arrival of the Emperor's expected answer. On the 15th of May Aleander was ordered to start for Vicenza as soon as possible, as both his colleagues would also shortly betake themselves thither. But these orders were cancelled on the 26th of May, for in the meantime the suspension of the Council had taken place.

On the 15th or 16th of May the long-expected answer of the Emperor at last arrived. He had communicated it at the end of April to Poggio; its tenor was entirely negative. Nothing could be done under present circumstances with regard to the Council. While the negotiations for concord with the Protestants were pending, Charles could send neither prelates nor any other persons to Vicenza. As at the same time the final and equally negative reply of the French King, as well as the news of the Frankfort resolutions, reached Rome, the possibility of convening the Council seemed now at an end. In a consistory of the 31st of May the suspension for an indefinite period, at the discretion of the Pope and the Holy See, was agreed to. This measure was made known to the Catholic Princes by briefs of June the 10th. The reasons alleged were the attitude of the Emperor, the French King, and King Ferdinand, to whose representations the Pope had yielded.

King Ferdinand, to whom the brief was delivered on the 6th of July by the newly appointed nuncio Morone, together with further oral exposition of the reasons for suspension, expressed on this occasion to the nuncio, and again afterwards in a letter to the Pope of the 17th of July, his satisfaction at the suspension under the actual circumstances, while assuming that Paul III would renew his exertions on behalf of the Council as soon as the condition of affairs permitted. The Emperor, to whom Cardinal Farnese, on the 20th of June, personally communicated the news of the suspension, declared that he would have preferred another prorogation to a fixed date as affording less occasion for unfriendly criticism. Charles V still wished to preserve the appearance of having always shown on principle a sincere enthusiasm for the Council. The larger share of the blame undoubtedly lay with Francis I. The Pope, least of all, can be held responsible for the failure of the Council of Vicenza, for up to the very last, and to the furthest limits of possibility, he did all in his power to overcome the obstacles before him.

The conciliar episode of Vicenza was finally closed. In the years immediately following, the dominant idea was the restoration of German unity by means of religious discussions, a policy

persisted in by the Emperor and his brother Ferdinand in spite of all the representations and protests of the Pope against this dangerous experiment. If the treatment of religious questions was to be opened by a series of debates, then the idea of the Council was expunged from practical politics. As long as the two rulers of the house of Hapsburg continued on this path, the way was closed to a general assembly of the Church in Council.

CHAPTER III.

THE WORK OF CHURCH REFORM PRIOR TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

The demands for a root-and-branch reform of the Church, which were urged with ever-increasing vehemence, were closely bound up with the question of the Council. It was impossible that a man of such experience as Paul III, for forty long years a member of the Sacred College, could have been blind to the disorders among the higher and lower clergy, prevalent everywhere, but especially in Rome. Moreover, at the very opening of his pontificate he had been informed with perfect candour, by men of noble aspirations, of the true condition of things and the imperative need of a revival of fresh life in the Church.

Most of the works of this character are still unpublished, including the remarkable treatise of the renowned jurist Giovan Battista Caccia of Novara, on the necessity of Church reform. This memorial had been committed to writing while Clement VII was still on the throne, but its author had not ventured to lay it before the second Pope of the house of Medici. Paul III stood so high in the esteem of all friends of real reform that Caccia dedicated his work to him. He had all the more inducement to do this since the election of Farnese had been accomplished with a swiftness, unanimity, and probity for which for a long while there had been no precedent. Like other contemporaries, he also saw in this the good omen of a pontificate rich in blessings. Caccia laid his work before the new Pope without altering a word. In it, as the outcome of long years of familiarity with his subject, he drew a disturbing picture of the tragic conditions of the Church. Caccia's pure and lofty views, his burning eagerness for a "holy reform" and the restoration of "evangelical discipline," are everywhere apparent, even if, as often happens too easily in such cases, the strongly rhetorical colouring in which he indulges fixes the attention almost exclusively on the dark traits of the picture. He cannot therefore be acquitted of the charge of a one-sided exaggeration; yet at the very outset he says: "I see that our holy Mother, the Church, on whom our salvation depends, has been so transformed that she seems to have no tokens of her evangelical character, and no trace can be found in her of humility, temperance, continence, and apostolic strength."

In order to show his sympathy as much as possible with the general demand for the removal of the gigantic mass of abuses, Paul III at the beginning of his reign not only accepted the dedication of such an exceptionally outspoken writing as Caccia's, but also introduced a series of important regulations and measures which announced a final break with the dilatory policy of Clement VII. Already on the 17th of October 1534, in his address to the Cardinals on the great questions of the day, he touched, along with the Council and the restoration of peace to Christendom, on the reform of the clergy, which would have to begin in high places. In the first consistory after his coronation on the 13th of November 1534 he declared that the general assembly of the Church must be preceded by a reform of the Curia and of the College of Cardinals, and insisted on all the clergy without exception wearing clerical dress. Accordingly on the 20th

of November he appointed a commission, consisting of Cardinals Piccolomini, Sanseverino, and Cesi, to consider the reform of morals; at the same time Cardinals Campeggio, Grimani, and Cesarini were entrusted with an inquiry into all the offices belonging to the States of the Church. Both commissions entered on their labours together. They were exhorted to more earnest activity on January the 8th, 1535, after the German nuncio, Vergerio, then staying in Rome to make his personal report, had represented in the most urgent manner that reform would admit of no longer delay. In a motu proprio of the 15th of January the Datary Jacobazzi and the Regent of the chancery, Pietro Fiori, Bishop of Castellamare, were ordered to put into thorough execution the Bulls of Leo X of the 13th of December 1513 relating to reform and taxation. Every infringement was to be severely punished, and for every excessive demand restitution exacted.

The extraordinary difficulties confronting the work of reform soon became apparent. It was seen to be impossible to make changes for the better in the Curia with that rapidity which the impatience of many good men demanded. A sudden alteration in the personnel and machinery of court and government could not be effected unless the Pope wished to cut the ground from under his feet. Paul III still remembered well, from his experience of the reign of Adrian VI, how fraught with danger any reckless attempt at reform would be. His wisdom counselled him not to add to his enemies without, others in the immediate proximity of his throne by altering everything too quickly and doing injury to a thousand relationships and interests of long standing. To bear this in mind is to understand why, in a consistory of the 3rd of March 1535, when reporting on the activities of the reforming Cardinals, he exhorted them to “consider well the circumstances of the time”; in other words, not to suppose that the ultimate and highest aim of reform was already attainable, but in the meanwhile, together with the whole Cardinalate, to advance the cause by means of their influence and good example. On the 14th of April the decrees enjoining on the Sacred College and the Curia as a whole the maintenance of a worthy and well-ordered life were read in consistory.

On the next occasion the discussion turned principally on the question whether a general Reform Bull should be issued before the assembling of the Council. The draft of such a document was presented in consistory on the 31st of April, but it was evident that, quite apart from those generally opposed to a reform, there were objections on the part of the well-disposed to such a proceeding. The latter argued that all that such a Bull could contain had already received legal validity through the wisdom of earlier centuries; nothing more, therefore, was required than to observe the decrees of their predecessors, and apply them to the conditions of the present time. Before this question was decided, Paul III had already taken another important step on the way to reform.

One of the chief obstacles to the noble regenerative efforts of Adrian VI was the strong spirit of secularity pervading the College of Cardinals, whereby the measures of reform were deprived of their organic means of execution. It was necessary to infuse new elements of life into a body consisting only, at the time of Paul’s elevation, of men who, with the exception of Lang and Clermont, were the creatures of the Medici Popes. If things were to be bettered, the Pope required suitable fellow-workers. This was the object of the famous nomination of Cardinals of the 21st of May 1535, by which the bad impression caused by the bestowal of the purple on the 18th of December 1534 on the two youthful nephews of Paul III, Alessandro Farnese and Guido Sforza of Santafiora, was effaced. The selection made on this occasion showed clearly that the Pope was thinking seriously of Church reform. Among those nominated were men distinguished for purity of life, piety, and learning. The claims of different nations were also considered; Germany, France, and England were worthily represented by Schonberg, Jean du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, and John Fisher, the saintly Bishop of Rochester, then a prisoner of Henry VIII, and

under impending sentence of death. Amongst Italians the Pope had at first fixed his eyes on two men whose knowledge and integrity in the conduct of great affairs he had specially tested since his accession to the throne. They were Girolamo Ghinucci of Siena, the learned Auditor of the Camera, and Jacopo Simonetta, a Milanese. To them the Pope bethought himself of attaching a third. He was one spoken of among the men of highest character in Italy as “the peerless.” This unique personality was Gasparo Contarini.

It was significant of the frame of mind prevailing amid the majority of the Sacred College that the nominees of Paul III met with violent disapproval. The question came under discussion in the beginning of May. Neither did political difficulties fail to arise; Charles V did all he could to hinder the elevation of the Bishop of Paris to the purple, and would have liked nothing better than the withdrawal of each nomination. In order to pacify the Emperor the Pope resolved on the appointment of Marino Caracciolo, whose sympathies were staunchly Imperialist. Three others thus formed a counterpoise on which the Emperor could rely to du Bellay and Ghinucci, who was counted in the French ranks; they were Schonberg, Caracciolo, and Contarini.

Not until the 20th of May was all opposition withdrawn, so that on the following day it was possible to hold the decisive consistory. In this congregation, which lasted longer than usual, six new Cardinals were nominated: Fisher, du Bellay, Contarini, Schonberg, Ghinucci, and Simonetta; as the three latter were present they received the red biretta at once. The Pope reserved another nomination in petto, but this was made public on the 31st of May, simultaneously with the bestowal of titular rank on the new creations; his choice had fallen on Caracciolo.

Many persons, the Venetian ambassador Soriano among them, were of opinion that the Pope, in appointing men of such high merit and distinction, was anxious to cancel the bad impression made by the elevation of his young nephews. But this was not his only or indeed his guiding motive; the nomination of men of high reputation was an imperative necessity in view of the future of the Church, of the coming Council, and of the demand for some fresh infusion of life into the Sacred College itself. By his decisive action Paul III won the approval of all men; even those whose feelings towards him were unfriendly had to admit that he had made an admirable selection. The friends of genuine reform were jubilant.

“What,” wrote one of them, “from the human point of view is more advantageous to the Papacy or more likely to bring sagacious and timely redress amid many evils than this choice of men, who by their virtues, enlightenment, learning, experience, and exemplary conduct are as well qualified as they are ready to carry on the government of the Church?”

The nomination of Contarini, a layman whose name implied a programme of reform, produced an especially powerful impression. Reginald Pole at this time gave it as his opinion that he had often read of virtue receiving the due meed of honour, but never hitherto had he known, in his own experience, of so signal an instance of its realization, for the Pope, out of pure recognition of the man’s noble character, had thus chosen Contarini for high honour, although he had never previously had any personal relations with him.

All who wished well to the Church and were longing for reform now turned with expectation to the new Cardinal, whose life of strenuous work had exhibited the combination of force and gentleness of character, and of spiritual and human virtues. The German Lutherans—so the Venetian ambassador reported—were amazed and knew not what to say.

Gasparo Contarini was a member of one of the oldest families of the Venetian nobility. Born in 1483, he proceeded to the University of Padua, and by a carefully arranged course of studies grounded himself thoroughly in theology and philosophy. On his return to his native city

he followed the usual career of a nobly born Venetian, took his place on the Great Council, and in 1518 became a member of the commission of the sinking fund. Three years later, at a very critical juncture, the Republic sent him as ambassador to Germany to the court of Charles V. In this post he rendered his country important service and acquired for himself a wealth of fresh experience. At Worms he had no personal intercourse with Luther and did not even see him, but everything he heard about him was distasteful in an exceptional degree to his high ideals and to his refined and aristocratic temperament. Later on Contarini accompanied the Emperor to England, and afterwards to Spain; thence he returned in 1525 to Venice, where he devoted himself to the studies he loved so well. But already in 1527 the confidence of his fellow-citizens had conferred on him the post of ambassador to the Curia, at that time a position of exceptional difficulty. Although during this mission he served the interests of Venice devotedly at the court of Clement VII and also later at that of Charles V, he suffered many vexations. Yet this was compensated for by the grateful recognition felt towards him by the great majority of his fellow-men.

From the spring of 1530 Contarini was living again in Venice among his books and his friends. His house was the rallying-point for men of commanding intellect and character, while with many others he kept up an active correspondence. He attracted to himself respect from all, from politicians as well as humanists, from philosophers as well as theologians. His many-sided learning, his open-mindedness and gentleness, combined with an exemplary course of life, secured to him the respect and affection of all who came into contact with him. He was eulogized as “advancing the Italian nation.”

Contarini was indeed a really great personality, pre-eminently gifted intellectually, besides being the soul of candour and full of a deep and unaffected piety. A friend to humanist culture, he yet was an unbiassed censor of the exaggerated value set upon it and of the perverted uses to which it was applied. With the same independence of thought he had in his early student days opposed his otherwise highly respected teacher Pomponazzo in his assertion that it was impossible to attain to philosophical proof of the soul’s immortality.

Contarini’s great characteristics and virtues were consecrated by his profoundly Christian and genuinely Catholic convictions. Reginald Pole wrote with perfect fitness when he said that Contarini knew full well how much the human understanding could discover through its own investigation, and how much the grace of God had conveyed to man. Contarini’s whole personality, like his writings, was cast in one perfect mould. Unswervingly loyal in his convictions, he was yet to the core a man of peace, in his intercourse with others genial above all things, affectionate and worthy of affection, and always strongly inclined to an optimistic view. His outward appearance, moreover, was uncommonly attractive; he had a beautiful head with refined, intellectual, gentle features.

Although a layman, Contarini was yet well versed in theology. The great Church fathers and the scholastics, Augustine, Basil, Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzen, above all Thomas of Aquinas, were his favourite authors. Nothing was more natural than that this distinguished man should have turned his attention to the blots on the ecclesiastical life of his country and have been drawn into friendly relations with men such as Gian Pietro Carafa, the leader of the newly founded Theatines, Gian Matteo Giberti, Bishop of Verona, and Gregorio Cortese, the reformer of the Benedictine Order, who were just at that time making efforts to bring into the domain of Church life in upper Italy the necessary improvements in connection with dogma and rightful adherence to the Holy See. These promoters of a true Catholic reformation admired Contarini as the author of the masterly treatise on the office of a bishop, in which he had grappled with the evil at its

roots. It is difficult to say with what exultation they hailed the summons of such a man to take a place in the supreme senate of the Church.

It was a Sunday afternoon. The Great Council was in session, while Contarini, as the youngest member, had a place near the balloting urn. Suddenly there appeared a messenger from Rome with the news of his nomination to the cardinalate. The whole Council arose and, surrounding their colleague, congratulated him, wholly overcome with surprise; Alvise Mocenigo thought that Venice was losing her best citizen; the whole city was filled with joyful excitement in which Contarini alone did not share. As those who knew him best had foreseen, he wished to decline the honour. Not until Matteo Dandolo had represented to him that he could not, especially at such a time of danger to the Church, frustrate the Pope's noble intentions, did he declare himself prepared to accept the purple.

Contarini had not yet arrived in Rome when on the 9th of June 1535 an important decision was come to in consistory. It was resolved that the promulgation of a general Bull on reform should be dropped, and a beginning at once made on the thing itself so far as the betterment of morals and the alteration in official posts was concerned—the legislative form of procedure to be fixed at a later date. The Pope showed himself to be so much in earnest that, according to the Mantuan envoy, there was a regular panic among the anti-reforming Cardinals. On the 27th of August a Bull dated the 23rd was published appointing a new commission on reform. This document began with the fine exordium : the object of the Incarnation of the Son of God was not merely the redemption of fallen mankind, but the protection of Christ's holy Church and the union of all its members with one another in the strongest conceivable bond of love and the bestowal of eternal dominion on the Christian world. Therefore the Pope, in order that the Church, Christ's bride, might render due service to her Head our Redeemer and be purged from all stains and errors, especially from the pernicious teaching of Luther, had agreed to a General Council. But as so difficult an undertaking could not be carried out in haste, he had determined provisionally to reform the city of Rome, the Papal court, and its officials, in order that, "when our own house is cleansed, we more easily take in hand the cleansing of others." With this object Cardinals Piccolomini, Sanseverino, Ghinucci, Simonetta, and Cesi, and three bishops resident in Rome, including the Netherlander Peter van der Vorst, were appointed reformers for the city and the Curia, with unlimited powers to extirpate from the spiritual as well as secular sphere all abuses, transgression, and errors, to punish with the utmost severity the disobedient and contumacious, and if necessary to call in against them the support of the secular arm.

The task set before the commission must be characterized as one of exceeding difficulty, for, in consequence of the development of the absolving, dispensing, and reserving authority of the Church, such a formidable apparatus of government had been formed within the Curia, with multiplex offices and a vast horde of higher and lower officials, that it had become in and by itself almost unassailable. Since Rome in the era of the Renaissance, under Sixtus IV and Alexander VI, had entered on a phase of the worst secularization, an all-pervading venality had found an entry far and wide among the official departments. Adrian VI, in his brief reign, had not been able to alter anything in this respect, and under Clement VII things had remained essentially as they were before. To introduce changes into a state of affairs of such long duration and such deeply rooted precedent and bound up with so many personal interests in the closest way was a gigantic task which certainly could not be resolved in the compass of one pontificate. The commission of reform very soon learned this from experience.

No protocol on the deliberations of the commission has as yet been discovered; even for the proceedings in consistory, where the proposals of the commission came up for rediscussion,

the consistorial minutes, which for that period were of remarkable conciseness, give no information. In default of these, some welcome accounts are to be found in the ambassadorial despatches. On the 11th of February a series of ordinances for the improvement of the Roman clergy, which the Cardinals were at once to put into execution, came up for discussion. The higher as well as the lower order of clerics were forcibly reminded of the canonical injunctions as to clerical attire, and this was not by any means a mere matter of externals; it touched a dangerous and corrosive evil, for the extent of which the writings of some of the friends of reform impart characteristic details. The clergy were further recalled to the duty of saying their office, and the holders of benefices were granted a final delay of four months before receiving the suitable form of ordination.

The removal of an abuse which specially roused Carafa's indignation was aimed at in the regulation that henceforth no one in Rome should receive priest's orders who did not possess the qualifications canonically demanded and was without a title to a benefice. The Canons and beneficiaries of the Patriarchal and collegiate churches of Rome were placed under fresh obligations to frequent Divine worship and solemnly to officiate on Sundays. More important was the provision that all parish priests in Rome were to exercise the cure of souls in person; where there was a just impediment, a substitute was to be secured at a suitable salary, but the latter must first be examined by the Vicar-General. Further enactments dealt with the worthy reception and administration of the Holy Sacrament of the Altar. The clergy who were only in minor orders were to communicate at least four times a year, priests on all festivals of obligation; the latter also were to celebrate not less than once a month. Again, precautions were taken for the orderly maintenance of the sacred vessels, for securing inventories of Church property, and for defraying the expense of necessary repairs in the house of God. The clergy were forbidden to hold intercourse with persons of doubtful character, to visit taverns or other unfit resorts, or to take part in gambling or the theatre. Clergy as well as laity were exhorted to guard themselves against blasphemy, to observe the prescribed fasts, and to behave reverently in church. Preachers, before accusing anyone of Lutheran doctrines, were to put themselves into communication with the Master of the Sacred Palace or the Vicar-General, and the latter was to see to the removal of a further array of scandals justly offensive to the laity. In this respect prominence was given to the dissensions between the secular and regular clergy, the saying of Mass by ignorant priests, and the incessant alms-gathering of the Mendicants. Henceforward no member of an Order was to be allowed to perambulate the city without a companion or without special permission of the Vicar-General.

The consistory in which these regulations were confirmed also dealt with the business procedure of the Penitentiary, the Datary, the Chancery, and other offices. In all this initiative, so full of promise, it was impossible not to detect the influence of some strong guidance and foremost that of Contarini. The Pope's determination to uphold the worth of the clerical office now made itself felt even on the Cardinal-nephews. He forbade them to take any part in the Carnival—a restriction not lightly borne by these exuberant youths.

It soon became evident in other ways also what remarkable force the entrance of Contarini into the Sacred College had brought with it. With characteristic frankness he spoke his mind on the many things requiring correction in the Curia. Naturally, in this way he made many enemies, who giped at the Venetian who had come to Rome with the intention of reforming the Curia without even knowing the Cardinals by name. Attempts were also made to undermine his influence with the Pope by representing to the latter that it showed a want of consideration to be so ready to give his opinion in consistory without restraint and without invitation. But Paul III, who had assigned apartments in the Vatican to Contarini, did not allow himself to be led astray.

He contemplated making him one of the Presidents of the Council, and made use of his advice in this matter as well as in many others.

The Bull of the 2nd of June 1536 summoning the Council stated that the task of that assembly would be, in the second place, the moral reform of Christendom. It was represented to Paul III. from different quarters, and in entire agreement with his own views, that it would not do to await the coming together of this great assemblage, but that, as a preliminary, at least the most crying abuses must be put out of the way. Thence the necessity that these important questions should form the pioneer work of the Council, so that on the foundation thus laid ulterior labours might be carried out with success. It was on this account that the Pope lent a willing ear to Contarini's proposal that, for the sake of the Council as well as of reform, a certain number of the most prominent supporters of strong Church opinions should be summoned to Rome.

Contarini, who gave the chief impetus to this step, prepared his friends beforehand for their invitations. But however eloquently he urged the interests demanding their presence in the Curia and their participation in the labours of the reform commission, he found that there were few who showed any inclination to come forward. To what an extent timidity had taken possession of even the noblest hearts is shown plainly in the answer he received from Sadoletto.

"Oh most learned and most excellent Contarini," began his letter, dated the 13th of March 1536, "would that thy hopes never at any time deceived thee! The exceeding goodness and open-heartedness of thy nature raise in thee such hopes that thou seest already accomplished that which thou esteemest best and profitable. Alas! quite other is the course of things. Believest thou not, that I, if there were any hope whatsoever, to establish some good and salutary reform, would offer and devote myself to the work, I do not say in pursuit of honour, but, in the words of the chief Apostle, even unto the cross and death; for if I to my own loss could bring some advantage to the Church, I should count it my greatest gain! But, believe me, the vices and evil passions of our time cannot understand open-heartedness and wisdom. It is true we have in our Pope an eminent ruler of the Church who only thinks and wishes what is worthy of him; but he is not stronger than the perversity of the age, for the body of Christendom is sick, sick too of a malady for which momentary help is of no avail; it would be better by wide and circuitous methods to bring in a partial remedy, just as in the gradual course of time this disease itself was brought in little by little. Many night vigils must there be, many changes of medicine, and a treatment the object of which is often obscure, in order to restore to the Church her health and dignity."

In the second half of July 1536 special briefs of invitation to a sort of provisional council at Rome were, sent to Gian Pietro Carafa, Gregorio Cortese, Giberti, Sadoletto, Fregoso, Bishop of Gubbio, and lastly, to the prominent Englishman, Reginald Pole, who, like the others, belonged to Contarini's circle of friends, among whom Church reform for a long time past had been not only a matter of discussion but also of serious endeavour. Most of the above named were in Rome in the last week of October. The aged Bartolommeo Guidiccioni, who had been invited to Rome at the same time, was permitted by the Pope to remain at home for the present, but he was bidden to furnish material for the transactions on reform. Contarini, the soul of the whole movement, induced the Pope to add yet two other members, Aleander and the Master of the Sacred Palace, Tommaso Badia, the first an ardent reformer and exceptionally well versed in German affairs, the second noted for piety as well as learning.

Worldlings such as the Mantuan envoy treated the summons, even to such distinguished men as these, with derision. But, as a matter of fact, the formation of the commission of nine was quite as important a step towards Catholic reform as the nomination of Cardinals in May 1535. The members were not only in every respect distinguished, but they were entirely independent

men, almost all without places in the Curia, and therefore in a position to review and criticize freely the given circumstances without being cramped by the forces of tradition. The Pope enjoined upon them, as binding on their consciences, to commit to writing every point on which, in their opinion, measures of reform should be undertaken, and declared emphatically that if they failed in this obligation he would at once call them to account before the judgment-seat of God. The deliberations, as to which the members of the commission were sworn to secrecy, were worthily ushered in by a fine speech by Sadoletto on the reform of the Curia and the clergy. It says much for the impression made on the humanists by the sack of Rome and for the different views of that event taken by the paganized and the Christian wings of that party, that Sadoletto took his starting-point from the terrible event which befell the Eternal City in 1527, and declared that this great disaster, of which the traces were not yet wiped away, was not, as some supposed, a mere accident of misfortune, but a just sentence of God on the guiltiness of men. And yet there were worse things in store: the Turks were threatening the total destruction of Christendom ; here, too, the guilt lay in the sins and disunion of Christians. Sadoletto then boldly adduced the culpability of earlier Popes; in eloquent language he went on to say that the misfortunes of the Church and of the world sprang from the source whence once had come their deliverance—namely, from the occupants of the Roman See. After the latter had left the path of holiness and began to make religion a source of gain, princes and people had become envious. When it was seen that the Popes did nothing to remedy the disorders of the clergy, the Roman Curia fell into contempt and discredit, the authority of the Holy See and of the Church was brought low, and the clergy became the objects of universal hatred. How deep this hatred was a glance at the condition of the world would show. Germany and England were lost, Italy herself was often hostile to the jurisdiction of the Pope; the Eternal City was without a defender in face of the menace from the Turk. In this general distress a champion had been raised up in the person of Paul III. Amid the strife of princes he remained neutral and devoted his efforts to peace; he had summoned a General Council, and further had now called to the Curia men of eminence to consult together on the means of remedying the shortcomings of the Church. There was the learned and loyal Fregoso, in his morals and earnest enthusiasm a pattern of ancient piety; there was Gian Pietro Carafa, strict in his life, winning in his words, the heroic friend of poverty; there was Gian Matteo Giberti, firm and earnest as one of the bishops of old, living only for God and goodness; there was Reginald Pole, a scion of the royal house of England, whose learning and virtue were not unknown in Rome; there was Gregorio Cortese, worthily renowned for his learning and his blameless career ; lastly, there was Cardinal Contarini, whose one thought was the restoration of their pristine glory to the Apostolic See and the Sacred College. If the other Cardinals would combine their efforts with those of Contarini and give their aid to the commission, and, as was to be hoped, would co-operate effectually with the Pope, then, without a doubt, they would restore to the Cardinalate its former dignity, to the Papacy its authority as of old, to the priesthood favour with God and honour among men as enjoyed of yore.

While the reform commission was holding its sittings under Contarini's presidency, Paul III, in a consistory held on the 13th of November 1536, declared that the unconditional reform of the Church in head and members was necessary; he would not fail to do his part, only the Cardinals could not perform a more acceptable thing than in bringing to his notice all matters open to blame. This was followed on the 22nd of December by a nomination of Cardinals, affording fresh evidence of Paul's sincerity in the matter of reform. The well informed were already aware in the beginning of November that important additions to the College of Cardinals were under consideration; even then a list of names was mentioned of unexceptionable reputation. The surmise that Contarini's influence was here at work was not incorrect. The openly expressed intention to break down in this way the preponderance of the Medici party naturally stirred the

latter to opposition. Private communications, as well as a consistorial discussion on the 20th of December, led to no understanding. But as the Pope's determination was none the less unflinching, he carried out his purpose. On the 22nd of December the purple was bestowed on Gian Pietro Carafa; Gian Maria Ciocchi del Monte, Archbishop of Siponto; Ennio Filonardi, formerly nuncio in Switzerland, now Prefect of St. Angelo; Jacopo Sadoletto, Bishop of Carpentras; Cristoforo Jacobazzi, Bishop of Cassano and Datary; Charles Hémard de Denonville, Bishop of Macon and French ambassador in Rome; Rodolfo Pio of Carpi, Bishop of Faenza and nuncio at the court of Francis I; Reginald Pole, Apostolic Protonotary; and Lodovico Borgia, Duke of Gandia. Three appointments were also reserved *in petto*, one of which was to be subject to the Emperor's nomination. On the 23rd of December, del Monte, Filonardi, Sadoletto, Jacobazzi, Denonville, and Pole received the insignia of their new dignity, the others receiving them by deputy. Contrary to the expectations of all men and to his own in particular, Aleander was not at this time made a Cardinal; only on the 13th of March 1538 did he reach the long-coveted distinction, together with Niccolò Gaetani of Sermoneta, a youthful nephew of the Pope. Apart from the latter, the not less youthful Lodovico Borgia, and del Monte, who fell later under the suspicion of grave moral defects, this increase of the Sacred College was not undeserving of the appreciation accorded by contemporary opinion. All the rest were virtuous, seriously minded men, widely experienced in affairs, for the most part possessed of literary culture, and convinced of the necessity of an ecclesiastical reformation. Three of them were members of the reform commission, and these three likewise the most distinguished recipients of the purple at the Christmas consistory of the year 1536.

The foremost place must be given to the strong, unbending personality of Gian Pietro Carafa, who now, together with Contarini, became joint head of the reform party in Rome, although his impetuous character was fundamentally different from that of the gentle and pacific Venetian, who bore more resemblance in many respects to the temperament of Jacopo Sadoletto, although the latter was lacking in Contarini's unruffled calm and knowledge of mankind. A still more important contrast distinguished the two men, for Sadoletto was so steeped in humanism that even his theology was thereby fundamentally influenced. On the eve of the sack of Rome Sadoletto had withdrawn to Carpentras, his episcopal see, and there devoted himself to his diocese and studies. He was so happy in this sequestered spot that it was only with great reluctance that he obeyed the call of Paul III to Rome. During his long sojourn in Carpentras, Sadoletto, who was by nature an optimist, fell for a time into the opposite extreme of a hopeless pessimism. As he was very sensitive, this despondency was increased when the Master of the Sacred College, Badia, forbade the publication of his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. This dealt him a deadly wound; under the painful circumstances he appealed to the mediation of his friend Contarini, and succeeded in obtaining, on the alteration of certain passages, the removal of the prohibition.

Of even a deeper piety than Sadoletto was the Englishman, Reginald Pole. He also was more a humanist than a theologian, and in his attitude towards religious innovations was much more for clemency than rigour. Like Contarini, he had not been ordained priest at the time of his elevation. Born in Staffordshire in 1500, he was nearly related through his mother, Lady Margaret Plantagenet, to the reigning house of England. After a careful training at Oxford he passed to the University of Padua, where he studied for six years at the cost of Henry VIII. His long intercourse with this famous seat of learning had an important influence on Pole's development, for here he became familiar with the whole domain of Italian humanism; here he formed ties of lifelong friendship with men like Longueil, Bembo, Giberti, and Sadoletto. England, whither he had returned, he soon left again on the trouble consequent on the King's divorce.

This unhappy affair was also the turning-point of his life for Pole, who was by nature a recluse and a scholar. As soon as he reached Paris he was involved in a business of a very painful character, for the King, his benefactor, called upon him to procure from that University an opinion favourable to his divorce. Pole, a man of a sensitive and obliging nature, had not the determination to reject unconditionally such a commission. He soon, however, found out the falseness of his position, for on returning to England he did not present himself at court, but withdrew into studious retirement at the Charterhouse of Sheen. On Wolsey's death Henry offered him the Archbishopric of York, but in an audience with the King he boldly told the latter that for him, in the matter of the divorce, the Pope's word was law.

Before the English schism had taken place Pole had left England. He visited Sadoletto at Carpentras, and formed a close friendship with this man of kindred spirit; afterwards he went to Padua, renewing there, and in the neighbouring Venice, old associations and forming new ones. Pole now entered into close intercourse with the leaders of Catholic reform: Giberti, Cortese, Contarini, and Carafa. While the last named wished the teachers of error to be treated with the utmost rigour, Pole, like the others, was of opinion that friendly measures should be employed. Pole's closest ally was undoubtedly Contarini, to whom he looked for fatherly friendship and counsel, and submitted to him his writings for examination. But Contarini on his part also was not satisfied with his own productions until they had met first with Pole's approval. It would be difficult to imagine a more beautiful relation of friendship than that existing between these two men of lofty ideals. Their correspondence bears witness how they supported and were the complement of each other.

Contarini alone was in a position to overcome Pole's humble objection to his nomination. All the friends of reform praised him as the actual originator of the creation of December 1536. "This action of Paul III is certainly an act of God," wrote Cosimo Gheri to Beccadelli, "and your, or better our, Cardinal has given a fine instance of his goodness in bringing about so brilliant a promotion." But Contarini congratulated Gheri that God raised from "the seed of his Cardinalate" men like himself in order to bring back the Church to its primitive dignity. There was a general expression of opinion that this nomination of Cardinals marked the opening of a new epoch, and that since no longer birth but actual service was the determining factor, there was a hope of a betterment of Church affairs. "The Pope as a man is best to be judged," said Hosius, "from the choice of advisers he has made."

The first fruit of the reform commission, deliberating almost daily under Contarini's presidency since the first half of November 1536, was a memorial produced in the middle of February 1537, signed by all nine members. It was entitled: Opinions of the appointed Cardinals and Prelates of the Roman Church on Ecclesiastical Reform, drawn up at the command of Paul III.

The extraordinary importance of this memorial lay first and foremost in the fact that through it the Pope struck at the very root of the evils existing in Rome itself. It showed the value of the motto chosen by Carafa on his election: "Judgment must begin in his own house."

This remarkable document, in which the abuses of the Curia and Church are fully exposed with the greatest freedom and in the strongest terms but always with a devout earnestness, begins with an expression of joy that Paul III had set himself seriously to the task of supporting the tottering Church and bringing her back to her original dignity and beauty. With this aim in view he had called the commission together and charged it to set forth clearly all the abuses under which the Church, and especially the Roman Curia, had so long suffered, and that too without respect for the Pope or any other person. Accordingly the memorial points out as the root of all

ecclesiastical abuses the reckless exaggeration of the Papal authority by unscrupulous canonists asserting, with sophisticated flattery, the Pope to be not merely the legitimate dispenser of benefices but their absolute master, with the right of selling them without thereby incurring the guilt of simony, since it was generally permissible for him to act in all things according to his own pleasure. From this source, as it were *ex equo Trojano*, had issued all the abuses which had brought the Church to the verge of destruction and on themselves an evil repute among unbelievers.

Following on the strong words of this preamble, the commission explains that in the performance of their task it is their intention to pass over entirely the Pope's position as sovereign of the States of the Church and to deal only with what concerns him as head of the Church Universal and as Bishop of Rome. Then comes once more a serious exhortation to the head of the Church. In the Church also as well as in the State described by Aristotle in his Politics, existing laws must be observed before anything else, dispensations granted only on grounds of strict necessity, and the exercise of the power of the keys removed from all taint of venality.

The memorial applies itself at once to the Papal obligation to secure good bishops and priests. Here an unsparing picture is drawn of the widespread corruption, and counsels given for its removal. The great laxity in admitting to holy orders is rebuked as the first of abuses; from this has arisen countless scandals, the depreciation of the clerical order, and the decay of the worship of God. Therefore in Rome, as in every diocese, three virtuous and learned prelates should be appointed to superintend ordinations, and no candidate should be ordained by anyone except the Bishop or with his permission.

With this first abuse a second was closely connected: the appointment to benefices without regard to the worthiness to the nominee. In future no one should be nominated to a bishopric or charge of souls who was not of blameless life, ready to perform his office personally and keep residence; an Italian therefore should not be appointed to a foreign benefice nor a foreigner to an Italian one.

In the third place, the many abuses connected with the renunciation of benefices comes under remark. The memorial condemns as grave irregularities the countless artifices invented by crafty curialists to circumvent canonical enactments, the provisos in the renunciation of livings, expectancies, and reservations; not less so the combination in one person of several incompatible preferments, thus rendering the duty of residence impossible. On this ground also Cardinals ought no longer to accept bishoprics, at least from princes, whereby their loss of independence is involved; provision must be found for the suitable maintenance of their position in some other way. The memorial then proceeds to rebuke in the severest way the neglect of pastoral duty consequent on the non-observance by bishops and priests of the duty of residence. "Throughout the whole world," it says, with some exaggeration indeed, "almost all the shepherds have deserted their flocks and entrusted them to hirelings." This should be met by censures and confiscation of stipend; the absence of the Cardinals from Curia ought also to be as much as possible restricted. Not less sharp measure is dealt out to the hindrances put in the way of the bishops in the administration of their dioceses, especially in the exercise of their punitive powers, by means of exemptions, presentation of appeals to the Penitentiaria and Dataria, where immunity could easily be procured, unfortunately often through bribery.

The commission called for the most thorough regulation of the monastic orders. All houses that had become corrupt should be suffered to die out and then put in possession of new and zealous monks. Preachers and confessors must be carefully chosen by the heads of Orders and only accepted after examination held before the bishop. In future, convents of women must be subject to the bishops, as their visitation by members of monastic orders had led to scandals and

sacrilege. For the rest, a cancerous evil was touched upon which had contributed not a little to the letting loose of the storm against the Church in different countries : the venal exercise of spiritual authority by Legates and nuncios, whereby the Holy See was dishonoured and the people stirred to disaffection. The bishops, especially those of Italy, were to keep sharper watch over the public schools and the books in use in them; they were to prohibit public discussions on difficult theological questions and to keep an eye on the publication of printed books.

The demand for the utmost possible restriction of dispensations and other graces given through the Curia was founded on the enumeration of a whole series of abuses. Mention was made in particular of the frequent sale of dispensations from wearing the monastic dress, the misuse of contributions given to them for a good object by collectors of alms, the lax dispensations given in cases of contract of marriage within the prohibited degrees, the release from vows, and the absolution of simonists; confessional letters and portable altars were seldom to be allowed, and indulgences proclaimed only once a year in the larger cities. In conclusion, the Pope was reminded that, as Bishop of Rome, he was especially under the obligation to care for the worthy observance of worship, purity of morals, and the prosperity of the charitable institutions in his city; for strangers were justly shocked at the neglect of public worship even in St. Peter's, as well as at the open immorality.

“We have,” the memorial ends, “satisfied our consciences, not without the greatest hope of seeing, under your pontificate, the Church of God restored to a fair and dovelike purity and to inward unity, to the eternal glory of your name. You have taken the name of Paul. We hope that you will imitate his charity. He was chosen as an instrument to carry Christ's name to the heathen; you, we hope, have been chosen to revive in our hearts and deeds that name long since forgotten among the heathen and by us the clergy, to heal our sickness, to unite Christ's sheep again in one fold, and to avert from our heads the wrath and already threatening vengeance of God.”

Then follow the signatures of Cardinals Contarini, Carafa, Sadoletto, and Pole, of Bishops Fregoso, Aleander, and Giberti, of the Abbot Cortese and of Fra Tommaso Badia. The unbiased exposure of all abuses by these noble men was an action deserving of the highest respect. They could not have looked the defects of their own Order so clearly in the face if they had not had a sound confidence in the strength of their case. Their memorial shows more than anything else that in Rome the first steps towards reform had been taken in earnest. Without that the process of dissolution would have gone on yet further, the ulcer have permanently spread. The preliminary condition for every cure, a thorough knowledge of the disease itself, had been fulfilled; the wounds had been laid bare, and now the remedy could be applied.

The memorial was presented to the Pope on the 9th of March 1537. This took place at a meeting of the reform commission held on the second story of the Vatican in the Camera di Papagallo, near the Chapel of Nicholas V. Paul III was present in person, and most of the Cardinals took part. Contarini read out the report and explained it; a special opinion of Sadoletto's was also presented, to which, however, the rest of the commission had not agreed. On a suggestion of Aleander the Pope decided that a copy of the memorial as signed by the nine members of the commission, together with an extract from Sadoletto's separate report, should be sent for examination to each Cardinal; at the same time he withdrew the previously imposed oath of secrecy, but under a condition, proposed by Aleander, that this important document should not be published until it had undergone a final revision.

Thus, pending the authoritative settlement of the text, the way was left open to the deputation for further labours in which the opinions of the Cardinals might afterwards receive consideration. But even without alteration the draft corresponded perfectly in essentials with the

object for which the great reform commission had been summoned by Paul III, namely, to draw up a programme for the reform work of the Council appointed to assemble on the 23rd of May 1537. The fresh hindrances opposed to the opening of the Synod in Mantua were a heavy blow to the Church, for a General Council was the only means capable of coping with the gigantic task of reforming so huge an organism. The remarkable character of the pioneer work of the commission of nine, its suitability as a basis for a general reform of Christendom, was recognized by the most competent contemporary judges. Their verdict has been confirmed by history; for the great work on which the Council of Trent, at its close in 1563, was able to look back, had been anticipated and prepared for in all important points by the memorial of 1537, rightly named the “aureum consilium.” Only when this is considered can we realize what a notable landmark in the Church’s history is formed by the commission of Paul III and its recommendations.

The impediments to the opening of the Council brought the Pope face to face with the question whether the way to comprehensive reforms might not be reached apart from the Synod. He gave fresh evidence of his sincerity by deciding at once, without hesitation, that such a course was possible. In the self-same consistory of April the 20th, 1537, in which the postponement of the General Council until November was resolved upon, Paul III severed the question of reform from that of the now distant Synod and placed it in the hands of four of the best, most-learned, and most experienced Cardinals: Contarini, Carafa, Simonetta, and Ghinucci. That this step raised high the hopes of Contarini is clear from his letter to Pole of the 12th of May 1537. “The Pope,” he says, “has begun the work of reform, and the first step certainly has been taken on his own initiative. We four, chosen on the commission, shall not renounce our duty as Christian bishops. Almost all the Cardinals are on the side of reform; a change is coming over the views of consistory; proposals are not settled with nearly so much despatch as formerly; canons are cited, what may and what may not be done is carefully weighed, so that I cherish—I will not say I form, for I have never despaired—a great hope that our cause will prosper from day to day. Much have I wished that you and Cardinal Carpi were with us, in order that reform might advance with greater speed.”

The task committed to the new commission, again presided over by Contarini, was at first wisely limited by the Pope. Reform was to begin with the Dataria. Paul III had already made an attempt to introduce changes into this department by placing Giberti at its head in place of Jacobazzi, made a Cardinal on the 22nd of December 1536. Giberti, however, declined; the Pope thereupon sought to promote that eminent man, Bartolommeo Guidiccioni, but he also, being far advanced in years, could not be persuaded to accept, so that at last the post was given to Pietro Durante.

The reform of the Dataria, which had already presented itself to the clear sight of Adrian VI, was exceptionally difficult, because this tribunal, for the bestowal of graces, dispensations, privileges, indulgences, and benefices reserved for Papal patronage, brought into the Curia yearly not less than 110,000 ducats, very nearly one half of the total receipts.

On the other hand, there was hardly any other point in ecclesiastical administration over which such loud and violent complaint and accusation against the Church in general and the Roman Curia in particular was raised, as over the constant and heavy demands for money accompanying the grant of ecclesiastical graces or the transaction of ecclesiastical business; this was especially the case with regard to the new tax (*compositio*) introduced by Sixtus IV and payable to the Dataria on presentation to a benefice. The reform commission went into this matter very thoroughly, calling in as aids to their deliberations such learned specialists as Aleander and Badia.

A leading question in this matter was, to what extent the Dataria, *i.e.* the Pope, could receive money for ecclesiastical graces without becoming guilty of simony. On this point great differences of opinion arose; all were agreed that he who serves the altar ought also to be maintained by those for whom he offers his ministrations; but when the question arose whether the Pope could enforce this duty on the faithful, views were divided. The application of punishments and excommunications seemed to some of the commission to be violent and arbitrary: some other method should be found which yet would not in any way be contrary to divine and natural law. With regard to this method, the great friends of reform, Contarini, Carafa, Aleander, and Badia, were of opinion that the payment of the tax should never be a condition of the bestowal of a grace, and that on no occasion should it be required for the preparation of the necessary documents. The scale of charges for expenses and clerks' fees must be regulated with great caution, so that there might be no appearance of these sums being fixed in proportion to the value of the grace by a simply automatic process, *i.e.* as if the payments made were to be regarded as a sort of *quid pro quo*. It would be best of all to abolish such sources of income altogether. The distinction drawn by the less stringent reformers, Ghinucci, Simonetta, and Laurerio, the General of the Servites, between the bestowal of the grace and the preparation of its documentary forms, did not meet the approval of the stricter party; the taint of simoniacal traffic remains if the grant of ecclesiastical property depends on a corresponding payment of money, and is not valid so long as this payment is withheld.

During the deliberation anxiety was expressed lest the total abolition of the *compositio* might be made use of by the Lutherans as a censure on former Popes. Contarini and his friends did not attach importance to this. Nothing, in their opinion, would blunt the edge of Protestant invective more effectually than curial reform. "How," they further urged, "can we be so concerned for our good name, and not gladly reform what has become disordered, thereby making our good name secure? In fact, it was asking a good deal, to defend all transactions of the entire Papacy."

At this moment a circumstance occurred which might have had serious consequences. The report of 1537, in spite of its confidential character, fell into unauthorized hands, by whom, in the beginning of 1538, it was sent to the printers. The exact truth concerning this breach of trust, generally condemned in Rome, has never been known. As all the Cardinals had copies of the document, it is probable that some dishonest servant made a transcript of one and sold it. According to the statement of a Mantuan agent, the first issue appeared in Milan, a second in Rome. Of the latter Morone procured a copy in Prague in March 1538, and at once expressed a fear that the Lutherans would twist the document into a sense of their own. Nevertheless, the Governor of Rome did not take steps to prevent the sale of this unauthorized publication until the beginning of June, but in the meantime numerous copies had been widely circulated.

The German Lutherans did not let slip the opportunity of making the most of the document for their own purposes in unfair and odious ways. The good effect anticipated with such certainty by the idealizing Contarini proved a failure. Not even a lukewarm appreciation was accorded to the merits of the memorial, which bears lasting testimony to the insight and integrity of its originator. Rather there was a repetition of the experience of Adrian VI, when with his outspoken recognition of ecclesiastical abuses he turned to the German nation. The Protestant reformers misrepresented with malicious glee the confession of so many faults and used it as a justification for their apostasy. Johann Sturm of Strassburg, who published the memorial, with a preface addressed to the Cardinals, exhorted the latter to pursue the work of reform, since the worst had not yet been disclosed; they had only shown a few wounds on the limbs without observing that the blood in the body of the Church was vitiated—liver, heart, lungs, and kidneys were attacked.

In strange contrast with certain flattering allusions to some members of the commission, Contarini in particular, which Sturm had dropped from his pen, was his reproach that, while they had said nothing of the neglect of instruction in the pure Gospel, they had done this out of hate or fear of the Pope and thereby had broken their oath. Luther went further still; he published the memorial in German, together with such scornful and injurious comments that even his admirers tax him in this instance with unfairness. He calls the authors “liars,” “desperate rascals reforming the Church with cajolery.” Their reformation is nothing, “since it reforms nobody.” “Yet,” he concludes, “one must not curse, but pray that God’s name be hallowed and honoured, the Pope’s name reviled and cursed together with his god, the devil.” In all this there is not the slightest understanding that a genuine spirit of reform was active in Rome.

Sturm in his letter to the Cardinals had reproached Sadoletto in particular for repeatedly making false statements in his works about the Protestants and condemning them unread. Sadoletto refuted this in July 1538, regretting that Sturm in his otherwise well-written letter should have disfigured it with insults and calumnies; up till then he had been under the impression that it was only a peculiarity of Luther to burst out upon his opponents with clamour and invective, but that other and more cultivated men scorned such polemics.

In Germany Cochlaus entered into the lists in defence of the memorial. Contarini, who had read his work in manuscript, praised the moderation with which he conducted the controversy. His letter is evidence of the Cardinal’s magnanimous temper, but shows also that he was insufficiently acquainted with Luther’s teaching and in consequence judged it much too leniently.

In the question of the *compositio* Contarini never slackened. He therefore at last addressed a report to the Pope himself, in which he once more gave the grounds for his strong opinion, and with his habitual candour declared the root of the preposterous system of the Curia to lie simply in the teaching of the extreme curialists that the Pope had unlimited power in the disposal of patronage, and in his jurisdictional authority, and might also traffic in them for money without committing simony. In proportion to the Cardinal’s high estimate of the plenary power of the Papacy was his emphatic warning against any misuse of the same and his opposition to those who would have raised it to the level of absolute and arbitrary dominion. It is against the law of Christ, which is a law of freedom, he insisted, that Christians should be subject to an absolute and purely autocratic Pope. Without doubt the highest power in the Church has been given to the Pope by Christ, but it is a dominion of reason exercised over men of free will. His commands, prohibitions, dispensations, must not be arbitrary but according to the rules of reason, the Divine commandments, and charity, which ever have regard to God and the good of all mankind. After one more warning against the erroneous teaching of the extreme curialists, whereby occasion had been given to the Lutherans to write such books as the *Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, Contarini thus sums up his arguments: “Most Holy Father, Christ has bestowed upon you the highest jurisdiction over Christian people, but this power is a government by reason. May your Holiness take heed not to swerve from this rule and not to yield to the impotence of the will, which chooses evil, and so fall into the slavery of sin. Avoiding this, you will be the mightiest of potentates, because in the highest sense free and under such a rulership something, as it were, of the life of heaven will be brought down to earth.”

It speaks well for Paul III that he accepted this outspoken utterance in the best spirit. Contarini, who had well-nigh begun to despair, found this out as he accompanied the Pope on an expedition to Ostia on a fine November day in 1538. “On the road thither,” he wrote to Pole, “our good old Pope spoke to me privately about the reform of the *compositio*. He said that he had with him the little treatise I had written on the subject and had read it in the morning hours.” From the

conversation that followed Contarini plucked up spirit. His hopes, now rising, now sinking, must have been quickened afresh by the approval with which the memorial of 1537 was received in Spain. Sepulveda fully acknowledged in a letter the noble intentions of its author and believed himself justified in now expecting that the Council would soon meet and the abuses in the Church be done away.

In September 1538 Sadoleto was recalled to Rome to take part in the deliberations on reform. On the 5th of October the consistorial minutes note, “The reform of the Church in head and members was dealt with.”

CHAPTER IV.

RENEWAL OF THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS. REFORM COMMISSIONS.

On the 20th of December 1538 a fresh creation of Cardinals took place. If political considerations predominated on this occasion, yet the nominees were men of the highest character. The French party had an addition to the ranks of their supporters in Robert de Lenoncourt, Bishop of Châlons; the Imperialists the same in the Dominican, Juan Alvarez de Toledo, Archbishop of Burgos, a kindred spirit to Carafa, and in Pedro Manriquez, Bishop of Cordova. Nevertheless, the Emperor, for whose sake Paul III had also on the 18th of October 1538 invested the Bishop of Compostella, Pietro Sarmiento, with the sacred purple, was still dissatisfied; for on the 20th of December, together with the above named, the Scotsman, David Beaton, was nominated and he was counted on the French side. Two others who were to be named in the interests of France and Venice the Pope reserved in petto. The first of these, Ippolito d'Este, whose appointment on the 5th of March 1539 followed on the final peace with the Duke of Ferrara, stood high in favour with Francis I. The second, proclaimed on the 24th of March 1539, was Pietro Bembo. His elevation excited much attention; it had been preceded by a sharp contest. Many, especially Cardinals Quinones and Carafa, took exception to the previously loose life of this distinguished humanist. There was a further difficulty that the Venetian Government had another candidate.

The nuncio at Venice, who was invited to send in a report, spoke strongly in favour of Bembo; the other candidate also had charges of former delinquencies against him; in Bembo's case no anxiety on that score was now forthcoming. Besides, this great man of letters had so many good qualities that he had claims above all others. It was decisive for the Pope that Cardinals Farnese, Carpi, and Contarini himself supported Bembo's nomination. The result showed that he was right, for Bembo had taken a much more serious attitude, a change which naturally only took place gradually. In honouring the old man of sixty-nine, who, besides representing the golden age of Leo X was regarded as the prince of learning and eloquence, Paul III won over the whole party of humanists, who still continued to influence public opinion in a remarkable way. The Pope still remembered how much harm Adrian VI had done himself by his brusque treatment of this coterie, and if he pursued the opposite course he certainly acted with far-seeing wisdom. The way was paved for the humanists and *literati* of the Renaissance to pass over into the Church. Not merely in Italy but in Germany also the bestowal of the purple on the foremost champion of humanism met with general approval among Catholics as well as Protestants.

As the Rota, Cancelleria, Penitentiaria, and the Courts of Justice had to be reformed together with the Dataria, in the spring of 1539 the members of the commission of four were increased to eight. They now consisted of Cardinals Cupis, Campeggio, Ghinucci, Simonetta,

Contarini, Carafa, Cesarini, and Ridolfi. The reform of each department was assigned to two Cardinals apiece; thus Contarini and Carafa undertook the Penitentiaria, Ghinucci and Cupis the Courts of Justice. The results of these four special commissions were afterwards to be dealt with in a general meeting of all the members.

The Pope, who from the beginning had stimulated the reform commission to the most zealous activity, put on still further pressure in a consistory of the 5th of March 1539, in view of the Council. Immediately afterwards he called the members of the commission to him and bade them make serious efforts towards the reform of the *compositio*; however embarrassing to him a diminution of his revenues might be, he was determined that the work of reform should proceed. The commission again met to deliberate, but were unable to come to any decision. As the agent of Cardinal Gonzaga was informed, Contarini, although Carafa himself no longer gave him his support, stood out unflinchingly for the absolute inadmissibility of the *compositio*. The general feeling was such that it was thought that at least two-thirds of the tax must go. "The poor Penitentiaria also," relates the above-named writer, "is undergoing a fierce attack. No one knows whence these changes come, and the most diverse views are expressed. Many think that the Pope has secret intelligence of a reconciliation between Charles V and Francis I, whereby the Council will be brought about, and deems it better that the Curia should have reformed itself beforehand."

Unfortunately the members of the commission could arrive at no agreement on the admissibility of the *compositio*. In view of their divisions the Pope shrank from giving a decision, all the more so because if the tax were repealed some equivalent would have to be found unless the finances were to become utterly bankrupt. One of the greatest difficulties of the work of reform, as the Venetian ambassador Soriano had perceived in 1535, lay in the fact that the removal of abuses was equivalent to robbing the Pope of his means of subsistence. A further difficulty arose from the circumstance that many flaws in the curial system acted as counter-checks on each other.

While the reorganization of the Dataria was left unsettled, the deliberations on the reform of the other departments were being pushed forward. The commission, as even the enemies of Paul III. had to admit, worked assiduously. The year 1539 was devoted principally to further inquiries and investigations, carried on as far as possible in secrecy, as a precaution against fresh Lutheran attacks. How little encouragement was given in some quarters is shown from an entry in the diary of Blasius de Martinellis, the Papal Master of Ceremonies. In April 1539 he writes: "Today, while I was ill, Cardinals Carafa and Contarini, as reformers of the curial offices, began to fall foul of the Masters of Ceremonies, as if the latter received exorbitant pay and were guilty of all manner of arrogant pretensions. But after they had been informed what the rights of the Masters of Ceremonies were and how little remuneration they got for their extensive services to the Pope and the Cardinals, they were silent and pressed their inquiries no further."

In the College of Cardinals a conflict very soon arose between the strong party of reform and the more opportunist section. Cardinal Carafa, who had rightly condemned in the strongest terms the abuse of a Cardinal holding a plurality of bishoprics, found a special opponent in Campeggio. On this important point Carafa was supported by Contarini, Pole, and Quinones. When, in 1537, a third bishopric, that of Narni, was about to be bestowed on Cardinal Sforza Santafiora, already holding two, the above named rose in open opposition. It is deserving of notice that Paul III, in spite of all other weaknesses for members of his family, decided on this occasion in accordance with the views of the stricter Cardinals. It was also another satisfactory sign of the times that a beginning was made to limit the bestowal of monasteries *in commendam*, and that the character of nominees to bishoprics was made matter of examination. It is still further significant

of Paul III's good-will that he was ready to accept information and advice on the subject of Church reform from lay persons such as Vittoria Colonna and Camillo Orsini, even when their language was downright and outspoken.

With regard to the introduction of distinguished men into the Curia, so incessantly urged by Contarini as the best means of forwarding reform, the Pope remained of the same opinion as before. But here he met with an opposition among the very best men, which shows perhaps more clearly than anything else what difficulties were linked with the reforming movement. He was thus unsuccessful in drawing Giberti into the Curia; however urgently the Pope might represent to him that the services he could render at Rome to the Church at large were of more importance than his reforming activity in his own diocese, Giberti succeeded with equal insistency in proving to Paul, through his friends Contarini and Pole, that his continued presence in Verona was indispensable, and the Pope therefore gave him permission to remain. On the other hand, a fresh attempt to capture Bartolommeo. Guidiccioni for the work in Rome did not miscarry. The Pope at first renewed to him his offer of the Dataria in June 1539, but Guidiccioni again declined. When, however, the Papal Vicar-General, Pietro Capizucchi, died in August, Paul III refused to take any more excuses from the aged Guidiccioni, and he was obliged to accept this important post. It was soon rumoured that he was destined for the purple; the confirmation of this report came more rapidly than was expected.

As early as the second half of October 1539 it was understood that a creation of Cardinals would take place at Christmas, but it was not until the beginning of December that decisive negotiations began. On this occasion they were more difficult than ever, for not merely the great numbers but also the qualifications of several of the candidates roused objection. At last, in a consistory held on the 19th of December, the nomination of the following twelve was agreed to:—Federigo Fregoso, Bishop of Gubbio; Pierre de la Baume, expelled from his bishopric of Geneva by the reformers; Antoine Sanguin, Bishop of Orleans; Uberto Gambara, repeatedly a nuncio, and since 1528 Bishop of Tortona; Ascanio Parisani, Treasurer-General and Bishop of Rimini; Pier Paolo Parisio, a distinguished jurist, and *Uditore della Camera*; Marcello Cervini, private secretary to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese; Bartolommeo Guidiccioni; Dionisio Laurerio, General of the Servites, and a noted theologian; Errigo Borgia, titular Bishop of Squillace; Jacopo Savelli, and one more reserved *in petto*.

The objections to Savelli were so far justified, as he was only sixteen years old, but otherwise good hopes had been formed concerning him. Of the strong exception taken to Gambara, Paul III remarked that this candidate had now changed the tenor of his life. Gambara's active supporters had been the Emperor, Pier Luigi, and in particular Costanza Farnese. To the powerful influence of the latter Parisani also was indebted for the red hat. With the exception of the above-named three, all the rest were distinguished men and personalities from whom the Catholic world might expect the best; this could be said especially of the learned Dionisio Laurerio, of Bartolommeo Guidiccioni, and of the indefatigable workers after high ideals, Marcello Cervini and Federigo Fregoso. The latter, a scion of a noble Genoese house, had declined in 1533 the Archbishopric of Salerno and retired to Gubbio, where he lived entirely for his diocese. Fregoso was not only an ardent reformer, but a sound scholar, being eminent as an Orientalist; as a father of the poor he was beloved by all. In 1536 he had already refused the Cardinalate, and on this occasion also the nomination was sorely against his wishes.

Although the reform commission throughout the year 1539 had pursued their labours with determination, and the question of general reform had been discussed in a general congregation, the spring of 1540 came round without any conclusive results having been reached. This was all

the more distressing to Paul III since his nuncios abroad were also pressing for an acceleration of the labours now so long retarded in consequence of the silent, unswerving, and persevering opposition of those whose interest it was to maintain the status quo. At last the Pope took energetic action in person; the consistorial minutes for the 21st of April 1540 report that “His Holiness gave orders that the matter of curial and official reform should be wound up, *i.e.* put into practical execution.”

This success of the reforming party was the signal for their opponents to make new and vigorous attacks on the advocates of radical change. Previous to the Papal decision everything that could possibly be done in the way of opposition had been done. The curial officials who gained great personal advantages from the abuses, and all whose existence depended on the curia, formed themselves from motives of self-interest into a weighty and compact body of resistance to all attempts at thorough-going reform. It was not, by a long way, the worst attempt from this quarter to depreciate reform when the latter was represented as merely superficial, and it was roundly asserted that the old system would nevertheless go on just as before. Many went so far as to ridicule or revile the high-minded purposes of the reform party, the “Chietini,” as all the serious-minded men in Rome were called, by a play on the name “Theatine.” After the Pope’s decision calumnies of the lowest kind were circulated in order especially to damage Carafa’s moral character. Just as at an earlier date Adrian VI had been exposed to such attacks, so now the Cardinal of Chieti was assailed with groundless charges of immorality.

Even those who acknowledged that the Pope had been successful in his proceedings against the misgovernment of the Curia were yet enraged that a time of scarcity had been chosen as the exact moment to carry out reforms by which the incomes of the officials were bound to be curtailed. So narrow-minded a standpoint, keeping only personal interests in view, was self-condemned; yet even among some of the Cardinals this opinion was upheld. Thus, in dealing with reforms in the Penitentiaria, Contarini and Carafa had to encounter the most violent opposition from Antonio Pucci, the Grand Penitentiary. Important, however, as the difficulties were, even in this instance Contarini did not despair as long as he felt convinced of the Pope’s good intentions. Moreover, he was certainly correct in holding to the view that abuses forbidden to the Penitentiaria must also be forbidden in other departments, especially in the Dataria. Here again Paul III was on his side. An important step towards the reform of the Courts of Justice was the nomination on the 17th of February 1540 of Cardinal Guidiccioni as Prefect of the Segnatura.

Aleander, writing to Morone on the 27th of April 1540, says: “The work of reform goes on busily from day to day. Today a general meeting took place in the apartments of Cardinal Cupis, the Dean of the Sacred College.” Aleander regretted that he was prevented from taking part, as there was a prospect of a sharp discussion with Cardinal Pucci. The Pope had given orders that Aleander, in spite of his impaired health, was to listen to the reports of all the deputies. Aleander thought that the difficulties raised by the many interested parties would certainly be very great, but notwithstanding this a successful issue might, with God’s help, be hoped for since the Pope was thoroughly in earnest. Even one so unfriendly to Paul III as Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga had to admit that reform was making progress. The Grand Penitentiary, Pucci, made no concealment of his opposition, and when the decisions of the reform commissioners were laid before the consistory, he defended his case so ably that several Cardinals were brought over to his side. Pucci was loud in his complaints against Contarini for his peevish appeals to his conscience. If the matter, in spite of Pucci’s opposition, was pursued further, it was not merely owing to Contarini’s determination but to the intervention of Paul III as well. The consistorial minutes for the 6th of August 1540 report: “The reform of the Penitentiaria was despatched and settled.”

We have no more precise information as to the manner in which the reform of the Apostolic Camera and the tribunals of the city of Rome was carried out by the commission of Cardinals. On the other hand, it is made clear from a series of documents how the process was effected in the Apostolic Chancery. There was first an inquiry comprising all officials, from the Vice-Chancellor down to his lowest subordinates; the commission then examined in retrospect the original institution of the various offices, the regulations of earlier Popes and of the Lateran Council, and afterwards drew up new statutes of reform with a discreet regard for the altered conditions of the time. In the Chancery sweeping changes were made, especially where the illegal increase of rate in many taxes was concerned. The three other commissions certainly acted in like manner. On the 27th of August 1540 a consistory was held in which the Pope confirmed the resolutions presented by the four commissions of reform, and in order to supervise their execution appointed yet a third Cardinal to each commission. The reform deputations were thus raised from eight to twelve members. For the Penitentiaria, accordingly, Contarini, Carafa, and Laurerio were appointed; for the Apostolic chamber, Cupis, Ghinucci, and Pole; for the Rota, Cesarini, del Monte, and Guidiccioni; for the Chancery, Grimani, Aleander, and Ridolfi.

The task entrusted to these commissions consisted not merely in enforcing the general principles of reform in their several departments, but much more in giving practical effect to these principles, by organizing special reforms and taking measures to remove abuses according to the exigencies of each particular case. In this connection the annalist of the city of Rome reports on the 13th of December 1540: "In the Chancery court certain resolutions were announced abolishing abuses in the Roman Curia, especially in relation to the payment of monies."

It very often happens that a man of eminent reputation succeeds in carrying out practical changes where the best legislative enactments fail. Paul III may well have had this in mind when he resolved to make rearrangements in the staff of the Dataria. On the 21st of February 1541 the Datary, Vincenzo Durante, who had succeeded his uncle in that office, was relieved of his post and the former Treasurer, Girolamo Capodiferro, appointed in his stead.

It must not be inferred from the Pope's energetic action in this particular instance that he was, on the question of reform in general, too precipitate in his measures; on the contrary, he displayed herein also great wisdom and circumspection. Before the directions of the commission of Cardinals became law he issued a Bull giving an opportunity for all who came within the scope of reform to express their opinions. The fullest use was made of this permission; the Chancery officials in particular sought by counter-representations to avert any diminution of their incomes drawn from taxation; unfortunately we are not in possession of information as to how far they were successful. In the same way the progress of the work of reform has been but scantily reported; the question of indulgences was, in particular, a cause of very great difficulty.

The business continued to be transacted privately under the presidency of Cardinal Cupis. It was a disadvantage that Contarini, appointed Legate to the Diet of Ratisbon, had to leave Rome on the 28th of January 1541. As Carafa was also kept away from the sittings through illness, the commission in February 1541 was reduced to ten members, and in the summer death removed two of the most eminent, Ghinucci and Fregoso. If, in spite of these misfortunes, tangible results were attainable towards the close of the year, this was due primarily to the energy of Paul III. It was he who, on the 21st of November 1541, reinforced the commission by the appointment of the Cardinal-Dean, the senior Cardinal-Priest and Cardinal-Deacon, strengthened by expert assistance from the official class.

In autumn of 1541 the Pope had approached yet another matter: this was the reform of the pulpit, which in Italy as well as in other countries exhibited grave deterioration. Cardinals

Contarini and Aleander were therefore enjoined to draw up written rules and instructions for preachers. This was the origin of Contarini's Instruct on preaching, in which special suggestions are given for dealing with the most disputed points in the Protestant controversy, with a warning to avoid above all things unintelligible subtleties and to adapt the teaching of the pulpit to the mental capacities of the hearers.

In the following year the commission suffered exceptionally heavy losses. Aleander died on February the 1st, and soon afterwards Cesarini. In August, Contarini passed away, and Laurerio in September. To compensate for such men Juan Alvarez de Toledo, Cardinal of Burgos, Sadoletto, and Parisio entered the commission.

To fill up the gaps in the ranks of the Sacred College, on the 2nd of June 1542 Paul III made nominations which had been expected by many as far back as the previous Christmas. That the Pope on this occasion again asserted the mastery of his will, shows the independence and vigour with which he encountered the Cardinals; for never before had the opposition to his nominees been so strong. In a consistory of the 31st of May 1542 all the Cardinals, with the exception of two, declared themselves against the Pope's proposals; but he held to them firmly all the same. The most various reasons were adduced for this opposition; with an excess of numbers the Sacred College lost reputation, and nothing had been turned to such account by the Lutherans against the Church as the great promotion made by Leo X in July 1517. Besides, moral objections, not altogether unfounded, were raised against individual candidates, as against the Castellan of St. Angelo, Gian Vincenzo Acquaviva, Roberto Pucci, and Marcello Crescenzi.

In addition there were political difficulties; towards the end of 1540 Francis I had already urged an increase of his adherents in the Cardinalate, although he had been for some time strongly represented. Paul III, disinclined to disturb further the equilibrium between the French and the Imperialist parties, made up his mind to disregard the claims of all foreigners for the time being and to nominate Italians only. The Roman nobility and the business world were greatly dissatisfied because no rich and important men of rank were found among the candidates. The Sacred College endeavoured up to the last hour to make objections, but in vain. On the 2nd of June the following nominations took place:—Marcello Crescenzi, Bishop of Marsico and a distinguished jurist; Gian Vincenzo Acquaviva; the Papal Vicar-General, Pomponio Ceci; Roberto Pucci, Bishop of Pistoia; Giovanni Morone; Gregorio Cortese and Tommaso Badia. On July the 3rd, 1542, Cristoforo Madruzzo, Bishop of Trent, reserved *in petto*, was declared Cardinal.

The nominations of June 1542 were made principally with a view to the Council. Among those promoted there were, in fact, three men who had peculiar qualifications for that assembly as well as for the furtherance of the work of reform. In the highest degree was this true of Tommaso Badia. Born in Modena in 1483, this distinguished scholar held, since the reign of Clement VII, the responsible position of Master of the Sacred Palace. His opposition to Sadoletto's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans shows how rigorous he was as a censor of books. The combination of learning with genuine piety and the most sensitive conscientiousness soon won the confidence of Contarini, who chose Badia as his confessor and in 1541, during the negotiations at Ratisbon, appointed him his theologian. In the previous year Badia had attended the religious conference at Worms by order of the Pope; he played a most important part in the establishment of the Society of Jesus. The touching humility of this true son of St. Dominic was disclosed when Paul III communicated to him his intention of conferring on him the purple. Badia implored the Pope to desist; early on the very day indeed of the consistory he hastened to Pole and begged him to use his influence that he might remain what he had hitherto been, a simple member of a religious order. But Paul III replied that the more Badia resisted the more worthy he showed

himself, and therefore gave all the more grounds for his elevation. He appointed him apartments in the Vatican, and here Badia passed his days in the same austerity that he had before practised in the cloister.

Gregorio Cortese was also born in Modena and in the same year as Badia. In his eighteenth year he had already gained the degree of doctor of laws at Padua; he then entered the service of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici. A brilliant future lay open before the gifted youth, but he felt ill at ease in the life of courts, and the Roman climate was also unsuited to him. He therefore returned in 1500 to his native place and in 1507 entered the convent belonging to the Congregation of St. Justina of Padua at Polirone, near Mantua, happy at being able to live amid exercises of piety and his theological and humanist studies. In the pursuit of such duties he saw at the same time the best means of carrying forward the reform of the Benedictine congregations then already begun. His own literary studies were principally guided by the endeavour to restore to the exposition of theological and philosophical subjects something of the beauty and purity of style characteristic of the ancient Fathers. He succeeded to such an eminent degree that Bembo himself paid him a tribute of recognition.

Entrusted in 1516 with the reform of the noble monastery of Lerins, near Cannes, on the Riviera, he there founded an academy of humanist studies and was Abbot from 1524 to 1527. After a temporary sojourn in Modena and Perugia he undertook in 1532 the direction of the monastery of S. Georgio Maggiore in Venice, which then became a rallying-point for men of learning. Amid the lagoons he afterwards formed an intimate friendship with Contarini, who spoke of him as "the apple of his eye." Contarini and Sadoletto drew the attention of Paul III to this distinguished man who had already exhorted Leo X to begin reforms, and under Adrian VI had vindicated against the religious innovators, in a work of classic diction, the residence of St. Peter in Rome. Cortese's whole character bore a striking resemblance to that of his fellow-countryman and friend Sadoletto: gentle, tender, peace-loving, and in his criticism of the Protestant reformers often lenient to a fault. It was Sadoletto also who afterwards begged Paul III, upon the vacancy in the Sacred College caused by Fregoso's death, to replace him by Cortese, as one possessing all the requisite qualifications, talent, learning, eloquence, wisdom, piety, a true priestly spirit, and integrity of morals.

Worthy to rank with the two learned and devout regulars, Badia and Cortese, was the Bishop of their native city, Giovanni Morone. Born in Milan on the 25th of January 1509 as the son of that statesman to whom Pescara offered the crown of Italy, his early studies were directed to jurisprudence, but afterwards he dedicated himself to the service of the Church. As early as 1529 Clement VII gave him the bishopric of Modena and employed him on a mission to France. His actual diplomatic career, in which he attained such success, did not begin, however, until the pontificate of Paul III, who in the autumn of 1536 committed to him the German nunciature. For two years he filled this difficult and thorny position with great prudence and loyalty to duty, winning general respect on account of his exemplary manner of life. A keen observer and cool-headed judge of men, he sent concise and clear reports of the dangerous situation of things to Rome, even at times when he had good reason to fear that what he had to say would be unpalatable to his Sovereign. The despatches of this nuncio, not yet thirty years of age, whose personality is modestly kept in the background, while they fascinate by the interest of their contents and the agreeable style in which they are written, often astonish the reader by their accurate grasp of events and the maturity of their judgments. Paul III understood the value of such a diplomatic talent, and by July 1539 Morone had to return to Germany. As nuncio, first to King Ferdinand and afterwards to the Emperor, he subsequently rendered most important services to the Church. He had well earned his Cardinalate, conferred upon him as he entered his thirty-third year, at the

moment when, with characteristic lenity, he was about to begin his contest with Protestantism in Modena.

Contarini, as well as Pole, rejoiced that the Pope, by means of such men, should have contributed to strengthen so powerfully the party of reform. He was of opinion that neither in Italy nor in any other country could three similar personalities be found; the Sacred College was to be called happy in being adorned with jewels of such price. "Praise and thanks be to God, who in His goodness does not forget His Church, but day by day gives signs of His providence. We must all thank his Holiness as the accomplisher of so much good. May God continue to enlighten the Pope to make choice of such instruments for the welfare of the Church and of His flock entrusted by Him, in a time of confusion and stress, to the control of such a Vicar. May God send him a life full of years, that he may yet see the fruits of his planting and be able to rejoice therein."

Shortly before the important nomination of Cardinals on the 12th of May 1542 the Bull on the reform of the curial offices was at last assented to in consistory and soon afterwards made public. On the 14th of July the most comprehensive faculties were granted to Cardinals Cupis, Carafa, and Ridolfi for its execution. The penal and executive powers conferred on the above-named on the 12th of September were so wide in their scope and applied so unsparingly by Carafa that the Pope, on the 8th of January 1543, was obliged to modify them. This did not cause any slackness in the administration of the published decrees. On the 9th of March 1543 Paul III. again reminded them, in reference to the approaching Council, that there must be no falling off in this respect. In November 1542 the Pope had already given his Vicar-General, Filippo Archinto, the fullest powers of visitation and reform among the Roman clergy.

The reform of the Penitentiaria, on which Contarini had insisted to the last and against which Pucci had so stoutly contended, was at last brought to a decided issue in the spring of 1545 through Carafa's energy. The settlement of another very important question was even more protracted: the renewal of the ancient regulations concerning the duty of residence as affecting bishops and the entire clergy, especially in benefices to which a cure of souls was attached. This was one of the fundamental evils in the Church system, the remedy for which could not possibly be deferred until the meeting of the Council at some date beyond the reach of calculation owing to the hostility between Francis I and Charles V. Campeggio had already, in 1522, called the attention of Adrian VI to the necessity of some radical change in this direction. Numerous writings on reform, including in particular the Cardinals' memorial of 1537, had made this a matter of sharp stricture. On the 13th of December 1540 Paul III, with a magnanimous reduction of his Papal rights, took the first decisive steps towards the removal of the mischievous abuses arising from the neglect of residence. More than eighty archbishops and bishops residing in Rome were summoned in a body before the Pope, who, in carefully chosen words, represented to them the necessity of returning to their sees to guide their flocks. In order to make them more amenable to this injunction, he offered to them during their period of residence a free alternative in the appointment to benefices, jurisdiction over the exempts, and other graces. On hearing of this Cortese wrote joyfully to Contarini: "If this injunction is attended to and adequately carried out a beginning will have been made which will carry us more than half way through; a blessing will be conferred not merely on the neglected flocks but on the shepherds themselves; and if other acts correspond with this beginning "behold already, in the spirit, the Holy Church renewed in beauty and comeliness."

Even in Germany the Pope's conduct, as Vergerio reported to Aleander, made the best impression. But it was very soon to be made plain that between the decree and its execution there lay a long interval, in the course of which innumerable difficulties would have to be overcome.

The bishops declared themselves ready to obey the Pope as soon as he put them in a position to reside in their sees with usefulness and dignity. Paul III referred the matter to the commission on reform, where a searching examination was made into the episcopal revenues. In the process of these transactions a spirit of opposition soon arose in the Sacred College. Individual members were strongly displeased that the scheme of reform would deprive them of a status at the Papal court that cost them nothing. The Pope, however, made it known in a consistory at the end of January 1541 that he would not modify the conditions relating to the duty of residence. At a meeting of the reform commission at the house of Cardinal Cupis the claims of the bishops were once more examined, and in consistory on the nth of February a respite of twenty days was given, on the expiration of which the bishops had to betake themselves to their dioceses. When subsequently the reform commission also gave their detailed reply to the bishops' demands, nothing more seemed to stand in the way of drawing up the necessary Bull. Paul III, in a consistory held on the 23rd of March, insisted on the matter being speedily despatched and the demands of the bishops conceded; nevertheless, the settlement dragged on to the end of the year. On the 25th of November the Pope again brought up the question of reform in consistory. Thereupon, on the 2nd of December, Cardinal Ridolfi at last laid before consistory the draft of a Bull. But now a fresh obstacle arose, as it was immediately pointed out how much was contained in the document that was disadvantageous to the religious orders. It was therefore resolved that a hearing should first be given to their procurators. The Pope's earnestness, no longer doubted in any quarter, was evinced on the 9th of December, when he strongly insisted in consistory on the settlement of the business, whereupon the Bull containing the first attempt to solve the question of episcopal residence was finally drawn up. Contrary to all expectation, however, its publication was, at the last moment, deferred. The principal ground for this was to be found in the difficulties that the different Governments were prepared to raise. Morone told this openly to Granvelle in January 1543, when the latter, then in Trent, complained that so little had yet been done for the general betterment of the Church. In his reply Morone said plainly that the difficulties standing in the way of reform came not only from the side of the prelates or from the scarcity of priests, but also from the laity themselves and the secular princes, by whom the jurisdiction of the Church was thwarted, and who enticed those on whom the measures of reform would fall to become Lutherans, as had actually happened in several instances.

If on this as in other questions of reform ante-conciliar action took no legislative shape, the reason was that no one was satisfied with half measures or wished to anticipate the decisions of the illegally suspended General Council. The extensive measures of reform undertaken at the instigation of Paul III were not on that account by any means lost labour. To begin with, they introduced, prior to the Council, a sensible improvement in ecclesiastical affairs. On the point of episcopal residence this can be established by direct proof; but even in other directions keen observers testified to a remarkable change for the better. As early as 1537 an enemy of reform complained of the abolition of the former methods of the curial officials; and that reforms were continued in spite of the fact that already these reforms had been too stringent. The Venetian ambassador, Marc Antonio Contarini, observed in his report of 1538 that the court of Paul III showed such auspicious changes that in future the best hopes might be maintained with regard to reform.

Still more important was the verdict of Contarini, who, at the Diet of Ratisbon on the 25th of June 1541, impressed upon Ferdinand I the difference between the past and present condition of the Curia, to the great advantage of the latter. The Cardinal begged the King to reflect that to carry out reform at one stroke was impossible, but that he, Contarini, who had had a share in the proceedings of reform, could testify that even if the results had not by any means been generally

successful, yet many abuses had been done away with; precautions had been taken that bishops should reside in their dioceses; the Pope had called the worthiest men to places in the Sacred College; lastly, it was obvious that the Roman Court had undergone reform of such a sort that any comparison between the morals now obtaining and those of the reigns of previous Popes must result in a verdict favourable to the former. The truth of Contarini's assertion was confirmed by Sadoleto, who also drew particular attention to the fact that graces and dispensations were no longer bestowed with such facility as before, and that in the granting of indulgences it had become a strict rule to dispense them in moderation and with the avoidance of the suspicion of venality. The arbitrary sentences of excommunication, in support of which many ecclesiastical dignitaries appealed to ancient privilege, had been entirely swept away by Paul III in 1541. A great many isolated enactments of reform clearly showed, moreover, that the Pope was seriously bent on encountering the abuses prevailing among the secular and regular clergy not only of Italy but of all countries in Christendom.

Owing to the inconsistency and weakness shown by Paul III in these as in other matters, many serious defects continued, however, to exist in the sphere of ecclesiastical affairs, but the way to a thorough improvement, calling in the nature of things for ample time, had, all the same, been opened up; many abuses, even if they were not done away with altogether, were so violently shaken that succeeding Popes, and, above all, the Council of Trent, were able to lay the axe to their roots, thus giving to Catholic reform its full shape and establishing it upon a firm legal basis.

Herein precisely is seen the importance of the reforming labours of Paul III. They supplied the Council of Trent in 1545 with a great body of extraordinarily valuable material from which not a few enactments in the final decrees of that Synod are taken almost word for word.

It is therefore a mistake merely to deplore the postponement of reform—a postponement, moreover, which in many ways deepened the foundations of reforms to come—and to assert with Seripando that Paul III's efforts at amelioration were nothing more than talk. Rather ought the Farnese Pope, who followed the same high aims as Adrian VI, to be credited with a substantial share in the work of reform consummated later on by the Council of Trent and for which in many particulars he had himself supplied the ground-plan. If this service has only been fully brought to light by the most recent research, he performed another not overlooked by his contemporaries and celebrated by them in the frescoes of the Roman Cancelleria. This was the infusion of new life into the Sacred College. It is to the secularization of the supreme senate of the Church under Sixtus IV and his successors that the real beginnings of decay must be traced back; the Lateran Council attempted in vain to effect a change in this respect. By his great creation of Cardinals on the 1st of July 1517, Leo X, compelled by necessity, took the first step in the only right direction by introducing into the Cardinalate forces of regeneration. Adrian VI was unfortunately only granted the opportunity of making one Cardinal. Clement VII was almost exclusively swayed by political motives in his creations, so that spiritual fitness for the position was disregarded as an element of choice. Not so with Paul III. Even he, as was inevitable, allowed himself on not a few occasions to be led by political and also unfortunately by personal considerations, but, taken as a whole, his creations were dominated by a regard for the requirements of the Church. In this as in so many other matters the Farnese Pope was the initiator of a new epoch. By far the greater number of those on whom he conferred the purple were worthy of the distinction, not a few had such rare characteristics that in the opinion of some the chief senate of the Church has hardly ever seen such a combination of men endowed with all the best gifts of their age as the Sacred College fashioned at the hands of Paul III. From their ranks came his four immediate successors, conspicuous for the services they rendered to the cause of Catholic reform and of the Council.

CHAPTER V.

PEACE AND THE CRUSADE.—CHARLES V. CAPTURES TUNIS AND VISITS ROME.

In political as well as in ecclesiastical affairs Paul III showed a wholly different conception of the high responsibilities laid upon him from that of his predecessor. Together with furtherance of the Council, he told the Augustinian, Seripando, in 1534, he considered the restoration of peace to Christendom and the prosecution of the war against the Turks to be his most sacred duties. Among other tokens of the dawn of a new era were the changes made in the distribution of the nunciatures.

The diplomatists of Charles V and Francis I watched with strained attention from the first each step of the new Pope; with laborious exactitude they reported every indication of his attitude towards the two great antagonists. The excellent relations maintained by Cardinal Farnese with the Imperialist as well as the French party filled both with far-reaching hopes.

The French Cardinals celebrated the election of Farnese with brilliant festivities. On account of the decisive share they had taken in his elevation to the Papacy, they indulged in the confident expectation that the new Pontiff would throw himself into the plans of their King and before all do his best to secure the recovery of Milan. But to hints addressed to him in this direction the Pope gave no heed. Bitterly disappointed, they deputed Trivulzio to take steps to bring about a more definite issue. Although the Cardinal represented the French claims in the most moderate form, Paul III rejoined with severe emphasis that he had not any intention of taking up one side or the other; as the father of all he must preserve a complete neutrality. This the Pope repeated a few days later in Trivulzio's presence to Cardinals de Lorraine, Bourbon, and Tournon, who had come previous to their departure to have their farewell audience; they referred in vain to the services rendered by Francis during the conclave, but no promise to support the French policy could they extract. Even the alluring prospects held out by them of the promotion of Pier Luigi Farnese made no impression; he was Pope, Paul III declared, and as Pope he intended to reign unless he were to act contrary to his own conscience and to the hurt of the Holy See.

The exasperation of the Frenchmen rose higher when they found that their demand for the appointment of another of their countrymen to the Cardinalate and the transference of the Legatine post to Jean de Lorraine was dismissed; they reproached Trivulzio bitterly for having induced them to be parties to the election of such a man. The Cardinal thereupon betook himself once more to the Vatican and in a state of great agitation made a scene in the Pope's presence: if, he said, the French returned home without hopes, Francis I would take heavy vengeance; for his own part, he added, he preferred death to the disfavour of the King. Paul III rejoined with dignity that it was right and fitting that Trivulzio should be a faithful servant of the King, but he would also

like him to remember that he was a Cardinal and an Italian, and that his days were spent not in France but in Rome; for his own part, he stood in no fear of French menaces, and was determined as Pope to remain neutral.

Already, on the 17th of October 1534, in a gathering of the Sacred College, Paul III had spoken strongly in this sense; that he was resolved to work for a general peace as well as for the Council and Church reform. Accordingly, in December 1534 he appointed Girolamo Rorario to mediate for peace between Ferdinand I and Zapolya, and declined the suggestion of Charles V that he should renew the league entered into by Clement VII in 1532. By the former step he displeased the French King and, by the latter, the Emperor. When the Pope afterwards tried to soothe the French with fair words the Imperialists observed this with deep mistrust. For all their efforts neither of the two parties could come to any secure settlement.

The Papal neutrality, disagreeable though it was to the Hapsburg sovereigns, had yet a cooling effect on the warlike appetite of Francis I, so much so that Charles was able to undertake a long-planned expedition against Chaireddin Barbarossa. This daring corsair chief, who was subject to the Porte and in alliance with Francis I, had succeeded in capturing Tunis in the summer of 1534. If the ships of the Dey of Algiers had for long been harrying Spanish and Italian coasts, the peril to which the whole Western Mediterranean was now exposed had become unendurable. Spain, Sicily, and Southern Italy were menaced by a common danger.

To be the champion of Christendom against Islam had been the ideal of the Emperor's youth; thus, in preparing to deal a powerful blow at the piratical forces of Africa, he was only putting into execution a long-cherished scheme. His summons to the Crusade was especially popular among the Catholics of Spain, but Portuguese and Italians also took their part in the cause. Seven thousand German landsknechts followed Maximilian von Eberstein from South Germany to Genoa, while the Emperor himself, to the astonishment of many, placed himself at the head of the Crusaders. On the 31st of May 1535 his fleet put to sea from Barcelona. Owing to contrary winds the harbour of Cagliari (the appointed rendezvous for all enlisted against the Crescent) was not reached until the 10th of June.

Paul III had, from the first, done all that lay in his power to aid this resistance to the hereditary enemy of the Christian name. The measures to be taken had been discussed, under his presidency, by a commission of three Cardinals appointed on the 24th of October 1534. Immediately afterwards Paul III treated with the envoys of Savoy, Milan, Ferrara, and Siena as to the contributions payable by these States to the expenses of the Turkish war. On the 17th of November the Pope had conveyed to Andrea Doria the expression of his wish for a personal interview, and at the same time he recommended the Knights of St. John to all the princes of Europe. In December he conceded to the Emperor a subsidy of two-tenths from the clergy of his dominions.

Paul III, in an urgent letter, applied also to Francis I asking him to support Doria against Barbarossa. Many thought at the time that this appeal would be as ineffectual as the Pope's exertions to bring about a reconciliation between the King and the Emperor. The reply received from France was, as it proved, most unsatisfactory; therefore the grant of two-tenths, conceded on the 15th of February 1535 at the request of Francis, was accompanied by the condition that he should assist the Holy See either with money or ships as his contribution to the maintenance of the war. Although it was expressly provided that the French ships should be under Papal and not Imperialist command, Francis would not agree to the condition in question. The Bull of taxation accordingly was not despatched.

If Paul III was as yet unaware of the secret treaty between Francis and Barbarossa, still it could not have escaped his notice that the former was making preparations for a fresh war with the Emperor. By his imploring, almost passionate, entreaties that Francis would at least not put hindrances in the way of the expedition against Tunis, the Pope at last succeeded in wringing from him a temporary abstention from hostilities.

It was the Pope's intention to assist the Emperor with ships also. The Papal fleet, placed on the 20th of November 1534 under the command of Gentil Virginio Orsini, Count of Anguillara, consisted then of three ships only; nine more were to be fitted out at Genoa—not an easy task seeing that Clement VII had left his successor an empty exchequer. The Pope was therefore compelled to draw on the Italian clergy for financial assistance; nevertheless, it was impossible to get more than six ships ready in time; the manning of the vessels with adequate crews was also beset with great difficulties.

Paul III who, at the beginning of the year, had sent a suit of consecrated armour to Andrea Doria, the admiral-elect of the fleet, looked upon the expedition against Tunis as the first step towards a general war against the Ottoman power, and would therefore have rejoiced to have seen the operations more widely extended, but this, in the opinion of Charles V, was at first impracticable. On the 18th of April Paul III went in person to Civita Vecchia; from the top of the Torre della Rocca he prayed God to give victory to the fleet of Crusaders anchored beneath his feet in the harbour below, and bestowed upon them with all solemnity the pontifical blessing. An inscription and a medal perpetuated the memory of this remarkable scene.

While Paul III returned to Rome the Papal ships set sail for Cagliari, where the Emperor held a review of his entire armament. This consisted of 64 galleys, 30 smaller ships of war, and about 300 transport vessels. It was, boasts a contemporary, the finest, biggest, and best-armed fleet ever equipped in Christendom.

The Emperor and his Spaniards as well as the Pope looked upon the undertaking as a holy war, as a crusade in the true sense of the word. Before starting on his expedition Charles had made a pilgrimage to the monastery of Montserrat to invoke the blessing of the Queen of Heaven at the beginning of his enterprise; on the mast of the Admiral's ship he ordered an ensign to be hoisted bearing the image of the Crucified, and pointing to the symbol of our redemption, he said to the grandees who accompanied him: "The Crucified Saviour shall be our Captain."

On the 13th of June 1535 the Christian Armada put out to sea. As the wind was favourable, they sighted on the following morning the African coast, and the disembarkation of the troops in the harbour of Carthage was effected without mishap. More difficult was the siege of the fortress of Goletta, lying on the tongue of land between the sea and the lagoon El Bahira, and at once the arsenal of Barbarossa and the key of Tunis. In order to reduce the forces of the enemy Charles promised full pardon to all apostate Christians serving in their ranks who should come over to him. Although great numbers complied, the siege was still an arduous business. The troops suffered severely not only from the heat of the climate but from want of water and adverse winds which blew dust-storms in their face. The garrison made repeated attempts to destroy the siege-works by sallies from within. These and subsequent engagements under the blazing African sun were portrayed in colours in large cartoons by a Fleming, Jan Vermayen, who was in the Emperor's suite. He was an artist of intelligence, devoted to his craft and efficient in execution; his pictures now adorn the Imperial galleries in Vienna.

The fortress of Goletta, bombarded by land and sea, was not taken till the 14th of July ; many guns and nearly a hundred baggage-waggons fell into the hands of the victors. Although the

majority in the council of war were of opinion that further operations should be confined to sea against Bona and Algiers, Charles decided to press on to Tunis. The army began to move on the 20th of July; after a toilsome march they came in touch with that of Barbarossa, and a battle ensued, described in vivid terms by the Emperor in an autograph letter to his sister Maria. The enemy, notwithstanding his numerical superiority, was routed; pursuit, however, was impossible, as the troops were almost exhausted from thirst and heat.

In spite of victory, the army was placed in a critical position owing to the want of water. On the following day decisive aid was given to the Imperialists by the insurrection of the 20,000 Christian slaves in Tunis; Barbarossa was, in consequence, forced to evacuate and abandon his city to the enemy. In order to stimulate the spirit of his troops, Charles V had promised them the plunder of Tunis; they now took a cruel revenge for the forays whereby the bands of Barbarossa had for so long tormented the coast-dwellers of the Mediterranean.

With the capture of Tunis the expedition had achieved its chief object. The near approach of the equinoctial gales was an obstacle to the prosecution of the war; Charles therefore postponed to a later date the conquest of Algiers; he now proposed to visit his Neapolitan kingdom, hitherto unknown to him, and Tunis was handed over as a Spanish fief to its former ruler Muley Hassan. At the same time all Christian slaves in the Tunisian kingdom were set at liberty, and free domicile with the undisturbed exercise of their religion secured to Christians generally; a Spanish garrison was left in Goletta.

In the middle of August the army re-embarked; thousands of Christians, now set free, returned to their homes. The Emperor sent to Rome as a gift "to St. Peter" the lock and bolts of the city gate of Tunis, where this trophy was placed in the vestibule of the Basilica, to be removed at a later period to the room belonging to the sacristy in front of the Archivio.

On the 22nd of August Charles V landed at Trapani. Even if he had not completely crushed Barbarossa he had yet added greatly to his renown and reputation by his brilliant successes against the infidel, successes greeted with particular delight in Germany, and by the deliverance of so many thousands of Christian captives. Full of self-reliance, he seems now to have cherished the hope of realizing the great ideal of his life: to deal, as the champion of Christendom against the unbelievers, by means of an expedition against Constantinople, a crowning blow at the power of the Turk.

In Rome, as in all Italy, the operations of war in Africa had been followed with closest attention. The Pope was kept carefully informed through the reports of the nuncio in attendance on the Emperor. Above all, intercessions were offered up to Heaven for the success of the Christian arms. At first, indeed, the withdrawal of the fleet had been followed by the appearance of corsairs before Civita Vecchia, against whom the Pope at once ordered measures of defence to be taken. On the 20th of June a triduum of fasting and processional litanies was ordered to supplicate the Divine succour. Three days later, the first procession, in which the populace joined in great numbers and devotion, wended its way from S. Marco to S. Maria del Popolo. On the 25th and 26th of June similar processions went from S. Maria sopra Minerva to Ara Caeli, and from S. Lorenzo in Damaso to St. Peter's.

In the beginning of July unfavourable reports of the Tunisian expedition were disseminated by the French party. It was also given out that an envoy of the French King was exercising an evil influence on Barbarossa. The Pope, however, in a very friendly brief to the Emperor on the 15th of July, expressed his hope that the latter would be fully successful. When on July the 28th the news arrived of the taking of Goletta, the Pope at once wrote congratulations and ordered

thanksgivings. At last, on the 2nd of August, came the first announcement that Tunis had fallen, and this was confirmed on the following day in letters from the Emperor. In Rome the rejoicing was general except among the Emperor's enemies, who had hoped for his ruin. The Pope ordered displays of fireworks and thanksgivings throughout the States of the Church. On the 15th of August a solemn Mass was said in S. Maria Maggiore, attended by all the Sacred College; the Bishop of Viterbo, Giovanni Pietro Grassi, preached on this occasion; the Pope himself chanted the *Te Deum* and took part in the procession.

In the Curia, as in many other quarters, it was believed that the Emperor would now turn his forces against Constantinople. Men had visions of the victorious overthrow of the Turkish dominion and the conversion of Islam to the true faith. Even the Pope shared this view, to which some expressions of Charles V lent support. He had therefore, as early as the 3rd of August, given orders for increased expenditure on the fleet, and expressed a wish to hold an interview with the Emperor. Again, in December, he sent the General of the Franciscans to Charles, who since the 25th of November had been resident in Naples, to urge him to more extensive operations against the Turks.

In the face of hard facts, however, such ambitious projects were impracticable. The reappearance of Barbarossa before the Balearic Islands, and his descent on the harbour of Mahon in September, showed that the power of this adventurous pirate was still unbroken. But to a renewal of hostilities on a larger scale Venice and France were opposed. The answer of the Venetian ambassador to Cardinal Cles showed clearly that the Signoria clung to its commercial policy and was bent on pursuing friendly relations with the Sultan. The attitude of Francis I. was worse; in presence of the remarkable situation created for the Emperor by his successes in Africa the King took up, without disguise, an even more menacing posture towards his rival, and forced him to renounce any bolder plans for the protection of Christendom. In Rome the French diplomatists, Cardinal du Bellay and the Bishop of Macon, made every effort to win the Pope to their monarch's side; their promises were unlimited; Francis I would secure politically the Pope's independence, and ecclesiastically the return of the German Protestants to the Church. But their chief aim was to awaken and foster in the Curia apprehensions of the Emperor's supremacy.

As reports from various quarters, even from the nuncio at Charles's court, concerning the sinister designs of the Hapsburgs upon Italy reached Paul III, he too began to dread this supremacy. Grave anxiety beset him as he contemplated the Emperor's visit to Rome. It was of little avail that the latter declared that, as a proof that his aim was not that of universal monarchy, as his enemies asserted, he was coming with only a slender escort of troops. Even if the Pope announced officially the pleasure it would afford him to see the Emperor in Rome, and ordered the clergy of Naples to give a solemn reception to the conqueror of Barbarossa, yet his real feelings were of a very different kind. The first outburst of joy at the humiliation of the corsair gradually gave place to fears of the Spanish supremacy, against which Paul III, quite in vain, had tried to find a bulwark in Venice. French diplomacy knew how to make adroit use of the situation; they worked with undiminished activity to bring Charles into discredit with the Curia.

It was of advantage to them that recent misunderstandings had arisen between the Imperial and Papal courts, owing in part to the nepotistic tendencies of the Pope. In order to remove these differences and to ascertain clearly the Emperor's intentions, it was resolved at the end of August to send Pier Luigi Farnese into southern Italy. He was to take with him the brief of invitation to Rome in the Pope's own hand, and to treat of the peace, the Turkish war, the Council, the expedition against the Varani in Camerino, and the punishment of Henry VIII, as well as to justify

the appointment, without the Imperial consent, of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to the Bishopric of Jaen.

Pier Luigi Farnese, detained from sickness or other causes, did not meet the Emperor, at Cosenza, until the middle of November, when he was most unfavourably received. Both as regarded the visit to Rome and the affair of Camerino, Charles made evasive statements; as for the Council, he thanked the Pope for his zeal, but observed that further negotiations must be deferred until the King of the Romans had expressed his intentions. The excuses in the case of the Bishopric of Jaen he declined to accept, and protested with heat against this infringement of his rights. He also made bitter allusions to the Francophile sympathies of Paul III, who had worked for a secret league with Venice; instead of that, Charles demanded that he should make an alliance with him against France.

Paul III awaited with impatience the result of Pier Luigi's mission. The accounts that he received of the marks of honour bestowed on his nephew were not calculated to console him for the miscarriage of the very first negotiation. In the hope that a personal meeting would lead to better results, he gave orders for the recall of Pier Luigi on the 19th of November.

By the middle of December the news of the total collapse of the mission reached the Vatican. It had never entered the mind of Paul III that Pier Luigi, who for a long while had been on good terms with the Emperor, would fail so completely. His choleric temper now, for a moment, got the better of him, and in the greatest agitation he turned to the French party and used sharp language about the Emperor. But his wiser instincts prevailed, and prevented him from going further, although the inducements held out from the side of France were tempting.

The Emperor's demands are made clear in a document handed to Pier Luigi on the 9th of December 1535: first and foremost came the summoning of the Council. The Pope must not be diverted from this course by the opposition of France, and must also forbid Francis I to have any dealings with Henry VIII. Charles then goes back to his old wish that Paul III should conclude an alliance with him not only against the Turks but against all the aggressors of Christendom. The Pope must openly declare himself for the house of Hapsburg against France. This was to overstep the political system of strict neutrality which seemed to Paul the only correct one; again and again he emphatically declared that to this policy he intended to adhere. On the other hand, he was prepared to convene the Council; that he was taking steps to issue the summons was communicated to the French King. Strong representations were also made to Francis I concerning his advances to England, his intrigues in Germany, his alliance with the Turks, and his arbitrary exaction of tithes.

Cardinals had to be sent to welcome the Emperor, but it was not easy to find suitable persons. A consistory discussed the matter on the 26th of November without arriving at any decision; at last, on the 29th, Cardinals Piccolomini and Cesarini were appointed. They started from Rome on December the 5th, as the Emperor was expected at the end of the month. The two Cardinals only undertook the mission unwillingly, for they had not only to fulfil the courtesies of welcome, but to discuss the questions handled with such infelicitous results by Pier Luigi Farnese, and there yet remained a most important topic bristling with difficulty: the ill-starred question of Milan. This had entered on an acute phase owing to the death on the 1st of November, without legitimate heir, of Duke Francesco Sforza. Francis claimed Milan for his second son Henry, Duke of Orleans. As Charles V refused unconditionally to hear of the husband of Catherine de' Medici and claimant of Florence and Urbino, the renewal of the war between the two rivals was imminent. Paul III was not wanting in efforts to preserve peace; he took a middle course, and proposed that the Duchy should be given to the third son of Francis, the Duke of Angouleme. The two Cardinals

proposed this compromise to the Emperor on the 22nd of December at Naples. Charles replied that he must first be more closely acquainted with the conditions of this solution of the question, since experience had shown that the French, if in possession of Milan, would wish to have Naples also in their grasp.

The candidature of the Duke of Angouleme was rejected as impossible by the French. They tried to draw the Pope to their side by proposing that Milan should be given to Pier Luigi Farnese's son, Ottavio, together with the hand of a French Princess. Notwithstanding his great affection for his nephew, Paul III did not enter into this scheme, but continued to preserve his neutrality. As long as this was not infringed he showed friendliness to Charles V in the bestowal of graces, but he gave an unconditional refusal to the latter's request that he might enlist troops within the States of the Church. As he wished to remain neutral, this was a concession he could not make to either party, and on the 28th of February 1536 the prohibition to all his subjects in the States to take service with foreign princes without special permission was promulgated. In January 1536 the Pope made his Milanese policy sufficiently clear to the Venetian ambassador; the Duchy must not belong either to the Emperor or Francis I; only by conferring it on a third party, such as the Duke of Angouleme, who would thereby become an Italian prince, would it be possible to safeguard Italy against foreign subjugation and incessant warfare.

The Papal proposal, however, had no prospect of acceptance even with the Imperialists. The Spanish statesmen did not, indeed, actually decline the candidature of Angouleme, but they bound it up with conditions which gave the Duke up entirely into the hands of Charles. In order to make the Pope amenable it was even proposed in the Imperial Council that Parma and Piacenza should be occupied. As the troops of Charles occupied Siena and the Neapolitan kingdom and the Colonna were at his service, Paul III. felt himself threatened in Rome, where there was a great concourse of Spaniards and the recollection of the sack of 1527 lived on. He ordered St. Angelo to be prepared against attack, levied troops, and even seriously contemplated flight to the hill stronghold of Civita Castelliana in order to secure his freedom.

When intelligence of such plans reached Charles he thought it advisable, in view of the imminent renewal of war with France, to give in. It was rumoured in diplomatic circles that Charles had written a submissive letter to the Pope in which he agreed to the prohibition of enlistments in Rome. According to another report, the ambassador Cifuentes had been instructed to refrain from importuning the Pope further to renounce his neutrality. Thereupon the tension hitherto existing between the Emperor and the Pope became suddenly relaxed. Whether the Emperor had actually gone as far as this is open to doubt. It was afterwards to be shown clearly that he had never seriously thought of abandoning his efforts to draw the Pope to his side, but his prospects were as yet very unfavourable, for on the 21st of March the Pope had already declared that, in view of the war that had broken out on the entry of Francis I into Savoy, he would observe the strictest neutrality. On this as on all other questions he hoped to come to a clear understanding with the Emperor by means of personal negotiation.

On the afternoon of the 26th of March Paul III and his Master of the Ceremonies drew up the last regulations for the reception of the Emperor in Rome. On the following day he deputed Cardinals Cupis and Sanseverino to receive the head of the Hapsburgs on the borders of the States of the Church on his approach from Naples. They started on the 1st of April, and early on the following day met the Emperor at Sermoneta.

The entrance of the Head of Christendom into the Eternal City was fixed for the 5th of April. The Pope had made most extensive preparations, although the Emperor had begged that there might be an abstention from special festivities. Notwithstanding the precarious state of the

finances, nothing was spared of genuine Roman pomp to do honour to the conqueror of Barbarossa, already celebrated in high-flown verse by the poets of the Eternal City. The whole city was to appear in its utmost splendour, and the Emperor, as the successor of the Caesars, to make his way along the ancient Via Triumphalis through the arches of Constantine, Titus, and Septimius Severus, over the ruins of ancient Rome and past the Capitol till, having traversed the whole length of the new city, he reached the Vatican. All buildings interfering with the route were accordingly demolished. Rabelais, who was an eyewitness of the destruction, says that upwards of two hundred houses and three or four churches were pulled down. Through the Forum a straight road was laid down and this historic site raised and levelled by an accumulation of loads of debris. The works were under the direction of the talented Latino Giovenale Manetti, who, in the short space of fifteen weeks, had rendered extraordinary services. The decorations in the city itself were arranged by Antonio da Sangallo the younger; Battista Franco, Raffaello da Montelupo, and other artists carried out his instructions. Another collaborator in this work was Baldassare Peruzzi.

Charles V, accompanied by the two Cardinal-Legates, reached Marino on the 3rd of April, where he was received by Ascanio Colonna and Cardinals Alessandro Farnese and Santafiora. The next day he betook himself to S. Paolo fuori le mura, where he was welcomed in the Pope's name by Giuliano Cesarini, Gonfaloniere of the Roman people.

On the 5th of April, at eleven in the forenoon, the Imperial procession set forth from S. Paolo. While many prelates and nobles, among them Pier Luigi Farnese, as well as the civic magistrates, had already come as far as the latter Basilica to meet him, the Emperor was awaited by the College of Cardinals at the Church of "Domine quo vadis" on the Appian Way.

The head of the procession was formed of 4000 Imperial foot soldiers marching seven abreast and 500 horsemen. Then came the envoys of Florence, Ferrara, and Venice, the Roman barons and Spanish grandees, while the Senator and Governor of Rome brought up the rear. Immediately in front of the Emperor advanced fifty youths chosen from the first families in Rome, all dressed in violet silk.

Amid the dazzling glitter and pageantry displayed by the Roman and Spanish nobility the simplicity of Charles V. stood out in striking contrast. The monarch, on whose realms the sun never set, the glorious conqueror of the dreaded infidel, whose latest achievements in Africa were grandiloquently set forth in the language and style of ancient Rome in the inscriptions on artistic triumphal arches, made his appearance without any decorations or tokens of his rank. Wearing a simple garment of violet velvet and a cap of the same colour, he rode on a charger between Cardinals Cupis and Sanseverino with the Caporioni and Conservatori on both sides; the latter, in ancient garb, described to their illustrious guest the remains of antiquity through which he was making his way. Close behind the Emperor rode the Cardinals, two and two; they were followed by the ranks of lesser ecclesiastical dignitaries; last of all came the Emperor's bodyguard, 200 strong.

The splendid cavalcade rode through the Porta S. Sebastiano, richly decorated with frescoes and stucco work, to the Baths of Caracalla, past the Septizonium, still rising proudly on the southern point of the Palatine, and through the Arch of Constantine. After leaving this point the Emperor was confronted by the huge mass of the Colosseum, recently stripped of its obnoxious outbuildings. The Emperor, struck with astonishment, reined in his horse in order to gaze on the wonderful amphitheatre. He then rode under the Arch of Titus across the Forum to the Arch of Severus. In front of the Temple of Divus Romulus an annexe, obstructing the view of the porphyry pillars of the entrance and doors of bronze, had been pulled down. The mediaeval baronial tower before the Temple of Faustina had also been removed. From the Arch of Severus the procession

turned to the right into the Via di Marforio on to the Piazza di S. Marco, where, from designs by Sangallo, an immense arch had been erected, the statues and paintings on which aroused the admiring wonder of his contemporaries. Among other Germans engaged on the decorations was that Martin Heemskerck whose sketches and famous panorama offered to the Romans a valuable picture of this occasion. From S. Marco the next point reached was the Via Papale. Thence the procession turned to the left to the Campo di Fiori and by way of the Via de Banchi struck the Tiber. Amid the thunder of cannon from St. Angelo the castle bridge, adorned with statues, was passed and the Borgo entered, where the houses were hung with tapestries as on the Festival of Corpus Christi.

In the Piazza of St. Peter's the Emperor alighted and paid the customary homage to Paul III, who, wearing the tiara, awaited him in the portico of the Basilica. The two heads of Christendom then entered St. Peter's, where a religious ceremony was held. When this was ended, the Pope led the Emperor to the Sala Regia, and at the chapel of Nicholas V he withdrew. Several Cardinals escorted Charles to the Curia Innocentiana, where apartments had been made ready for him.

The next day, the 6th of April, was at once devoted to the discussion of the many unsettled questions which for so long a time had been calling for solution. The diplomatists reported that this first private interview between the Emperor and the Pope lasted for more than six hours. On Friday and Saturday Charles V, with a small suite, visited the most famous churches and monuments of antiquity in the capital of the world. From the roof of the Pantheon he enjoyed a panorama of incomparable views.

During his stay the Emperor honoured with visits Vittoria Colonna and also the wives of Ascanio Colonna and Pier Luigi Farnese. On Saturday evening he conferred with the Pope for three hours. It was rumoured that Charles would soon take his departure, with the intention, it was supposed, of making an impression on the Pope. The Emperor, however, prolonged his visit over Holy Week, and on Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday, and Good Friday took part with great devoutness in the striking solemnities of the Church, customary from distant ages at this season. On Holy Saturday he made a pilgrimage to the seven churches, and on Easter Sunday he assisted at High Mass in full Imperial state.

On the first Sunday after Easter, the 17th of April, Charles V suddenly presented himself in the *Sala dei Paramenti* and there, in the presence of the Pope, Cardinals, and ambassadors, delivered a speech in Spanish which caused an immense sensation. He began by thanking Paul III for his friendly disposition in the question of the Council, and then went on to vindicate thoroughly his conduct towards the French King, against whom he adduced a formal catalogue of misdeeds. In his characteristic way Charles expatiated at large on this topic; beginning with the days of Leo X, he described one by one all the phases of the struggle with his inveterate rival, the Milanese war, the Treaty of Madrid, the campaign of the Holy League, and the Peace of Cambrai, which Francis I had not adhered to. Regardless of its stipulations, the King had hatched plots in Germany, as had been specially brought to light in the war of Würtemberg. Notwithstanding this he, the Emperor, upon the death of Sforza, had been willing to concede Milan to the Duke of Angouleme, and even, upon certain conditions, to the Duke of Orleans. Ignoring this great mark of conciliation, the King, in defiance of pacific assurances, had entered Italy in arms, had invaded Savoy, a fief of the Empire, and demanded the life reversion of Milan. And yet, Charles went on, for the general welfare of Christendom he was still prepared to make peace; but if the King was absolutely determined on war, then it would be better that they should both meet in single combat

in accordance with old custom, the price of battle to be, on the one side Milan, on the other Burgundy; within twenty days Francis must decide.

The Emperor had spoken for an hour and a half with so much dignity and sagacity, with such remarkable powers of memory and such admirable arrangement of his subject, that all present were astonished. The impression made by his speech was enhanced by the powerful accent of personality that his words carried with them.

In order to understand the pitch of temper aroused in Charles and his defiance of diplomatic conventionalities, it must be borne in mind that the rupture of peace on the part of Francis had taken him completely by surprise and greatly exasperated him. While the French envoys expressly and solemnly assured him that Savoy would not be touched, there came in March the invasion of that country and the occupation of the chief city, Turin. In the same category of offences was the declaration of Francis that he must at once be put in possession of the life reversion of Milan. At the same time the Emperor received news of Sulieman's return to Constantinople and of Barbarossa's journey thither. While the French King was in close relations with the infidel, he was seeking to calumniate the Emperor in Rome, accusing him and his brother of being the cause of all the misfortunes in Christendom, both as concerned the faith and as concerned the Turk. Against these lying charges Charles felt it to be his duty to vindicate himself by appealing at this critical moment in his own way to the verdict of publicity.

The Pope acknowledged that the Emperor, in his speech and also in his private conversations, had made evident his love of peace. Charles, who had wished to bring the Pope round to an unambiguous expression of partisanship, was not satisfied with this statement; he therefore allowed himself to interrupt Paul in his reply. In order, however, somewhat to soften the effect of this unusual proceeding, he glanced down at a paper he held in his hand and observed that he had forgotten to request his Holiness to say definitely who was in the wrong, he or Francis I; if the Holy Father found that he, the Emperor, was in the wrong, then let him support the King against him; but if he found to the contrary, then he called upon God, the Pope, and the whole world as against the ruler of France.

Paul III thereupon rejoined that Charles had, in fact, publicly and repeatedly in private openly disclosed his peaceful intentions, and for so doing he deserved praise. But it was also his belief that Francis too was well disposed, and this belief made him hopeful that a way could still be found to allay all differences. As for the duel proposed in the present instance, he dismissed it as unpermissible; nor should two such valuable lives be so lightly staked. He, the Pope, however, would make every endeavour to restore peace between the two monarchs; in order to do this the more equably and in the way least open to suspicion he had, with the approval of the Cardinals, determined to remain neutral; he only asked that on both sides there should be fair dealing and a readiness to listen to reason.

Of the French envoys present at this scene, one, Charles Hémard de Denonville, Bishop of Macon, had not understood the Emperor's speech, being ignorant of Spanish; the other, de Vely, asked permission to make a reply, but Charles would not consent. In excellent Italian he again told the two envoys that the contention between him and their King could only be settled in the way he had stated: by a great war, or a personal encounter, or by an honourable peace, the terms of which he expected within twenty days. In the meantime the Pope had put on his pontifical attire in order to go to St. Peter's; as they went out the representatives of Francis I asked for a copy of the Emperor's speech, which he consented to give them.

This outburst of the Emperor's, unexpected as it was by all, caused a general and, in some, a painful astonishment. Paul III tried to soothe the French by declaring that he would not have suffered the speech if he had had any inkling of it beforehand.

When the Emperor on the following day was taking leave of the Pope and the Cardinals, once more a disagreeable incident arose. The French envoys asked for an explanation of the speech of the day before, especially if it were the Emperor's intention to challenge their King to a duel. Charles V, this time speaking in Italian, declared it was far from his thoughts to defame or attack the French King; he had only wished to vindicate himself, and regretted that any other construction could have been put upon his words. Even if he had been obliged to complain of certain acts of the King, he was nevertheless desirous not of war but of the maintenance of peace; only, the peace must not be compulsory, and if he should be forced to wage war he would defend himself with all his might; even if the very Turk were to be invading his States, he would first repel the attacks of France. The proposal of a personal encounter had been made only in the case of peace being impossible, and was not intended as a direct challenge to the King, at least in presence of the Pope. He also knew well what the odds were against him in such a combat, pitted against the strength and valour of Francis I. He wished only a means of avoiding a war which must issue, amid the dangers threatening from Turks and Protestants, in the total ruin of Christendom. He saw this catastrophe so clearly that no one need have been surprised at his speech of the day before; he therefore called upon the King to withdraw his troops within twenty days, whereby he had no intention of dictating a term to the King's movements but only of warding off a premature rupture.

As Charles thereupon wished to withdraw, the French envoy de Vely put to him the question how it stood with his project of giving the Duchy of Milan to the Duke of Orleans. Charles replied that, as a matter of fact, he had ordered his ambassador to communicate the plan to the King, but that he had never believed, and did not now believe, that adequate security for such an agreement could be found, nor that the King would accept the necessary conditions. Thereupon the representative of Francis I retorted: "If your Majesty makes proposals to the King, believing them incapable of realization, you thereby show want of confidence in the highest degree." The Emperor replied: "Every promise that I have made to the King about Milan has always been made on the assumption that my allies agree to do what they do not wish to do: further, they have been made contingently on the King withdrawing his army, and his army has not been withdrawn: besides, the proposal has not been accepted within the stipulated time. Nevertheless, if Francis I. wishes Milan for his younger son, the Duke of Angouleme, he will find us quite ready to come to terms with him."

In the course of these sharp rejoinders and counter-rejoinders the Emperor dropped an ironical allusion to the singularity of his having to request the French King to accept Milan for one of his sons. With this note of discord the visit of the Emperor to Rome, which had begun so brilliantly, came to an end.

The withdrawal of the Imperialists from Rome was carried out in the most orderly manner; they left behind the best impression, not the smallest infringement of discipline having taken place. The satisfaction at the excellent behaviour of the soldiers of Charles V was exceptionally great, for many of the citizens could not forget the days of the sack and had entertained the worst fears of the coming of the Germans and Spaniards.

During the Emperor's visit Paul III had given repeated signs of his great satisfaction with his guest's demeanour. He had not concealed his expectation that Charles would make upon him much more unreasonable demands than were actually put forth. In their personal interviews many

doubts were solved, misunderstandings cleared up, and grounds of suspicion removed. Charles V presented the Pope with a magnificent diamond worth 14,000 ducats. Paul III in return sent two Turkish horses and a prayer-book bound in covers begun by Benvenuto Cellini but left unfinished, for which this craftsman made apologies.

The efforts that Charles made to influence the Pope in his favour are apparent in the lavish promises made to the Farnesi. Pier Luigi was to have Novara as a Marquisate with 20,000 ducats, his son Ottavio a state within the kingdom of Naples with a yearly pension of 10,000 ducats, and Cardinal Alessandro the rich Bishopric of Monreale or Jaen. Notwithstanding this, the Emperor failed to attain his object, for the Pope could not be induced on any conditions to give up his neutrality. It cost much trouble to obtain his intervention in other questions ; the affair of Camerino in particular gave rise to serious difficulties.

Paul III, in accordance with his habit, prolonged the negotiations to such an extent that the final settlement of points of detail was not reached when Charles took his departure. Covos and Granvelle stayed behind in his stead, and succeeded at last, on the 24th of April, in bringing everything to a happy conclusion. The principal point of agreement was that, on the outbreak of a war between Charles V and Francis I, the Pope's support should be given to neither and his neutrality be strictly observed. He was neither to promote nor hinder a defensive league of the Italian States; he bound himself to suspend for the next six months the dispute with Urbino about Camerino and that with Ferrara, and also, for the same period of time, all ecclesiastical censures threatened against Urbino. The Pope promised besides to continue to the Catholic Swiss cantons the same support as had been given by Clement VII, and in case of a Turkish invasion to come to the Emperor's help. With regard to the dispute between Ferdinand I and Zapolya, articles were drawn up on the basis of which peace in Hungary was established. Finally, and this was of the greatest importance, the summons of the Council to Mantua was definitely settled and the 23rd of May in the following year fixed as the date of meeting.

The agreement between the Pope and the Emperor filled the French party with despair. Many believed in a secret understanding about Milan, the special aim, as was said, of Pier Luigi Farnese. In view of the success achieved with so much difficulty, the Emperor might well console himself for his failure to shake the Pope's neutrality and to bring him over entirely to his side. It speaks strongly for the satisfaction that was felt at the Imperial Court that Granvelle should have said, "The Pope is now an out-and-out Imperialist." This view was as little justified as the complaints of Francis I who, hard hit from the first by these arrangements, protested to the nuncio, with a threat of schism, that the head of the Church had attached himself on every question to the side of the Emperor. The Pope in reality asserted his neutrality, then as before, between the two parties whose relations were so strained that many diplomatists by the end of April had already given up all hope of the maintenance of peace. Paul III was as anxious as before to reconcile the two antagonists; for this purpose he proposed anew the candidature of the Duke of Angouleme, and spoke in this connection of going in person to Bologna and further still to the north. On May the 7th he took part in the great procession along the Via Papale to S. Maria sopra Minerva, where prayers were offered up for the preservation of peace.

As an answer to the Emperor's speech, extracts from which had been distributed widely by the Chancery, Francis I, on May the 11th, addressed a letter to the Pope, and likewise on the 25th of May ordered a violent protest to be read in the *Sala dei Paramenti* which even questioned the validity of the Peace of Cambrai. As France also refused to evacuate Savoy, the outbreak of war was inevitable. Paul III made every exertion to avert the unhappy strife even at the last hour, and ordered the nuncio at the Emperor's court, Giovanni Guidiccioni, to do all that was possible to

assist him. He wrote with his own hand to Francis I exhorting him to peace, and on the 9th of June despatched Cardinal Marino Caracciolo to the Emperor and Cardinal Agostino Trivulzio to the King.

The hope of preserving peace, cherished apparently by the Pope up to the last moment, was annihilated by the entry on the 25th of July of a powerful Imperial army into Provence. Soon afterwards France was also attacked in Picardy. Francis I thereupon informed Trivulzio that as long as the enemy was within his kingdom there could be no talk of negotiating for peace. As the King was finally induced to state his terms more definitely, the impossibility of coming to an understanding was made manifest. For he demanded nothing less than the immediate surrender of Milan and Asti; with the Duke of Savoy he would consent to a six months' armistice and the settlement of their dispute by Papal arbitration. As was to be foreseen, the Emperor refused. The invasion of Provence failed entirely, for Montmorency had turned the whole country between the Rhone and the passes of the Alps into a wilderness, thereby exposing the Imperialist forces to hunger and sickness. An engagement in the open field the French declined.

Soon after the war began the Emperor made another attempt, through Ascanio Colonna, to bring the Pope round to his side, but Paul III still persisted in the neutrality which alone afforded him any possible means of mediation. At the end of August, with this end in view, he sent his trusted private secretary, Ambrogio Ricalcati, to the Emperor and the learned Latino Giovenale Manetti to Francis I. Neither had any greater success than the ordinary nuncios Giovanni Guidiccioni and Rodolfo Pio of Carpi, of whom the latter, even after the departure of the envoys-extraordinary, was active, but unfortunately in vain, up to the end of the war.

At the end of October the Pope sent Luigi Farnese to the Emperor at Genoa.⁵ As his exertions for the restoration of peace were also fruitless, the Pope gave way to great indignation, and to the Venetian ambassador characterized the two contending monarchs as barbarians. He blamed the Emperor in particular that, instead of agreeing to a personal interview at Piacenza, he left for Spain on the 15th of November in order to obtain from the Cortes the necessary funds for continuing the war.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HOLY LEAGUE AND THE WAR AGAINST THE TURKS. THE CONGRESS OF NICE (1538).

The bloody contest between the two chief powers of Christendom gave time for the Sultan Suleiman's plans for a fresh onset on Western Europe to ripen. The danger was all the greater as Francis I since January 1536 had been in alliance with the infidel, and the latter had been engaged in preparations for war on an unwonted scale. As early as August 1536 reports had come in from all quarters that the Sultan was getting ready for an expedition against Italy in the coming spring in order to erect his seat of empire in Rome.

A commission of nine Cardinals was appointed on the 1st of December 1536 to discuss the measures to be taken. Although many attributed the reports of the Turkish armaments to the exaggeration of the Venetians, the Pope did not share this view; he was seriously disquieted. In accordance with the recommendations of the commission it was decided, at the beginning of January 1537, to tax the Italian clergy in two-tenths and to raise a hearth tax of one ducat on every family in order to procure the sums necessary for territorial defence. It was also proposed once more to send Legates to Francis and the Emperor on embassies of peace.

The continuance of the war between Charles V and Francis I threw the Pope for a time into a mood of despair. He ventilated his annoyance at the Emperor to the Venetian ambassador, accusing the former in particular of quarrelling with France on a comparatively trivial point and thereby imperilling the whole position of Christendom. If he spoke of the Turks, he was told in reply that he must renounce his neutrality, declare himself the enemy of France, and threaten the King of that country with excommunication on account of his alliance with the unbelievers. But the separation of rich and powerful France from the unity of Christendom was surely not the way in which to oppose the power of the Sultan. In this conversation Paul III even went the length of laying the responsibility of the English schism on the Emperor because the latter had led Clement VII, by the promise of his assistance, to take steps against England. Charles had also been dilatory and had allowed the proper time to go by for taking measures against the Lutherans of Germany, and had perhaps even favoured the growth of heresy in order to plant his foot more firmly on the neck of Italy and the Church.

The agitation of the Pope increased when the mission of Mario Aligeri, Bishop of Rieti, and that of Cesare de' Nobili, both appointed in the middle of February to approach once more the hostile monarchs in the name of peace, failed entirely. Since nothing could be hoped for from Venice, always trying to prolong her peace with the Sultan from a deep distrust of the Emperor, the Pope found himself flung upon his own resources for the protection of his territories against

the impending Turkish attack; with all possible haste he levied troops and had the harbours of Ancona and Civita Vecchia put into a state of defence.

The danger was not lessened when in March 1537 the border fortress of Clissa, lying north-east of Spalato, fell into the enemy's hands. Paul III had sent Ferdinand I money and troops for the defence of this important position, commanding the security of Dalmatia, and if taken exposing the coasts of Romagna and the Marches to serious danger. The Pope therefore gave fresh orders for the defence of the port of Ancona. At the end of April he visited Civita Vecchia to inspect his ships destined for Naples, there, in conjunction with the Spanish fleet, to protect the coast of Italy.

Notwithstanding the strained relationship with the Emperor, the Pope renewed the privileges of the "Cruzada" and promised him, in the event of the Turks making any advance, a monthly subsidy of 20,000 ducats. Charles V, however, as well as Ferdinand I, was not satisfied with this. They both renewed their complaints of the Papal neutrality whereby Paul III was subordinating general interests to his own. In answer to this charge Ambrogio Ricalcati, in a letter of the 17th of May 1537 to Morone, the nuncio at Vienna, addressed a reply in which he made mention of the assistance given to the Emperor and also to his brother.

Paul III desisted from excommunicating the French King, for his implication in a Turkish alliance, because it seemed to him to show a great want of sagacity to take extreme measures against a sovereign who was constantly threatening the Church with schism. Considering the sensible losses sustained by the Church in England and Germany, the Roman Curia felt that the greatest caution must be observed towards France; the only hope of salvation lay in a mutual reconciliation of the two sovereigns and in their accepting terms of peace. But the outlook in this direction was as unfavourable as it possibly could be. When the Pope, in June, asked the French King and the Emperor each to send to Rome an envoy fully accredited, the Emperor declined, on the pretext that he was already sufficiently represented by his ambassador, the Marquis d'Aguilar. Angry at the Papal neutrality, in which he saw an inclination towards France, he stood aside and repeatedly complained that Paul III dealt out to him the same treatment that he bestowed on Francis I.

Even if it does not admit of doubt that the Pope's neutrality, in view of the French alliance with the Turk, put him in a position of extreme embarrassment, the impartial verdict yet must be that in the immediate position of affairs Paul III acted rightly. If he had yielded at once to the Emperor's demands and declared himself openly against Francis I, the danger was present that the latter might have apostatized and aided the Turks in an attack on Rome. Against such an eventuality Paul III took military precautions in the city. If very different motives were, in this respect, attributed to him by his enemies, it soon became apparent that all such misconstructions were the outcome of idle conjecture.

Not less painful than such aspersions were the impediments put in the Pope's way in Italy itself towards collecting the funds for the Turkish war, although the reports of the Sultan's projects were more and more threatening. The curial officials, the Roman citizens, the envoys from foreign courts, the cities and barons of the Papal States all remonstrated and heaped up difficulty upon difficulty. The Pope pertinently and repeatedly pointed out that when the head suffered all the members must suffer. At the end of June he ordered prayers, fasts, and a procession from S. Marco to the church of the Minerva; all the religious orders and confraternities took part in this solemnity, and in the ranks of supplicants the Pope was seen walking barefooted. The preparations for defence were carried on with fervour, for it was reported that the Turk had never before put forth his strength to such an extent as at this crisis. How great the danger seemed is shown from the

circumstance that not merely the ports of Ancona, Civita Vecchia, Ostia, and Terracina, but also Rome and all towns within a circuit of sixty miles were put in a state of defence. Paul III resolved to remain in Rome; those, he declared, who had fears might leave the city; he would abide at his post. In August he had assembled upwards of 6000 men in the city. To Pier Luigi Farnese was committed the command of the troops appointed for defence of the coasts. These preparations called for great sums of money, the collection of which was an endless source of chagrin to the Pope; as in Rome itself, so elsewhere, only to name Spoleto, Perugia, Ferrara, and Urbino, the new levies caused the greatest opposition.

The Turkish ships, with the French envoy on board, appeared in Italian waters at the end of July; but their attack was directed not, as had been feared, against Rome but against Apulia. The Imperial Admiral, Andrea Doria, who had previously engaged some of the enemy's fleet successfully, was, in spite of the five Papal galleys, the seven Neapolitan ships and various Maltese craft at his command, too weak to encounter the preponderant naval forces of the enemy; he therefore withdrew into the harbour of Messina. The Turks, under Barbarossa, landed on the mainland near Otranto, in the roadstead of Castro, and from thence made incursions, laying waste the country and making many captives.

The news of the fresh Turkish invasion of Italy caused widespread alarm. The court of Ferdinand I saw Rome in occupation of the foe. The Pope hastened on the fortifications of the city, and sent troops to Terracina and Civita Vecchia. But, as has often happened, the unexpected came to pass. The Turkish contingent in Apulia was recalled, together with their fleet, and Corfu instead of Italy became their objective. The primary cause of this most unexpected movement was probably the failure of Francis I to make a simultaneous descent on the Peninsula.

Before the attack on Corfu the Sultan had already declared war on Venice, a dangerous power in the case of her alliance with the Emperor, by ordering the confiscation of all the property and merchandise of the Republic in his dominions. The garrison of Corfu defended themselves with such valour that, in the middle of September, the enemy raised the siege, and further, on receipt of disquieting news from Persia, sailed back to Constantinople. Christendom had a breathing-space. The Pope offered thanks in St. Peter's, and ordered a medal to be struck on which a dolphin was engraved vanquishing a crocodile.

The Turkish declaration of war against Venice forced the Republic to join sides with the Pope and the Emperor. Hitherto the efforts of Paul III to draw the first sea-power of Europe into the defensive forces of Christendom had been a failure. He had conceded rich sources of revenue to the Venetians in the hope that they would renounce their commercial system of politics, but in vain. Even his special emissary Fabio Mignanelli, sent to the Signoria in connection with the Turkish attack on Apulia, had effected nothing. The interests of the mart outweighed the re-monstrances of the Pope; the former held the scales in favour of a peace with the Porte. Now at last, under the pressure of the violent breach of treaty on the part of the Turks and of the menace to Corfu and the Aegean Archipelago, Venice determined, on the 13th of September 1537, to enter into an alliance with the Pope against the Moslem. The Emperor's participation in this separate agreement could be reckoned upon as certain after the declarations of his ambassador. The Venetians now armed in good earnest; among other measures they took steps to engage the services of 8000 German auxiliaries.

When on the evening of the 15th of September the news of the conclusion of the treaty reached Rome, the Pope's joy was indescribable. He at once summoned from his country house Blasius de Martinellis, his Master of the Ceremonies, in order to make special regulations for the publication of the treaty in Rome. This official recommended a great public solemnity, since ten

Popes had endeavoured without success in time past to win over Venice against the Turk. Steps were taken accordingly; and on the 23rd of September the Venetian Cardinal, Contarini, sang a solemn high mass in St. Peter's during which the Governor of Rome made an oration while the Pope closed the proceedings by intoning the Te Deum. Immediately after this celebration came the news of the relief of Corfù.

The momentary cessation of the Turkish peril, and still more the incompatible interests of Venice and the Emperor and their mutual distrust, led to an extraordinary delay in the final ratification of the treaty. Although at the end of November the news came that the Sultan's attacks would be renewed in the coming year, and the Pope did all in his power to bring the negotiations in Rome to a fortunate issue, the delay still continued.

The Turks, in the meanwhile, were not inactive. After the raising of the siege of Corfù, the Sanjak of Morea was ordered to invest Malvasia and Napoli di Romania; Barbarossa was to make himself master of the Venetian islands in Grecian waters. As the latter were without adequate defences, the infidel swooped down on Aegina, Skyros, Patmos, Pharos, and Naxos. On land the Pashas of Bosnia and Semendria raided the Hungarian border. Katzianer, the captain-general of Ferdinand I, met the enemy on the 9th of October 1537 at Gorian near Diakovfir and suffered a crushing defeat. Zapolya himself now began to fear the Turkish power.

The success of the great Papal league against the Turks, as well as the meeting of the Council, was only possible on the war between Francis I and the Emperor being brought to a conclusion. Paul III therefore set himself, under the maintenance of his neutrality, to promote the efforts for peace as assiduously as he had undertaken his measures for resisting Turkish invasion.

The prospects of the termination of the destructive warfare in the heart of Christendom developed very slowly. If the danger of Hungary was an anxiety to Charles V, not less cause of solicitude was given to Francis I by the circumstance that under the pressure of the Eastern question the Pope and Venice had been driven towards the side of the Emperor. Besides, there was the ex-haustion to which both parties were gradually giving way.

Although no terms of peace were agreed to, yet on the 16th of November 1537 an armistice was arranged at Monzon for three months, and further transactions, including even an interview between the two rivals, were kept in view.

The Pope made use of this position of things, having shortly before the armistice made arrangements for a new mission of peace, by intervening once more on his own part in order to put an end once and for all to the unhappy warfare. He at once gave orders for demonstrations of joy at the conclusion of the armistice and for prayers for the final cessation of hostilities. Then on the 19th of December 1537 he appointed two Legates, Cardinal Rodolfo Pio of Carpi for the French, and Cardinal Cristoforo Jacobazzi for the Imperial court; with a view to the Turkish war and the Council they were to use all their influence to turn the armistice into a durable peace. But to the French ambassador in Rome the Pope at the same time declared that, after all his hopes had thus been deceived, he could no longer preserve his neutrality but would become the antagonist of that party on whose wilful obstinacy the indispensable peace was wrecked.

Paul III's agitation was shown not only in the distrust inevitably aroused in him by his exclusion from the peace negotiations, for immediately afterwards the result of the meeting between the representatives of Francis and the Emperor was made known, and this was in no way matter for congratulation. Nothing had been gained except a prolongation of the armistice for three months, up to the 1st of June. Now as before Milan was the apple of discord over which no agreement could be reached.

Even more than by the Papal declaration of December the French were made apprehensive by the fact that, in spite of all their opposition, the great league against the Turks, over which Paul III, the Emperor, and Venice had been so long negotiating, became a reality. On the 8th of February 1538 the articles of the League, called “the Holy” on account of the Pope’s participation in it, were at last ready for signature in the Vatican.

This compact, in which Charles V, Ferdinand I, Venice, and Paul III were partners not only defensively but offensively against the Turks, began by setting forth distinctly the costs of the war. A sixth was laid upon the Pope, a third on Venice, and one-half on the Emperor. The campaign was to be undertaken with 50,000 infantry, 4500 cavalry, artillery in proportion, and 200 three-oared galleys; of the latter the Pope was to contribute 36 and Venice and the Emperor 82; the contribution of the Italian States was to be fixed by the Pope. Ferdinand I had an immunity from war payment but was to organize an army in Hungary; entrance into the League remained open to other States, even France; the land forces were to be under the command of the Duke of Urbino, the fleet under that of Andrea Doria. All questions of dispute arising out of the expedition were to be arbitrated upon by the Pope; a supplementary agreement already laid down the principles for the partition of the Turkish dominions. Charles V was to become Emperor of Constantinople.

On February the 10th the Holy League was solemnly proclaimed in St. Peter’s. On this occasion Marco Grimani, appointed Legate to the Papal fleet, received the insignia of his new dignity. As he was to superintend the equipment of the galleys at Venice, he took leave of the Pope and Cardinals on the 2nd of March and travelled on the following day to Civita Vecchia. In this seaport as well as in Ancona and Venice the greatest activity prevailed, for the Pope was determined that the promised help should be got ready in good time. No expense was to be spared, and all that could be done was to be done without attention to the less vigorous efforts of the allies. The treasurer, Giovanni Ricci, worked assiduously, and travelled backwards and forwards between Ancona and Venice to hasten on the naval preparations.

Before the conclusion of the League the Pope had declared his readiness to meet the Emperor and Francis in order personally to mediate for peace, without which a successful campaign against the Turks was out of the question. Nice had been proposed as the scene of the conference, and Charles V had announced his agreement. As new and reliable information of a very threatening kind concerning the plans of the Sultan had been received, it was settled in a consistory held on the 28th of January that the departure of the Pope for Bologna should be fixed for the 8th or 10th of February. But Francis I, deeply chagrined at the conclusion of the Holy League, showed, to the Pope’s great disgust, a total disinclination for the meeting. He was convinced that Paul III was by this time completely gained over by the Emperor, and therefore put difficulties on the top of difficulties. The Pope, nevertheless, did not allow himself to be dismayed. Even though the unfortunate state of things forced him repeatedly to put off his departure from Rome, yet, with characteristic tenacity, he held by his purpose and at last carried it into execution. The French King, whose alliance with the Turks caused great dissatisfaction in his own country, could not indefinitely put off his appearance, since the aged Pontiff was prepared to enter on a journey attended by so many hardships and risks.

Cardinal Vincenzo Carafa having been named Legate of Rome on the 20th of March, the Pope, to the great surprise of many, left the city on the 23rd. He went by Monterosi, Ronciglione, Viterbo, Montefiascone and Acquapendente to Montepulciano, where he was honourably welcomed at the command of Cosimo de’ Medici. From Montepulciano, without touching Siena, he made his way by Monte Oliveto, Castelnuovo, Poggibonsi, Castelfiorentino, and Fucechio to

Lucca. This city, into which Paul III entered on the 7th of April, was freed on its entreaty from the interdict under which it had lain on account of the arbitrary taxation of the clergy.

Although the Pope received in Lucca the disagreeable news that the Duke of Savoy was raising difficulties over the cession of the citadel of Nice, the sole remaining fortress left to him, to be used as the Papal residence, he started off again on April the 8th by Pietrasanta, Massa, Sarzana, Aulla, Pontremoli, the high Apennine passes of Colle della Cisa, Bercerto, and Fornuovo to Parma, arriving there on the 13th, the day before Passion Sunday. As one of his officials was assassinated there, he quitted the city in anger on the 15th and betook himself by Borgo Sandonnino and Fiorenzuola to Piacenza. Here he received Niccolò Tiepolo and Marc Antonio Contarini, sent by Venice to the congress as ambassadors-extraordinary. He assured them that he was determined to work resolutely for peace without regard for personal disadvantages and unpleasantnesses.

Paul III spent Holy Week and Easter in Piacenza, intending there to await the decision on the surrender of the citadel of Nice and the arrival of the Cardinal-Legates Jacobazzi and Carpi, who were expected on the 25th of April, but deferred their arrival for some days on account of delays over the matter of the citadel of Nice.

In the meantime very unfavourable rumours had come in with regard to the conclusion of peace. Pier Luigi Farnese and Cardinal Ghinucci imparted in confidence to the Florentine ambassadors their conviction that the outlook was hopeless; at the utmost an armistice might be arrived at, but even this was beset with the most serious difficulties.

After the arrival of the two Legates on the 28th of April the Pope showed more hopefulness. On May the 1st he heard that the Duke of Savoy had placed the fortress of Nice at his disposal; he therefore left for Savona by way of Tortona and Alessandria, where he made his solemn entry on the 10th of May.

Some days earlier the Emperor and his suite had reached the harbour of Villafranca. On the arrival of a message conveyed by a Papal envoy he altered his original plan of visiting the Pope in person at Savona and accompanying him to Nice, by sending seventeen ships to the former place to meet him. Paul III was anxious to allay every suspicion of partisanship, but could not avoid meeting the Emperor first, and in order to set at rest any disquietude on the part of the French King, he sent to him Latino Giovenale Manetti.

Although many were of opinion that no peace but only an armistice would be arrived at, still the Pope and his party deluded themselves with the hope that a permanent settlement would be secured. Paul III thought that from sheer political expediency Charles would make peace.

Pier Luigi Farnese left on the 13th of May to take possession of the citadel of Nice. Two days later the Pope sailed thither; as he drew near the harbour he was met by the bad news that the surrender of the citadel was refused. Charles V had even up to the last hour tried to induce the Duke to give way on this point, when the garrison and distrustful inhabitants of the town rose in revolt and declared that they would not suffer the fortress to be handed over either to Pope or Emperor. Paul III found himself compelled on May the 17th to take up his dwelling in the Franciscan convent without the city.

To the toils already undergone on the journey were now added the inconveniences, not less great, of the sojourn in the convent; but the aged Pope, full of ardour in the cause of peace, bore with a youthful vigour all the irksomeness of his position. The Emperor kept on board his galley at Villafranca, and two days later he made his first visit to the Pope with a great retinue about him;

this first conference took place in the Franciscan convent. As the Pope informed the Venetian ambassador, the topics of conversation were principally the refusal to give up the fortress and matters of ceremonial, while as regards the peace only some general inquiries were exchanged. The Emperor was very indignant at the Duke of Savoy; he suspected that the revolt of the garrison was only a pretence, and had thoughts of holding his conferences with the Pope for the future under fitting military protection or perhaps on board his own galley. Paul III was also highly displeased at the non-surrender of the stronghold, not simply because it forced him to go into uncomfortable quarters, but on another ground as well. He was afraid that Francis I would make this incident the excuse for keeping away, and he therefore sent the nuncio Ferreri on another mission to the King.

Owing to stormy weather the Pope and Emperor were unable to meet again until the 21st of May. To this conference Paul III came unaccompanied by a Cardinal or any other person, while the Emperor appeared with a large suite and even a bodyguard of 500 men. He did not trust the French, and therefore the interview was held not in the Franciscan convent but in a pavilion in an orange garden between Nice and Villafranca, on the seashore near where his galleys lay. The chief subject of discussion was the expedition against the Turks, which Charles V wished to be carried out only defensively during the current year and not offensively until 1539. With this the Venetians disagreed. Paul III, bearing in mind the work of peace and the action of France, was in favour of holding back all preparations for offensive warfare so long as the conference lasted.

While the French King still tarried the Pope was unwearied in his urgent and detailed representations of the insufficiency of an armistice and the necessity of a peace. As the idea of a conference had originated with him alone, so at Nice also the most important negotiations were conducted by him in entire independence of others. On the College of Cardinals he could not lean for support, as that body was split into two factions. The policy of Paul III bore now a much more personal stamp than on other occasions, while, since the 1st of January 1538, through the fall of the private secretary Ricalcati and his replacement by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, a decided alteration had taken place in the treatment of State affairs.

Among the Cardinals who stood firm by Paul III in the interests of peace, Sadoletto was conspicuous. If the Pope had succeeded in his efforts, good ground would have been afforded for the hope that a new era in the political and religious spheres was at hand. A reconciliation between Francis and Charles would have been of incalculable importance for the removal of the Turkish danger, for the Council, and for the appeasement of the religious strife in Germany. And to what an eminence would the reputation of the Papacy have been raised if the holder of that office had been able to dispense to the nations that peace for which they waited with such longing expectation! Nor was it a trifle in the scale that by such a felicitous issue of events the interests of the Farnese family might be powerfully enhanced.

With so many dazzling prospects before him, it is conceivable that the Pope may have underrated the difficulties confronting his designs. This was partly owing to the too favourable reports given by Cardinal Carpi. How unwillingly Francis I consented to the conference can be seen from his strange delay in appearing at Nice. He had already on different occasions ordered his arrival to be announced; first it was to be on the 25th, and then again on the 29th of May. When at last, on the 31st, he did arrive, the Congress might have been considered opened. The King, who was lodged at Villeneuve, some miles from Nice, set forth on the 2nd of June, magnificently dressed and with a stately following, to meet the Pope, who awaited him in a small house one mile outside Nice. Cardinals Contarini and Ghinucci had already been sent forward to meet the French King. Francis I displayed the greatest reverence in the presence of the Pope; he

stood up, always with head uncovered, in speaking to the Vicar of Christ; he made courteous apologies for his late arrival; he could not, however, be induced to treat personally with his adversary. For the space of four hours this first interview between the Pope and the King was carried on in private in a chamber to which they had withdrawn after the first ceremonial greetings were over.

The obstinate refusal of Francis I to hold speech in person with Charles V diminished the importance of the conference and added very seriously to the Pope's difficulties as a mediator. The weightiest factor of all in such negotiations—personal communication, with its illimitable opportunities of influence—was thus directly excluded. How could a removal of the deep distrust, felt mutually by the two opponents, be thought of under such circumstances? And with what caution had the Pope to walk in order to avoid misunderstandings of momentous import!

Francis I had at once strongly declared himself against the Peace of Cambrai and announced his unwillingness to take any steps against the Turks; no steps, certainly, likely to give support to the Emperor, as long as Milan was not given absolutely into his hands. Whatever the Pope might say, the King's counsellors insisted on the cession of the Duchy with its fortresses to the Duke of Angouleme, who since the Dauphin's death had also become Duke of Orleans. As Charles V, in another conference with the Pope of three hours' duration, held on June the 3rd, spoke with a wise reserve, the latter once more became hopeful. But Granvelle soon after made it known to him that his master would, at the end of three years, withdraw from Milan, provided King Francis previously gave his adhesion to the Turkish war and his consent to the Council.

The Emperor was steeped in distrust of his old adversary. The Pope tried in vain to persuade him and his counsellors Granvelle and Covos to set to work from the standpoint of the discussion held by the latter with Montmorency and the Cardinal of Lorraine. An understanding was all the more difficult because the rivals persisted in declining a personal interview. The Pope therefore, on the 5th of June, fell back on the makeshift of appointing Cardinals Cupis, Ghinucci, and Cesarini *legati volanti*, who, as the exigencies of the case required, were to address themselves first to the one and then to the other sovereign.

Nevertheless, no progress was made; the proceedings threatened rather to break down, and rumours of the collapse of the Congress were already in the air. At this critical moment the Pope, who on the 8th of June had received a state visit from the wife and sister of Francis, the Queens Eleanor and Margaret, proposed to the Emperor in a fourth interview on the 9th of June a new way out of their difficulties: Milan was to be handed over to Ferdinand I, who should give the most binding pledges to bestow one of his daughters in marriage on the Duke of Orleans and after three years yield back the Duchy. Charles V gave his consent, but demanded that Francis should at once break off his alliance with the Turks and consent to the Council. When in his second conference with the King, Paul III, on June the 13th, brought forward this proposal, Francis I laughingly rejected it. As yet another scheme of agreement was refused by the French Council, it became as clear as day that a permanent peace was impossible.

The Pope, in reporting the state of things in consistory on the 14th of June, must have been glad that he had at least been able to establish an armistice. But even this was no easy matter; the French King, bent on remaining as long as possible in possession of Savoy, wished the terms to be extended to fifteen or twenty years, while Charles V was willing, at the outside, to agree to five or ten. Each of the contracting parties was to remain, as regards possession, in *statu quo* during the period agreed to, and, in order to reach a full settlement, it was proposed to hold deliberations in Rome.

On the afternoon of June the 17th the ambassadors of Charles V assembled in the convent where the Pope was staying. The latter, after having had a last interview with Francis in the morning, had retired to his chamber; the ambassadors were in an apartment close by; Cardinal Ghinucci acted as go-between, for there were still many difficulties.

It was late in the evening when all at last was settled. When the Venetian, Marc Antonio Contarini, informed the Pope, now thoroughly exhausted, the latter exclaimed that he rejoiced more than on the day of his election; he hoped that from this beginning, with God's help, a general peace might ensue.

On the 18th of June Charles V and Francis I affixed their signatures, and two days later the Pope left Nice. He had suffered there not less from the discomforts of his quarters than from the exacting and agitating nature of the transactions. The fleet on which he made his return voyage consisted of six Imperial and six Royal galleys; at Villafranca Charles joined him with twenty-four. At Oneglia, where the Pope said Mass, he had a long interview with Charles, and on the 22nd of June they entered Genoa together in state; Paul III alighted at the Fieschi palace and the Emperor at the Doria. During their sojourn an understanding was come to about the Council; at the same time Paul did not forget his own interests in the general ones, for he always managed adroitly to combine the two together. With regard to the contract of marriage of November 1537 between the Emperor's natural daughter, Margaret of Austria, and Ottavio Farnese, it was now finally settled that the Imperial ambassador Aguilar should draw up the treaty relative to this union in Rome. Paul III therefore bestowed on the Emperor the "Cruzada" for five years and other Church revenues in Spain, estimated at the value of two million ducats. He, however, had no intention then of acting unconditionally on the Emperor's side and giving up his neutrality. Assurances of a tranquillizing character were given to Francis I on this point, and a marriage between a French prince and Vittoria, daughter of Pier Luigi Farnese, was proposed.

While the Pope was still in Genoa came the astonishing report that Charles and Francis, who had refused to see each other at Nice, were to meet at Marseilles. When the Venetian ambassador interpellated the Pope on the subject on the 28th of June the latter replied that the report might well have a basis of truth, as Queen Eleanor had had a conciliatory influence on the tempers of both princes.

The meeting, for which Montmorency in particular had exerted himself, took place from the 14th to the 16th of July at Aiguesmortes and was throughout most cordial. What actually passed in the tiny city, which preserves to this day its old-world features, remains a secret. It must therefore always be a matter of conjecture whether or not the satisfaction expressed by both monarchs at their encounter corresponded with the facts of the case. According to letters of the Emperor, Francis promised his help in bringing back the German Protestants to the Church by kindly treatment, a policy to which the Pope had already consented in Nice. To the Venetian ambassador the Emperor declared that the King was in any case still bound for eight months by his treaty with the Sultan, but that after that time he would do everything.

The Pope had taken a very friendly farewell of Charles V in Genoa, and on the 29th of June embarked for Spezia. There he resumed his land journey, returning to Rome by the way he had come. On July the 24th he entered the city amid great pomp; the Senator, the Conservatori, and Caporioni met him at the Ponte Molle; the people received him with signs of joy. On the gaily decorated Porta del Popolo the inscription was read: "To Pope Paul III, to whose wisdom and authority we owe peace among Christians and warfare against the Turks, the Senate and people of Rome wish health and victory."

Actual peace indeed had not been attained; but the ten years' armistice, as the manifestations of joy in and out of Italy gave token, justified the hope that henceforth better relations and at last a final settlement would be reached.

No advantage accrued from the armistice to the undertaking against the Turks; Francis I was as unwilling as ever to give it his countenance. But even the Emperor had lost heart in his war with the infidel; he trusted the French King so little that he was inclined rather to come to a peace with the Porte, with which object negotiations with Barbarossa were set in motion. This explains the curious negligence of the Imperialists in supporting the Venetian and Papal fleets. When at last the viceroy of Naples, Ferrante Gonzaga, now appointed commander-in-chief in place of the Duke of Urbino invalided, appeared before Corfu the Venetian Admiral Capello, and Grimani in command of the Papal squadron wished to seek out the enemy in Grecian waters. But Gonzaga declared that they must first await the arrival of Andrea Doria with his thirty-two galleys. Thus precious time was flung away; Grimani could wait no longer, and on the 10th of August, with his thirty-six galleys, attacked in the Gulf of Arta the rock fortress of Prevesa, opposite the promontory of Actium. His intention evidently was to force the Imperialists to a blow by opening hostilities, but contrary to expectation, Grimani met with such fierce resistance that he had to return to Corfu after a drawn battle.

The attack on Prevesa was the signal for Barbarossa to sweep out of the Gulf of Arta with his fleet of 150 sail. This was the situation when, on the 7th of September 1538, Andrea Doria at last entered the harbour of Corfu, but with only a portion of his fleet, for he had left large contingents behind to protect Tunis and the Spanish coasts from piratical descents. It was now decided to begin the assault of Prevesa, and on the 27th of September an engagement took place. The plan was to enclose Barbarossa's fleet in the Gulf of Arta and annihilate it, but the whole enterprise failed pitifully; different causes were assigned to the disaster; according to the accepted version it was the fault of Doria, then in negotiation with Barbarossa, that the attack ended in a disgraceful retreat closely resembling a rout.

With the ill-omened day of Prevesa the sea-power of the Turk sprang into fresh activity. It signified little that in October, Castelnuovo, at the entrance of the Bocche di Cattaro, was taken, since Doria could not be moved to further operations, but sailed away towards Sicily. Grimani also was no longer to be relied upon; in utter despair he sailed with the Papal galleys to Ancona, and then repaired to Rome to lay his story of events before the Pope.

The League was, in fact, played out. On the 3rd of November 1538 measures were indeed taken in Rome for a fresh expedition early in the following year, but they came to nothing. In view of the Emperor's dubious attitude, a cause also of suspicion to the Pope, the Venetians began overtures for peace. Lorenzo Gritti first arranged an armistice for three months, which was eventually followed in October 1540 by peace. Venice, besides paying a war indemnity of 300,000 ducats had to give up Napoli di Romania and Malvasia in the Morea, with some places in Dalmatia, as well as all the small islands of the Archipelago captured by Barbarossa. The Pope had made repeated efforts to keep back Venice from concluding a peace with the Porte, but he also gradually let the Turkish war fall into the background of his thoughts. Other interests, religious and political, the condition of the States of the Church and the advancement of his own family, were making claims upon him with ever-increasing ascendancy.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PAPAL STATES AND THE RISE OF THE FARNESE FAMILY. —DISPUTES WITH COSIMO DE' MEDICI.—SUBJECTION OF PERUGIA AND OF THE COLONNA.—LIFE IN ROME, AND THE CARNIVAL.

Together with the great questions of European politics, Paul III from the beginning of his reign was often occupied with the affairs of the Papal States. If Clement VII had handed over to his successor an overwhelming burden in every relation of the Papacy, this was specially the case with regard to the immediate possessions of the Church. The capital brought by the sack and other disasters, the provinces drained dry and ruined by many campaigns, the State treasury exhausted,—that was the situation into which Paul III entered on his accession.

Notwithstanding the short vacancy of the Holy See, troublesome unrest continued. In Perugia especially and in the neighbourhood, the Baglioni had brought about serious developments; in addition there was a savage feud between Spoleto and Cascia. By the 19th and 20th of October 1534 the Pope had ordered a commissary and troops to proceed to Umbria. For a moment the disorder in Perugia was thus quelled ; but already on the evening of November the 1st, Rodolfo Baglioni, Malatesta's son, appeared before the city with a great company of exiles and succeeded in forcing his way in. The Vice-Legate, the Bishop of Terracina, was at that moment in session with the Priors in the Communal palace; the enemy rushed in, fell upon them, dragged them by the beards, and slew them; other acts of bloodshed followed; the whole quarter of Porta S. Angelo was plundered, and the like fate befell many dwellings of the Braccio and Staffa in the city. During the night the Vice-Legate's palace was set on fire, so that this building and the adjoining Bishop's court was burned to the ground. "It was," says the chronicler Cesare Bontempi, "a gruesome sight and unheard of since our city has stood."

Paul III, on receiving tidings of these events, issued summonses against the guilty parties and then sent troops under the Counts of Santafiora and Pitigliano, who routed the "men of blood." On the 1st of January 1535 a new Vice-Legate appeared in Perugia whose soldiers cleared those under banishment and robbers out of the city. There still remained the work of overawing the fomenters of sedition in the neighbourhood; this task was entrusted to Giovanni Battista Savelli. In July the Papal troops captured Spello and other strongholds of the Baglioni and destroyed them. The restoration of order in Perugia was beset by difficulties: a new Vice-Legate appointed by Paul III laboured in vain. Tranquillity was not finally restored until the Pope came in person, on the 10th of September 1535, to Perugia and installed the illustrious Cardinal Grimani as Legate. The Baglioni were forbidden to come within forty miles of Perugian territory, gifts of grain were

bestowed on the inhabitants, and for the maintenance of order a garrison was established within and without the city.

In 1535 the Pope was occupied in putting a stop in like manner to the disturbances in Spoleto, Nepi, Ascoli, and Fano, occasioned for the most part by revolutionary agitators suffering sentence of banishment.

If Paul III showed firmness in this, he was, at the beginning of his reign, very cautious and moderate in the matter of taxation. The new imposts to which he found himself driven, owing to the Emperor's visit and still more to the Turkish danger, were all the more galling from their contrast to the lighter burdens of the earlier period. They could not, however, be avoided; for when he mounted the throne Paul III had found his coffers at such a low ebb that Rabelais remarked that for three centuries there had not been so poverty-stricken a Pope. By economy and good government he tried to extricate himself from this necessity.

The Venetian ambassador, Antonio Soriano, in his report for the year 1536 gives a summary of income and expenditure. The compositions or transfers of ecclesiastical offices from one hand to another and the vacancies in saleable offices brought in yearly 110,000 ducats. The Roman customs yielded annually 72,000 ducats, of which, however, 8000 went to the Cavalierati and 14,000 to the Montisti, so that only 50,000 ducats were left over for the Pope. The patrimony of St. Peter and the Campagna, being completely ruined, showed an annual revenue of only 1000 ducats. The resources from the other provinces were equally slender, and were reduced to a still greater extent by the oppressive drafts made upon them. Thus out of 3000 ducats coming from Umbria nothing remained; out of 22,000 from the March only 7000, out of 17,000 from Bologna and the Romagna only 10,000, out of 24,000 from Parma and Piacenza only 8000 came into the Pope's hands. In like manner the board of the salt and cattle taxes drew not more than 9000 ducats; the alum works of Tolfa yielded only 2000. If to these sums are added annual fines of 5000 ducats, a sum-total is obtained of a little more than 200,000 ducats, consequently a very appreciable diminution compared with the time of Clement VII, who in the year 1526 still drew 499,000 ducats. The Venetian ambassador was of opinion that Paul III, on account of this financial weakness, could not undertake any war; it is characteristic that he reports with some anxiety a sensible improvement in the financial situation at the close of the reign. Among the outlays appear in the first rank those payable to the Papal relatives, among whom Pier Luigi Farnese is cited in receipt of 500 ducats and his wife in receipt of 100. The number of private chamberlains under Clement VII was 24; under Paul III. it was raised to 56, and afterwards again reduced. The bodyguard consisted of 200 landsknechts, each of whom, besides free lodging, received 3'5 ducats per month.

The interest taken by the Venetian ambassador in any warlike undertaking is intimately connected with the pronounced nepotism of Paul III, which is certainly the greatest blot on his pontificate.

At the beginning of his reign it seemed as if Farnese as Pope intended to restrain the unmeasured affection for his own kindred which as Cardinal he had openly displayed. Immediately after the close of the conclave Pier Luigi paid a clandestine visit to Rome, but Paul III ordered him to leave the city at once, and never to appear before him again without special permission. The Mantuan envoy, who relates this, was of opinion that this discretion would not last long, and that the ties of blood would prove stronger than all his good resolves; and such was in fact the case. Many other relations besides Pier Luigi ventured at first secretly, and afterwards openly, to find their way to Rome; they were all before long enjoying to the full the Papal favour.

In view of the Pope's advanced age, the Farnesi lost no time in rapidly acquiring wealth. Pier Luigi from the first played the leading part; by the end of November 1534, according to the Mantuan envoy, he was keeping an expensive table and, like the Pope, ate his meals alone. But Pier Luigi Farnese had no thought of renouncing his wasteful and immoral course of life, although his health was already deeply impaired. His contemporaries were already so accustomed to the advancement of even the most undeserving relatives that neither the favour shown to Pier Luigi nor the nomination in December 1534 of the two young Farnesi to the Cardinalate caused them any particular shock. But when the Pope, from motives of nepotism, interfered at the same time in the disputed succession to Camerino, his conduct was generally condemned.

In this lawsuit the claimants were Giulia, daughter of the last Duke, Giovanni Maria Varano, who had died in 1527, and Ercole Varano. Giulia's mother Caterina wished her daughter to marry Guidobaldo della Rovere, hereditary Prince of Urbino, although it was to be foreseen that no Pope would suffer the union of Camerino with Urbino. The arrangement was therefore pushed on with the greatest secrecy as well as expedition during the vacancy of the Papal chair. The conclusion of the marriage treaty was effected in complete secrecy at Camerino on the 12th of October 1534. As the bride was just eleven years and six months old, the consummation of the marriage had to be deferred. A few hours after the signatures had been attached to the instrument a messenger arrived from Rome with a letter from the Sacred College prohibiting such an alliance without the Pope's consent. The prohibition was renewed by Paul III on the 14th of October, but in milder and more friendly terms, but Caterina as well as Guidobaldo took no notice; on an understanding with his father, the latter took possession of Camerino on the 17th of October.

The Pope was determined not to tolerate this contempt of his sovereignty ; also he probably contemplated a marriage between Giulia and Ottavio, the son of Pier Luigi Farnese; but his primary consideration was to hinder the extension of the power of Francesco Maria, the old enemy of the Holy See, and a union of Camerino and Urbino, since otherwise the connection with the northern provinces of the Papal States would be seriously threatened. To a foreign envoy Paul III said quite plainly that in the event of Camerino falling to a prince already so powerful as the Duke of Urbino he would feel himself threatened in Rome. On the 21st of October he cited Giulia and her mother Caterina, and on November the 9th Guidobaldo also, to appear before him in Rome. In a special brief he expressly forbade Guidobaldo to consummate the marriage. His summonses were not obeyed; this contumacy gave the Pope matter for thought, all the more so as he soon learned that the disobedience was connived at by Venice and the Emperor. Without taking this into consideration, he followed the advice of Jacopo Simonetta, Bishop of Pesaro, and let the law take its course. When the Venetian ambassador interceded on behalf of the refractory vassals, Paul III rejoined that the Signoria in a similar instance had acted in the same manner.

The Imperialists believed that in the Pope's conduct the hand of Francis I was discernible. They were very indignant when the duchy of Camerino was assigned to Ercole Varano, Giulia deposed and, together with Caterina and Guidobaldo, excommunicated, and her city and territory laid under an interdict. Paul III Seemed resolved to employ military force to carry out these measures. Latino Giovenale Manetti and Girolamo Verallo, who in the beginning of April 1535 were sent to the Emperor and King Francis, received special instructions regarding the duchy of Camerino, with which Ercole Varano was formally invested in May.

A great many of the Cardinals, especially Ercole Gonzaga, a strong opponent of the Pope and entirely dependent on the Emperor, disapproved of measures of force against Camerino. Pier Luigi Farnese determined to try the effect of personal intervention; even if at first he achieved nothing, yet he thought that in this way he might smooth the way to a change of mind on the part

of Paul III. His ground of hope was that the Emperor would arrive at a settlement, especially as the Pope presumably would be influenced by the Turkish peril. Costanza Farnese, the wife of Bosio Sforza, Count of Santafiora, also promised the envoys from Urbino to intercede with her father. Guidobaldo's adherents placed their chief hopes on the Emperor; however unbending Paul III might appear, they still believed that, if the Emperor stood firm, the Pope would not run full tilt against such an obstacle; they were not deceived in their anticipations.

The difficulty of a military undertaking against a town highly fortified and on a lofty situation, and still more the Emperor's opposition and the power of the Sultan, brought about a change of disposition in the Pope. Through the mediation of Pier Luigi Farnese a compromise was arranged in June; the object of contention was to be deposited in the keeping of the Imperial ambassadors and all further proceedings suspended until the arrival of Charles V in Rome. However strongly the Pope subsequently might urge the Emperor to allow him a free hand in the affair of Camerino, he gained nothing. The Emperor would not yield, and afterwards, during his stay in Rome, succeeded in bringing Paul III to make further concessions; on the 8th of May 1536 the censures pronounced on Camerino were suspended for six months and, later on, at the Pope's pleasure.

Together with the question of Camerino the Pope was busily engaged in the year 1535 with the trial of Cardinal Benedetto Accolti; this case was also a legacy of the Clementine pontificate.

Benedetto Accolti, sprung from a family of Arezzo, was in the truest sense a creature of the Medici Popes. Having entered holy orders without a vocation, this polished humanist, who was on terms of intimacy with all the most prominent literati, won the good graces of Leo X by his poetic talent. Under Clement VII his rise was swift; he became successively Bishop of Cremona, Archbishop of Ravenna, and in 1527 Cardinal; in 1532 he purchased, as he had purchased the former dignities, the governorship of Ancona and the Legation of the March. In this position the tyrannical character of this genuine product of the Renaissance, steeped to the core in all the corruption of his age, reached its rankest development. The unfortunate people of Ancona underwent a veritable reign of terror. Accolti, whose cruelty and immorality passed all bounds, carried things to such a pitch that even the patience of Clement VII was worn out. He was deprived of the Legation and on the 5th of September 1534 replaced by Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici; but Accolti refused to resign. Then came Clement's death. The new Pope on October the 31st, 1534, appointed Paolo Capizucchi governor of the March and reserved to himself the decision on the Legation. Being well acquainted with the affairs of Ancona, he determined to visit with punishment the scandals that had there been perpetrated. On the 31st of March 1535 one of the citizens, Vincenzo Fanelli, was arrested for having brought false accusations against one of Accolti's opponents, in order to bring about his execution. The trial of this perjurer was the prelude to the arrest and detention in the fortress of St. Angelo of Cardinal Accolti, orders carried out suddenly on the 5th of April 1535. On hearing of this the Imperial ambassador went at once to the Pope and asked that Accolti might be interned provisionally in his palace or in the Vatican. Although this request was supported by the College of Cardinals, Paul III was inflexible. All Rome was dismayed at such strict justice; it was soon feared that there might be a repetition of the sequels to the discovery of Cardinal Petrucci's conspiracy under Leo X; many Cardinals thought of flight. Accolti, from fear of poison, would hardly touch food. At the request of the representatives of Charles and Ferdinand the Pope gave the prisoner permission to make his own arrangements for his board; but the legal proceedings took their course. The revelations made during this inquiry disclosed monstrosities bordering on the incredible. Accolti pleaded guilty to some of the charges but afterwards, false to the last, retracted his confessions. His counsel, the famous jurist Silvestro Aldobrandini, employed all his skill to save him; finally the scale was

turned in his favour by the Emperor—no one rightly knew why—intervening warmly for him. A compromise was arrived at by the end of October by the terms of which the Cardinal regained his freedom on payment of a fine of 59,000 scudi. He had, however, to admit his guilt, which he did under protest, resign Ancona and Fano, and promise not to quit the Papal States without the Pope's permission. On his liberation Accolti at once went to his friend Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, equally the enemy of Paul III, at his palace in the Via Alessandrina. There he remained till the spring of 1536; then, with the Pope's permission, he went to Ferrara, later on to Venice, until finally Cosimo de' Medici gave him hospitality.

Just before the settlement of Accolti's case his mortal enemy, Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, who had left Rome in the beginning of July 1535, died suddenly (August the 10th, 1535) at Itri. Ippolito believed he had been poisoned, and accused the steward of his table of acting at the instigation of Duke Alessandro de' Medici. The charge does not seem incredible; for years the cousins had been at bitter enmity; since the death of Clement VII the palace of Ippolito had been the rallying-point for the refugees from Florence most deeply disaffected towards the tyranny of Alessandro. Although the inquiry instituted by Paul III led to nothing, it was widely believed that the guilt of the Florentine Duke admitted of no doubt. The most recent research, however, has shown that Ippolito, weakened by a dissolute course of life, had succumbed to a malignant fever.

The death of Cardinal Medici made vacancies in the title of S. Lorenzo in Damaso and the Vice-Chancellorship; Paul III at once bestowed both offices on his beloved grandson, Alessandro Farnese, who took the oath as Vice-Chancellor on the 14th of August in the palace of S. Marco and took possession of his new dignity. The Pope took this opportunity of exhorting his subordinates to faithful and just execution of their duties, wherein he would set them a good example.

The attempt of the Florentine refugees to secure the Emperor's support failed entirely. On the 29th of February 1536 Alessandro de' Medici brought home Margaret, the natural daughter of Charles V, but in the night between the 5th and 6th of January 1537 the Duke, hated on account of his unbridled violence, fell by the dagger of his cousin Lorenzino; thereupon the Senate of the Forty-Eight chose on the 8th of January Cosimo de' Medici, the son of Giovanni delle Bande Nere, to be head of the State.

The assassination of the despot in Florence aroused the attention of all Italy as well as of Rome; no one had expected events to take this turn. Cardinals Salviati, Ridolfi, and Gaddi, as well as many Florentine exiles, started at once for Tuscany. Paul III had been on very good terms with the above-named Cardinals as well as with their countrymen in Rome; no wonder, therefore, that the new Duke observed his attitude with much suspicion. In other quarters also the notion was prevalent that Paul III would be glad of the opportunity to fish in the troubled waters to the advantage of Pier Luigi Farnese. The latter, devoured by ambition, cherished the plan of securing dominion over Tuscany; but no evidence was forthcoming that the Pope entered into his schemes. In this instance the Pope's ruling motives were higher than those of family aggrandizement. Together with his aversion to Medici as his enemy there was the justifiable fear, since the latter was drawing close to the Emperor, that the power of Spain in Italy, already great, might be increased still more. Charles V knew the Pope's feelings well; he also knew that Francis I was deceiving himself with the hope of gaining Florence to his side by means of the exiles, and therefore did all he could to secure the Pope. With this end in view he proposed a marriage between his daughter Margaret, the widow of Alessandro, and Ottavio, the son of Pier Luigi; this resulted in the triumph of Imperialist over French diplomacy.

Paul III, who was very clever in combining personal with general interests, had yet another alliance in view: Vittoria, the daughter of Pier Luigi Farnese, was to become the wife of Cosimo de' Medici. With this object Gian Giacomo de' Rossi, Bishop of Pavia, was sent on a secret mission to Alessandro Vitelli. He was, however, unsuccessful, and the relations between Rome and Florence became daily more strained. In spite of his undeniable dislike of the Medici government, the Pope, out of regard for the Emperor's influence and mindful of the Turkish danger, observed his neutrality strictly when Filippo Strozzi and his friends attempted by force of arms to overthrow Cosimo. He issued stringent orders forbidding the expatriated Florentines from enlisting soldiers within his territories; nevertheless, Cosimo did not trust him, and was disinclined as before to a marriage with Vittoria Farnese, and would hear nothing of the levy of a tithe in Tuscany for the Turkish war.

The estrangement between Rome and Florence grew more marked on account of the favours heaped by Paul III on Pier Luigi Farnese in the year 1537. On the 26th of January the Pope told his Master of Ceremonies that he intended to make him Gonfaloniere of the Church. The special ceremonies to be observed on the occasion were settled with great care; after the nomination had taken place in a consistory held on the 31st of January, Pier Luigi took the oath on the following Candlemas Day. This act, at which he was accompanied by the Imperial ambassador and the foremost Roman barons, including Ascanio Colonna, took place in St. Peter's; the proceedings took the shape of a great solemnity. Early in the spring Pier Luigi had received the town of Castro and the direction of the military measures of defence to protect the Papal States against the Turks, and in the beginning of May he left Rome to bring the Counts Guido and Lodovico Rangoni back to their obedience to the Holy See and to put the fortresses of the Papal territory into a proper state of defence.

Pier Luigi went first to Spoleto, then to Ancona, Fano, and Rimini, and finally to Parma and Piacenza; the Rangoni submitted before his superior forces. This business having been successfully accomplished, Paul III ordered him to return to the March of Ancona, where, as in all parts of the Papal States, defensive operations against the Turks were in full progress.

Pier Luigi was designated as commander-in-chief of the Papal forces. On October the 31st, 1537, Paul III conferred on him and his rightful heirs the Dukedom of Castro, newly formed out of the Farnese fief in the Patrimony, together with the towns of Nepi, Ronciglione, and Caprarola.

All this gave the Pope's enemies occasion for envy and suspicion. In the spring some of them were already hinting at an intended attack on Camerino, and others thought then that some project was in hand to support the Florentine exiles. Not merely Cosimo de' Medici but Charles V also shared this anxiety, which, however, proved groundless; Paul III never deviated from his neutrality, and in July he renewed, under threats of severe chastisement, the prohibition to his subjects of any participation in the enterprise of Strozzi against Cosimo.

The fortune of war was in favour of the Medici. Filippo Strozzi and Baccio Valori, the chiefs of the Florentine republicans, were defeated and taken prisoners at Montemurlo between Prato and Pistoia on the 31st of July 1537. The hope of restoring liberty to Florence was now crushed once and for all, for Cosimo checked further opposition by sanguinary regulations and sought to make his position firm by close adhesion to the Emperor.

The Pope's applications on behalf of Filippo Strozzi were unavailing; his relations with Cosimo became subsequently worse and worse, and fresh causes of difference were constantly springing up; among them the question of the Turkish war tithe led even to a temporary imposition of the interdict. There was less likelihood, too, of an improvement in the situation taking place

since Cosimo's secretary of state, Francesco Campana, incited the Florentine officials and clergy against the Holy See and the Florentine agents in Rome raised unfounded suspicions against the Pope's private life.

Cosimo's behaviour gave occasion for a renewal of misunderstandings when, on the death of Francesco Maria of Urbino on the 21st of October 1538, the question of the possession of Camerino was once more opened up. Paul III now claimed the Duchy, all right to which the Varani had already renounced in July 1537, as a fief revertible to the Church. Guidobaldo and his wife Giulia were com-manded on the 15th of November to relinquish the territory, under pain of confiscation, of all their property and fiefs; they were determined, however, to offer resistance. The Pope thereupon, with the consent of the Cardinals, ordered Pier Luigi Farnese to take steps to enforce with arms obedience on his rebellious vassals. Cardinal Ennio Filonardi was appointed as Legate to the army.

Cosimo de' Medici would very willingly have supported Guidobaldo openly, but Charles V would not consent to this. The attitude of Florence and also of Siena was of such a kind that on New Year's day Paul III, complained bitterly of both cities to the Imperial ambassadors, but the latter dared not give open help. Nor had Guidobaldo any grounds for serious hope of assistance from Venice, preoccupied with the Turkish war, or from Ferrara. As he was also sorely in need of money he had to make up his mind in the beginning of January 1539 to complete submission. On the advice of the Imperial ambassador and of Venice he gave his representative full powers to surrender the Duchy of Camerino to the Pope in exchange for a compensation to be settled by his Holiness; Paul III at once issued orders to his troops to stay their advance. The settlement of the sum to be paid in compensation still presented difficulties, as Guidobaldo had originally demanded 100,000 ducats; he received, however, only 64,000, as well as the freeholds of the Varani. The investiture of Urbino, hitherto refused, was also conferred upon him.

The Duchy of Camerino, which since the middle of the 13th century had been under the rule of the Varani, now came under the immediate dominion of the Holy See. As early as the 8th of January 1539 a commissary was appointed to take possession of the newly acquired territory. At the end of February it was expected in Rome that Ottavio Farnese, since the 1st of November 1538 Prefect of the city, would receive the fief of Camerino; there was an obstacle, however, in the claims on the Duchy still put forward by the Varani. The Emperor also was not wholly favourable to the scheme, and his opposition was not relinquished until 1539. At the same time Paul III visited his new possession, which was under the rule of a Papal governor. After Ercole Varano had been cajoled and threatened into the renunciation of his claims, the Duchy was at last, on November the 5th, 1540, invested in Ottavio Farnese as an hereditary fief.

This climax was brought about by circumstances which for some length of time had occupied the attention of both Pope and Emperor.

During the conference at Genoa in June 1538, as already mentioned, Charles V had proposed a marriage between his natural daughter Margaret, the widow in her sixteenth year of Alessandro de' Medici, and Ottavio Farnese. By this alliance, the first rumour of which had caused the greatest agitation among the French party and given rise to grave threats against the Curia, Charles hoped to fetter the Pope to himself. On this occasion he had no more regard for the wishes of his child than he had in 1536 when the girl of fourteen was given in marriage to Alessandro. Margaret would much rather have taken as her husband her suitor the Duke Cosimo of Florence; she felt a deep repugnance to bestowing her hand on the boy Farnese, only in his thirteenth year and the inheritor of his father's tainted constitution. But no heed was given to such considerations. On the 12th of October 1538 the Imperial ambassador, Aguilar, Pier Luigi, and Ottavio Farnese

concluded the marriage treaty at Rome, to ratify which Margaret's presence was demanded. On the 3rd of November, the Pope's coronation day, she entered the city. The mourning garments worn by her as the widow of Alessandro de' Medici, and by her suite, contrasted sharply with the festal reception prepared for her as the daughter of the Emperor. The marriage ceremony was performed forthwith on November the 4th, when, as she herself afterwards declared, she refrained from uttering the nuptial affirmative, and with unconcealed contempt she met her boyish and uncouth husband, even refusing to consort with him in wedlock; all the Emperor's exhortations were at first ineffectual. The disunion between husband and wife, who, as Cardinal de Lenoncourt remarked, were on the footing of cat and dog, soon became the daily subject of Roman gossip. It was the occasion of pleasantries of the worst kind, and an abundant source of disgust to the Farnesi as well as to the Emperor. The dissensions of this married couple promised to be interminable; by the interference of unauthorized persons they were made more acute and led to the most disagreeable negotiations between the Emperor and the Pope. Paul III rued the alliance, and by the end of December 1539 had already declared that his family was being overwhelmed by the same misfortune as that which had befallen the Medici. It was only after a long time, and then with reluctance, that Margaret submitted to the hard lot laid upon her by the iron necessities of statecraft. In August 1545 she bore her husband twins, but even this did not bring to pass any real inward sympathy between her and her husband; neither the one nor the other had any superiority of character, and each gave full play to the impulses of a violent nature.

The succession of Camerino as well as the Turkish war exhausted the Papal treasury entirely. The opening up of new sources of revenue was seen to be unavoidable, as the war was continually calling for great sums of money. Already, in May 1539, two-tenths were therefore levied on all ecclesiastical benefices in the Papal States, and in July this tax was extended to the whole of Italy. Duke Cosimo of Florence again raised difficulties; he prevented the collection of the tenths required by the Pope. This aroused Paul's anger in such a way that, in the beginning of February 1540, he said threateningly to the Florentine envoy, "We shall see who is Pope, I or the Duke of Tuscany."

The excitement of Paul III is the more intelligible if we consider that, at this precise moment, his financial necessities had reached a climax. In order to obtain relief from monetary distress the price of salt had already, in 1537, been appreciably raised throughout the Papal States. The scarcity then prevailing made this ordinance all the more galling, and from all sides deputations came to Rome begging for a repeal of the duty; but Paul III would not listen; he only granted a suspension. Most of the communes of the Papal States now made their action dependent on the course resolved upon by Perugia, a clear proof of the important place still held by the former Queen of Umbria.

The Priors of Perugia had already, in September 1539, when Paul III visited the city on his journey to Camerino, prayed for a remission of the arrears of taxation. This the Pope had refused in view of the then imminent pressure of the Turkish danger, but in other respects had shown himself kind and sympathetic towards the city, then suffering from the consequences of civil strife. He therefore felt himself doubly injured when the Perugians refused to pay the salt tax, appealing to a privilege granted in 1431 by Eugenius IV. Cardinal Jacobazzi, who since April 1539 had been Legate of Perugia, tried in vain to bring about a friendly understanding, and when on the 7th of February 1540 a fresh Papal brief demanded, under threats of the severest penalties, the payment of the new tax, Perugia raised the flag of rebellion; Paul III replied in March by pronouncing an interdict.

As the Perugians called upon the Vice-Legate, Mario Aligeri, to hand over the artillery and the keys of the citadel, he left the city, whose citizens were hoping for succour from without. Negotiations for this purpose were opened with Ascanio Colonna, Cosimo de' Medici, Siena, Orvieto, Spoleto, and some cities of the Romagna. Whether, as the Vice-Legate Aligeri reported, they had even the intention of forming an alliance with the Lutherans, must remain a question. The agitation then reigning in Perugia is disclosed by the proceedings of April the 8th, recalling the events in Florence in the time of Savonarola. On that day a great procession was formed in which the Priors, all the confraternities, and great multitudes of people took part, while, on account of the interdict, the religious orders kept aloof. The procession went from S. Domenico through the principal street to the Cathedral of S. Lorenzo; at the great doorway a halt was made, where-on the chancellor of the city, Mario Podiani, addressed a crucifix erected on the spot and implored the Redeemer to give help, while he proffered to him the keys of the city. Three times from the masses of the people rose the cry of "Misericordia!". The gentle Cardinal Jacobazzi sought up to the last hour to bring about an agreement between the Pope and Perugia, for an arrangement was still possible, and that too without disadvantage to the city. But the committee of the Twenty-Five, the "defenders of justice," who had seized upon the Government, forbade any reply being given. They claimed absolute power, and minted coinage with the inscription, "Perugia, the City of Christ"; the Government, however, were not deterred by this consecration from robbing the churches of their treasures in silver.

Paul III collected an army of 10,000 men, Italians, Spaniards, and landsknechts, under the command of Pier Luigi Farnese, Alessandro Vitelli, Giovanni Battista Savelli, and Girolamo Orsini, which at once entered Perugian territory. The first encounter took place on the 8th of May, and soon the whole district was filled with the turmoil of war and given over to the ravages of the soldiery. All hopes of a settlement proved fallacious; Cardinal Giovanni Maria del Monte in vain advised the Perugians to give up the futile struggle. The latter had recalled their banished fellow-citizens, and when, on the 16th of May, Rodolfo Baglioni appeared in Perugia, where previously he had run riot, he was joyously greeted by the infatuated inhabitants as if he had been their deliverer. But their hopes of assistance from without were disappointed; Ascanio Colonna, it is true, harried the cattle of the Papal States, but gave no real support to Perugia; Cosimo de' Medici, to the Pope's great disgust, gave permission to Rodolfo, then in his service, to return to Perugia and to mass troops on the frontier, but he himself took no part in the struggle but maintained an attitude of observation. Cosimo in the meantime tried to move the Emperor to come to the assistance of the Perugians; he even sent a special envoy to Charles. The Emperor, however, had no inclination to make the Pope his deadly enemy for the sake of the rebels, and he left the city to its fate; nor was this long in being decided.

Already on May the 30th Ascanio della Corgna, a nephew of Cardinal del Monte, had been obliged to capitulate in Torgiano. Perugia also could not hold out much longer; money and provisions were running short in spite of the oppressive taxation imposed by the Twenty-Five. The inhabitants, in consequence, repented of their rebellion, and would now have been glad to have paid even a higher salt tax; the dissatisfaction with the government of the Twenty-Five was so great that there was already talk of their deposition. In this state of things any serious resistance could not be thought of. On the 1st of July Rodolfo Baglioni and Girolamo Orsini consulted together as to the surrender of the city, the inhabitants to have free egress and pardon. On July the 4th the Baglioni and the council of Twenty-Five, to whom the chronicler Bontempi attributes the downfall of Perugia through their hindrance of every fair understanding, left the city. On the following day Pier Luigi Farnese and the other Papal captains, with the Italian infantry, entered, while the cavalry and the Spaniards remained in the neighbourhood. Twenty citizens were

entrusted with the work of billeting, all weapons and the silver plate of the city were impounded, and the refugees called upon to return within six days under pain of confiscation.

The Duke of Castro soon left the subjugated city, in which the Bishop of Casale, Bernardino Castellario della Barba, with a strong garrison, was left behind. The devastation of the surrounding country and the burden of maintaining the quartered soldiers weighed most heavily on the inhabitants. Bontempi says plainly that they might yet thank God that things had fallen out as they had; considering the madness of the whole undertaking, the consequences might have been much worse.

The Pope's delight on hearing of the suppression of the rebellion was lessened by the simultaneous announcement of a compact between Venice and the Turks. The emigration of many families from Perugia and the huge expenses of the expedition also embittered the sweets of victory. A portion of the troops employed against Perugia were sent to Civita Vecchia and Corneto, then threatened by the corsairs; Pier Luigi and the cavalry went to Ancona.

On the 27th of June 1540 a deputation of twenty-five distinguished Perugians started for Rome in order to supplicate the pardon of their deeply injured sovereign. In long mourning garments, with ropes round their necks, they waited for the Pope at the portico of St. Peter's, where he was celebrating the festival of SS. Peter and Paul. On his appearing they threw themselves on the ground and cried "Misericordia!". Paul III stopped, and committed to the Grand Penitentiary Cardinal Ant. Pucci the absolution of the city and its district, which was pronounced in the chapel of Pius II. On the 3rd of July the Perugians had an audience; the Pope showed himself gracious, and informed them that the settlement of Perugian affairs had been entrusted to Cardinal Jacobazzi.

In Perugia, in the meantime, Bernardino Castellario della Barba had removed the numerous chains used for barring the streets and appointed a new magistracy called the Conservators of the Peace of the Church; at the same time, in order to prevent another rebellion, Antonio da Sangallo was ordered to construct a strong fortress on a commanding position.

A Bull of the 16th of October ordered the application of all the confiscated property, as well as of all the official incomes of the city and its territory, to the building of the Pauline citadel, as the new fortress was called. Some time before this the privileges of Perugia had been annulled; only with regard to the quartering of troops was some subsequent alleviation introduced; the abrogation of the ancient liberties remained. As the beloved Cardinal Jacobazzi had died in the beginning of October 1540, Bernardino Castellario della Barba was appointed, on the nth of the same month, Papal representative with extended powers over the whole of Umbria.

A year later, on his return from Lucca, the Pope in person came to Perugia, where a solemn reception awaited him. He remained, however, only two days, visited the works at the citadel, and began his journey back to Rome on the 26th of October. Notwithstanding the prayers of the inhabitants he refused to make any alteration in the existing conditions; not till September in the following year, on the occasion of a second visit to the city, did he make any concession. He agreed once more to the removal of all censures, confirmed the statutes, gave exemption from taxes freshly imposed after the rebellion, instituted a civic magistracy of forty persons, of whom every ten should exercise for three months the authority of the former Priors, appointed captains for the country districts, and remitted the hearth tax. "God and his Holiness be praised," remarks Bontempi, "this is more than the city expected; we have brighter hopes for the future." But these expectations were not fulfilled, for although Paul III afterwards visited Perugia on many

occasions, he held by the ordinances of September 1542. The largest part of the independence of former days was irretrievably lost; all now depended on the personality of the Legate.

Quite as unfortunate in its issue as the opposition of the Perugians to the increase in the price of salt was the attempt of Ascanio Colonna to defy this measure. The beginning of Paul III's reign had already been marked by misunderstandings with Ascanio, who wished to be invested with Frascati. As the Pope showed no inclination to strengthen the position of this already powerful vassal and most important of the Imperial partisans among the Roman nobility, Ascanio left Rome in smothered anger. Thenceforward the Pope kept an anxious eye on the Colonna; he was never free from the dread that there might be on their part a repetition of the troubles of which he had been a witness under Clement VII.

All attempts to win Ascanio by friendly overtures were failures; the payment of the hearth tax imposed in 1537, on account of the Turkish danger, was unconditionally refused by him, on the ground that he was able to defend his own possessions himself. When, afterwards, Paul III required workmen for the fortifications of Rome, Ascanio forbade his subjects to take any part in this most necessary work—a proceeding felt bitterly by the Pope.

The tension was increased still more by the interference of Pier Luigi Farnese in Ascanio's private affairs. The final breach, which Vittoria Colonna had tried in vain to ward off, came at last as a sequel to the increase of the salt duties. Trusting to the Emperor, the old protector of his house, Ascanio refused to submit by appealing to privileges granted by Martin V to the domains of the Colonna. The rebellion in Perugia prevented the Pope from taking immediate steps against his refractory vassals, but hardly had the subjection of that city been completed than energetic measures came under consideration in Rome. On the 10th of June 1540 a brief was drawn up calling upon Ascanio Colonna to appear in person before the Pope within three days to vindicate his behaviour; if he failed to put in an appearance, the Auditor-General was to carry out the most severe penalties. It appears, however, that this document was not despatched; fear of the Emperor, the disputes with the Duke of Florence, and lastly, a temporary yielding on the part of Ascanio were sufficient reasons for the Curia to pause. It soon, however, became evident that Ascanio had no intention of keeping up his attitude of obedient vassalage to the Pope; and during the year 1540 he still prevented the transport of grain to Rome. When in February of the following year some of his own followers, who had refused to pay the higher price for salt, were arrested in Rome, he gave orders that travellers passing through his lands on the way to Rome should be thrown into prison, and that his troops should make raids in Papal territory on the cattle belonging to the lessee of the salt pits at Ostia. Ascanio also fortified the Rocca di Papa and withdrew to Genazzano, where he assembled 2000 men.

Paul III thought that his authority would be destroyed if he left unpunished the daring affront offered him by his vassal. He therefore determined to act at once and with energy. On the 25th of February 1541, Ascanio was summoned to appear before the Pope in person within three days, otherwise the Governor of the city would proceed against him. Colonna protested that he was an obedient vassal of the Church, but disregarded the citation and prepared to take arms against his suzerain. Knowing well that his forces were not sufficient to cope with those of the Pope, he turned for help to the Duke of Florence.

Paul III had levied a considerable body of troops in Rome, and Pier Luigi Farnese was placed in command; at the head of the cavalry was Giovanni Battista Savelli, at that of the infantry Alessandro Vitelli of Citta di Castello. In addition to the Italian troops there were Germans who had already fought against Perugia; among them there was no small proportion of disorganized rabble.

At the last moment Don Pedro of Toledo, viceroy of Naples, and the Marquis d'Aguilar, Imperial ambassador at Rome, made an attempt to prepare a way for an agreement. Although Ascanio's sister Vittoria did all she could to promote the negotiations, her efforts were unavailing. Paul III, with the experiences of Clement VII before his eyes, asked for guarantees, which Ascanio positively refused; his proposals were so inadmissible that it was the impression in Rome that he only wished to gain time to complete his preparations.

In the middle of March 1541 the war began, the issue of which could hardly be doubtful, for the Emperor did not intervene and the Colonna were by no means united among themselves. The details of the struggle and the misdeeds of the soldiery are described in the reports of Giovanni Guidiccioni, who, as president of the disturbed Romagna, had upheld his position under circumstances of the greatest difficulty, and now accompanied the Papal army as commissary-general.

By the beginning of April the stronghold Rocca di Papa had already fallen, and the possession of Paliano was now the turning-point on which the result of the campaign depended. This strongly fortified town, near the main road from Rome to S. Germano, situated on an isolated hill, was from its position and strength almost impregnable under the then existing deficiencies of siege warfare. Ascanio Colonna was indefatigably active, sometimes within, sometimes without the fortress, and did all he could to hold the important place, the defence of which was conducted by his cousins Fabio and Torquato de' Conti. The Pope gave orders that all the strength of his forces should be concentrated against Paliano, for on its possession the issue of the conflict depended.

While most of the other fortresses of the Colonna fell quickly, Paliano held out successfully until May. The besieged had hopes of help from the viceroy of Naples, who had collected troops in the Abruzzi. Willingly as the viceroy would have helped the Ghibelline Colonna, he was yet withheld from active intervention by his fear that the Pope might be driven thereby into the arms of France. At the same time his attitude was so ambiguous that the Papal forces were constantly in fear of a diversion on the part of the Imperialists, and whole companies, from 300 to 400 strong, raised on Neapolitan territory, might have reinforced the garrison of Paliano with copious supplies of arms and ammunition. This, as well as the desultory methods of warfare employed at the time, accounts for the long-protracted siege of Paliano.

A turning-point was reached at last when the garrison, hearing of the defeat of a body of 400 men sent to their help, mutinied against their own leaders and thus compelled the surrender of the lower town, into which Pier Luigi made his entry on the 10th of May. A small remnant, faithful to the last, held out in the upper quarter of the city; when this also fell, the remainder of the defenders took refuge in the citadel or "Rocca." In the keep they held their ground until the 26th of May, on which day they surrendered to the Duke of Castro, who was waiting impatiently for the return to Rome. The remaining castles of the Colonna also soon fell into the power of the Papal troops.

The power of the Colonna was completely broken by this sanguinary war. The efforts of the Emperor to induce the Pope to deal a lenient measure of punishment to the house which had shown such attachment to the Empire proved ineffectual. Paul III did not allow the opportunity of crushing his most powerful and most dangerous vassal to escape him; all the possessions of the Colonna, amounting to nearly twenty places, were confiscated and incorporated in the province of the Campagna. The fortresses of Marino and Rocca di Papa, and later that of Paliano also, were razed to the ground, and it was rumoured that the Pope also intended to demolish all baronial fortalices within a radius of forty miles.

Ascanio and those members of his family who had adhered to him went into exile in Naples. During his meeting with the Pope at Lucca the Emperor interceded on behalf of this sorely stricken house; he proposed that Paliano should be given over to Marcantonio, Ascanio's son, who was betrothed to Vittoria, the daughter of Pier Luigi. But Paul III would come to no agreement prior to the liquidation of the expenses of the war. Further attempts on the Emperor's part to reconcile the Pope and Colonna by the ratification of a marriage between Fabrizio Colonna and Vittoria Farnese proved as unavailing as the efforts of Vittoria Colonna on behalf of her brother. Not until Paul III was in his grave did better days return for the shattered fortunes of this ancient race.

The struggle provoked by Perugia, as ineffectual as that of the Colonna, and generally spoken of as the "Salt War," led certainly to a remarkable increase of the Pope's ascendancy in the States of the Church, but did nothing to check the opposition to the hated salt tax. Already in the spring of 1542 the Legate of Bologna had to give orders for the payment, under the severest penalties, of this impost, and in the same year a new "Monte" was established for purposes of revenue. Paul III's position was then so critical that repeated sales of Church property had to take place. In January 1543 even the sum of 16,000 ducats could only be raised with the greatest difficulty. A new method of direct taxation, such as had been made available in other countries of southern Europe, was now to bring succour: this was the so-called "Sussidio," and on its introduction in May 1543 the salt tax was allowed to lapse; for the new tax, estimated at the amount of 300,000 ducats, all the subjects of the Papal States, even if exempt and privileged, were to be responsible. Originally introduced as terminable at the end of three years, this tax became, through prolongation, a permanent one. It brought odium on the name of its author, but never reached the high scale of exaction originally planned.

Together with the taxation of his subjects Paul III brought his hand to bear on ecclesiastical property. The prospects of war against the Turks, which laid extraordinary burdens on his government, forced him again and again to appeal to the Italian clergy for financial assistance. For this purpose tithes were levied in 1537, then in 1541, 1543, and 1544, and in August 1546 Paul III had recourse to the same means for defraying the cost of the Schmalkaldic war. By February 1547 the Pope was complaining of the inroads made on his exchequer by this contest. In order to repay the sums then borrowed, Portugal in September and Naples in December 1548 were made liable to a tenth. The Romans, who since 1537 had already been taxed on the necessaries of life, found themselves, in the year above mentioned, exposed to a new tax on meal. On the death of Paul III the Papal finances were in a very precarious condition. Julius III in 1551 raised the complaint that his predecessor had mortgaged all his revenues and in addition had left behind him yet another debt of half a million scudi. In ready money 266,000 scudi were forthcoming under Paul III; and that was all, although, as the estimate furnished by the Venetian ambassador Dandolo clearly shows, the ordinary revenues of the Papal States had risen to the annual sum of nearly 700,000 scudi. In Dandolo's return the Customs receipts of Rome are put down at 92,000 ducats, almost 20,000 more than in the year 1536. This increase is significant of the rebound to prosperity of the Roman revenues under the Farnese rule.

As Rome had been spared the troubles of war, the wounds inflicted in the days of Clement VII had time gradually to heal. As there was an increase of prosperity, so was there also of population; the popular hopes which clustered round the elevation of a man born on the soil were not disappointed. The Pope encouraged agriculture on the Campagna and made provision for ample supplies of food, especially during the years of scarcity. The activity displayed by him in the sphere of art, especially his construction of new thoroughfares in Rome, was of great advantage to the inhabitants; not less so his regulation of the currency.

His efforts to repress mendicancy, to this day an abiding nuisance in Rome, were unfortunately not successful. The public safety also, despite the Pope's strong administration of justice, left much to be desired. But these and other unsatisfactory conditions appeared as matters of secondary importance; the people had to live. The splendid court of Paul III brought to all classes of the population ample sources of income. Calamities of the graver sorts, so frequent in the earlier times, did not occur, and the delight of the Romans in festal occasions was gratified in full measure.

The triumphal progress and the tournaments accompanying the Papal coronation had already given a foretaste of what was yet to come. Secular and ecclesiastical festivals, the entries of ambassadors and princes, alternated with processions in a series of gay and brilliant pageants.

In the very first year of his reign the Pope gave orders that the Feast of the Assumption should be celebrated with all possible solemnity. In 1536 the Carnival was revived with all its time-honoured diversions and pleasures, and the coming of Charles V, expected about that time, gave occasion for this. Indescribable was the popular delight at the restoration of the licence of the masquerade as it was in the days before the sack of the city. Paul III, was particularly anxious that the central glory of the Carnival, the festa on the Piazza Navona, should take place in all its splendour. In the triumphal show customary on this occasion, and produced under the direction of Latino Giovenale Manetti, the learned archaeologist, thirteen gala chariots were seen representing, in allusion to the Pope's name, the triumph of the consul Aemilius Paulus. The brilliant procession started, exactly as it had done in the days of Leo X, from the Capitol, entered the Via Papale, crossed the bridge of St. Angelo, and, passing to the Vatican, thence returned to the Piazza Navona. Paul III witnessed the scene from the Castle of St. Angelo. On Carnival Sunday races were run on the open ground below Monte Testaccio, and barbaric sports, handed down from the Middle Ages, were held on the same spot. The populace shouted with wild delight as a herd of swine and some thirteen oxen were pushed down from the summit of the hill and hacked in pieces by riders armed with lances.

A month later the Romans witnessed the splendid spectacle of the state entry of Charles V. The next year wore a graver aspect, for the Turkish power was menacing. But in 1538 the Carnival was again kept amid gaiety. At the end of this year the marriage of Ottavio Farnese with Margaret of Austria, the daughter of Charles V and widow of Duke Alessandro de' Medici, took place. The 3rd of November, the anniversary of the Pope's coronation, had been chosen for the ceremony. The Duchess received the homage of the Senate, Conservators, and Roman nobles in the villa of Clement VII on Monte Mario, now part of her Medici inheritance and henceforward known as the Villa Madama. At the Porta del Popolo she was welcomed by Cardinal Farnese, the Ambassadors, and the Papal Court, and she proceeded in state to the Vatican, where her husband awaited her. In the antecamera de' Paramenti she paid her respects to the Pope, surrounded by the Cardinals. Paul III placed her on his left hand and presented her with costly wedding gifts. In her magnificently furnished apartments in the palazzo Cesi, Margaret received the noblest ladies of Rome. During the following days festivities followed close on each other; banquets, balls, illuminations in which the whole city, especially the Castle of St. Angelo, seemed to soar upwards in fire, competitions between horses, oxen, and buffaloes, took place in bewildering variety. The most beautiful of these festas, that on the Piazza Navona, was described by the Portuguese painter Francesco d'Olanda, then staying in Rome. He saw the twelve richly gilt chariots, ornamented with designs in relief and suitable devices and carrying the Caporioni in magnificent antique garments, descend from the Capitol, preceded by a hundred Roman youths dressed in exact accordance with classical attire. The antique mode was so faithfully reproduced that Francesco seemed to see before him the Emperors and conquerors of old.

The Carnival entertainments of the next year, 1539, were also highly characteristic, eclipsing previous years in splendour, and were marked by many novelties. The rude sports of Monte Testaccio were now transferred to the Piazza of St. Peter's; the triumphal cars for the Festa di Agone on Carnival Thursday were of such unusual size that each required four buffaloes to draw it; the decorations also seemed more magnificent than ever; the allegorical groups and figures typified events of the day, but the antique form was adhered to throughout. The two first cars celebrated the Pope and Emperor; those that followed, the neutrality of Paul III, his protecting care for Rome, his conflict with false doctrine and Islam. One of the novelties was the appearance of all civic authorities in ancient costumes. The contemporary observers could hardly express their admiration for the array of splendour thus unfolded, but there was loudly expressed disapproval of the preponderance of the pagan tone of feeling to the exclusion of the Christian in this particular pageant. As the Pope had contributed to the expenses and had looked on at the procession from St. Angelo, only a few, such as Cardinals Carafa and Contarini, ventured to give open expression to their censures.

What judgment would these men of austere observance have passed on the Carnival of 1541, on which occasion Paul III invited his sons, and even their wives, to an entertainment at the Vatican that recalled the days of Leo X. Before the banquet, at which the Pope himself took part, the guests were entertained partly with music and partly with the jests of the buffoon Rosso; after the meal there was a small masked ball. On the 20th of February Cardinal Farnese gave an even more brilliant party to which came the ambassadors and the Papal family but not the Pope. The designs for the antique dresses worn by the youths who took part in the entertainment were from sketches by no less an authority than Giulio Clovio himself. On this occasion the "Clizia" of Macchiavelli was produced under the direction of Molza, but, as one of the ambassadors reports, with some alterations.

There was thus some hesitation in performing without reserve a comedy that was an imitation of one of the most objectionable of the pieces of Plautus.

The obstinate tenacity with which the old tendencies of the Renaissance held their ground in spite of certain considerations is shown clearly in the Carnival celebrations of 1545. The Siense envoy reported expressly on the 31st of January that on this occasion there was a disposition to give up an exclusively antique pageant as in former times, and substitute one suggestive of present conditions, the victory over the heretics and the Turks, the triumph of the Christian faith and of the Holy See. Nevertheless, ample room was afforded for the display of classical reminiscences. The procession on Carnival Thursday, February the 12th, 1545, which took its way from the Capitol to the Piazza Navona, was composed of thirteen cars, one from each quarter of Rome, accompanied by the city guilds. On the first Paul III was represented as Androclus taking the thorn from the paw of the lion, the type of heresy. The inscription ran: "The obedient shall receive graces, the proud shall be brought low." On the second car sat Fortune, clad in silver, with a golden wheel; on the third was seen the investment of Constantinople, with the words, "Except the Lord keep the city, he watcheth in vain that keepeth it"; the fourth displayed a golden dragon guarding the garden of the Hesperides; the fifth the goddess Cybele holding the pineapple, the symbol of Rome; on the outside was depicted the story of Troy; the sixth triumphal car conveyed seven figures in the act of disputation; and the seventh a shepherd, made of gold, strangling a silver snake. Both these groups, according to the inscriptions, again referred to the contest with error. The three next (the one-eyed Arimaspians vanquishing the griffin, Heraclius as victor over Sidrodus, and a combat between three Turks and three Christians) contained, as did the twelfth (Trajan overcoming the barbarians), allusions to the defeat of the Turks. The eleventh, on which was a galley passing between the pillars of Hercules with the inscription, "Their word

has gone out into all the world,” symbolized the spread of Christianity in the New World. The last car, with Prometheus chained, was in honour of the Emperor, symbolized by an eagle, as the conqueror of the Turks.

The cars were followed by the Roman nobles, splendidly attired, some in Turkish, some in Indian garb, and attended by pages dressed as nymphs. The musicians wore antique costumes with garlands and olive branches. The triumphal car of the Pope now appeared, forming the central point of all this splendour. Paul III was seen in full pontifical vesture, on either side of him a unicorn supporting the lily shield of the Farnesi, before him Righteousness and Peace, behind him the device of a chameleon and a dolphin, the slowest and the swiftest moving of animals, bound together to indicate that a ruler in his actions should be neither too swift nor too slow. Behind this imposing vehicle rode the Pope’s most prominent civil officials, among whom some attracted special attention; these were Giuliano Cesarini, Gonfaloniere of Rome, his clothes embroidered with precious stones valued at more than 50,000 scudi, three Conservatori in antique attire, and lastly the Senator in a ducal mantle of cloth-of-gold.

The Pope, surrounded by his whole family and many Cardinals, watched the procession from the Farnese palace. The following day he treated the populace to cattle and horse races, and the festa at Monte Testaccio brought the proceedings to a close.

Magnificent displays of this sort, with their numerous reminders of antiquity, show, like many of the festivities given by Cardinals, how much there was of transition in the pontificate of Paul III. The Renaissance was still a powerful influence, and the new ecclesiastical tendencies were met by a vigorous opposition. When in the middle of March 1549 the French in Rome prepared to celebrate the birth of a son to Henry II with noisy as well as brilliant entertainments, Cardinal Carafa protested strongly; although he laid emphasis on the bad example that would thus be set, while Lent was in progress, his remonstrances had no effect. Paul III let the French have their way; he cannot, on the whole, be acquitted of the charge that he himself often yielded to secular impulses little in accordance with the seriousness of the times. As in previous pontificates, luxury and pleasure were still displayed not merely in the palaces of Cardinals but in the Vatican itself. Musicians, *improvisatori*, even female singers, dancers and buffoons appeared upon the scene. Now, as in earlier days, the chief pastor of Christendom was seen setting forth on clamorous hunting parties, receiving the ladies of his family as guests at his table, and taking part in the brilliant receptions of the young Farnesi. A long time had yet to elapse before Popes should come to whom it would be impossible to attach the reproach of conduct so incongruous with their high office.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CONCILIAR QUESTION AND THE IMPERIAL EFFORTS AT REUNION IN THE YEARS 1539-1541

The year 1539 brought new and heavy losses to the Church in Germany. While the peace negotiations at Frankfort were still in progress two deaths took place which opened to the Protestant party the opportunity for further victorious advances. On the 26th of February 1539 Duke Frederick died, the last surviving son of George, Duke of Saxony, and on April the 17th George himself passed away, who hitherto had been the pillar of the Church in North Germany. He was succeeded by his only brother Henry, a very dissimilar character. This prince, who in 1533 was still giving solemn assurances to the nuncio Vergerio that he would never desert the Catholic Church, had since attached himself to Lutheranism. He now at once began, under the protection and with the help of the Saxon Elector and his other associates of Schmalkald, to oppress the Catholics in the Duchy of Saxony and to introduce by force the Lutheran doctrines.

Almost at the same time the Electorate of Brandenburg was lost to the Church. Joachim II, the ruling Elector since 1535, had sworn on oath to his father to remain true to the Catholic faith, and firmly to maintain the existing ecclesiastical conditions throughout the Electorate. He had taken an oath of like import in September 1535 on the occasion of his marriage with the Polish Princess Hedwig, daughter of King Sigismund. Nevertheless, under the powerful influence of George of Anhalt, this Hohenzollern, on the conclusion of the agreement of Frankfort, passed over to the Protestant side. On the 1st of November 1539 he received at the hands of Bishop Matthias von Jagow of Brandenburg, long a supporter of the Lutheran teaching, the Communion under both kinds.

In the following year Joachim II introduced a new system of Church order, which retained the local episcopate and many Catholic ceremonies, so that the bulk of the people did not realize what was actually taking place. Joachim himself denied that in his new Church system he had introduced the innovating doctrines into his country; resting on the groundwork of the ancient Church, he had removed abuses that had crept in and established a sound policy in religious affairs. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that by his ecclesiastical ordinances the Elector had usurped a primacy over the Bishops of Brandenburg.

The Emperor and the Catholic Princes stood crippled in the presence of all these events. While the Protestants were acting on the offensive everywhere with spirit and strength, the Catholics were often incapable of assuming the defensive. For the development of such a situation the blame lay partly with the absentee Emperor and the failure of the Catholics to recognize the strength of their opponents, but principally with the German episcopate. It was characteristic of

the latter that on the conclusion, on the 10th of June 1538, of the Catholic league of defence at Nuremberg, only the Archbishop of Salzburg and Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, as Archbishop of Magdeburg and Administrator of Halle, were present; all the other bishops shrank back from fear of their Protestant neighbours. The petty spirit and worldliness of most of the German ecclesiastical magnates, combined with Lutheran licence, had brought about, even in professedly Catholic territories, a state of disorganization of the very worst augury for the future. On this point the testimony of the Papal nuncios is unimpeachable. If Vergerio's reports had previously given a very unfavourable account of Church affairs in Germany, those of his successors were still more discouraging.

The observations made by Morone in November 1536 on his journey to Vienna, in the Tyrol, Bavaria, and Austria, must have filled this earnest lover of souls with horror. In the latter countries, under good Catholic rulers, he found a large number of parishes in towns as well as villages without priests, the convents almost deserted, the people living in religious neglect and confusion. That under such circumstances numbers should fall away from the Church was no matter for astonishment. In May 1537 Morone wrote from Prague to Aleander that the affairs of religion and of the Holy See in Germany were in such a deplorable state that he despaired of their being remedied; above all, there was need of good bishops. In Breslau, in June 1538, Morone found the Lutherans so strong that those who still clung to the old Church denied their faith through fear. Further defections were to be foreseen with certainty. Morone even thought that he already saw signs of weakness on the part of many ecclesiastical princes in consequence of Lutheran enticements. In view of this danger there was nothing, moreover, to be expected for the Church from King Ferdinand, whose influence in the Empire was insignificant; nor had he the energy of character required; he was dependent too upon his councillors, many of whom were Lutheran in sympathy.

When about the same time, in the autumn of 1538, Cardinal Aleander reached Austria, he found even in the Catholic territories a widely spreading apostasy in progress. Already in Bozen he heard from a Franciscan that the town was deeply infected with heresy and that the principal church had been given over already to a Lutheran teacher. In the diocese of Trent as well as in that of Brixen he found a large proportion of parishes without priests. At Innsbruck the clergy did not appear at his reception; the town council excused them on the plea that in the foremost of Ferdinand's residential cities, as Aleander does not fail to note, hardly a dozen clergy were to be found. In the Abbey of Wilten there was, besides the Abbot, only one regular! On his return journey Aleander received the like bad impressions. On the 9th of September 1538 he wrote to the Pope from Linz that the religious condition of Germany was well-nigh ruinous; divine worship and the administration of the Sacraments had for the most part ceased, the secular princes, with the exception of Ferdinand I, were either entirely Lutheran or full of hatred of the priesthood and greed of Church property, the prelates lived just as extravagantly as before and merely held positions in the Church. The religious orders had dwindled down to handfuls, the secular clergy were not much more numerous, and so immoral and ignorant that the few Catholics there were shunned them. More than fifteen parishes were vacant; he was forced to say, with tears, that the condition of religion was one vast chaos.

That Aleander did not take too gloomy a view is evident from the accounts sent to him by Fabio Mignanelli, Morone's successor as nuncio. From Trent to Linz, a stretch of nearly 300 hundred Italian miles, wrote Mignanelli, he had found the churches and convents almost entirely abandoned by secular and regular clergy, the practices of piety had ceased from among the people, the churches were no longer frequented, and even alms were discontinued. With regard to the scarcity of clergy, Ferdinand entirely confirmed the nuncio's statements; he was himself unable,

save with difficulty, said the King of the Romans, to supply his private chapel with suitable chaplains. The Protestant propaganda made full use of this bad state of things; everywhere, even in the court itself, there were lapses from the faith. Cardinal Cles of Trent, in consequence, was more and more anxious concerning Ferdinand's power of resistance to the Lutheran influences surrounding him.

Even if this alarm was groundless as far as the person of the King was concerned, it yet seems doubtful whether Ferdinand was in the position to uphold in the Austrian dominions the authority, hitherto paramount, of the Catholic Church; and this, all the more, seeing that in Bohemia and Hungary also Lutheranism had made remarkable advances. If the successes of Protestantism in the northern parts of the Empire are also taken into consideration it becomes intelligible that, from the point of view of merely human foresight, the complete apostasy of Germany from the Holy See should be expected at the end of thirty years if events went on developing in the direction they had hitherto taken.

It was the Pope, impressed by all these grave disasters befalling the Church, who again became the prime instigator of the Council, from the verdict of which Catholic as well as Protestant Germany still continued to hope so much that it is permissible to speak of a special group, the so-called party of "Expectants."

Now, as in the past, the failure to secure a final peace between the Emperor and the French King formed the chief hindrance to the convocation of a General Council. It was at this very moment, the late autumn of 1539, that a good opportunity seemed to offer itself for the reconciliation of the two sovereigns, for it was widely rumoured that Charles V was seriously contemplating a complete understanding and a closer family alliance with his old enemy Francis I. The latter proposed that the Emperor, who on account of the revolt of the citizens of Ghent and his claims on Guelders was hastening from Spain to the Netherlands, should, in order to expedite his journey, pass through France. When, to the astonishment of all, Charles entered into this scheme, his opponents in Germany at once showed signs of agitation.

It was characteristic of the time that even ecclesiastical authorities, such as Johann von Metzhausen, Archbishop of Treves, should, from fear of an increase of the Emperor's power, have tried to come to an understanding with the Protestants. The old foe of the Hapsburgs, the Bavarian chancellor, Leonhard von Eck, informed the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, uneasy on account of the Bavarian preparations for war, that the latter were not directed against the Protestants but against Charles V, whose alliance with Francis I was a menace to German liberty. It was generally stated that peace between Francis and the Emperor was settled—nothing more remained to be done but to make public the terms.

Under these circumstances the Pope on his side was unwilling to neglect any means of accelerating the peace between the two monarchs upon whom the successful issue of the Council depended. As soon as he had heard from Luis de Avila and von Gye of the Emperor's intention to pass through France to the Netherlands, and had been informed of the proposals of peace, Paul III determined to send his own grandson, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, as Legate to Charles and Francis. In a secret consistory of the 24th of November 1539 the majority of the Cardinals assented to this arrangement. On November the 26th Farnese received the Legate's cross; two days later he left Rome with his suite. For the transaction of the current affairs of state his place was taken by Cardinal Sforza Santafiora.

In the instructions handed to Farnese before his departure the Pope acknowledged his satisfaction that the seeds of peace formerly sown by him at Nice were now bearing the longed-

for fruit, which he already looked upon as ripe. Acting on this supposition, Farnese was to move the two monarchs to send their prelates to the Council. As the place of meeting, Vicenza, favourably situated for all nations, was, in the first instance, again proposed, and, as an alternative, with a view to French feeling, Milan. If the Council met and thereby the return of the Protestants was effected, an undertaking against Henry VIII as well as against the Turks might, under the circumstances, be kept in view.

The Cardinal-Legate Farnese was accompanied on this occasion, as he had been on his mission to Spain, by the learned Marcello Cervini, as his private secretary. In order that this eminent man, whom the Pope had already a few months before appointed Bishop of Nicastro, might take part personally with the Legate in the important transactions with the two monarchs, he received the purple on the 19th of December 1539. To the younger Cardinal the Pope, moreover, sent the intimation that, in the Netherlands, where the Protestants were numerous, he was never to lay aside ecclesiastical attire, and also to see that among his suite the same rule was observed. Farnese was also to use his Legatine faculties with discretion.

The Cardinal travelled slowly in order to avoid encountering the Emperor on French soil. Paul III had given express injunctions on this point, as it was to be foreseen that Francis would not discuss affairs with Charles so long as the latter was his guest, while Charles would certainly be averse to entering into any transactions of state prior to his return to his own dominions. The Cardinal, however, found himself obliged to change his plans; for the Emperor, loaded by Francis with every conceivable mark of honour, advanced very slowly. Farnese, who had already reached the immediate neighbourhood of the French capital, could not possibly retard his journey longer without giving rise to unpleasant surmises. He therefore resolved to seek audience of both monarchs before the termination of their meeting, but to confine himself to tendering the good wishes of the Pope on the establishment of their friendship, and to reserve all other business until the departure of the Emperor. He then hoped to obtain from Francis fuller information as to his arrangements with Charles V and thus to facilitate an understanding with the latter on his arrival in the Netherlands.

Farnese, on the personal invitation of Francis I, made his solemn entry into Paris on the 31st of December 1539, accompanied by five French Cardinals. On the following day Francis I and Charles V arrived. The Emperor greeted the Cardinal in the cathedral of Notre Dame so graciously that all present were astonished. Afterwards both rode, together with the Dauphin, to the newly erected palace of the Louvre, where Francis I welcomed them and a banquet was given in the evening. On the 3rd of January 1540 Farnese had an audience of the King, to whom he explained the motive and aim of his mission; on the following day he made the same announcements to the Emperor. From the latter's reply the Cardinal concluded that Charles wished to postpone all negotiations until the arrival of his brother Ferdinand in the Netherlands.

Francis I escorted his Imperial guest, who had stayed in Paris until the 7th of January 1540, as far as St. Quentin. Here they took farewell of each other on January the 20th. While the Emperor went on to Valenciennes, Francis betook himself to Amiens; thither Farnese hastened, full of impatience to lay before the King his latest instructions. On the 9th of February he had an audience at which, besides Cardinal Cervini, the French nuncio Ferreri was present. Making his previous declarations at Paris his starting-point, Farnese explained that even if the special object of his mission presupposed the publication of a peace, he was yet induced to believe, in view of the intimate relations between the two monarchs, that this event might be regarded as a certainty. With the exhortation that Francis would soon give effect to the desired consummation, he coupled the request that his Majesty would give the sorely needed assistance against the Turks and towards

the recall of the Protestants and Henry VIII to their obedience to the Church. In this connection he showed how, in view of the necessity of reform in ecclesiastical matters, the Council brooked of no delay.

The reply of Francis I, delivered in French, was highly unsatisfactory. Until the peace had first been firmly concluded he could not commit himself either to a general undertaking against the Turks and heretics or to a sanction of the Council, as he did not wish to expose himself to the obvious danger of losing hitherto existing friendships. Besides, it seemed to him very doubtful whether the Emperor would agree to action against England, since, as was generally reported, he was bent on beginning the war about his claims on Guelders.

Farnese and Cervini afterwards still kept up negotiations with Montmorency, who, as well as the King, encouraged them in their farewell audience to urge peace on the Emperor. Cervini, on this occasion, touched on the marriage of Vittoria Farnese, Ottavio's sister, with a French prince, an alliance still, as in past years, favoured by the Pope, as a means of showing that he stood firmly on the neutral line. On the 15th of February 1540 the two Cardinals left Amiens; they travelled slowly, as they did not wish to meet the Emperor until he had quelled the revolt in Ghent. This was also in accordance with the wishes of Charles, who on February the 14th had marched into Ghent with his troops ready for action and speedily reduced the city to order.

On the 23rd of February the two Cardinals made their entry; their audience with the Emperor was fixed for the following morning. In this interview Cardinal Farnese explained the object of his mission, while at the same time he gave an account of his course of action with Francis I. Charles V thanked him for his communications thus made, and promised that the peace negotiations with France, on the issue of which all the rest depended, should be energetically pursued as soon as Ferdinand I arrived. With regard to his undertaking against England he declared himself doubtful, since a war might easily be begun but not so easily ended. The Emperor here gave a glimpse of his conviction that, for the same reason, it would be preferable to allay the troubles in Germany by peaceful methods. Four days later Morone arrived in Ghent; as Poggio came there at the same time, there were now four Papal diplomatists at the Imperial court; they must soon have convinced themselves that the prospects of peace were much more unfavourable than they had surmised.

A sudden light was thrown on the actual state of affairs by an expression which escaped the Emperor's lips during an audience granted to Poggio on the 3rd of March. To an inquiry of the nuncio with regard to the prospects of peace, Charles V answered drily that that was a matter that caused him more anxiety than almost any other that he had had to deal with in the whole course of his life; it would require the most mature consideration between himself and his brother Ferdinand. The latter, however, saw in the Emperor's proposal to Francis that the hand of his daughter, with the Netherlands as her dowry, should be bestowed on the Duke of Orleans, a grave infringement of his own interests. He had no need to disquiet himself, for Francis was soon to show that he had no intention of paying the price demanded by the Emperor, the renunciation of Milan and the surrender of Piedmont and Savoy.

Moreover, it seemed open to question whether Charles was in earnest regarding the proposals that he was then submitting to the French. Unembarrassed by such considerations, the Papal representatives endeavoured to further the cause of peace in every way; but they found little opportunity for so doing, for the Emperor, more reserved than ever, would not initiate them into his transactions with France. Such an attitude was bound to arouse distrust in the Legates.

The disquietude of the Papal diplomatists was still further increased by the appearance of an embassy from the Protestant princes with the object of quashing the proceedings in the Imperial Court of Chancery, securing a solid peace, and the ratification of the agreement of Frankfort. As it was rumoured that the Emperor had listened favourably to this deputation, Farnese, through Morone, represented to Ferdinand I that the only right course to pursue was the rejection of such dangerous wishes. Ferdinand I replied that he and his brother must hear both sides, but gave his assurance that the respite of Frankfort would not be ratified and that the other points would be adjudicated on upon their merits. Morone replied that as the Hapsburgs would not listen to a word on the question of Guelders, so it would be on the question of religion, which was of not less importance. The King of the Romans tried to soothe him by the declaration that the agreement of Frankfort would certainly never be ratified. Granvelle gave the same assurances, adding at the same time that no transactions would be carried on with the Protestants without an understanding with the Cardinals. Farnese therefore believed that he might re-assure himself as far as the non-ratification of the agreement of Frankfort was concerned. But he very soon began to feel renewed anxiety when he observed the Emperor's conciliatory bearing towards the Protestant emissaries; he thought that the sinister influence of the Imperial diplomatist, Johann von Weeze, who had already in 1539 played such a suspicious part in the negotiations of Frankfurt, were here perceptible.

It was an unhealthy and unpromising symptom that with regard to the religious as well as the political situation the Imperial party observed the same reticence towards the Papal statesmen. Granvelle's promise, that in the former sphere of affairs nothing was to be done without Farnese's previous knowledge, lapsed into silence.

The change which then, with the utmost possible secrecy, came over the Imperial policy was of fateful importance. Charles V certainly did not ratify the agreement of Frankfort, but still he acted in the spirit of this agreement that the Pope had rejected. Under the pressure of the political situation, the Turkish danger, the strained relations with France, the hostile attitude of many of the States of the Empire, especially of Bavaria, and the increased strength of Protestantism, he fell back upon the scheme already suggested to Ferdinand in 1538 by the Elector of Brandenburg, Joachim II, that by means of a national assembly, and a conference on religion, the discords of belief in Germany should, independently of the Council, be brought to a solution. In spite of all representations to the contrary, he followed up this project with his characteristic tenacity of purpose.

If the Emperor hoped, by the introduction of peaceable negotiations for reunion, to hinder communications between the Schmalkaldic Protestants and France and to obtain help against the Turks, he, at the same time, overlooked the circumstance that by this latest phase of policy he was crippling the Catholic defensive league and throwing over the Council.

It entirely escaped Charles V, who was unversed in theological questions and dependent on the advice of his councillors, what a fundamental mistake it was to set on foot public assemblies in which laymen were to discuss and pass judgment on matters of belief in the presence of secular estates. Since the Protestants had entirely rejected the doctrinal function of the Church, such transactions would be carried on without a competent judge and a common ground of disputation. It was also a matter of certainty that discussions on religion only made the heretics more obdurate. Nevertheless, only a very few realized that the path on which the Emperor had entered held out no prospect of leading to the goal aimed at by so many.

Men's ideas were in a state of incredible confusion. Many even, who were set upon being thoroughly good Catholics, seemed to have lost any real conception of the Church. Only in Rome

was the seriousness of the situation understood in all its gravity. Not merely because the discussions on religion involved the danger of spreading the apostasy, but also because the objection to such transactions was grounded on principle. Catholics were allowed—and even this only with permission of the Holy See—to make arrangements concerning Church property and the details of worship and discipline, such as ceremonies, the administration of the chalice to the laity, the marriage of priests and the like; but in matters of doctrine such a discretion was entirely withheld. If, moreover, they began to treat and bargain with their opponents on matters of dogma, they were bound to come into contradiction with themselves and with the Church; were they to be satisfied with ambiguous formulae which only concealed the dogmatic differences between them, no permanent advantage would thereby be gained, for sooner or later the slumbering elements of disagreement would be aroused into as sharp an antagonism as before. But, on the other hand, no one could seriously suppose that the Protestants would again accept as the result of a religious conference the ancient dogmas of the Church that they had just discarded.

In January 1540 the theologians of Wittenberg formulated with startling candour their fundamental position towards the approaching negotiations. A memorial of that time, signed by Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen, Cruciger, and Melancthon, declared that the Emperor and the bishops had simply to renounce “their idolatry and error.” As only two courses were open, they must either encourage and adhere to idolatry, blasphemy, error, unchastity, and other sins, or openly adopt new and “pure doctrines.” At best some compromise might be thought of on external points common to both parties, but there could be no “patchwork” in matters of doctrine; the Augsburg Confession and its defence must be upheld in their entirety. “Even if the Pope were to concede to us our doctrines and ceremonies,” this document continued, “we should still be obliged to treat him as a persecutor and an outcast, since in other kingdoms he would not renounce his errors.”

On despatching this manifesto Luther wrote on the 18th of January to the Elector of Saxony: “It is all up with the Pope, as it is with his god, the devil. They are both impenitent and sin consciously against the truth, so that they are beyond prayers and hope.”

The Hessian theologians took the same standpoint as their colleagues of Wittenberg, and accordingly at Schmalkald the Protestant preachers displayed complete unanimity, as also did the Princes. In their reply, handed at this Diet, on the 2nd of April, to the Imperial envoy, they certainly asked for a “Christian and rightly organized conference” in order to come, “under God’s blessing, to an understanding” with the other estates of the Empire, but explained that by an “understanding” they did not mean one which would confirm the old errors or permit any lapse from the truth. This truth was contained in the Confession and defence of Augsburg, to which they intended unconditionally to adhere.

With all this before him it is difficult to conceive how the Emperor still hoped to cure, by means of peaceable discussion, the deep-seated religious divisions of Germany. That Charles believed that the impossible was possible admits of explanation in the first place, independently of the pressure of political events, from the changed attitude of the most aggressive of the Schmalkaldic princes, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, who, in contemplation of his double marriage, durst not incite the Emperor’s anger, since bigamy was an offence punishable by death. Of importance also on the Catholic side were the undiminished illusions with regard to the voluntary submission of many apostates, in which the wished-for conversion of Melancthon played, in particular, a leading part. Moreover, there was the powerful influence of Granvelle.

The latter, an out-and-out politician, looked at ecclesiastical affairs purely with the eyes of a man of the world, so that Held thus summed him up: “In matters of belief he must have the

upper hand, bargain, buy, and sell, as if God had committed the faith, not to the successors of Peter and the other apostles, but to ministers, jurists, and pettifogging lawyers.” Supported by Weeze and the vice-chancellor Naves, he dissuaded his Imperial master from all repressive measures against the Lutherans, and kept on recommending amicable negotiations with a view to a compromise. In this way the Emperor’s perception was dulled and, filled as he was with the best intentions, he believed that he could accomplish the object on which his heart was so firmly set. King Ferdinand, who was naturally inclined to manoeuvring, was also much attracted by the notion of religious conferences, as he wished to prevent, at all costs, warlike developments in Germany and to obtain aid against the Turks from the Estates of the Empire.

Thus it was that Charles V resolved on the 18th of April 1540, in order to terminate the religious dissensions of Germany, to summon the Catholic Princes to a Diet at Spires on the 23rd May, there to deal with Lutheran affairs and those of the Catholic League; in connection with this assembly a conference on religion was to be held on the 6th of June with the Protestant leaders. The heads of the Schmalkaldic confederation, the Elector John Frederick of Saxony and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, were invited and permission given them to come with a full escort. The two Princes replied that they could not attend in person, as too short a notice had been given of the date of the conference, but they were willing to appoint representatives and, if things went in the direction of peace, to put in an appearance themselves. At the same time they had the assurance to demand of the Emperor that, in the case of the Catholics supporting opinions contrary to the Word of God, Holy Scripture, and Apostolic doctrine, he would command them to abstain from them.

The Emperor, contrary to his promise, concealed from the Cardinal-Legate Farnese the momentous step he had taken. Not until the 20th of April, after the invitations to Spires had been sent out, did he officially inform Farnese through Granvelle. The announcement did not take the Legate by surprise; for he had already received tidings of the Emperor’s plans from Morone and Poggio, who at Farnese’s bidding had interpellated Ferdinand I and Granvelle. To the reports of his two colleagues Farnese added, in a letter to the Pope of April the 17th, a description of the serious danger which was bound to be incurred by the attempts of Charles to unify Germany on the questions of religion, in entire independence of the Holy See. At the same time he again insisted on the necessity of strengthening the Catholic League by the enrolment of Paul III and the mission of one or more Cardinals to Germany with instructions suited to every eventuality. Farnese suspected indeed that the Hapsburgs did not wish for any Legatine mission, and had only delayed the official announcement of the Diet at Spires in order to leave no more time for the despatch of a Papal representative. This, the Cardinal thought, might be met by sending Contarini to his bishopric of Belluno and Pole to Verona, whence they might make an appearance in Germany before it was too late.

Farnese’s reply to Granvelle’s official communication came briefly to this: that experience had shown the prejudicial consequences of religious discussions, wherefore the Pope had enjoined him to press the urgent need of the Council in place of negotiations of the former kind. Granvelle tried to defend the Emperor’s action on the ground of necessity. Regardless of all the objections of Cardinal Cervini, who was present at the interview, the representative of Charles did not show the least inclination to depart from the decision arrived at; he would not even agree to a postponement in order to inform the Pope of the new turn in affairs and to await the expression of his wishes. Notwithstanding this the two Legates on the following day made one more energetic protest against this dangerous policy of middle courses by tendering to the Emperor a memorial dealing with the question in detail. This contained a clear and precise summary of the reasons which, from the Catholic standpoint, demanded attention.

In the first place, the fruitlessness of all attempts hitherto made to come to an agreement with the Protestants was pointed out. The latter had never kept strictly to the Confession of Augsburg; they also taught many things inconsistent with Catholic belief which were not contained in that Confession, and thus slipped like eels through the Catholics' hands. The transactions at Frankfort in the previous year had shown that what the Protestants were working for was not the removal of abuses but the abolition of the Papacy. What hope of unity lay in that direction? As peace with France was uncertain and the Turks were threatening Hungary, it was to be expected that the Protestants would now show themselves more defiant than before. In view of the contradiction of their own dogmatic instrument, the Confession of Augsburg, in view of the opposition of the Lutherans, Zwinglians, and other sects, any permanent solution of the points of controversy was, moreover, impossible.

Concessions such as communion in both kinds and the marriage of the clergy could only be made with the sanction of the whole Church. Once points of this sort were yielded there would be no more talk of a Council, and in the absence of the consensus of other nations only one more and a greater breach in the organic unity of the Church would be the consequence. Besides, a unification by compact would also lead, against the Emperor's wishes, to a complete separation from the Holy See.

Nor could anything be hoped for the political pacification of Germany from well-intentioned negotiations. As the Protestants had made use of every interval of peace only to extend their power unscrupulously, to depose bishops and to tear up the judgments of the Imperial courts, the outcome of these attempts at agreement would be a peace destructive of the Catholic religion.

In this condition of affairs the Legates pointed to the Council as the lawful and canonical means always employed in dealing with such errors; they appealed to it again in the Pope's name in order that it might be promptly set in motion. The Catholics had always desired a general assembly of the Church; quite recently the King of Poland had asked for one through a special envoy, so also had the Catholic League. The Council would strike a wholesome fear into the minds of Protestants, who would perhaps attend its sessions. The state of the world was favourable, for Charles V and Francis I had quite recently been showing much reciprocal friendship and had entered into negotiations for peace; the Council besides removed from the Catholic Princes all responsibility. It would thereby be highly advantageous to the house of Hapsburg, since the reference of the religious questions to the most competent tribunal also afforded the possibility of settling other affairs. At the Council the strengthening of the League of Nuremberg and the defensive operations against the Turk might be decided upon. The Emperor might, above all, conclude a final peace with France, on which the safety of Christendom depended.

Cardinal Farnese, who had already on the 17th and 23rd of March, when the prospects of peace were dwindling and the religious questions were coming to the front, asked for his recall, renewed this request on April the 21st. Sent and instructed only on account of the peace, he found himself all the more incompetent to meet the situation, as he was now for the first time only beginning to understand the real position of things in Germany. If the youth of the Legate is taken into consideration, it is conceivable that he shrank from assuming responsibilities for the future and wished to see his "perilous honour" transferred to stouter shoulders.

Farnese, however, during his legation did all that lay in his power to guard the Catholic standpoint in the question of the religious conferences. He was at the same time unwearied in exhorting the Pope to carry out real reforms in Rome, to summon the Council as soon as possible, even without France, to come to an agreement with the Catholic princes of the Empire, to nominate German Cardinals independent of the Emperor, and especially to have a more express

consideration for the conditions of Germany, to which, after the first outburst of interest, less attention than was adequate had afterwards been given in Rome.

The nuncios Morone and Poggio also were not backward, but all their representations to the Imperialists fell on deaf ears. The answer of the Emperor to the Legates' memorial was one of unconditional refusal: the Council was an impossibility so long as the Catholic princes did not consent and were unrepresented; the Protestants opposed any Council outside Germany, nor could the Synod impose taxation for the Turkish war subsidy. The Emperor retorted on Poggio with irritation that the Council was made use of to frighten him; on that question he had not been remiss in any respect, nor would he in future expose himself to any reproach. With rising temper Charles thrice exclaimed: "His Holiness has only to declare the Council open"; whereupon he then set forth in detail that there was no prospect of a Synod at that time, that the only possible course was a convention.

Morone had no better fortune with his representations addressed to King Ferdinand. All he was told was how upset the Emperor and his brother had been by the memorial of April the 21st, which they had looked upon as in a certain measure a protest against them. In order to give no further offence to their Majesties, the nuncio, as well as Farnese, advised the Pope not to read the document in consistory nor to allow its publication.

The Emperor urgently wished Paul III to send a special nuncio to Spire; he let it be understood that the personage most acceptable to him would be the pacific Contarini. Ferdinand, on the contrary, did not consider the appointment of a Legate necessary; he thought that Morone's presence would be sufficient.

Paul III complied with the Cardinal-Legate's petition for recall on the 24th of April; at the same time he sent him a letter of credit for his contribution to the Catholic defensive League to the amount of 50,000 ducats. His formal entrance into the League was not to take place until he had received a copy of its stipulations.

The Emperor's determination with regard to the proposed negotiations at Spire was officially communicated to the Pope by the ambassador Aguilar, who took the opportunity of trying to justify this step. However much Paul III may have trusted in the catholicity of the Hapsburg brothers, the false path they were entering on must have been regarded by him with deep displeasure. Altogether apart from the dangers bound up with conferences of this kind, the latter would always in a certain sense be injurious to the reputation of the Papacy. With his habitual sagacity the Pope formed the opinion that, since his representatives were unable to hinder the religious discussion from taking place, he must, by bringing his influence to bear on its subsequent course, check any move prejudicial to the Catholic cause. He therefore gave weighty consideration to the Emperor's wish that a Legate might be sent. On the 7th of May the matter was discussed in consistory; but no decision was reached on that day. The Pope was inclined to gratify Charles, all the more so as it was currently reported that the Protestant Princes would not attend the Diet of Spire. Taking the short time at his disposal into consideration, he decided provisionally to give up the notion of sending a special Legate from Rome and to order Cardinal Cervini, already on his way home with Farnese, to return to the Emperor and Ferdinand, and, if necessary, to be present at Spire. In a consistory on the 12th of May this was agreed to unanimously by the Cardinals. At the same time the Pope ordered the red hat to be sent to Cervini, so that the Legate could enter on his fresh mission with the full prestige of his position.

Cervini had got as far as the neighbourhood of Lyons when the Papal order for his return to the Imperial court reached him. After consultation with Farnese, who now presented to him the

Cardinal's hat, he determined to retrace his steps to Flanders by the same way that he had come, in order to lay before Francis I the reasons of his new mission. This he succeeded in accomplishing by the end of May at Fontainebleau; he begged at the same time the King's help in the question of religion, explained the Pope's entrance into the Catholic League, which was without prejudice to the neutrality of the Holy See, and also discussed the situation regarding the peace. Francis I. gave Cervini a friendly welcome, and assured him that his representative at Spires would take his place by the side of the Papal nuncio.

On the 3rd of June Cervini reached Brussels, and on the following day laid before Granvelle the grounds of his mission to the Emperor, with whom, in the last resort, the decision at Spires would lie. He also explained the Pope's hesitation in sending thither a Legate, since it was still open to question whether the latter would there occupy a position consonant with the Papal dignity. Granvelle took great pains to reassure him with regard to the programme of the convention at Spires. On the 6th of June Cervini had an audience of the Emperor, and begged him to detain the Protestants at the Convention until such time as the Catholics had united themselves together. Charles stated that he still would prefer to wait until he had received information from his brother, and thanked the Pope for his entrance into the Catholic League. Finally, the peace transactions with France were discussed.

Simultaneously with the appointment of Cervini, in order to conciliate the Emperor as much as possible, the despatch of another Legate, and certainly of Contarini, was taken into consideration, but there was also thought of Aleander, so thoroughly versed in German affairs. The latter declined on grounds of health, and recommended very warmly his friend Contarini. A final decision was deferred until further information was received from the Imperial court. This soon arrived, and was made matter of discussion in a consistory held on the 14th of May. The Cardinals at this meeting heard read aloud and discussed the declaration made by Granvelle to Cardinal Farnese before the latter left Ghent on May the 11th. They dealt with the proposed conferences with the Lutherans, the sending of a Legate to Spires, and the peace with France. Although the Pope at that very moment had bitter cause to complain of the Viceroy of Naples on account of the failure to supply Sicilian corn for the support of the Papal States, and the recall of the Spanish troops employed against the Perugian insurgents, he considered that he ought to meet the Emperor's wishes in respect of the special Legatine mission to Germany. On the 21st of May this post was entrusted to Contarini. Against this appointment a hidden current of opposition had been moving, yet, fortunately, without effect; for certainly the Curia contained few Cardinals who, for integrity of character, popularity, and pacific intentions, were so well qualified for this difficult task as this noble Venetian. He wrote modestly that he was well aware that the heavy burden laid upon him was far in excess of his intellectual and physical powers, but nevertheless he had accepted it joyfully, placing his trust in God, in order to prove his obedience to the Pope, and to work for God's glory in this the closing term of his life.

The choice of Contarini gave general satisfaction. Sadoletto hailed it as the most joyful event of his time, and expressed the hope that if the affairs of Germany could yet after all be turned into a better course, this could only be expected from a man possessing so much wisdom and authority as Contarini.

Contarini was to repair first to his see at Belluno in order to await the development of affairs in Germany, whether they would seem to make his presence at the convention expedient and were not prejudicial to the Council and the authority of the Holy See. He stayed on in Rome, and was still there when Cardinal Farnese arrived on the evening of May the 31st. The latter, who had returned by France, had had a very friendly reception from Francis I. He quieted the King with

regard to the Pope's entrance into the Catholic League, the character of which was purely defensive, and assured him that the Holy See would maintain a strict neutrality. The marks of honour conferred on Farnese by the King could not, indeed, really console him for the complete failure of a mission on which he had entered with the highest expectations: he had done nothing to further the cause of peace in State or Church.

It had been at first supposed that Contarini would set out in the first days of June. But this was not the case, for the news had arrived of the conclusion of peace between Venice and the Turks; consequently, the Pope had doubts whether Contarini, as a Venetian, would be persona grata to the Emperor. An arrangement was therefore come to with the Imperial ambassador that the Cardinal should put off his departure until this point was cleared up.

No one wished for Contarini more eagerly than Morone, who, as the most capable diplomatist in the Curia, had, in accordance with the proposals of Farnese and Cervini, been appointed on the 15th of May to watch over Catholic interests at the convention of Spires.

Morone's instructions, dated May the 20th, 1540, were further supplemented by a letter from Aleander of the same day. It is evident from both documents how firmly the Pope held to the Catholic standpoint. In opposition to the Emperor, who on political grounds considered the religious conferences necessary, Paul III insisted with emphasis that such proceedings in and by themselves alone were injurious to the interests of Christendom as a whole and to the authority of the Holy See; the doctrines of the Church were not valid for one country, but for all; differences of such importance and weight as those now manifest in Germany could not, without detriment to the Church at large, be submitted to the decision of one nation. They belonged to the authoritative tribunal of the Council and the Pope, guaranteed by the experience of centuries; they ought not to be entrusted to the judgment of an assembly consisting of a few incompetent persons met together in an unsuitable place. No pressure of outward circumstances could be allowed to push into the background the responsibility for the salvation of souls, for, according to the words of the Apostle, wrong must not be done in order that good may come, or, at the very least, a wrong so great that from it would ensue general evil and destruction for neighbouring countries. Therefore the Papal representative could have no unlimited powers committed to him to make binding agreements in matters of religion. Morone was in particular strictly enjoined, in the event of anything being done at the Spires convention adverse to the dignity and rights of the Holy See, to withdraw at once from the city, without, however, going to the length of a breach with Ferdinand and the Catholic princes. In such a case he was to retire to some neighbouring town and from thence report on the further course of the proceedings. Even if Morone were not obliged to leave Spires, he was to keep as passive an attitude as possible and to keep aloof from all religious disputation; his action was to be limited to keeping a sharp watch on affairs, to giving advice to the Catholic princes and men of learning, to restraining them from alterations in religious matters without consent of the Holy See, and to strengthening the Catholic League.

In the meantime, owing to the prevalence of the plague in Spires, the convention was transferred to Hagenau. When, on the 25th of May, Morone and Ferdinand I arrived in the latter Imperial city at the same time, none of the princes had as yet appeared. The Catholic Estates, surprised and annoyed by the announcement of the convention, showed themselves backward in responding to it; the heads of the Schmalkaldic League had decided to keep away from the Diet. The Protestants of the Oberland had at that very time held a Diet at Ulm at which it was resolved that at the assembly convened by the Emperor the "orthodox evangelical doctrine" as contained in the Confession and apologia of Augsburg must be steadily upheld without deviation.

From all that Morone heard in Hagenau he was afraid that the Protestants would be treated in a very conciliatory way, for they were acting boldly and were better organized than the Catholics. In a report to Farnese on the 26th of May he pointed to the possibility of the proceedings being carried on to the complete exclusion of the Holy See. On June the 1st he presented King Ferdinand with a brief that had just arrived. He declared as well that the Pope, although he found some discrepancy between the importance of the subject and the short time given to prepare for its discussion, had yet, relying on the Catholic feeling of the King and his brother, sent back Cardinal Cervini as Legate to the Emperor in order that he might be able to attend the convention if the negotiations there rendered such a course admissible; he might perhaps also send another Legate from Rome, having only been temporarily withheld from so doing by the short time given for preparation. In his reply Ferdinand raised weighty complaints against the Catholics, especially the ecclesiastical princes, and their evil manner of life; he bitterly reproached them for their neglect and dilatoriness in coming, so that probably the Lutherans would be first on the ground, thus introducing danger and confusion into the negotiations. On Ferdinand asking if the new Legate had full powers to arrange terms of agreement between the contending religious teachers, Morone replied that he had not, and added: "If an angel from heaven were to be sent he could not bring with him any such mandate." In other respects the Pope would give consent to all things permissible, if he were himself appealed to.

At the same time Morone gave expression to his conjecture that the convention would lead only to greater confusion and, like previous diets, be the cause of further apostasy to Lutheranism. In view of such dangers he exerted himself in his twofold capacity as nuncio to King Ferdinand and protector of the Catholics to prevent the latter from receiving further injury; he was specially urgent in warning Bishop Stadion of Augsburg, who openly supported the administration of the chalice to the laity, the marriage of priests, and the use of the liturgy in German, to make no changes in religious usage without the approval of the Pope.

A number of princes, among them the Elector Palatine, Louis, having in the meantime made their way to Hagenau, Ferdinand, on the 12th of June, opened the assembly with a proposition to which Morone raised objections, as in it, contrary to Granvelle's assurances, the Holy See was never once mentioned. This oversight, as well as the attitude of most of the Catholic princes, particularly those of ecclesiastical rank, among whom the zealous Bishop Faber of Vienna and Madruzzo of Trent were exceptions, boded no good from the assembly. A large number of the ostensibly Catholic Estates were openly inclined to surrender the Catholic position by concessions in order to purchase union with the Protestants. In this way, thought Morone, Germany might certainly be united, but the unity would be Lutheran.

A special source of anxiety to the nuncio was the Elector Louis, whose counsels were almost entirely Lutheran, and who, in spite of his drunken habits, enjoyed the highest consideration among the princes. Louis openly opposed the Catholic League, while the cowardly bishops made their adhesion to the latter dependent on the action of the ecclesiastical Electors. The Dukes of Bavaria and Brunswick were on the whole unfavourable to the religious discussion, against which Morone also was working. But if the latter was certainly influenced by religious motives only, the objections raised by Bavaria to the friendly negotiations proposed by the Emperor and his brother were of a political cast.

This division in the Catholic party placed Morone, who had no special instructions and received no support from the majority of the ecclesiastical princes, in a very difficult position. He therefore derived great satisfaction from Contarini's appointment, the first news of which reached him on June the 11th. To Cervini also, who was still with the Emperor, and who had asked him

on the 9th of June if it was advisable that he should come to Hagenau, he replied on the 16th by a pressing invitation to do so. King Ferdinand wished to see him there ; the presence of a Legate would be of more use than that of a mere nuncio. Moreover, if Contarini, appointed on the 21st of May, were to arrive punctually to his time, there would not be even then too many representatives of Catholicism in the field. "God knows," wrote Morone on June the 19th to Farnese, "how I long for the coming of Cardinal Contarini, as I do not possess as much authority as the pressure of the time demands."

To Contarini himself Morone wrote on the 19th of June and urged upon him how desirable his presence was, in agreement as it would be with the wishes of the Emperor and Ferdinand. The presence of a Legate, he explained later on to Cardinal Farnese, necessary as it seems to be on the one hand, has also certainly its questionable side, since there is danger in assenting to the manner of proceeding and to dissent from it is useless and odious. All are of opinion that Contarini ought to be here, in order that their Majesties may have no reason to complain of their treatment, and that the Pope may be able to say: "What more is there that I could yet have done ?"

The departure of Contarini from Rome, which should have taken place at the beginning of June, was at first postponed in order that there might be time to observe how things at Hagenau shaped themselves. Since the reports received from there pointed to the presence of a Legate as inopportune, Contarini's mission was at last altogether abandoned. Even Cervini, although he had been nominated in the first instance as Legate to the Diet, received an intimation to remain at the Imperial court and not to go to Hagenau.

Morone thus remained there alone in the midst of his difficulties, displaying the keenest activity. As the Catholic Estates could not agree among themselves, they entrusted to Ferdinand the selection of spokesmen for them during the negotiations. He appointed the Elector Palatine and the Elector of Treves, the Bishop of Strassburg and Duke Louis of Bavaria. It was an unfortunate choice; the Elector Palatine and the Duke of Bavaria were mortal enemies, while the latter was also averse to any agreement. The most inexplicable appointment was, however, that of the strangely vacuous Elector Palatine, who was led entirely by his Lutheran advisers. When Morone complained of this to Ferdinand, the latter replied that he had chosen this prince only in order to have a hold on him, so that he should not become worse than he was already.

In the meantime the Protestant delegates had also arrived. They had been instructed to hold fast by the Recess of Frankfort, to take part in a religious discussion only if based on the form there determined upon, and to exclude from it Papal representatives. They were also strictly enjoined to adhere, if not to the words, yet to the meaning of the agreement of Schmalkald, *i. e.* to show inviolable loyalty to the Confession of Augsburg. Confronted with this compact unity, the division on the Catholic side was all the more conspicuous. The proposal of the princes who were acting as mediators to pass over the points adjusted at Augsburg and only to deal with those left over for settlement, was rejected by the Protestants, who clearly wished to conduct the proceedings on the basis of the unratified resolutions of Frankfort, a design which Morone did all he could to frustrate.

In face of the obstinacy with which the Protestants clung to their schemes and the want of purpose on the side of the Catholics, Ferdinand resolved on the 16th of July to prorogue the conference, which after protracted discussion was dismissed on the 28th of July.

Accordingly, subject to the Emperor's approval, a "Christian colloquy" for the provisional settlement of religious affairs was to be opened at Worms on the 28th of October, to be followed by an Imperial Diet for the purpose of coming to further decisions. To this colloquy or conference

each party was to send eleven members. The reception of a Papal representative, negatived at Frankfort, was left by the Protestants to the Emperor's decision, saving that, as they insisted, his primacy was not to be acknowledged. The Catholics on their part proposed that the Augsburg Confession with its apologia should form the ground of discussion. Herein lay an important concession; for this was precisely the point to which the Protestants attached great value, since they hoped, in such a way, by a declaration of their doctrines before a great audience, to win over fresh adherents. Their rejoicing, however, over this success was not unmixed with bitterness, for they were compelled to admit to themselves that the attainment of their main object, the maintenance of the Frankfort Recess, was thus thwarted; they had not succeeded in excluding the Pope; they had failed also to carry through the double committee, the great and the small, stipulated at Frankfort, whereupon Bucer had bitterly complained that they were now willing to transfer the discussion to a "mere handful of people."

But the Holy See also had grounds for viewing the arrangement of Hagenau with great dissatisfaction. It represented a defeat of the Curia, inasmuch as, despite all their efforts to the contrary, a fresh discussion of the religious question was agreed to, and this on a basis which was still very unsatisfactory. Ferdinand at once appointed the Catholic representatives; the Protestants were allowed freedom of choice. It was also unfavourable to the Catholics that Ferdinand, in making his selection, set to work without the necessary precaution. It was perceived that Morone left Hagenau with the gloomy impression that, from the course on which the two Hapsburg rulers had entered, with its religious conferences and Imperial Diets, no restoration of order in Germany could be expected, but only further and heavy losses for the Church. "Unless the Pope intervenes decisively," he wrote to Farnese on the 27th of July, "the whole of Germany will fall a prey to Protestantism."

CHAPTER IX.

THE CONFERENCE AT WORMS.

The anxiety in Rome rose to a high pitch when the development of affairs at the Diet of Hagenau became known. It was not mere indifference which led, first to the postponement and then to the abandonment of Contarini's journey. Even the existing differences between Emperor and Pope, though impinging to some extent on the Farnese interests, had no determining influence; the cause lay much deeper.

The tone of the deliberations at Hagenau, the total ignoring of the Holy See by Ferdinand I, had taken away all hope of any effectual intervention on the part of a Papal legate. It seemed doubtful whether such an emissary could play any part in the conference at all worthy of his high position. On this account even Cervini was prohibited from joining the Imperial court at Hagenau. On the identical 26th of June 1540 on which Farnese communicated to him this injunction, Contarini defined, in the name of the former, the position held by the Holy See and its plenipotentiaries towards the negotiations for agreement on the matter of religion. We must weigh well, said Contarini, the disadvantages which must accrue if the assembly were to come to any decision derogatory to the Holy See, of which the Legate would have to be a witness. The Pope already regards as an affront any treatment of religious questions set in motion without prior reference to him and approval on his part. Nor should it by any means be overlooked that it was only with the greatest reluctance that the Catholics went to the conference, from which his Holiness thinks that Cervini could only go to Hagenau on their pressing invitation, and on their pledge being given that they would consent to no terms of union or agreement unacceptable to the Pope, Christ's Vicar. The same pledge must be given in writing by the Emperor and the King of the Romans, otherwise the Pope considers that the presence of Cervini or of any other Legate at the conference could be of no advantage to the Church. For the rest, the Pope wishes his representative to show charity not only to Catholics but to Lutherans also, to the learned as well as to the noble, and especially to the Princes, and to make known his desire that they should return to the unity of the Church: all without reproach or expression of dis-pleasure, for they are still sons of the Holy Father, although led into error, whom no man ought in any way to embitter.

On the 13th of July Farnese, writing to Cervini, stated strongly that Paul III, owing to the course hitherto taken by the assembly at Hagenau, could not yet determine to send Contarini thither, as he did not wish to risk the honour of the Holy See.

Contarini himself thoroughly approved the "weighty reasons" alleged by the Pope for his retention. "I shall always," he wrote, "be obedient to the Holy Father, who, in his great wisdom, best perceives the time for sending me."

The essential reason which withheld Paul III from sending either Contarini or Cervini to Hagenau was clearly given in a letter of July the 24th, from Cardinal Farnese to Morone, in which

he, at the same time, set forth the fundamental position of the Holy See towards the religious negotiations in Germany. From all that he heard of the Diet of Hagenau, especially concerning Ferdinand's proposals and efforts to secure an agreement at any price with the Lutherans, the Pope had renounced all hope of the Diet coming to a favourable issue, so that he was afraid of inflicting some fresh injury on the dignity of the Holy See, and, by the despatch of a Legate, of conferring a certain amount of authority on decisions which might easily turn to the advantage of the Lutherans.

However much, the letter goes on to say, Paul III may desire the real union and reconciliation of the Lutherans with the Church, he recoils quite as strongly from any guarantee of concessions from which only still greater harm and division would inevitably be introduced into religious affairs. For if one of the things claimed by the Lutherans as of positive right were conceded to them, and the other points belonging to the Catholic faith were left over for the decision of the Council, thereby the essential doctrines of our religion would at once be prejudiced ; for doubt would then also be cast on what the decisions of previous councils and the authority of so many saints have established. Moreover, if the meeting of the Council were much longer deferred, it would of necessity be very difficult to avoid further concessions to the Lutherans, since the latter, taking advantage of what they had already secured, would have a very favourable opportunity for leading the people astray on cardinal points of doctrine as well. Cardinal Farnese finally reminds Morone that a one-sided change in ecclesiastical customs, handed down by centuries of usage in all nations of Christendom, must give rise to grievous scandal.

A letter of the 19th of August from Farnese to Cervini shows how great was the Pope's dissatisfaction at the outcome of the Hagenau Conference. In clear and concise terms the dangers of such conventions are set out and the Legate enjoined to make efforts for the transference of religious questions from such assemblies to the Diet of the Empire, where the sound Catholic feeling of the Emperor would afford hope for better results. If Charles V did not act upon his representations, the Legate was at least to try and bring him to consent to a diminution in the number of disputants, so as to check the introduction of the more suspicious elements of debate. He must also ask the Emperor not to leave the choice of deputies merely to the Princes, and to provide that men of eminent learning like Eck and Pighius should take part in the deliberations, certainly, if possible, in the official number of disputants, or else as his representatives or in some other capacity. For the reasons already given, the Pope had renounced the idea of sending men of learning to the Diet, especially as his representatives might perhaps not even obtain admission or a hearing, and thus at the utmost be witnesses of decisions inimical to the Papacy, a danger which Ferdinand himself had in view when he advised the Pope not to send envoys to the assembly in any official capacity. Nevertheless, as a proof of goodwill, the Holy Father would have suitable persons in readiness should the case arise in which the Emperor wished to make use of their services in his own name or for the common good. Yet the Pope was cherishing a confident expectation that it would all come to nothing, and that the Emperor of his own accord would reject the conference.

This was certainly a vain hope. In spite of all Cervini's protests, Charles V, in the middle of August 1540, gave his assent to the conference on religion settled upon in the Recess of Hagenau; he declared, however, that the decisions of the latter were not to be finally binding, but would be referred to the decision of the Imperial Diet, which he hoped to attend. The Emperor further expressed his strong opinion that the dangers of religious discussion would be greatly lessened if the Pope would send a nuncio and his theologians to Worms, which the Recess of Hagenau certainly left him at liberty to do. If this were done, then he and his brother for their part

would also appoint commissaries who could then co-operate with the Pope's representatives in order to bring the negotiations to a satisfactory ending.

The Cardinal-Legate Cervini and the nuncio Poggio strongly advised the Pope, for the avoidance of greater dangers, to send a Legate, accompanied by competent theologians, to Worms. Cervini named Contarini as acceptable to all, and in a conversation with Granvelle, of which Poggio gives an account on the 10th of August, the former also suggested Contarini. "If the Pope does not decide to send a Legate and learned men," wrote Poggio, "to the conference, then the whole of Germany, indeed the whole of Christendom, will think that his Holiness does not trouble himself about religion and this nation, as many have already openly declared."

Paul III was in an extremely difficult situation. On the one hand, the reasons which had prohibited the mission of Contarini to Hagenau held equally good for the assembly appointed to be held at Worms; on the other hand, it seemed a very dangerous proceeding to let the development of ecclesiastical affairs in Germany take its own course and to accustom the princes and peoples more and more to the idea that even without the Pope the affairs of religion could be carried on.

Forbearance towards the fundamentally unsuccessful efforts of the two Hapsburgs was also called for by the miserable condition of divided Germany and the difficulty, nay, impossibility, of holding an oecumenical council under such conditions. To these circumstances was added yet another: in the teeth of much Protestant opposition, it had been settled in the Recess of Hagenau that the Emperor might invite Papal plenipotentiaries to Worms. Now, if the latter did not appear, it would look as if the Protestants in this matter had come out victorious, and the absence of Papal representatives would thus assume the character of their exclusion.

The Pope referred these difficult questions to the opinion of Cardinals Ghinucci, Contarini, and Aleander. The latter knew well that in order to avert the threatening dangers there was only one choice left, to send as quickly as possible a Legate to Germany. On the 5th of September they united in proposing that Contarini should be entrusted with the post. As his theological advisers they recommended the General of the Franciscan Conventuals, the Benedictine Abbot, Gregorio Cortese, the Master of the Sacred Palace, Tommaso Badia, Pietro Martire Vermigli, Pedro Ortiz, and Marcantonio Flaminio.

Contarini had already made preparations for his departure on the 6th of September in order first of all to visit the Pope at Viterbo, when, on the evening of the 5th, instructions from Farnese arrived that the three Cardinals might propose a prelate, not being a member of the Sacred College. Paul III was here meeting the wishes of Charles V, who, as Aguilar, the Imperial ambassador, had explained on September the 4th, wished a Cardinal-Legate only at the forthcoming Diet of the Empire, and at the Conference of Worms a simple prelate but with good qualifications. On the 6th of September their choice fell on Tommaso Campeggio, Bishop of Feltre.

The Pope had at first misgivings, as he was afraid that Campeggio, as brother of the Cardinal, might perhaps be looked upon unfavourably in Germany. He would have preferred to have sent Bishop Giberti of Verona, but most probably put his appointment aside as his French leanings would have made him the less acceptable to Charles. Finally, he nominated Tommaso Campeggio on the 1st of October as nuncio for the colloquy of Worms. His theologians were to be Gregorio Cortese, Tommaso Badia, the Frenchman, Pierre Girard, and the "Scottish Doctor," Robert Wauchope, Archbishop-designate of Armagh. Out of consideration for the Protestants the Orders had been excluded. In addition, the ordinary nuncios to Charles and Ferdinand, Morone and Poggio, were ordered to proceed to Worms.

Campeggio left Rome on the 8th of October; the instructions which he carried with him were couched in significant terms. Although it was not only impossible for the Pope to approve but even necessary for him to repudiate negotiations of this kind, in which religion was made the subject of debate, since they were set on foot without the consent of the Holy See, yet it was his desire to follow the example of Him of whom he was the unworthy representative, and who for the sake of mankind had brought down His majesty to the depths of humiliation. At Worms Campeggio was, in the first instance, to associate himself closely with Morone and to allow himself to be enlightened by the latter's thorough knowledge of German affairs. In his intercourse with Catholics whose faith was shaken he was recommended to observe the greatest caution; before all things Campeggio must be swift to hear and slow to speak. Faithful Catholics the nuncio will support and advise; towards Protestants also he will show friendliness and kindness and yet demonstrate by his whole behaviour that this conciliatory temper does not result from weakness or mistrust of his own cause, but from apostolic charity. Campeggio and his colleagues are not to enter into any disputations, since they have been sent not for the sake of verbal strife or to give decisions, but only to attend the assembly in compliance with the request of Charles and Ferdinand. To take counsel with the Catholics, to be peaceably disposed towards the Protestants, and to examine their projects judiciously, to receive all proposals of agreement solely for the purpose of fully reporting them pending the decision of Rome, and, finally, to take care that the position of the Church was not yet further impaired,—such was the task assigned to them at Worms.

The Emperor appointed his minister and most trusted counsellor Granvelle to act as commissary at Worms, and conferred upon him large discretionary powers. The functions of Presidents of the Estates were given to the nominees of the Electors of Mainz and of the Palatinate, of Duke Louis of Bavaria, and of the Bishop of Salzburg. Although Granvelle was known to be very conciliatory towards the Protestants, the latter showed no inclination on their part to make concessions. In a gathering of their theologians and statesmen at Gotha at the end of October, it was resolved, in opposition to the many tricks of "the Papists," to adhere simply and without further explanation to the articles of the Confession of Augsburg, to give way on no single point, and with regard to any concessions contained in the agreement of Augsburg, to dismiss them from their memory. The Elector John Frederick of Saxony expressly instructed his envoys that, in the event of any of the Protestant Estates declaring themselves ready to yield, they were to offer a steady opposition, regardless even of the possibility of schism. He commanded them to hold fast to the resolutions of Schmalkald, to decline the Council convoked by Paul III, and to repudiate any primacy of the Pope.

When Campeggio entered Worms on the 4th of November he found the beginning of negotiations was still a long way off. Having made his journey with sanguine hopes, he very soon found that the Protestants were making all their efforts, not to secure unity but to gain time in order to win over fresh adherents, wherein they derived great advantage from the exclusive character of their proceedings. Three things in particular, Campeggio thought, were obstacles to the return of the Protestants to obedience: their fear of the superior power of the Hapsburgs, concern lest, after reunion, they should have to contribute to the Turkish defence funds, and unwillingness to make restitution of Church property.

Granvelle, detained by affairs of state, did not reach Worms until the 22nd of November. On the 25th he opened the conference in the Emperor's name, with a speech exhorting to peace; to this a reply was made on the following day by Johann Gropper on behalf of both parties. Campeggio, on the advice of the Imperialists, was not present on the 25th, but contented himself with having his place reserved for him.

On the 27th Morone also arrived. The Protestants at once spread the report that he had come to put a stop to any plan of union. Even Granvelle shared this suspicion, which Morone, in a letter to Farnese on December the 5th, emphatically declared to be groundless. "If," he writes, "I now say, with just grounds for doing so, that we must proceed with caution, and if I refer to the unfriendly intentions of our opponents, by whom we have been disappointed up to the last, my remarks are taken to mean that I wish to put hindrances in the way of this conference."

These assurances on Morone's part found as little credence with Granvelle, who favoured, from political motives, an agreement at any price, as his warnings against the Protestant schemes. When he laid before the Imperialist minister a document throwing a sinister light on the aims of the Protestants, Granvelle questioned its authenticity, thereby disclosing that he thought Morone capable of a fabrication in order to upset the negotiations. The nuncio in reply said pointedly that the fraud was not on the Papal but on the Protestant side.

In order to quash the report that the Papal representatives wished to prevent the conference, Morone thought at first that it would be well if Campeggio were to address the Estates, exhorting them to religious peace. Granvelle shared this view, but afterwards hesitated from fear of offending the Lutherans, who might bring forward a violent protest against the Holy See. Even Morone, as well as Campeggio, became at last convinced that the advantages of such an appeal would not counterbalance the danger that might thereby be incurred. But when Granvelle once more changed his mind and urged Campeggio with all his might to address the Estates, the latter was weak enough to give in. On the 8th of December the wished-for oration was delivered. In substance it ran as follows: The bond of unity is love; this is the new law of our Lord, whereby His disciples are known. If this commandment had constantly been borne in mind, Germany would not have been visited for twenty years with accursed wrangling and strife, hatred and disunion, calumnies and blasphemies, war, bloodshed, and every form of misery. The Pope, burning to do away with this evil, had found entreaties, exhortations, embassies unavailing; the "free Christian Council" itself, summoned to Vicenza by Paul III, was ineffectual, for it was virtually unattended. This conference must now be the forerunner of the Council, and therefore I enjoin upon you peace and reconciliation.

In order to curry favour with the Protestants, Granvelle had assigned to Campeggio an inferior place; also, in the course of the address, he did not uncover his head, at the mention of the Pope's name, while he did so when that of the Emperor occurred. Campeggio, moreover, had to be a witness of the long deliberations in his presence over the answer to be given to his speech. Melancthon had prepared a sharp protest against the Pope's claim to decide on the religious question, and Granvelle had with difficulty prevented him from reading it. In the dry reply which Campeggio at length received he was simply informed that his Christian exhortation was acknowledged and that all would be done that was serviceable to the cause of peace. The Pope was not mentioned once, and when Campeggio at last withdrew he was followed by ironical laughter from the Protestants. Morone in indignation reported to Cardinal Farnese: "Unheard of! The Lutherans have succeeded in omitting all mention of the Pope as though he were the Turk, or, as they say, Antichrist." From the highly coloured account sent by Campeggio to Rome one would almost infer that he was perfectly unconscious of the humiliation and annoyance to which he had been exposed.

Campeggio's unfitness for the task entrusted to him is otherwise made evident. At first he was so completely possessed by his fatal illusions that Provost Hotfilter, of Lubeck, wrote: "The good prelate is under the impression that everything can be put right by easy manners and pleasant speeches." When Morone pointed out to him the harsh reality he was much annoyed. The

antagonism between the two Papal diplomatists became more and more apparent; Morone declared that he could not work together with Campeggio, and might also have pleaded on his own behalf that the latter alone was vested with full Papal authority. Morone, who felt deeply aggrieved, reproached Campeggio with imparting his counsels to anybody and everybody; and even if this and other accusations require to be considerably discounted, there yet can be no doubt that Campeggio was unequal to his post. Bishop Bernardo Santio of Aquila, who happened to be at Worms at the time, also came to the same conclusion.

While the actual representative of Paul III was thus reduced to play a very subordinate part in the conference, Morone's influence at Worms was great, although he kept strictly within the limits of his position as nuncio to Ferdinand I. In this capacity he left nothing undone to protect Catholic interests from further detriment, heedless of Granvelle's accusations that he was damaging the conference when, in pursuance of his duty, he called attention to the dangers inherent therein and endeavoured to safeguard the Catholics. As a thorough-going opponent of discussions on the truths of religion by mere theologians in which even laymen might participate, he adduced on every opportunity, in the most emphatic way, the disadvantages which must arise from such debates. But this was no reason for describing him as an opponent of any union whatever. Like his sovereign, the Pope, Morone undoubtedly was also in favour of union, but such a union only as was reconcilable with Catholic principles. This was the dividing line between his position and Granvelle's. The latter, for political reasons, was striving after a positive result, and therefore overlooked many things. Morone was also in diametrical opposition to many Catholic men of learning with whom, as he justly complained, the schemes of their secular masters were of paramount authority, and thus theology became subservient to human passions.

Morone's position was rendered still more difficult by the separation of the German from the Papal theologians, and by the appearance at Worms of the Bishop of Capo d' Istria, Pietro Paolo Vergerio, who intruded himself uninvited into the negotiations.

As Granvelle concurred in the slighting treatment of Campeggio, and indeed to a certain extent was its instigator, the Protestants boldly approached the preliminary discussions over the form of the conference with demands of a very comprehensive character. These concerned the notarial oath, the observance of secrecy as to the proceedings, and the submittal to the Emperor of the original acts of the conference. Since Granvelle, compliant on all other points—he still confirmed the continuance of Protestant preaching in Worms,—stood firm on these questions, the Protestants were obliged to give way.¹ Nevertheless, the Catholic position was a very precarious one; they were far from being united. Bavaria and Mainz were the only really staunch Catholic states; the other representatives of the old faith were mostly very lax—some openly evinced their leanings towards the new.

In Hagenau each of the two opposing parties was permitted to have eleven votes. While the Protestants had freedom of choice, Ferdinand at once designated the Catholic representatives. Their places were allotted accordingly: the three ecclesiastical Electors, Mainz, Treves, and Cologne, the Electors of Brandenburg and the Palatinate, the Dukes William and Louis of Bavaria, Duke William of Juliers, the Archbishops of Salzburg and Magdeburg, and, lastly, the Bishop of Strasburg. But the Elector of Brandenburg had now openly joined the Protestants, while the Elector Palatine and the Duke of Juliers were so strongly inclined to Lutheranism that hardly any doubt could exist as to their attitude. Thus there remained only eight Catholic votes, three more of which, at the same time, were not firmly Catholic; the Protestants could count on fourteen votes, if not more, for certain. Thus on a ballot of the twenty-two deputies the Catholics were bound to be completely outvoted. In order to prevent this, Morone made every effort in his power;

he proposed, instead of an oral conference, an interchange of written opinions, and was assiduous in impressing upon Granvelle the dangers accompanying an appeal to the vote. The Imperial minister could not turn a deaf ear to these representations; he therefore pronounced himself also in favour, in the first place, of written communications, and sought by means of separate consultations to unite the Catholic representatives in an orthodox declaration on the articles of belief first to be brought under consideration, relating to original sin and justification. This showed that the apprehensions with regard to Brandenburg, the Palatine, and Juliers were thoroughly justified; for their representatives now declared that their views on the articles in question were in agreement with those of the Protestants.

The latter were naturally anxious to secure this advantage ; they therefore refused to hear of any alteration of the Recess of Hagenau, and insisted on an open debate. At the end of December Morone was afraid that they would gain their point.

On the 30th of December Granvelle made, in fact, a fresh proposal indicative of a retreat. The eleven heads of each party were certainly to meet, but only one from each side was to speak and argue, in the name of all; the others were afterwards to be permitted to add somewhat to the speeches of their principal spokesmen.

The keen insight of Morone at once perceived the danger to the Catholic cause concealed in this proposal, as it left room for verbal negotiations and also indirectly for the dangerous recourse to the vote on questions of religious belief; he therefore plied Granvelle with earnest counter-arguments. With reference to the Lutheran sympathies of three out of the eleven Catholic representatives, he observed that the declarations of the chief spokesmen ought only to be supplemented by others if a majority of the party considered it necessary; also the supplementary points should be brought forward only by the chief speakers themselves. At first Granvelle refused to listen; although, he rejoined, learned canonists declared that a conference might be held in writing as well as by word of mouth, he still thought it best to adhere to the resolution of Hagenau, as was also the Emperor's wish. He had besides made his fresh proposal after consulting Campeggio, whose objections were by no means so strong as Morone's. As the conversation proceeded Granvelle grew more and more excited. Morone replied to him firmly and calmly. The result of the interview was a new proposal on Granvelle's part, on the 2nd of January 1541, in which the nuncio's fears were to a certain extent taken into account. Only members of the majority on each side would be allowed to add anything to the statements already made, in their name, by the chief speakers; the views of the minority would be transmitted to the Imperial commissary to be dealt with at his discretion.

Morone was at first completely set at rest by this turn of affairs, and had reported to Rome that the danger of the ballot was averted. Afterwards he had renewed apprehensions, which only to some extent disappeared on Granvelle's informing him that in the event of the conference taking a bad turn he could have it dissolved in a moment. In consequence of the Emperor's proximity he had only to obtain from him the written notification of what he thought necessary. Granvelle promised solemnly that in this contingency he would allow nothing to be done to the detriment of the Catholic cause.

On the 5th of January the Protestants accepted the proposal that the disputation should be conducted by each of the two chief speakers, but demanded that after they had spoken the rest of the deputies on both sides should be allowed to give utterance to their views. If this were agreed to, then the representatives of Brandenburg, the Palatinate, and Juliers would make open declaration of their Protestantism and thus their party would be able to boast themselves of the victory. The representatives of Bavaria and Mainz therefore declared such a concession

inadmissible, though Granvelle tried in vain to tranquillize them by new proposals. They went even further than Morone, with whom in other respects they were in closest understanding. Granvelle was in despair; as before, he threatened the Papal representatives even now with a national council, but this they saw was no more than a device to intimidate them.

In consequence of the obstinacy of the representatives of Bavaria and Mainz, Granvelle at last lost patience. He requested the Emperor on the 9th of January 1541 to send him the order to dissolve the assembly, as under the existing circumstances the conference could only make their differences more acrimonious.

Such a step had been expected by penetrating observers at the beginning of the year. Since Granvelle was certain that he would receive the wished-for mandate, he could now listen to all the suggestions made to him. How he succeeded in detail in overcoming all obstacles so that, at the last hour, the conference was yet enabled to make a start, is not known; probably Bavaria and Mainz were admitted into the secret. The Protestants declared themselves satisfied with the concession that all their deputies should be allowed to speak. Morone thought this would be favourable to the Catholic side, as in all probability there would be a recrudescence of the old controversy between Melanchthon and Bucer on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Against Melanchthon it was proposed to put up Eck as speaker; no one on the Catholic side would venture to rise in debate against him. In this way the danger was obviated of the Brandenburg, Palatine, and Juliers delegates giving vent to their Protestant views. Morone might assert with justifiable satisfaction that he had done all he could to avert the dangerous procedure of casting votes on matters of belief and to give another direction to affairs.

Thus on the morning of the 14th of January 1541 the conference on religion summoned for October the 28th, 1540, was able to make a beginning. The basis of discussion was the Confession of Augsburg, the language of debate the Latin tongue. Eck, who in the morning had already had a conversation with Campeggio, observed pertinently at the very outset that the copy of the Confession lying before them differed from that presented at Augsburg. Melanchthon tried to shelve this critical point by explaining, not entirely in conformity with the truth, that the discrepancies did not touch the sense but only the letter of the document.

Upon the first article of the Confession, on the Holy Trinity, there was unanimity; not so with regard to the second, on original sin. The disputation here turned particularly on the Protestant assertion that even the first wholly involuntary movements of concupiscence are actual sins.

After four days spent in heated controversy over original sin, Granvelle had a formula of agreement on this doctrine drawn up, on the 17th of January, by Eck, Mensing, Melanchthon, and Bucer, which was accepted by Catholics and Protestants, by the latter certainly with the reservation that with regard to the development and grounds of the dogma they appealed to the declarations of Melanchthon.

On the following day Granvelle made known the mandate of the Emperor, which in the meantime he had received, whereby the assembly of Worms was adjourned to the Imperial Diet at Ratisbon, where Charles in person intended to set his hand to the restoration of religious peace in Germany. A general feeling prevailed that a turning-point of great importance had been reached.

CHAPTER X.

THE MISSION OF CONTARINI TO GERMANY.—THE DIET OF RATISBON.

During the assembly at Worms a widespread conviction had gained ground that at the Diet of Ratisbon the Pope must be represented by a Cardinal-Legate with fuller authority or even by two Cardinals. Such a wish was expressed on the 15th of December 1540 by the Bishop of Aquila, Bernardo Santio, in a letter from Worms to Farnese and Cervini. After an interview with Granvelle, who had also asked for the presence of at least two Cardinals at the Diet, he remarks in another letter to Farnese of the same date, that no good result can be expected from the colloquium” or from the Imperial Diet if the Pope does not send thither some distinguished personage also acceptable to the Emperor; Farnese himself, for instance, or Cardinal Cervini or Ghinucci, or a man of the stamp of Carafa, or finally, Contarini or Sadoletto, in both of whom great confidence is placed in Germany.

Granvelle again recurred in conversation with Morone and Campeggio to the request that one or more Legates might be sent with more ample authority and powers. In this connection he made special mention of Contarini and Cardinal Fregoso. Even Morone himself insisted on the necessity of sending Legates, since the nuncios “did not suffice, and neither had enough favour nor prestige.” Campeggio and Poggio expressed the same opinion.

The Imperialists’ demand for Legates was certainly grounded on reasons other than those of the nuncio. The former wished for the presence of the Pope’s representatives with the fullest powers possible in order that they might confirm decisions in whatever way they were drawn up. On the contrary, Morone thought that only by the presence of the Legates could harmful and dangerous decisions be prevented, while mere nuncios could not bring the necessary influence to bear upon the Emperor.

Contarini, who throughout the whole duration of the assembly at Worms had been ordered to hold himself in readiness to depart on his mission, and to whom all reports of the nuncio from Worms had been made known, had in the meantime arrived in Rome before the last letter from Worms had reached there. Already on the 8th of January 1541 Farnese announced to the nuncio Poggio the Pope’s decision and the approaching departure of Contarini. On the 10th of January Paul III appointed the latter in consistory his Legatus a latere for Germany. The noble Venetian accepted the task joyfully; he had no competitor in Rome for the post, for this Legation was the most arduous of all; so much so that the envoy of the Duke of Ferrara thought it was almost impossible to bring it to an end with honour.

The appointment of Contarini—from the strictly ecclesiastical point of view in itself a great concession—shows that the Pope on his part was doing his utmost to enable Charles to bring the proposed negotiations to a happy issue. In the Imperial court at Spires the most sanguine expectations were cherished. Charles hoped that the purity of mind, the dignified bearing and the transparent sincerity of life of this eminent Cardinal would, without fail, impress the Protestants and induce them to make greater concessions than they had hitherto done; what was to be conceded the Imperialists did not divulge. Strange was the suggestion made by Granvelle to the Papal nuncio; he asked, in fact, that a sum of money should be sent to Germany by the Pope, so that in this way the Protestants might be enticed into a return to the Church. But Paul III refused, considering such a proceeding dangerous and far from honourable.

The confident expectations of the Imperialists regarding the outcome of the proceedings of Ratisbon were shared by Campeggio and Poggio, who in other respects as well cherished much too sanguine hopes of German affairs. Morone was of a very different opinion; before he left Worms he invited three of the most prominent Protestant preachers, Melancthon, Capito, and Sturm, to his house, and earnestly recommended to them unity and moderation, but in the course of the interview it was borne in upon him that they were resolutely averse to any steps towards union. It was also a sinister omen that when he reached Ratisbon on the 31st of January Morone found that not one of the princes had yet come thither.

The Emperor, detained by an attack of gout, reached Ratisbon on the 23rd of February, but was obliged to wait some time longer before the Estates assembled. From Granvelle's communications Morone received the impression that the Emperor would work for unification at any price, as he was anxious to obtain aid against the Turks.

To Campeggio, whose departure was fixed for the 25th of February, his presence at Ratisbon not being considered necessary, Morone drily remarked that he need inform the Pope of one thing only, that it would do no great harm to expect nothing from the approaching Diet. Morone abstained from stating the reasons for this pessimistic outlook, as he knew that Campeggio was possessed by diametrically opposite views, but on the same day he explained them in a letter to Farnese. The Emperor, he there declared, has not the power sufficient to settle the religious difficulties; besides, he is in pressing need of assistance against the Turks. To obtain this he must, first of all, in order to secure the peace of Germany, shut his eyes to many particulars affecting the Catholic cause, forgo the restitution of the confiscated Church property, and suspend the high courts, or at least admit Protestants to their deliberations. In questions of religion, on which the Emperor was dependent on his ministers and which in many points he did not even clearly understand, he would unite with the Protestants on the so-called positive articles and endeavour to bring the Legates and the Pope to acquiesce, but agreement on the essential article he would relegate to a Council, the holding of which would be very doubtful. Thus in a short time, under the outward semblance of success, the ruin of religion and of the entire discipline of the Church would ensue.

A few days before, Wauchope had also warned Farnese from Nuremberg of the dangers of the religious conferences. The past had taught them that the Protestants encouraged such negotiations only as levers for further apostasy from the Church and as means of facilitating the capture of the people to doctrines which were publicly avowed and defended.

That Morone and Wauchope did not take too gloomy a view is evident from the fact that even the Venetian ambassador Marino Giustiniano came to the same conclusion. In his very interesting report on the Emperor's position this acute observer remarks as follows: Three members of the Electoral College are favourably disposed towards the new ecclesiastical order:

Brandenburg openly, the Elector Palatine and the Archbishop of Cologne secretly. The position of four others is such that they would never consent to a compact of union; they are the two Dukes of Bavaria, their brother, the Archbishop of Salzburg, and, lastly, Cleves. The three first are good Catholics and would do all for their faith, but at the same time nothing is more antagonistic to them than the Emperor's power. Since, then, an increase of strength to the latter would be the immediate result of the unification of Germany, they will make every effort to render such unification impossible, and that indeed all the more as they hope, in the intestine war which would subsequently break out, to make themselves masters of the cities of Ratisbon and Augsburg. There-fore the Ratisbon conference will either lead to no unification or else to some result injurious to the Pope.

Morone was also well acquainted with the motives by which the Bavarian Dukes were led to their hostile attitude towards any agreement. Therefore, in his interviews with them at Ratisbon, he maintained the same reserve as in his intercourse with the French ambassador, who was at the same time pursuing similar objects for political reasons. When the Bavarians spoke plainly to Morone of the necessity for employing force he replied that, as they themselves acknowledged that everything depended on the Emperor's will, they yet might use their influence in such a way as to enable him to declare his will and to bring the lukewarm bishops of Germany, who thought only of their momentary tranquillity, into some sort of union.

To the Emperor also the Bavarian Dukes made no concealment of their conviction that to proceed by way of conferences on religion was a complete failure. In support of this view they could adduce that in authoritative Protestant circles any reconciliation with the Pope met with root-and-branch opposition. A special example was the Elector John Frederick of Saxony; in spite of all the Emperor's advances he refused to come to Ratisbon; he instructed his envoys to reject any accommodation with the "murderous, idolatrous" Catholics and on no points, not even those that were neutral, to give in. Melancthon, whose pliability John Frederick feared, was appointed from the political point of view of the Saxon Electorate.

Charles V could console himself for the absence and implacable attitude of the Elector by the fact that two other powerful Protestant princes disclosed an apparent leaning towards a friendly settlement; they were the Elector of Brandenburg, Joachim II, and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

Joachim II on intruding the new ecclesiastical institutions into his territories had still retained much that was Catholic and even at a later period followed a middle course. His representatives appointed for Hagenau were instructed not to attach themselves to the Protestants. At Worms also they sat with the Catholics, although on the doctrine of justification by faith they were ordered to adhere unconditionally to the Lutheran definition. On the Emperor's summons Joachim repaired to Ratisbon, making his entrance there on the 13th of April. It is indeed impossible to say how far he was in genuine sympathy with the Emperor's attempts at a settlement; in any case Charles knew that, as circumstances required, much might be expected from the zealous services of this Hohenzollern.

The Landgrave of Hesse, afraid that the Emperor might inflict upon him the penalties incurred by his bigamous marriage, had entered into secret negotiations with Granvelle and declared his readiness to support Charles against the Turks and other external enemies and to observe neutrality in the question of Guelders. The adroit Granvelle insisted on an agreement with Charles's policy of ecclesiastical reunion as an accessory. Thus in the middle of December 1540 there took place at Worms a secret conference on religion between Bucer and Capito on the one side and Johann Gropper and the Imperial secretary, Gerhard Veltwick, on the other, the result of

which was the draft of a formula of agreement. In this document a compromise on the doctrines of original sin and of justification appeared to have been found. Granvelle hoped that, in like manner, an accommodation might be reached on the remaining articles. Not until the 5th of January 1541, after Philip had given notice of his consent to the Congress at Worms, did he receive the declaration of the Imperial favour that he had so greatly longed for; but the Landgrave had to pledge himself to put in a personal appearance at the Diet of Ratisbon. Thus Charles was entitled to hope that he had won over to his schemes one of his most dangerous opponents and the most turbulent of the Protestant princes. The Elector Joachim II, to whom Bucer, without naming the authors, had shown the draft agreement of Worms, also declared himself to be in substantial agreement.

In this way it seemed to the Imperialists that a basis had been found on which the negotiators of Ratisbon could build further with greater success than, as at Worms, by confining themselves within the limits of the Confession of Augsburg, which was indeed the very apple of discord and the acceptance of which by the Catholics could not be assumed after it had once been rejected by their theologians and Charles V.

It was now of the greatest importance how Contarini would act with reference to the new plans of reunion.

The Cardinal had left Rome on the 28th of January. The Pope, wrote Farnese to Poggio on the same day, had only sent the Cardinal in order to meet the Emperor's wishes; the Legate was fully informed of everything. This can only apply to oral communications, for the written instructions, dated the 28th of January, were not sent to the Cardinal until after his departure.

In these important and carefully considered papers the Pope dwells on his earnest wish to allay the religious strife in Germany but, as was intelligible from the Catholic standpoint, refuses to confer on the Legate, as wished by the Emperor and his brother, full and unlimited powers to conclude an agreement with the Protestants, whose demands are still not precisely known, but according to current reports it must be assumed that concessions would be required to which no Legate, nor indeed the Pope himself, could for a moment assent, without imperilling the salvation of souls and without causing general scandal, before the verdict of other nations had been given in a General Council. Nevertheless, the instructions did not exclude any negotiations whatever. Inquiry must first be made whether those who have lapsed from the Church are still in agreement with the Catholics on matters of principle, so that on this basis efforts may be made to come to an understanding on the remaining points of controversy. Among such principles the Pope includes the divine institution of the Primacy, the Sacraments, and some other points resting on the authority of Holy Scripture and the unchanging practice of the whole Church, and known to Contarini. This indefiniteness was deliberate; it left the Cardinal a certain freedom of action and cleared the way for the possibility of good results.

The points, the instructions go on to say, on which agreement is impossible must be produced before the Holy See, to await decision in a General Council or in some other similar way. While Contarini points out to the Emperor this way of unification, he is at the same time to back up in every way the conclusion of peace with France, by which the pacification of Germany and the repulse of the Turks are conditioned.

If this peace is not attainable and the Emperor shows himself ready to win over the Protestants by inadmissible concessions regardless of God's honour and the authority of the Apostolic See, despite his repeated promises to the contrary, then Contarini must oppose him with all his power, and with this object in view demand a General Council as the surest remedy against

heresy and schism. As champion of the Church, the Emperor was in duty bound to promote the meeting of the Council, so serviceable to the cause of general peace and the defeat of Turkish invasion, rather than to commit himself to measures which in the eyes of the Church are destructive. Should the Emperor nevertheless persist in such measures, Contarini must then boldly, yet in measured language, raise his protest against them, declaring them null and void of authority, and leave Ratisbon; not, however, without a fresh Papal mandate, withdrawing himself from the Imperial court. In the same way he must raise objection if the Emperor should permit any action to be taken against the faith on the pretext that the final decision is reserved to the forthcoming council, or should agree to the demand, often put forth, for a German national council. Such an assembly, whereby the Lutherans might easily carry through their erroneous doctrines, would have to be refused even though the Germans were under the authority of the Pope and it was proposed to hold it in the presence of a Legate and with the assistance of theologians of other nations.

With regard to his intercourse with his opponents, Contarini was left a free hand to influence them in a conciliatory manner without betraying fear or rousing suspicion of any wish to deceive.

Owing to an unfavourable season, Contarini's journey was attended by many difficulties. Florence was reached on the 5th of February, and on the 8th he made his way over the snow and ice of the Apennines to Bologna, where he rested a few days. In Verona, which he reached on the 14th, he stayed a few days with his friend Giberti, and four days later with Madruzzo at Trent. Here at last he received the looked-for instructions and a letter from Farnese of February the 20th. This supplemented the instructions on two points: with regard to the Catholic League, Contarini was to make known that the Pope not only wished it to be maintained but strengthened, and was as ready as ever to do all in his power in this direction. The Legate, however, was only to touch on this point if the Emperor first opened the subject, so as not to arouse a suspicion that the Holy See was more favourable to the settlement of the disputes in Germany by force than by the Council. With regard to the second point, the payment of the 50,000 scudi asked for by Granvelle as a bribe for the Protestants, Farnese stated that the Pope thought this a dangerous expedient, and one that was far from honourable, but he was willing to yield so far to the renewed solicitations of the Emperor as, in the event of a successful reconciliation of the Protestants, to become responsible for any sums expended on this object up to the amount of the proposed 50,000 scudi; this, however, only upon the condition of the Emperor acting on his own initiative and in his own name in the matter and making no mention of the Pope. Further, the Cardinal-Legate was once more reminded to take great care in conferring graces to avoid even the semblance of venality. Contarini was to prevent the intended exclusion of Eck from the conference by the Protestants, and yet, should the negotiations take a favourable course, to induce this violent controversialist to show some corresponding moderation in his disputations.

After crossing the Brenner Pass, on which the snow still lay deep, Contarini reached Innsbruck on the nth of March, where, in accordance with his wishes, he was received without any ceremony.

On the following day Poggio also arrived in Innsbruck. From him Contarini learned that the Emperor had already taken up his residence in Ratisbon, but that he had still to await the coming of the princes. Although under these circumstances there was no need for special haste, the Cardinal left Innsbruck on the same day and travelled by Rosenheim and Erding to Landshut. Here, at the Emperor's request, he had to halt, as the preparations for his solemn entry into Ratisbon as Legate were not yet finished. This took place on the 12th of March; early in the

afternoon of the following day he had an audience, accompanied by Morone and Poggio. The Cardinal unfolded the object of his mission, and expressed his readiness to support the Emperor with all his power in the religious pacification of Germany. At the close of the audience Morone presented a Papal brief by which he was accredited as nuncio in Poggio's place.

Contarini had come to Ratisbon full of zeal and ani-mated by the most sincere intention to do all in his power to allay the religious confusion in Germany. Peacemakers are for the most part inclined to optimism, since under the sway of one enthusiastic idea they overlook, or are only slightly affected by, the difficulties of which the actual world is full. Of such was Contarini. Possessed by the best intentions and the most ideal aspirations, he was too much inclined to presuppose in others the existence of those dispositions by which he himself was directed. Luther's teaching, which he had not studied deeply, he judged far too leniently and therefore incorrectly. He could not and would not believe that the noble German nation had lost the way to religious unity and that the schism instigated by the evil enemy was past cure. "Even in the most desperate circumstances," he wrote to Eck, who had represented to him the futility of conferences on religion, "the Christian ought not to abandon hope, since he must go on hoping even against hope, and being ever mindful of the words of St Paul: 'I rejoice in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may be made manifest in me, through whom I become strong wherein I was weak.' So also must we, the less hope we have in man, trust the more to the Divine Providence and the compassion of Christ. He Himself whose very word is true has promised to be with us to the end of the world. But it is our duty to continue steadfast in prayer to the God of peace and unity, that He may send down His Holy Spirit from heaven into our hearts and restore again the unity of His Church. Therefore I believe it is our part to strive, by goodwill and well-doing, to put our opponents to shame, or bring them to think shame of themselves for separating from brethren who are filled with love. Thus must we do, and leave the issues to God".

It cannot be denied that Contarini at first did not sufficiently grasp the character and impetus of the Protestant movement, and therefore underestimated the difficulties standing in the way of the restoration of concord. He was confirmed in his optimism by the agreement on the doctrine of original sin arrived at at Worms. "I hope to God," he wrote, on hearing of it, to Farnese from Bologna on the 12th of February, "that the eternal differences may not again interpose themselves; as I have often told the Pope, the disagreements on essentials were not so serious as many supposed. Would to God that many had never taken up their pens on behalf of the Catholic cause, doing thereby more harm than good."

The political obstacles standing in the way of reunion confronted Contarini at Ratisbon, especially in his dealings with the Bavarian Dukes, the Elector of Mainz, Albert of Brandenburg, and the Duke of Brunswick. These rejected both "colloquium" and Council, and called for armed intervention. The attempts of these irreconcilables to win over the Legate to their schemes were doomed to failure, for Contarini knew as well as Morone that not zeal for religion but longing for greater political power was the impelling motive behind the demands of this group of princes. The Legate could not, indeed, venture to estrange such powerful personages; he therefore observed towards them the greatest courtesy and circumspection. By pursuing a tranquillizing policy he hoped to be able to overcome this difficulty also.

The position of the Legate towards the Imperialists was not less embarrassing; these were directly opposed to the Bavarian standpoint, and hoped by peaceable tactics to secure an agreement with the Protestants.

In this perplexed condition of affairs Contarini determined, in conjunction with Morone, to enter on a *via media* : the Imperialists must be withheld from making lavish concessions, injurious

to the welfare of the Church, in their politically motivated efforts after a settlement at any price; Bavaria and the allied princes must be dissuaded from their schemes of war which, under existing circumstances, would be fraught with peril.

Other dangers, however, threatened the work of unification. King Francis was as assiduous as ever in his scheme for creating a league of German princes, under the protective suzerainty of France, with the object of upholding what the Emperor's enemies were pleased to call the liberties of Germany.

With this aim before him he instructed one ambassador at Ratisbon to warn the Protestants, and another the Catholics, against coming to any agreement. The Turkish trouble also exercised an unfavourable influence on the negotiations at Ratisbon, as the Protestants were only thereby encouraged to make larger claims. Moreover, the relations between the Emperor and the Pope became troubled on account of the rising of the Colonna, which the Neapolitan viceroy favoured, while Charles strongly recommended indulgent treatment of the rebels.

At the beginning of April a sufficient number of princes and envoys had arrived to admit of the opening of the Diet on the 5th of the month. The Count Palatine Frederick as President read the Imperial proposition. Contarini by his firmness had succeeded at the eleventh hour in having adequate recognition of the authority of the Holy See introduced into this document.

The proposition took a retrospective survey of the Emperor's endeavours to heal the religious divisions and proposed to entrust to him, without prejudice to the Recess of Augsburg, the choice of certain learned and peace-loving men from the moderate section of each party; the latter would once more examine the controverted articles of religion and report to him the points on which they were in agreement, whereupon he would inform the Papal Legates and determine on the further course to be pursued.

The extremists on both sides felt great distrust of the Emperor's claim to appoint collocutors. On the Protestant side the opposition was led by Saxony and Wurtemberg, on the Catholic by Bavaria and Mainz; but in the one case as in the other counsels of moderation prevailed. Charles was only to concede that no one should be nominated against whom it was possible to raise any objection. Of this condition no use was made, as the Emperor on the 21st of April nominated on the Protestant side Melancthon, Bucer, and the Hessian preacher Johann Pistorius; on the Catholic, Gropper, the Bishop-elect of Naumberg, Julius Pflug, and Eck. Gropper and Pflug were known to be middle-course theologians; Contarini and Morone had insisted on the addition of Eck. The presidency of the conference was assigned to Granvelle and the Count Palatine Frederick. The latter, like the nominees of the Emperor, was suspected of partiality to the new doctrines. As the same assertion was made, probably unjustly, against Pflug and Gropper also, the Catholics felt uneasy. Not merely Morone, but Contarini as well, was afraid that if the majority of the theologians should agree on some erroneous doctrine the Germans would take their part and all his subsequent protests would be fruitless. The Legate therefore took up the position of insisting on daily information as to the course of the negotiations, to which the Emperor, in accordance with the promise already given by him, had to consent.

At last, on the 23rd of April, Charles V ordered the Legate, under the seal of the strictest silence, to be made acquainted, as the work of theologians of the Netherlands, with the draft of an agreement secretly prepared to take the place of the Confession of Augsburg as the basis of negotiation. This document, known later as the "Book of Ratisbon," was the outcome of secret promises entered into at Worms in December 1540. In three-and-twenty articles the most important points of controversy were dealt with as gently as possible. The whole, emanating

chiefly from Gropper, placed the doctrines on which there was a common belief in the foreground, while the differences were toned down as much as possible or passed over. Many doctrines were upheld in the Catholic sense, yet in so Protestant a garb or in one so capable of a Protestant interpretation that in case of necessity even that party could find the formulae satisfactory.

Contarini pointed out objections to the draft in more than twenty instances, to which Gropper at once yielded, from which it was supposed that he was the author of the document. Contarini declared that in this form the document did not displease him, but he gave this only as his private opinion, which might easily err. At the request of the Imperialists the document was also shown confidentially to Contarini's theological adviser Tommaso Badia and to the three Catholic collocutors.

The revision was then returned to the Emperor and by him on the 27th of April, at the opening of the conference, laid before the collocutors. Melanchthon seemed inclined to reject it, but gave way, remarking that it was Eck's intention to assume the role of opposer. The latter, from some strange infatuation, would have preferred to have treated on the basis of the Augsburg Confession. "From zeal for religion," wrote Morone, "or from dislike of his opponents or on account of his hitherto assured position as protagonist against the Lutherans, or perhaps relying on his memory, his talents, and his learning, he sought to assume a sort of sovereign and judicial authority in the deliberations and showed himself, to the disapproval of all men, more than necessarily contentious."

At this critical moment Contarini intervened. By gentleness, wisdom, and learning he succeeded in moderating Eck's impetuous zeal. He also obtained such an influence over the two other disputants that they allowed themselves to be guided by his theological directions. Granvelle willingly agreed that every morning Pflug, Gropper, and Eck, before going to the conference, should visit the Legate for an hour in order to place themselves in agreement with him regarding the coming subjects of discussion. Morone also and Granvelle and, at times, Badia took part in these deliberations.

The Imperialists were highly satisfied with Contarini's activity, yet on all sides his influence was used to reconcile and mitigate men's tempers. Even the Protestants were not long able to withstand the force of his personality and example. "Contarini's manner of life and that of his companions was such that the Pope's enemies were in amazement," says Negri. A great impression was made, in particular, by the Cardinal's rejection for himself and his officials of all graces and preferments. "The Legate," wrote Morone, "increases in favour every hour, and Granvelle as well as the other ministers say that God in His goodness has created him for this very purpose; for he displays the greatest gentleness, sagacity, and learning, surpassing in the last respect all others here in the general opinion, so that even his opponents are beginning not only to love but to reverence him."

Contarini was, in fact, assiduous in smoothing the way, where it was possible, for better relations with the Protestants. Not only the strict Lutheran, Johann Sturm, and the apostate Dominican, Bucer, were the objects of his kind and friendly solicitations, but also with the Protestant princes, especially the powerful Elector of Brandenburg, he strove to establish amicable communications. All his behaviour to those who differed from him in religion was founded on mildness and conciliation. With a scrupulousness which almost amounted to anxiety he endeavoured to avoid everything which might hurt the feelings or rouse the animosity of those severed from the Church; thus he even refrained from announcing the Jubilee Indulgence granted by Paul III to supplicate the Divine help in the work of unification. In his letters he never ceased to insist that the Protestants must be met with love, gentleness, and friendliness;1 although at the

same time he certainly dwelt on the necessity of firmness and determination. Throughout the whole course of the Diet of Ratisbon he was consistent to these principles. It was due to him that the beginning of the conference was favourable beyond expectation. He bridled Eck's impetuosity with such success that Melanchthon, who had counted on the opposition of this passionate opponent, remarked, "If Eck were to fight in his usual fashion, he would be doing our work for us."

The first four articles of the "Book of Ratisbon," dealing with the original state of man, of free-will, of the origin of sin and of inherited sin, gave rise to no serious difficulties. But over the fifth article, in which the doctrine of justification was set forth at length, the controversy was sharp. The statement of this important doctrine as contained in the "Book of Ratisbon" was opposed by Eck as well as by Melanchthon. The disputation became open; more than one formula was produced without any agreement being reached. Suddenly, on the 2nd of May, a fresh scheme was offered for acceptance. In this formula of unification, one-third of which emanated from Gropper, Catholic and Protestant views were curiously combined by the assumption of a duplicated justice; together with the inherent justice of which, according to the Catholic teaching, men become partakers through the grace of Christ, a yet higher justice, that of Christ Himself, becomes necessary in order to attain perfect renewal, this latter being given and imputed to men through faith.

Contarini agreed with this doctrine of a duplicate justice, first formulated by Pighius and then more widely disseminated by his disciple Gropper, as it was in harmony with his own views, had been advanced by theologians of undoubted catholicity, and appeared to offer the only possible means of healing the German schism; the deviation from the old theology and the traditional terminology did not, however, escape him; he therefore sent the formula to his friend, and at the same time appended to it an explanation. The Cardinal's mind was all the more set at rest as Morone also considered the formula beyond suspicion and Pflug and Badia likewise assented to it; Eck alone had objected, and afterwards he gave in.

On the 3rd of May Contarini wrote to Farnese: "God be praised ! Yesterday the Catholic and Protestant theologians came to an agreement on the doctrine of justification. I, Morone, Badia, Eck, Gropper, and Pflug hold the formula to be Catholic and correct. Pighius also and Cochlaus are of this opinion." At the same time the Legate requested the Pope to give his.

So great was the joy at unanimity having been reached on a point of doctrine, divergence on which was of capital importance, that even calm and experienced men overlooked the equivocal terminology of the agreement and believed that at last the work of peace had borne fruit. It seemed as if the impossible were in the act of realization, the mediation of Contarini had reconciled Rome and Wittenberg. Even the sceptical Morone thought on the 3rd of May that the documents sent by the Legate to the Pope might afford the latter "comfort and beget in him a hope" that the remaining difficulties might be overcome, although many a knotty point had yet to be negotiated.

The justness of this observation was made evident when the next, but not less important, article on the authority of the Church came under consideration. Controversy was here particularly animated, for one of the roots of the religious schism was probed. Together with the question of jurisdiction, the doctrine of the Church was the very point of difference by which the real character of the new ecclesiastical system was most clearly revealed. The Protestants, with Melanchthon at their head, insisted before all else on the liability even of councils to err; only in so far as the decisions of a council were based on a right understanding of God's word had they any binding

authority on men. As the Catholics were unable to assent to a proposition so destructive of the foundations of faith, the settlement of the question 'was left unsolved.

The doctrine of the Primacy ought now to have come up for discussion. But Contarini, contrary to Eck's opinion, wished this article also to be shelved for a while; in the first place, because he thought it would be a lesser evil if the negotiations were to miscarry on the question of the Sacraments rather than on that of the Primacy, and also because he hoped that if unanimity were reached on other points, the tempers of their opponents would be mollified and they would be more amenable to the acceptance of this doctrine also. Contarini dreaded nothing more than that the negotiations should be wrecked on this point, since, in that case, all the odium of failure would fall on the Holy See, whereas it was precisely the Cardinal-Legate's chief object in trying to open the way for a genuine peace, to demonstrate the good-will of the Roman See towards the Protestants throughout the whole proceedings.

In the discussion on the Sacraments in general, as well as on such special points as holy orders, baptism, and confirmation, no differences of importance arose. But at the fourteenth article, treating of the Sacrament of the Altar, a critical stage was reached. It was now seen that the Protestants not only rejected the term "transubstantiation"—the definition of the change in the eucharistic elements laid down by the Fourth Lateran Council,—but with it also denied the essential nature of the Sacrament, viz. the true change of the substance of the bread and the wine into the body and the blood of Christ, a denial which was, moreover, closely linked with a fresh heresy, wherein it was asserted that the body of Christ was only present for communicants, and therefore that the veneration of the Blessed Sacrament was idolatrous. Contarini was all the more astonished at these errors as he had found no trace of them either in the Confession or the Apologia of Augsburg. Hitherto he had carried his compliancy to its furthest limits, and had strongly insisted on the necessity of avoiding those controversial questions on which Catholic divines themselves were not at one, *eg.* the superiority of the Council to the Pope, and of keeping exclusively to ground common to both sides. But when the attempt was made to call once more in question a fundamental doctrine of the Church, the doctrine of transubstantiation as formulated by an oecumenical council, he stood forth without hesitation in support of Catholic truth.

Granvelle and the Emperor himself did not at all sufficiently appreciate the importance of this doctrine, which Contarini felt so deeply. The proposal that he should be satisfied with the declaration that Christ is really and personally present in the Blessed Sacrament, and that all the rest should be left to the decision of the Council, he emphatically rejected. His aim, he declared, was the establishment of the truth; but this, in the instance under discussion, was so clearly expressed in the words of Christ and of St. Paul, and had been laid down by all the doctors and theologians of the Church, ancient and modern, as well as in the decrees of a famous Council, that he could not in any way consent to its being made once more a matter of doubt. If union were unattainable on this doctrine, the foundations of which were already laid, then the future course of events must be committed to the goodness and wisdom of God, but there must be no deviation from the truth. When the Cardinal was advised to give way on this one point, in which the controversy centred only round a word and was therefore a mere logomachy, he declined such counsels; much more was he convinced that under the pretext of merely rejecting one word an attempt was being made to delete the idea of which that word was the symbol. He was fully in the right when he recalled the Arians and the Council of Nicaea, where also the debate had turned upon a single word. The Papal Legate perceived clearly that this one word betokened a cardinal doctrine of the Church to which men were bound to be faithful unto death.

Contarini, trusting without doubt in the justice of his cause, had at first indulged in exaggerated hopes of the outcome of the Ratisbon deliberations; he had represented to himself the doctrinal differences as much less than they were in reality. It was not until the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist came under discussion that he saw clearly in their full compass the colossal difficulties standing in the way of religious unity. While hitherto he had believed that the ailments which clung to the Church owed their tenacity to the mistaken treatment of previous physicians, he now saw that the seat of the evil really lay much deeper. He did not delay at once to set forth his conviction in his despatches to Rome. “Unless God works a miracle,” he wrote on the 13th of May, “the self-opinionativeness and obstinacy of the Protestant theologians will make agreement impossible.” To the timid Catholic collocutors Gropper and Pflug, as well as to Granvelle, Contarini declared with great frankness that he saw that the difference with the Protestants was a difference about things, and that therefore no unification could be found in words. He personally had no wish for an illusory peace, a mutual betrayal, nor would he suffer the doctrine of the Church to be made ambiguous by a multiplicity of words; he was resolved not to move an inch from Catholic truth.

The Protestants were not less tenacious of their errors; even the proposal that the doctrine of transubstantiation should be tolerated in Catholics if they abstained from reservation and worship of the Blessed Sacrament, met with no acceptance by the majority.

Granvelle was beside himself at this unfortunate turn in the negotiations; he addressed the most serious remonstrances to the Protestants; the Emperor would not submit peaceably to be treated, together with all his predecessors and all the subjects of his empire, as an idolator. But all was in vain; Melancthon was firmly resolved that the conference should be broken up rather than that transubstantiation should be acquiesced in. On the 13th of May the deliberations on the Sacrament of the Altar had to be suspended.

Fresh differences revealed themselves when the four collocutors—in consequence of Eek’s illness Pistorius was also included—on the 14th of May entered on the discussion of the Sacrament of Penance. Contarini, taught by what had gone before, now kept a sharp look-out that no words should be adopted into the terms of the agreement capable of being understood in a Catholic as well as a Protestant sense. He wished a genuine, honourable peace, not a mere verbal agreement; therefore, because he was afraid that the Emperor might not be sufficiently informed on the actual position of affairs, he had an audience on the 15th of May at which Morone was also present. “Up till now,” he said, “the two parties had been divided as to the two most important Sacraments, the Eucharist and Penance, and the Protestants had brought forward with regard to both great errors of doctrine; if they would not renounce them, an agreement was impossible.” At the same time, he urged upon the Emperor the disadvantages of a trumped-up peace; he suggested that, in his opinion, further measures should be taken against the Protestants.

The Emperor, to whom Contarini’s outspoken bearing was displeasing, vouchsafed no reply to this latter observation. He admitted that he was no theologian, but insisted on Granvelle’s information that the whole matter turned only on the one word transubstantiation; in spite of everything he thought that it would be more reasonable to persevere and to get as many concessions as possible from the Protestants, for although it was an easy matter to break up the conference, and one that could be effected at any time, yet it was a step incurring serious consequences. Contarini assured him that he was also longing for an agreement, but he held it to be his duty to set forth the real position of affairs and the actual significance of the religious differences; once more he dwelt on all that was involved in the one word transubstantiation, and pre-sented a memorial explanatory of his own position.

The principles upon which Contarini acted were laid down by him on the following day in a letter to Farnese. First of all, he said, the verity of the Faith must be upheld; secondly, there must be no yielding to the inducement to express Catholic doctrine in equivocal terms, a proceeding certain to lead only to greater dissension; thirdly, steps must be taken to convince Germany and Christendom at large that the strife proceeds neither from the Holy See nor from the Emperor, but from the obdurate adherence of the Protestants to their errors. These incisive words, coming from one as lenient and placable as Contarini, carried twofold weight. The Cardinal-Legate was thus emphatic because he had arrived at the conviction that the Protestants could make no appeal on behalf of their Eucharistic teaching to any ground of probability, let alone to any doctrinal author-ity, but solely and simply to their own arbitrary opinion.

A further hindrance of importance in the way of agreement was, as Contarini correctly perceived, the dependent position of the Protestant theologians.

That the actual decision lay not with the latter but with the princes became more and more evident to Granvelle and the Emperor. They therefore resolved to make earnest representations to the latter, but permitted the theological discussions to proceed. Their course, however, was such that the hope of an agreement became fainter and fainter. The article dealing with Church discipline and government gave rise to vehement debate. Melanchthon had no share in the views of the extreme right of his party—although a year before he had spoken in favour of the full retention of episcopal authority,—but was at the service of the Elector of Saxony, who was the decided opponent of the ecclesiastical power of the bishops; he therefore thought himself bound to stand firm on this point, although thus brought into contradiction with his previous declarations. His position became more and more singular, so that he was brought into conflict with even the members of his own party.

The “wrangling” was more violent than ever when the invocation of saints, the mass, celibacy, and the monastic life came under discussion. On all these points the Protestants presented counter-articles. During the discussion they purposely overlooked the temperate tone in which the “Ratisbon Book” expounded the contentious doctrines, they constantly reiterated the old accusations of abuses of indulgences, in the veneration of the saints, and so forth. If the Catholics admitted the particular abuses, they were none the less dissatisfied; for in that case they found everything to be still in such a state of darkness that the roots of such abuses still remained. When the Catholics agreed that a reformation was of the highest necessity, the Protestants replied that the best reformation would consist in the entire abolition of the monasteries. Things grew more and more hopeless, for Melanchthon, in accordance with the will of his master, the Saxon Elector, showed on almost all points the greatest inflexibility.

Naturally the Catholic collocutors also lost patience little by little, and carried on the controversy with a greater degree of stubbornness than they had shown at first.

On the 22nd of May the disputations ended, and on the 31st the “Ratisbon Book” was returned to the Emperor and the Protestant counter-articles presented to him, which dealt in part directly with the most important doctrines of faith. That theological discussions, taken generally, were not remedies for religious discord was shown also in the fate of the article on justification, the only one on which completely harmonious assent had been reached. The Saxon Elector was highly dissatisfied with the “prolix and botched-up affair.” Luther had chimed in with this view on the 10th of May 1541; he would suffer the formula provisionally only on a declaration from the Catholics that hitherto they had taught another doctrine, and he tried to dissuade the Elector from attending the Diet of the Empire unless he wished to come to terms with the Devil himself! Gropper and Pflug, however, represented to the Emperor that the formula would require much

ampler explanation in order to bring it into correspondence with the doctrine of the Catholic Church. The leaders of the middle party showed thereby that they were not capable of bringing about an agreement. Although Rome had not as yet spoken, still, under this position of affairs, there was no longer any doubt that the conference was a complete failure.

Even Contarini's hopes were dwindling down, as the Protestants clung obstinately to some entirely erroneous assertions. "I am vexed to the soul," he wrote, "to see things thus hurrying on the road to ruin." The one thing that brought him consolation in the midst of failure was that at least the Holy See was not held culpable for the frustration of the attempt at union, as the article in dispute did not concern the Primacy or any other matter concerning which private interest might be presupposed. What more was to be done he set forth at length on the 29th of May in a letter to Farnese. As the primary cause of the establishment of Lutheran views not merely in the hearts of Protestants but also in the brains of those who still called themselves Catholics, he specified the seductions of novelty and the congeniality of the new doctrines to men of this world, with its abrogation of the duties of confession, of hearing mass, of frequently visiting churches, of keeping the rules of fasting and abstinence. As preventives of the dissemination of heresy he proposed to the Pope three measures. In the first place, there must be a decree passed in the Imperial Diet forbidding the Protestants to admit into their confederation any of those Catholic Estates still for the time being Catholic; secondly, it was imperatively necessary that a genuine Christian reformation should be carried out in Germany; this must consist in the good example set by the bishops and in their diligent administration of their office, and in their care to appoint efficient preachers and instructors in the Catholic faith, as the Protestants in their case do, devoting every effort to widen the spheres of influence of their sects. This must be made matter of serious concern, otherwise God will demand a heavy reckoning. Thirdly, Contarini recommended the restoration of the chalice to the laity, for he knew from personal experience how important this point was in the eyes of Germans, especially among the nobility; even some German bishops were of opinion that, on this ground only, very many had become Lutherans who would otherwise have remained firm Catholics.

Contarini's views were shared by Morone, while the Bavarian Dukes and the Elector of Mainz saw no promise of success save in the formation of an offensive alliance and the declaration of war against the Protestants. But even now Contarini still thought such a step dangerous and not conducive to the aim to be pursued.

In the meanwhile the Imperialists were looking for another way out of the "labyrinth" into which the religious conference had led them, a way not less fallacious in principle. The religious situation was still as much as before regarded by them as a matter of politics in which the doctrines of belief could be bandied hither and thither for treatment, one dogma being given up by this party and another softened down by that. Granvelle, a master of such tactics, knew even now of a way of escape, of the success of which he was all the more confident as it had met with the approbation of the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg. The articles agreed upon were to be proclaimed as doctrines common to the Empire; the articles still under dispute were to be suspended and tolerated until a Council or some other authority should pronounce a decision. In order to appreciate the entire monstrosity of this so-called project of toleration it must be remembered that the articles, agreement upon which was suspended, dealt with the fundamental doctrines of the Faith. The dangers of such a proposal could not escape even the Emperor; but the "three evil spirits," as Vice-Chancellor Held called Granvelle, Naves, and Johann von Weeze, knew well how to keep Charles from leaving the wrong track once he had entered upon it, just as if it were part of the Imperial office to lay down regulations in matters of faith.

It was characteristic of the perplexity of counsels reigning at Ratisbon that in June Charles V gave his assent to a step almost without a parallel in German history; a special embassy—ostensibly in the name of the Elector Joachim and the Margrave George, but really by order of the Emperor—was sent to Luther, proscribed under the ban of the Empire, in order to gain his adhesion to the new attempts at reunion. The Saxon Elector, the enemy of any agreement with the “murderous and idolatrous Catholics,” was roused to fierce indignation, and warned Luther. He might have kept quiet, for the author and instigator of the religious schism was at one with his prince, and allowed the latter to shape his reply in yet sharper terms. The answer ran thus: He could not believe that the Catholics were in earnest about terms of agreement, since after unification over the four first articles they held firmly to their errors in all the rest; let the Emperor give orders for the “pure and clear” preaching of the articles agreed upon, by the admission of Protestant preachers into Catholic congregations. The majority of Protestant theologians, with Melancthon foremost among them, were of precisely the same mind. The Landgrave of Hesse refused to renounce even one of the disputed articles; all attempts to bring him round were wrecked.

As among the above-named Protestants so also among Catholics all persons of any authority pronounced against this strange scheme of the Emperor. Not merely Bavaria and Mainz, but the Papal Legate also spoke in determined opposition, for the latter, with more acumen than the purblind middle party, had a prevision of the consequences of this project. Contarini would rather have suffered all things, death itself, than, in order to win toleration for false doctrine, have raised his voice against the positive decisions of the Church.

CHAPTER XI.

CONTINUATION OF THE DIET OF RATISBON.—ITS CLOSE AND FAILURE.

ALTHOUGH in Rome, from the beginning, and on grounds of principle, the Imperial attempts at reunion had been viewed with serious misgiving, Charles V had been allowed a free hand, while the Curia, maintaining an observant attitude, had held all judgment in suspense. If Contarini was repeatedly recommended to observe the utmost caution, this did not mean that the Pope's reliance upon him was weakened. His transactions with the Bavarian Dukes met with Paul III's fullest approval. Farnese informed him on the 16th of April that the Pope was in complete agreement with his way of conducting affairs with Granvelle; at the same time his Holiness commended his caution and circumspection, and exhorted him to persevere. A fortnight later Farnese told the Legate that he had laid all letters received from him before the Pope; since these only contained reports of the transactions at Ratisbon, it was not necessary to go into detail, especially as Contarini enjoyed the Pope's entire confidence. Even here the recommendation to caution recurs, since the principal object of the Legate's mission was that he should maintain unimpaired the truth of religion and the authority of the Holy See. A letter of the 12th of May shows clearly how lively an interest the Pope took in the proceedings at Ratisbon, and again recommends that they should be followed with the closest attention.

The Curia could not maintain their attitude of reserve for ever, especially as Contarini himself on the 3rd of May asked for a final decision on the questions touching the doctrine of justification. When Contarini admitted that the formula contained innovations and that also he was not positively certain that the statements were orthodox and Catholic, it was not surprising that a great divergency of opinion existed among the Cardinals. With the exception of Pole, the Cardinals on friendly terms with Contarini had more or less serious misgivings, Carafa in particular, who yet, like Fregoso, quieted himself with the assumption that the formula was capable of admitting a Catholic interpretation. Aleander, who was reckoned to have the most accurate knowledge of German affairs, held by the perfectly sound opinion that even if the theologians were at last to arrive at a common basis of reunion the German people would still refuse to submit to their consensus of opinion.

In Rome it was clearly understood that the union aimed at on the doctrine of justification was only a means of evading the real inner differences and did not represent a successful effort to gain a common standpoint on matters of principle. The decision in consistory was pronounced on the 27th of May. As on previous occasions, so now Contarini's letters to Rome were read out and led to some spirited discussion. Cardinal Dionisio Laurerio attacked the Legate sharply, while Fregoso, in Pole's absence, defended him with equal learning and warmth. Even if now the majority of the Sacred College withheld from Contarini the praise justly due to his attempts to

bring about a conciliatory issue, they yet expressed themselves unmistakably against concessions vaguely formulated and of indeterminate scope.

Two days later Ardinghello, in the name of Farnese, conveyed this expression to Contarini in careful and conciliatory terms. The Pope, he said, had neither approved nor rejected the new formula; all who had become acquainted with it were of opinion that its meaning might have been more clearly expressed, and that in this article the same degree of care had not been taken, as was the case in others, to avoid all equivocal expressions and the semblance only of agreement. Then followed the distinct injunction to observe henceforward great vigilance lest any article or portion of such should be accepted, expressly or tacitly, indirectly or directly, or even be allowed to pass with only a slight show of opposition, which did not in sense as well as in verbal expression conform clearly and unequivocally to the Catholic conception, as laid down by the Church, or which contained words capable of more than one interpretation; the Cardinal would do well, in accordance with his instructions, to submit all points to the decision of the Holy See, since great scandal would be inflicted on the Church and injury to the cause of truth if the Protestants were able to appeal to the Legate, with even only a show of right, in favour of their doctrinal opinions.

Concessions made solely for the sake of peace and charity would secure only doubtful advantages with the certainty of loss. The Legate therefore ought, as the open and outspoken advocate of Catholic truth, to entertain such overtures as he had done, to the Pope's great satisfaction, in the articles on the Eucharist and Penance. He was to pursue this course in particular with regard to the doctrine of the Primacy and the authority of councils. The mild and, as far as was possible, general formulization on those important points, forwarded to Rome by Contarini on the 9th of May, had not been approved by the Pope nor by his advisers, as the language lay open to various interpretations and the main principles were not outlined with sufficient precision. In this document it was left open to doubt, from want of clear and definite statement, whether the summoning of the Council, as well as the confirmation of its decrees, was the prerogative of the Pope alone. In the article on the Primacy, in order to guard against any double sense, the immediate institution by Christ Himself of this office ought to have been brought clearly into prominence; any slackness on this point would only be exploited by the Protestants to their advantage. If there were any lack of clearness of thought or expression on this matter, union on all others would be entirely futile. Contarini was to withhold his consent to any formula in which the authority of the Holy See in the Catholic sense was not plainly affirmed, even if the Emperor had repeatedly given his assurance that not the slightest prejudice would accrue to the Holy See; only on this ground had the Pope consented to send his Legate to the Imperial Diet.

The postponement of the discussion on the Primacy, to which Contarini, contrary to his instructions, had consented, in order that the conference might not be broken up on that point, had not displeased the Pope; yet the Legate must still bear the fact in mind that, eventually, as the Bavarian Dukes had already pointed out, the Protestants might give way on all the other articles, especially if they were equivocally expressed, in order afterwards to concentrate all their opposition on this one point and bring it into odium as being the one and only stone of offence. Certainly it was also a matter of much importance to the Pope that neither he nor his representative should incur the blame for a failure of the negotiations for reunion, but the purity of the Catholic Faith was to him a concern of yet higher consideration, wherefore Contarini was to be watchful and upon his guard against any ambiguity or obscurity of statement.

The Cardinal finally was requested to urge greater discretion on his surroundings, and with reference to the complaints made to the nuncio Dandino by King Francis regarding the Legate's subservience to the Emperor and his coolness towards the Catholics, was admonished to be for

the future somewhat more forward and decided in his support of the truth and to avoid even the appearance of too great compliancy.

Contarini received this first caution, couched in terms of the greatest moderation and courtesy, on the 8th of June. He answered on the following day. Since he was unconscious of any omission or blameworthiness on his part, he met the reproaches brought against him with a decided disclaimer. First of all, as regards the formula on justification, he admitted that the form of words might appear ambiguous to one person or another but the sense was strictly Catholic; not a clause, not a word was therein ambiguous in the sense of admitting an erroneous explanation. If the Curia was of another opinion they ought to communicate the ambiguity to him so that he might have it removed. For the rest, he referred them to his treatise on Justification, of which he had sent a copy to Bembo. As regarded the secrecy of the matters transacted at Ratisbon, he had given his entourage positive directions on the subject; to Pole he certainly had sent the formula, since he was of opinion that in such matters the Cardinals ought to be informed.

With regard to their wishes concerning the article on the Primacy, Contarini regretted that they had not been made known to him sooner, that they might have been introduced into the "Ratisbon Book" in a marginal note by the Catholic collocutors. He had tried to supplement this defect, but without success. Even if, like Morone, he had cherished the notion that the less opposition there was among the Protestants against the Primacy the better it would be for the Papacy, he yet subordinated his opinion to the Pope's will. He would obey, and on the revised reading of the document with the collocutors would insert a stronger statement. Therewith he enclosed a copy of the "Ratisbon Book" with the Protestant articles side by side of his own remarks and those of the Catholics.

Contarini reserved to the end of his letter his defence against the charge of coldness: "Truly, most illustrious lord, I am not guilty of coldness in matters of truth, but am as warm as it behoves me to be; but in my other relations I am at pains, and rightly so, to control my warmth, since it is not necessary to add fuel to the great fire now spreading from Denmark and Sweden over all the north and overleaping Alps and rivers even to the regions of Italy; much better to try and apply as much as possible the means of quenching the conflagration. Here no decision will be pronounced; in no single point will I pronounce a verdict, but await all directions from Rome."

Contarini's letter of the 29th of May, in which he had described the precarious state of the Church in Germany, developed his programme, and asked for new instructions, induced the Pope, who had received simultaneously Morone's reports, to decide on his attitude towards the new situation called forth by the collapse of the Ratisbon conference. After a thorough discussion in consistory on the 10th of June an instruction was sent, five days later, to Contarini and Morone. All the questions which once more came to the front, the Catholic League, projects of toleration, Council and reform, were here treated with all the clearness desirable.

In order to strengthen the League, the Pope declared himself ready to pay at once the 50,000 scudi already promised and in case of urgency to raise more by further taxation; generous help was also pledged in the case of the Catholics having to assume an attitude of attack instead of defence against the Protestants; although Paul III at that time did not think war the right way of expelling error from the world. With regard to Granvelle's request for a sum of money to be used in reconciling Protestants, the Pope sanctioned the expenditure of 50,000 scudi, only no pretext was to be given for the supposition that there was any intention of buying a Protestant out of his religion; cases of reconciliation were also to be genuine and not matters of formality.

While Paul III on this point made concession to an Imperialist wish, he none the less determined to reject the so-called project of toleration as inadmissible and harmful. The articles on which the accommodation had been reached could not be held on sufferance, since they concerned essential portions of the Faith and it was forbidden to do evil in order that good might come. The Faith was one indissoluble whole; one part could not be accepted and another part renounced. If the See of Rome, called to be the custodian of the purity of the Church's doctrine, were to permit in any degree erroneous teaching, then Christians would cease to seek from her the *regula fidei*, while by such a project the Protestants, to whom their errors certainly would be conceded, would not be won to the Church, the latter would also lose her hold over the remaining portion of Christendom.

Instead of the project of toleration, instead of the difficult and dangerous arbitrament of war, the Pope recommended the Council as the most available remedy at hand; in time past under like circumstances it had always been invoked, and was also the object of the Emperor's constant desire. As the reasons which at an earlier stage had led to a suspension of the Council out of consideration for the Hapsburg sovereigns no longer stood in the way, and efforts of a different kind had miscarried, the assembling of the Council could no longer be deferred, especially as previous postponements had only led to public misfortunes. The Holy Father had hitherto given in to Charles V in respect of these particular religious negotiations in order to evince his goodwill towards him; now, when religion was in such grave peril, the Emperor ought once more to allow the Pope, to whom the precedence was due by right, to steer the ship. The Legate was enjoined to lay this resolve before Charles V, in the first place, and also to ask him what time he considered appropriate; yet he was to avoid giving the impression that he was asking the Emperor's permission. The removal of the suspension would be announced immediately on receipt of the Emperor's reply. Only if Charles could suggest a better remedy was the Legate to delay any longer in promising a Council, otherwise he was to put himself at once into communication with the princes and prelates. If the Emperor, although unable to offer any better suggestion, refused to accept the Council, the Legate was then to make public protest, and to agree to nothing which was un-Catholic or open to ambiguity.

The question raised by Contarini, whether the German laity could be promised the administration of the chalice, was reserved by the Pope for the Council. With regard to reform, on the other hand, the Legate was at once, in common with the German bishops, to take the necessary preliminary measures so that on his return to the Curia these matters might be taken in hand with some prospects of success. Contarini received this instruction, conveyed by a special courier, on the 21st of June, but as that was the date also of Ferdinand's arrival, he could not have an audience of Charles until the 24th.

The Emperor who, notwithstanding all failures, was resolved to pursue his previous policy, was so unpleasantly surprised by Contarini's announcements that he had to fall back on clumsy objections and excuses. All attempts to bring him to a definite decision in the matter of the League were repelled as on earlier occasions, while on this one he remarked that the Bavarians were only scheming to implicate him in a dangerous war. His objections to the immediate summons of the Council only showed plainly that here also he was bent on his former policy of procrastination.

He thought, in the first place, that the Pope would have done better to have waited for the close of the Diet, since then the princes themselves probably would have asked for a Council. The Legate thereupon pointedly replied: "In that case, it would be still better if this proposal came from them personally." To the Emperor's further objection that if the Synod were summoned while the Diet was still in session the princes might come forward again with a demand for a

Council in Germany, or even for a national council, Contarini explained that a definite course had been settled upon already in consistory; at the same time he begged for a final reply, as the courier had to be sent back in two days. Charles, however, was not prepared to give such an answer until he had consulted his brother Ferdinand, who had arrived on the 21st of June. Contarini remarked besides that the Emperor's refusal was caused in part by the suspicion which he nourished that the Pope's decision was due to the solicitations of the Bavarian Dukes.

On the 25th of June the Legate found Ferdinand also in a mood of non-compliance. Morone's efforts at the same time to dispose the Emperor and Granvelle favourably towards the Council were equally unsuccessful; Ferdinand held that reformation must precede the Council. As long as the Pope took no definite measures in that direction, he remarked with a spiteful laugh, he could not believe in the Council. In place of further answer he referred to the Emperor's written reply, which might soon be expected. This was handed by Granvelle to the Legate on the 27th of June; Charles V had drawn up the document in French, and directed that a Latin version should be prepared for Contarini. In this he acknowledged the summons of the Council to be within the Pope's competency, and promised his support, without expressing any wish concerning time or place. As to the temporary enactments relating to Germany, he spoke in general terms, probably with the intention of leaving open a door of entry for his project of toleration.

Contarini, who was as much astonished as he was gratified, at once reported the new turn of affairs to Rome, but asked for fuller explanation of the indefinite declaration on the settlement of German affairs. Granvelle, on the 4th of July, informed him through Morone that the Emperor wished to see the League consolidated, and was determined that the religious questions should be brought before the Council, but that in the interim a peace should be concluded in Germany, for any infraction of which by the Lutherans he was resolved to take severe reprisals.

In Rome it was perceived, with keener insight than by Contarini, that the Emperor, with his apparently friendly approaches to the Pope, had no other object in view than to bring about the acceptance of his plan of toleration. On the 23rd of June the "Ratisbon Book," with the documents appertaining to it, at last made its appearance, and was handed over by the Pope to a special commission of examiners. On the evening of the 5th of July, Contarini's despatches of the 27th and 28th of June, with the Emperor's reply on the question of the Council, arrived. Cardinal Farnese at once laid it before the Pope, who immediately summoned a consistory for the 6th of July, at which, on the basis of Contarini's reports, the Ratisbon negotiations were submitted to full consideration. Due allowance being made for the importance of the topic, no final resolution was arrived at, but on the 7th Farnese was able to tell Contarini that the Pope held the removal of the suspension and the early meeting of the Council to be necessary. The Emperor did not seem to grasp correctly the task of the Synod, which consisted in the establishment of dogmas of faith and in the removal of abuses. The toleration of heresies excluded the only remedy, the general Synod of the Church, and would only aggravate the existing evil.

In a second consistory, on the 8th of July, in which the later despatches of Contarini, of the 19th, 20th, 22nd, and 24th of June, received on the evening of the 6th, were read, the final decision was taken. After one more hearing of the Cardinals the removal of the suspension of the Council of Vicenza and the immediate resumption of its sittings were voted. Farnese informed Contarini to this effect on the 10th of July, and also that the government of Venice had already been applied to for the renewal of their permission to use Vicenza. If this city were not conceded for the purpose, the Pope would designate some other suitable place. At the same time the Legate was directed once more to beg the Emperor to support the Council, and to refrain from the toleration of error; above all, to give no consent to anything which could be prejudicial to religion.

At Ratisbon, in the meantime, the question of aid against the Turks, which, to the astonishment of those present, had fallen into the background, was once more brought to the front. Ferdinand I displayed in this respect unflagging activity. The nuncio was able to inform him that a special Papal envoy was on his way with a sum of money for the defence of Hungary. The Protestant Estates of the Empire were not to be moved to give any unconditional help, so that by the beginning of July the eventuality had to be faced of protecting Hungary without their assistance.

The willingness of the Catholics to defend the eastern frontiers of the Empire made a deep impression on Ferdinand. He now saw the necessity of a nearer approach to the Catholic leaders, just as later on his judgment on the Bavarian Dukes became less harsh than that of the Emperor. But even the latter showed symptoms of a change of disposition. The stubbornness of the Protestants on religious questions, and their refusal to take part against Turkey except on conditions of an exorbitant character, had soured his temper. According to a statement made by Ferdinand to Morone, Charles had declared that he would stake his life and abide by it that the further spread of the sectaries should be stopped. Morone now began to hope that a change for the better in the Emperor was setting in.

Contarini, on his side, complied with the Emperor's wishes, and urged the bishops present at the Diet to set to work on a real reformation. On being asked by the Imperialists, in connection with a resolution of the Catholic Estates, to make a statement once more on the "Ratisbon Book," he declared his determination to insist that the established articles of faith should not be called in question, and that the ultimate decision should rest with the Holy See, whether speaking through a Council or in other ways.

Charles V saw matters in another light. The change of opinion, on which Morone had built such great hopes, proved itself illusory. When, on the 10th of July, Contarini presented Morone's opinion, prompted by the League, upon the "Ratisbon Book," he was received with discourteous coolness, although Morone only repeated what the Legate already had often propounded. The Emperor, stung by the failure of his schemes of reunion, poured out his anger on the Legate. When the latter dwelt on the importance of his longer sojourn in Germany, Charles replied that he must now look exclusively to his own interests, as the others had consistently done.

When the Papal promise of the Council was mentioned, a promise at the moment most unacceptable to Charles, the latter exclaimed: "When it takes place, I shall believe in it"; whereupon Contarini rejoined that the Council was a matter of certainty. With regard to the League, he wished some articles changed; besides, Charles added, he had heard that the Pope was ready, even without his participation, to arrange a defensive League in Italy together with Venice and France. The Legate protested emphatically against such erroneous suppositions; the Pope nevertheless had placed his household under Imperial protection. When Contarini finally brought forward the strong grievance of the Catholics, that they were constantly assailed from Protestant pulpits, the Emperor expressed his belief that that would only be a matter of a few days' duration, as he was thinking of a very early departure.

Two days after this audience Charles received the answer of the Protestants to his plan of toleration. It was a refusal, in accordance with the wishes of the Saxon Elector. This, in combination with the Catholic resolution of July the 5th, sealed the fate of the Emperor's scheme. Yet on this very 12th of July the latter presented to the Estates his proposition for the Recess of the Diet, in which, without even taking notice of the Pope's formal offer of a Council, he still tried to force through his scheme of toleration; the articles on which there was agreement were to be acknowledged and accepted as Christian doctrine, the articles on which there was not agreement

were to be postponed until the General Council gave a decision; this also was the Legate's opinion. But if the Council were not held at all, or, as seemed necessary, were to be deferred to a later period, the negotiations on religion would again be resumed in a Diet of the Empire. The Emperor added that he was very shortly to have an interview with the Pope, and would then endeavour to learn from the latter what might be expected concerning the Council. Until a decision was come to, the publication of libellous writings was to cease, the Imperial Court of Chancery to continue its sittings, the peace of Nuremberg to be maintained and, finally, subsidies to be raised against the Turks.

Contarini was not a little astonished at the Emperor's behaviour. Besides the total omission of any mention of the Pope, he was particularly displeased at Charles's intention of giving his approval to the articles of agreement, thereby constituting himself and the Diet judges in religious matters, and that too in the name of an understanding with him as Legate. Therefore, in an audience on the 16th of July, he protested against the way and manner in which the Emperor had overstepped the limits of his authority. Charles tried to excuse his conduct and to pacify Contarini. The Legate, however, thought it fitting, on the following day, to remind the Emperor in writing that to the Pope alone belonged the right of sanctioning articles of belief. In order to free his position from all uncertainty, he made a declaration to this effect to the Electors also.

The reception given by the Estates to the Emperor's proposals showed that the danger of a national council was once more close at hand. The Protestants, in their reply of the 14th of July, recommended the acceptance of the articles agreed upon, but under impossible conditions; they demanded a free Christian council within the German nation, over which the Pope should have no jurisdiction, or, if that were unattainable, a further treatment of religious affairs in a convention of the Estates of the Empire. Scarcely better was the position adopted by the Electoral College in which, against Mainz and Treves, the majority, Brandenburg, the Palatine, and Cologne, carried a resolution that the articles agreed upon should be held valid until a free council or national convention should be held. Under the authoritative influence of Bavaria the Catholic princes threw their weight into the scales against the articles. On the other hand, they begged the Emperor to use his influence with the Pope to obtain the meeting of a General Council, or, if that were impossible, of a national council in Germany. Thus from all these quarters came the demand for a council on German soil, or in any case for a council of the German nation.

In corresponding terms came the written reply of the 18th of July, from the Cardinal of Mainz and the rest of the prelates assembled at Ratisbon, to the reform proposals of Contarini of July the 7th. The signatories, while reproaching the Pope, laid stress upon the necessity for a General Council as the only remedy by which the Church in her present sorely burdened condition could be relieved; they approached his Holiness, through the Legate, with earnest supplications that the meeting should be held without delay, and promised their hearty co-operation; but in addition they besought on their own part that the Council should be held in Germany, where the need was most pressing.

During these proceedings threatening news came in from Hungary concerning the Turks. The Catholic Estates agreed to give help, the Protestants were obstinate in their refusal unless religious concessions were made to them. On the 21st of July, Girolamo Verello, appointed nuncio to Ferdinand I, arrived with a subsidy for the war less in amount than that sovereign had desired.

On the 22nd of July, Contarini, soon after the receipt of letters from Farnese, dated the 7th and 10th, had an audience of the Emperor; Morone and Verello were also present. On being told that the Pope had already applied to Venice on the subject of Vicenza, Charles replied that the Germans wished the Council to be held in their own country. The Legate, apart from other reasons,

drew special attention to his certain knowledge of the Pope's strong desire to attend the Council in person, which on account of his great age would be impossible if the meeting-place were to be in Germany.

As regards the League, Charles declared that he would enter into it only on the condition that no other confederate tried to involve him in war for the furtherance of his private interests. On the question of the plan of toleration, Contarini, on his side, asked the Emperor to make the concession, so distasteful to the latter on general grounds, that he would, in accordance with the Pope's wishes, dismiss the project and leave all to the decision of the Council. All the more painful was the Legate's surprise when he was brought face to face with the Emperor's renewed proposal, brought forward, in disregard of his previous assurances, without any communication with Contarini, in which Charles declared that in the course of his approaching conference with the Pope he would come to an understanding with regard to the speedy assembling of a council; if this were to fall through, he would work for a national council and, failing that also, would convene a Diet of the Empire once more and attend in person.

In order that the promise of a national council should not be allowed to pass by in silence, Contarini on the 24th of July addressed a letter to the Emperor and another to the Diet, through the Cardinal of Mainz, in which he called upon the Estates to cancel the rider as to the national council, such an assembly being incompetent to decide on the controversies of belief then under discussion, and of which the decisions when passed would be null and void.

On the 26th of July the Estates sent a written reply through the chancellor of Mainz. The Legate might easily prevent the religious controversies being brought before a national council if he would induce the Pope to summon and hold a General Council without delay; but since the promise of such a Council, so often made to them and now again brought forward by the Legate, was never fulfilled by the Apostolic See, the existing necessities of the Empire and the German nation demanded that their religious controversies should be settled and removed at the hands of a national council or a Diet of the Empire, but in presence of and under the guidance of a Legate provided with adequate faculties by the Holy See. Albert of Mainz, however, pronounced decidedly against a general synod in Germany as well as against a national council, and was of opinion that, if the Pope and Emperor agreed to the meeting of a General Council in Italy, the Catholic princes would participate in it either in their own persons or through representatives. In any case, the only possible human remedy remaining was the speedy meeting of an oecumenical synod.

When Contarini, on July the 26th, took leave of King Ferdinand, the latter told him that the final message of the Recess had not yet been settled; but that it would not give satisfaction to anyone, neither to Pope nor Emperor, neither to Protestants nor Catholics. As the King declined to explain more precisely, the Legate made further inquiries and found out in other ways that Charles, under pressure from the Estates, was actually ready to yield on the question of a council in Germany. He therefore, on the 27th of July, together with the nuncios Morone and Verallo, waited on the Emperor and made counter-representations. First to accept the Council and then attach to it impossible conditions was, he declared, to reject it altogether; he had formerly, however, been of a different opinion, and had promised to withstand the German demands on this point. Charles told the Legate in reply that he had been misinformed; he had not consented to the meeting of the Council in Germany, but at the urgent prayer of the princes had promised only to try and obtain the consent of the Pope. In the Recess the clause was included that he would petition the Holy Father to consent to the Council being held in Germany, and that in case this did not happen, a national council or another Diet should be held. Thus Contarini's objections were of no

avail. He was unacquainted even with the text of the Recess³ when, on the 29th of July, he left Ratisbon with the Emperor; as soon as he was able to get a sight of it at Trent he saw that on many points it differed from previous engagements and promises to such an extent that it asserted, in direct contradiction to the truth, that the Legate had given his word that the Council should be held in Germany. In a letter to Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg of September the 19th, 1541, he entered a protest, and begged that either the publication of the Recess might be stopped, or, if that were no longer possible, that a supplement might be added containing the necessary corrections.

By determined refusal to give help towards the Turkish war, the Protestants, on the 29th of July, had further extorted a secret declaration or recognition of the points in the Recess of the Diet which were of most importance to them. In this way they obtained even greater advantages than before, since the confiscated Church property was not only secured to them and the “reformation” of the territorial religious foundations sanctioned, but the exclusively Catholic constitution of the Imperial Chancery and the application of the Recess of Augsburg to religious questions were cancelled.

Thus the attempt at Ratisbon to unite irreconcilable differences came to an end with striking advantages for the Protestants, who met the future with the most joyous expectations. In the background there certainly loomed a menace of no small import; for, before the Ratisbon negotiations came to an end, the Imperialists had successfully thrown their net over two great potentates of the new ecclesiastical movement. Philip of Hesse, in a secret compact of the 13th of June, forswore all alliance with Julich-Cleves or any other foreign power. In return Charles V assured to him the abrogation of all penalties for his previous illegal acts, in which his bigamous marriage was also thus included; as far as religion was concerned, the Emperor added, he could not single out the Landgrave as an opponent, for, in that case, as he suggestively implied, war would have to be declared against the Protestants at large. Joachim II bound himself on the 24th of July to give assistance against Jülich-Cleves and France in return for the Emperor’s acquiescence in his new form of Church government until a Council or Diet of the Empire should meet and decide.

By this act of suicidal statecraft Charles V covered, for the moment, his retreat from his previous political battlefields; he had “saved his face” before the Duke of Cleves, Francis I, and the Sultan.

CHAPTER XII.

RETURN OF CONTARINI.—HIS DEATH.—APOSTASY OF OCHINO.

CONTARINI was conscious that during his Legatine mission in Germany he had done his duty, and to the best of his knowledge had represented faithfully the interests of the Church. All the more sorely did he feel the charges brought against him in the Curia; and especially the imputations on his sincerity. These accusations were so exaggerated by rumour that for a time the Cardinal's usual tranquillity of mind completely gave way. "This is fine coinage," he remarked, "in which to reward one's labours." In a letter from Milan to Cardinal Farnese on the 23rd of August 1541 he complained bitterly that in Rome he was looked upon as a Lutheran, and that a Papal Legate and a man of such learning and high character as Badia should be exposed to such calumny. He hoped to God that he was in a position to render a satisfactory account of himself and of all his dealings to the Pope and all others. If the final verdict on the doctrine of justification were only deferred until his arrival in Rome, he would make clear as daylight the truth of his opinion on that matter, and those who said that the formula on justification was Lutheran were but ill instructed in the Lutheran doctrine and ignorant of the utterances of St. Augustine and St. Thomas. How far the Ratisbon formula was consistent with good Lutheran teaching might be seen from Luther's own adverse criticism of it in a letter to Melancthon and from the Protestant declaration that they would like to discuss more closely their views on this point.

Before this Contarini had already replied to an old friend in Brescia who had questioned him as to his conduct with regard to the extravagant articles which he had subscribed to at Ratisbon to please the Lutherans. "This," he said, "is one of Pasquino's calumnies, since without the authority of the Church he would not only not consent to a doubtful doctrine, but would decline to accept St. John's Gospel itself." This allusion to the well-known saying of St. Augustine was alone sufficient to destroy the phantom of Contarini's Protestantism. A man, to hold such an opinion, must be a Catholic in every fibre. In a quarter too of the highest importance no credence was given to Contarini's accusers, for when at the beginning of September 1541 he met the Pope at Lucca, he found the most friendly welcome. Paul III, who throughout all suspicions had never been led astray in his judgment of Contarini, urged him to dismiss from his mind all such idle talk, thanked him for his exertions, and soon showed him a fresh mark of confidence by attaching him to the work of ecclesiastical reform. In January 1542 he appointed him his Legate at Bologna; by conferring upon him the most important as well as the most dignified Legation in the Papal States, he did more than anything else to show how little the Pope's trust in and respect for Contarini had been shaken by the conduct of affairs at Ratisbon or by the numerous hostile allegations of the last few months.

In March 1542 Contarini entered on his difficult duties. The heavy burden of work thus laid upon him did not prevent him from continuing his studious pursuits. A treatise on Confession

shows that, in spite of all the experience which he had gone through, in spite of the opposition which he had met with, he held fast, up to the hour of his death, which took place from inflammation of the lungs on the 24th of August 1542, to the peculiar theory of justification which he had supported at Ratisbon. That this was not in entire accordance with Catholic teaching was a notion of which he had no conception. On the contrary, he held his view to be perfectly sound and truly Catholic.

That he should have erred on this difficult question is explained by his great love of peace and his inadequate acquaintance with Luther's writings, whose doctrine he therefore judged at times from much too lenient a point of view. Contarini's theory of mediation in the doctrine of justification is, however, fundamentally different from the Lutheran *sola fides* doctrine, which, in his instructions to the preachers, the Cardinal emphatically rejected. He there speaks in so many words of the Lutheran poison.

And this was the man on whom the stigma of Protestantism was placed! the man who on all other disputed doctrines was the staunch upholder of the Catholic stand-point, and who at the same time was the warmest friend of the newly arisen Society of Jesus. Contarini, as his correspondence shows, lived in unconditional obedience to the Holy See, and even if he erred on one particular point, his error concerned the doctrine of justification, a dogma still open to discussion so long as no conciliar decision had been passed upon it.

Among the few in Rome who had nothing to add to Contarini's definition Reginald Pole was the most conspicuous. Subject for many years to the influence of his friend, this devout Englishman was led on grounds which were partly mystic and partly ascetic to accept Contarini's theory. From motives of deep humility Pole, as his disciple Priuli wrote, shrank from resting for support on his own justice, although he had more right than others to do so. A theory which threw all its weight on the Divine compassion and the merits of Jesus seemed to him the only true one. With characteristic effusiveness the English Cardinal appraised Contarini's formula as a jewel of great price, a sacred and fruitful truth. The strictures passed upon it in Rome seemed to him utterly unfounded, nor had he the slightest doubt that the new presentation of the doctrine was free from error.

If so learned a theologian was mistaken it cannot cause surprise that a man like Morone, who was before everything else a diplomatist, should have been attracted by Contarini's theory.

In Viterbo, where Pole had resided since September 1541 in the honourable position of a Legate of the Patrimony of St. Peter, theological questions formed a general ground of discussion, and especially since the negotiations of Ratisbon Contarini's formula had stood in the foreground of interest and formed the principal subject of conversation in Pole's circle.

This pious company, the *spiritualis* as their contemporaries called them, welcomed the new tenets on justification on the same mystical and ascetic grounds which had recommended them to Pole. In contradistinction to many preachers to whom outward works were all in all, they, conscious of human weakness and instability, were disposed to emphasize the redeeming grace of Christ. From this temper of mind the new theory had sprung of which they became the enthusiastic adherents. Without ceasing to be Catholics they could do this while as yet the Council had issued no decree; the idea of going out from the Church had never entered their minds. A clear testimony to this was given by a man who, according to Luigi Priuli of Venice and Lodovico Beccadelli of Bologna, was a foremost member of Pole's circle, the poet Marcantonio Flaminio. Even if all the theological opinions of this good man were not infallible he was yet entirely free from that which, according to the teaching of the Catholic Church, alone constitutes formal

heresy: the arrogance of a stubborn will and opposition to Church authority. Pole therefore found it easy to wean him from errors instilled into him by Juan Valdes of Naples. Flaminio died in 1550, a devoted son of the Church, leaving behind him a letter written in 1543 to another prominent member of the Viterbo circle, the humanist and protonotary Carneseccchi. This is of great importance as indicating his frame of mind. In it he blames severely those cantankerous critics who dissent from the dogmas and usages of the Church. "We," so he writes, "wish to humble ourselves before God and on no account, however cogent the reasons may appear, to allow ourselves to be separated from the unity of the Church Catholic."

The man to whom this was addressed disregarded, at a later period, its warning, for Carneseccchi in 1567 preferred to be executed as a heretic rather than to submit to the authority of the Church. The conversations held in Viterbo had at that time afforded cause of complaint to the Inquisition. From Carneseccchi's admissions it was proved that Vittoria Colonna, the most celebrated poetess of Italy, had, in consequence of her intimacy with Contarini and Pole, likewise adopted the new theory of justification, just as she held in high respect the memory of Juan Valdes, who had died in the outward unity of the Church, without recognizing that his views deviated from Catholic doctrine.

Among the associates of Valdes was also the Capuchin, Bernardino Ochino, for whom Vittoria Colonna evinced the greatest veneration, until his open apostasy led her to break off all connection with him.

Bernardino Ochino was born in 1487, at Siena, in the same quarter as St. Catherine. He at first entered the Franciscan Observants, where, however, the lax discipline repelled him; he therefore attached himself to their offshoot, the strict Capuchins. Endowed with a vivid imagination and great eloquence, he soon became the most celebrated preacher in Italy. His words were powerfully strengthened by his ascetic and inspiring appearance, and it was said of him that he could draw tears from stones. During the Lent of 1534, and often afterwards in following years, he preached at S. Lorenzo in Damaso before distinguished congregations, including many Cardinals. He used great freedom of speech; "his sermons," said Agostino Gonzaga, "declare the Gospel and show the way to a truly Christian life; he does not shrink from saying what is necessary for the salvation of his hearers, and blames sharply those in high places, so that all Rome streams to hear him." Since the days of Savonarola no preacher enjoyed such a reputation; cities and princes made the most strenuous efforts to secure his services; especially during Lent, when, in accordance with Italian custom, special preachers are called to occupy the pulpits, it was difficult for him to decline the invitations. As it often happened that he was bidden to different places at one time, the Pope himself had to take the matter in hand and settle which town was to have the good fortune to receive him within its walls.

One of Ochino's warmest admirers was Vittoria Colonna, who favoured him and his Order where she could, looking upon this as an opportunity for advancing the cause of Catholic reform, which she had embraced with all the depth of feeling of her ardent nature. Like many others she turned with reverence to the great popular orator whose earnest life appeared to her to be that of a man of God. In September 1538 Ochino reached the highest position in his Order; still greater things appeared to be in store for him. In October of the following year he was strongly recommended as a candidate for the Cardinalate, and in 1541 he was again chosen Vicar-General of his Order, and his appointment confirmed by the Pope.

The election took place in Naples, where for the first time Ochino had preached in 1536. There it was that he came under the fascination of the Spaniard Juan Valdes, who, in disagreement on important points with the Catholic Church, was the votary of a vague religion of sentiment.

His reverence for this man of “sweet utterance” was such that he allowed Valdes to prescribe to him the subject and scheme of his sermons. Subsequently, through Valdes, he came to know the writings of Luther, Bucer, and Calvin. The results soon showed themselves, and voices arose accusing the Capuchin monk of heresy. The viceroy wished to prohibit him from preaching, but Ochino defended himself so cleverly that the continuance of his Lenten course was sanctioned. Vittoria Colonna, on hearing of the accusations, attributed them to the envy of other preachers. Almost everyone shared her opinion, and Ochino continued as before to secure triumphs as an orator; the viceroy Ferrante Gonzaga wished to have him at Palermo, Venice claimed him through no less a person than Pietro Bembo, who declared that he had never heard more profitable or more edifying sermons. “He expresses himself,” so he wrote to Vittoria Colonna, “in quite a different and in a much more Christian way than any other preachers who fill our pulpits today; he gives unbounded pleasure to everyone, and when he leaves here he will carry all hearts with him.” Even Pietro Aretino, that obscene jester, gave expression to emphatic praises of the great preacher; in a letter to Paul III he announced to him his conversion under the trumpet-blast of the apostolic monk and begged forgiveness for the unjust attacks upon the Curia contained in his ribald productions. This conversion, if such it were, certainly did not last long, just as his praise of Ochino was not altogether disinterested, since the latter had been induced to accept with favour one of the edifying compositions which Aretino then found it useful to manufacture. There can, however, be no manner of doubt that at that time Ochino was, in the eyes of all the world, the ideal of a spiritual orator. “We have among us,” reported Ottaviano de’ Lotti to Cardinal Gonzaga from Rome during the Lent of 1539, “many eminent preachers; but none can be compared to Ochino.”

The reputation of the Capuchin was so securely established that the charge of spreading false doctrine, brought against him for the second time by the Theatines in Naples in 1539, gained no belief. Ochino certainly set about the dissemination of his views with great artfulness. Carnesecchi, who heard him at Naples in 1540, said later, during his trial, that Ochino certainly had preached justification by faith, but so cleverly and cautiously that no one had been offended at it. Consequently, only very keen observers were aware that any change of doctrine had taken place. He still, as before, was looked upon as a remarkable and holy preacher whose influence was excellent; even when, in Lent 1542, his intervention with the nuncio Fabio Mignanelli on behalf of Giulio da Milano, accused of heresy, gave rise to misunderstanding, this at first had no evil consequences. The Venetians took up the cause of their beloved preacher so warmly that the nuncio thought it the lesser evil of the two to let him alone.

Nevertheless, the disagreement in Venice was the prologue to the catastrophe. Paul III, who had hitherto valued Ochino beyond measure, had become alarmed; but it was sorely against his will to take steps against a man who had done so much good and whose character stood so high among all classes. In any case he was determined to proceed only after thorough inquiry and with the greatest consideration. In a very courteously worded letter from Cardinal Farnese he invited Ochino, on the 15th of July 1542, to come, as quickly as his health would permit, to Rome in order to discuss the religious views of certain Capuchins, as the Pope did not wish to act in the matter without taking counsel with him. Ochino just at that moment was at Verona, where he was lecturing to his brethren in the Order on St. Paul’s Epistles in his own sense. Conscious of his guilt, he hesitated to obey the summons of his highest superior; his indecision was increased by the friendly, indeed confiding and flattering, terms in which the invitation was couched. Ill at ease and unable to make up his mind what to do, he tried at first to find a respite; he asked Cardinal Farnese to allow him to postpone his appearance at Rome, for which he declared himself ready, until the hottest days were over.

Giberti, always well disposed towards him, and little knowing how wide the inner breach between Ochino and the Church had already become, backed up this request through his friends at Rome. Before the answer came a Papal brief of July the 27th, 1542, arrived renewing the invitation and ordering Ochino, under penalty of disobedience, to start without delay for Rome, as his advice under the circumstances was indispensable. This time Giberti also refused to listen to any more excuses for delay; if Ochino had been at fault, let him show his humble submission by his acts and not in words only; if he had not been at fault, then it was all the more his duty to obey the Pope's commands, whom God had set over the Church as head; he ought not to do the Pope the wrong of assuming that he would act unjustly towards him, especially as the Holy Father already in similar instances had shown more benevolence than severity. Thereupon, towards the middle of August, Ochino set out upon his journey, and in Bologna he saw Contarini on his deathbed. In Florence he went to the convent of Montughi; he had gone there with the intention of going on to Rome; there he fell in with the Augustinian, Pietro Vermigli, who, in a like plight with himself, had been summoned to Genoa by the Chapter of his Order and had already made the resolve to shun the responsibility by flight. Under the influence of Vermigli's representations Ochino determined to do the same. In advance of the former he again turned northwards, intending to hasten across the Alps to Calvin at Geneva. His open revolt and apostasy from the Church were now consummated.

As elsewhere so in Rome the news of the desertion of the General of the Capuchins, the most renowned preacher of his time, caused the greatest surprise and the most painful impression; it was a scandal without a parallel. The general opinion, reported Cardinal Gonzaga's agent in Rome, is that Ochino has committed the greatest blunder possible from baffled ambition and in desperation, because at the last nomination of Cardinals he did not receive, as he had hoped, the red hat like the Dominican, Badia.

According to a further letter from the same writer Ochino at first saw no menace in the citation to Rome, but, on the contrary, a preliminary step towards the high honour for which he strove so eagerly. If this is correct, and there is much in favour of the supposition, then the tradition in the Order holds good that Ochino was first made aware in Florence by Vermigli that what awaited him in Rome was not the purple but a prison and death. But Ochino at that time had no longing for martyrdom, although he had often before declared that he would gladly die for Christ. He states this repeatedly in a letter from Montughi to Vittoria Colonna, written immediately before his flight on the 22nd of August 1542. In this letter, which clearly reflects his agitation and confusion of mind, he excuses his behaviour on the ground that he was acting upon the advice of others; at the same time he tries in all manner of ways to justify himself. Vittoria Colonna received the unhappy man's letter at the convent of St. Catherine in Viterbo; without the slightest hesitation she at once took up the Catholic standpoint. The downfall of this man, who once had stood so high in the respect of his fellow-men, could not have been wholly unexpected, since in August 1541 she had exclaimed, on hearing it said that all men held Ochino to be a true Christian man, "God grant that he may so persevere."

Anxiety had thus already been awakened in this great woman's soul; nevertheless, that which now had come to pass must have shaken her to the depths. She discussed the whole matter with her director Pole, to whom naturally she also showed Ochino's letter of the 22nd of August. When the ex-Capuchin wrote her a second letter from Geneva, together with a justification of his apostasy, she sent them at once, on Pole's advice, to Cardinal Cervini with the significant remark: It grieves me deeply that the more Ochino tries to excuse the more he accuses himself, and the more he strives to save others from the shipwreck the deeper he sinks into the whirlpool, since he places himself outside the ark of salvation and security." The firm position taken by Vittoria at

this critical moment is in entire correspondence with the Catholic feeling to which she gives expression in many of her noble sonnets.

Giberti, like Vittoria Colonna, condemned Ochino's apostasy without reserve and would not admit any extenuating circumstances. In a long letter to the Marchese del Vasto he gave expression to his feelings and at the same time clearly laid down the limits within which, for a Catholic, intending to be loyal to his faith, the work of Church reform might be pursued. Indignation at abuses in ecclesiastical government was no excuse for Ochino's action, since evils had always existed. "Even in time to come good and evil will coexist side by side. The saints and sages of the past in even worse times than ours did not on that account hate the authorities set over them, but felt sympathy for them, and took the only right course open to them by exhorting them by word and writing, offering up prayers and supplications to God, and fulfilling their own duties in a conscientious manner. This they did without bringing everything into confusion through unwisdom and passion, and leaving to religious innovators a false pretext to act upon."

Charitably and temperately, but even on that account with annihilating force, Claudio Tolomei criticised the step taken by Ochino, and especially his declaration that to the Pope as antichrist he owed no obedience, in a letter of remonstrance addressed to his famous fellow-citizen, the friend of former years, now so grievously led astray. Whither would it lead if everyone had a right to fly from the commands and ordinances of his rulers, to whom obedience was a bounden duty? Whether he had erred or had not erred, the summons to Rome ought to have been obeyed. "If the charges brought against you were unfounded, what was there to fear in the presence of your lawful sovereign who had done so much for you? Like gold that has been tried in the fire, your reputation for purity of life and virtue might have shone the brighter. But if the charges are true, then I know not what to think; whether you have spread false doctrine among the people through ignorance or through wickedness. I admit that to me the former supposition is hardly credible and the latter quite incredible. But whether it be the one way or the other you ought, in the first instance, if you acted through ignorance, to be deeply grateful to your accusers for having by their charges brought you to the acknowledgment of the truth, whereby, being saved from the darkness of error, you may return again to the light of truth, to Christ Himself as the highest truth, the source, the beginning and end of all truths. But if you acted through wickedness, then this ground of action is guilty in itself and I know not anything that can exculpate you."

"Perhaps," Tolomei continued, "it will be urged in your defence that neither ignorance nor wickedness were your inducements, but that a higher enlightenment, that Christ had revealed to you hidden truths just as He also enlightened the apostle Paul and turned him from Judaism to the true faith. Christ in that case must have taught you the opposite of what He committed to His apostles and their successors, and by so doing have transformed Himself from the highest truth into the grossest falsehood! Thus Clement, Anacletus, Evaristus, Anicetus, and the rest of the great servants of God were deceived and the deceivers also of others! Are we really to believe that Irenaeus, Origen, Cyprian, Athanasius, Gregory, Basil, Ambrose, Augustine, Bernard, and so many other holy and admirable teachers of the law of Christ all erred, and instead of showing us the light wrapped us in darkness, instead of teaching us truth ensnared us with falsehood? No reasonable man can open his mind to such a false conception. The Church cannot have been deserted by Christ until Luther arose, for we have His promise that He would be with us to the end of the world. Believe me, on this dark and stormy sea of conflicting opinions a star is shining to which we can look up, which can show us the way to bring us to God. This is, and alone can be, as many holy and learned men have testified, the Roman Church, which, founded by Peter, whom Christ chose to be the rock of His Church, has through an unbroken line of Popes come down to these our own days."

Morone and Pole also shared the opinions of Tolomei, Giberti, and Vittoria Colonna. They were determined to remain in the “Ark of Salvation” and to preserve inviolable their obedience to the Pope. This strong will to believe the teaching of the Church, and to subject private opinion to the authority of the Church, is what constitutes a Catholic a true son of the Church. A transitory error, especially in matters which have not yet been defined, cannot destroy this sonship. Therefore even in Rome, if zealots murmured suspiciously against the circle of Viterbo, good men only laughed, as an agent of Cardinal Gonzaga reports on the 2nd of September 1542, adding: “The Inquisition may examine the writings of Valdes through and through, but concerning Pole and his companions the best opinion prevails.” That Paul III thought the same was shown later when he appointed Pole a President of the Council of Trent. In what high consideration the English Cardinal’s great friend Vittoria Colonna always stood with Paul III has just recently been illustrated by a striking incident, hitherto unknown, of the Pontiff’s closing years. In August 1546 the aged Pope believed his end to be at hand; the question of his successor caused him constant preoccupation, and he, the ancient foe of the house of Colonna, turned to Vittoria for intimate counsel and advice.

It was not until a much later period, when the rising aggressiveness of the Protestants made the necessity of severe measures of repression apparent even to those who were in themselves averse to such a forcible exercise of authority, that serious suspicions arose against persons like Pole, Morone, and Vittoria Colonna, who were in reality the ornaments of the Catholic Church. But to represent them on that account as advocates of Protestant principles is, not to use any stronger expression, totally unhistorical. The only charge to which they are justly liable is that they displayed towards persons who were experts in concealing their radically destructive tendencies a spirit of determined leniency and a great lack of discretion. But even here we must always endeavour to realize that the period was one of transition and uncertainty; at such times many things are possible. How confused the conditions then were may perhaps be most clearly perceived by recalling the fact that, shortly before the flight and apostasy of Vermigli, Morone and Contarini had recommended this very man to preach at Modena a course of sermons against the heretical doctrines. Lattanzio Tolomei was still anxious on the 10th of August 1542 that the Pope should appoint Ochino as preacher at Siena. Indeed, the Roman agent of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga received a letter from the latter on the 22nd of August 1542 expressing a hope that he might be able to secure Ochino for Mantua.

Under these circumstances, the defection of men like Ochino and Vermigli, however painful in itself and disastrous to their own souls, was so far a fortunate event inasmuch as it at last cleared the air. A crisis had come; there was a cleavage of spirits, and inner antagonisms that had hitherto lain dormant awoke to the light of day. The period of transition, during which elements fundamentally opposed were able to work together, disappeared and with it many momentous obscurities. Every day it became clearer that the question no longer turned round particular theological opinions and errors, but centred on the foundation principle of subjection to the highest ecclesiastical authority. Among those who remained loyal to the ancient Church the consensus was as united as ever that ecclesiastical reform was necessary and at the same time the agreement that, as Isidoro Clario, Bishop of Foligno, said : “No corruption can be so great as to justify a break with the holy communion of the Church.” “Is it not better,” he urged, “to restore that which we possess than to commit ourselves to uncertain attempts to bring in something else in its place? Our only thought should be how to improve the old institutions and purify them from their defects.”

Like Paul III, the high-minded men called by him to the Sacred College espoused this view of reform. Reform in the Church and by the Church, reform not external to nor antagonistic to the

Church—therein they saw the way of safety. But as regards the methods to be pursued towards the innovators, there existed for some time longer great differences of opinion.

Like their leader Contarini, Pole, Morone and, for a longer time still, Sadoletto held as before to the opinion that the best and most certain way of recovering lapsed members of the Church was to deal with them with the utmost gentleness, friendliness, and charity. Opposed to them were the strict party with Cardinals Carafa and Alvarez de Toledo at their head, who advocated, especially after the failure at Ratisbon to come to a peaceable agreement with the Protestants, that, in view of the great peril to which the purity of the faith was exposed almost everywhere and even in Italy itself, the sharpest measures of defence should be adopted, and that the heretical bodies should be met with the full force of that material power which the Church had once wielded in the 13th century against the Waldensians and Cathari. When Paul III, in July 1542, under pressure of the danger which threatened to rob the Church of such great cities as Modena and Lucca, resolved to reorganize the Inquisition¹ as the instrument of this system of repression, he opened up a new era.

Mere repression, however, was not sufficient to drive off the dangers threatening the Church. Not less important than the repulse of her foes within was the reformation of clergy and laity; the burden of ecclesiastical transgression must be thrown off if apostasy was to be checked at its source. On this arduous task Paul III did not cease to fix his attention; its happy completion had to be left to his great successors, who were men filled with the spirit of Catholic reform.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION UNDER PAUL III. AND THE ITALIAN BISHOPS. THE WORK OF THE THEATINES, BARNABITES, URSULINES, AND CAPUCHINS.

One of the greatest difficulties confronting a government which has entered on a wrong track is to retrace its steps and once more strike the right road. This was also the experience of Paul III in the midst of those labours of reform which, from a deep conviction of the necessity of a radical improvement in the ecclesiastical conditions of the time, he inaugurated immediately after his election, and pushed forward amid the greatest hindrances for ten years, until the Council met which was finally to settle and consolidate his policy in this respect. The Pope's comprehensive scheme, although not crowned with complete success, embraced, apart from the restoration of the Sacred College, the reform of the Roman Curia on the one hand and, on the other, the obligatory residence of bishops in their dioceses and of the pastoral clergy as a whole in their parishes. But Paul III's conception of a genuine Catholic reform extended in other directions as well; by means of numerous particular ordinances he sought to improve the organization of the secular and regular clergy, who in many cases had sunk into habits of decadence. This side of his energetic government demands closer attention, because the evidence for it is for the most part contained in hitherto unpublished sources, and thus up to the present time has entirely escaped observation.

The isolated ordinances of a reforming character began immediately after his coronation, and by the year 1535 they had already covered an extensive area. They were principally directed at the Italian clergy, especially at the members of the older Orders, whose deep corruption and obstinate resistance to any reformation often made repeated interference necessary. A large number of regulations also apply to Spain and Portugal. Nor in the following years of his long pontificate was Paul III less assiduous in promoting similar measures for the reform of the clergy; above all, he sought to grapple with the restoration of monastic discipline. It is particularly striking how often his intervention was necessary in the affairs of cloistered women; out of the fifty-one volumes of his briefs there are only a few which do not contain some directions of reform; for many years, such as 1539, 1540, and 1542, one decree follows another. Almost all concern the countries inhabited by the Latin races; the rest fall into the background, for the turmoil of their religious divisions was already making a peaceable work of reform impossible. The soundest and most successful results of the reforming legislation of Paul III were to be found in places where

his orders could be carried out with the co-operation of men whose zeal was as genuine as his own.

Pre-eminent among such stands the lofty figure of Giberti, the great Bishop of Verona. The shining example of pastoral devotion, already set by him in the midst of the debasement of the Italian episcopate in the days of Clement VII, lasted to the end of his life. Notwithstanding the enormous difficulties which some communities, and especially the Cathedral Chapter of Verona, had in store for him, his work of reform may be looked upon as achieved when in 1542 Giberti sent to Paul III for confirmation the entire collection of his decrees of reform, which the Pope received with high marks of recognition on the 25th of May,

These edicts of the Bishop of Verona treated exhaustively of the worthy manner of life, the attire, and general behaviour of the priesthood, the proper celebration of Divine worship, especially of Holy Mass, the profitable exercise of the preacher's office, the duty of pointing out errors of doctrine, the administration and dispensing of the Sacraments, the decent condition of churches, the abuses of the system of Indulgences, cases of reservation, processions, wedlock, the management and expenditure of church revenues, the punishment of clerical offenders—in short, almost all ecclesiastical questions were therein handled in the spirit of a Catholic reformation. For such matters this collection is a document of great importance. Giberti had it printed so that even a parish priest might possess and study it as his manual.

These masterly regulations were at a later period taken as models by such devoted bishops as St. Charles Borromeo; indeed, many of the enactments of the Council of Trent were borrowed from them almost word for word. Paul III supported where he could the reforms of Giberti, whom he had already appointed Legatus Natus in 1536. His grief, like that of all the friends of a renewed condition of ecclesiastical affairs, was great when this illustrious prelate died on the 29th of December 1543. "Our Bishop," said the Carmelite Angelo Castiglione, "lived like a saint and died like a saint." The Pope in consistory expressed regret at this great loss to the Church. In poetry and prose the deceased was celebrated as the restorer of Church discipline, as the type of a good shepherd, as a model bishop. Such to a great extent had been his reputation during the lifetime of Clement VII, and still more so under Paul III. Among those who were personally influenced by Giberti in the direction of reform, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga deserves special mention. In the better government of his diocese of Mantua, Giberti was a strong support both as an adviser and an auxiliary.

Ercole Gonzaga, born in 1505, was the son of the Marquis Francesco and the celebrated Isabella d'Este. He had been educated in the zenith of the Italian renaissance, of which in his youth he was a votary. Administrator of the bishopric of Mantua since 1520 and seven years later created a Cardinal, he afterwards began to take life more seriously. Ercole formed close relationships with Giberti, Carafa, Contarini, and other leaders of Catholic reform and became himself a convinced adherent of the movement. In consequence of the quarrel between himself and Paul III, a disagreement called forth principally from a conflict of personal interests, Cardinal Ercole lived always in Mantua, where his predecessor Cardinal Sigismondo had already endeavoured to check the decay of clerical life. Ercole followed in his steps forcibly and successfully. When in 1540 his brother Federigo died, leaving an heir still in his minority, he was also called upon to exercise the regency; strong as a secular ruler, he was even more so in the government of his diocese.

He ruled the Mantuan bishopric with a rod of iron and, especially in the convents, some of the conditions he had to deal with could not have been worse. In order to carry out his plans of reform he gave directions, after the example set by Giberti, that in the beginning of 1534 a

thorough visitation should be held of the churches of Mantua, during which in each parish the citizens of most importance should give an account of the vocation, conduct, and sacerdotal ministry of the clergy. This commission went from parish to parish taking notes of the actual condition of things. Ercole kept eager watch over the execution of his regulations of reform. The visitation of all places in his diocese was repeated afterwards at fixed periods, and in this way a real improvement was effected. Constitutions on the plan of Giberti's were also laid down. The former disciple of Pomponazzi, Cardinal Ercole, nevertheless took very stringent measures against heresy.

In the reforms at Mantua, as well as in those at Verona, Contarini's participation was active; in the diocese of Belluno, conferred upon him by Paul III on the 23rd of October 1536, the Cardinal laboured entirely in the spirit of the treatise written in his youth on the duties of a bishop. When recalled to the Curia, he was at first only able to exercise an indirect influence; but in the summer of 1538 he took in hand personally the removal of abuses, of which there was a rich crop in the see of Belluno. His assistant, Girolamo Negri, a man of great merit, was ordered by this otherwise so mild a ruler to proceed with rigour against defaulting clergy, especially those of immoral life.

In the same way, with the support of Paul III, reforming bishops arose such as Giberti's successor Pietro Lippomano, Marco Girolamo Vida of Alba, Fabio Vigili of Spoleto, Isidoro Clario of Foligno, Ferdinando Pandolfini of Troja and others. To these may be added Cardinal Alexander in Brindisi, Bernhard von Cles in Trent, Francesco Cornaro in Brescia, Francesco Pisani in Padua and Treviso, Carpi in Faenza and Nocera, Sadoletto in Carpentras, Carafa in Chieti, Doria in Genoa, Marcello Cervini in Reggio; lastly, Morone in Modena and as Legate in Bologna.

Contarini had already experienced the difficulty arising from his retention at Rome by his duties as Cardinal and had therefore accepted, only with reluctance, the see of Belluno. At a later period the advocates of stricter discipline at Rome called more loudly for a limitation to the nomination of Cardinals to bishoprics. Accordingly Paul III issued a constitution in the beginning of 1547 by which the Cardinals within an appointed interval were called upon to resign their bishoprics save one. All obeyed with the exception of the French Cardinals, who were confronted with difficulties concerning the maintenance of their establishments in becoming dignity—difficulties which the Pope sought means to obviate.

Together with the Italian bishops who distinguished themselves in the cause of reform, a foremost place must be given to one General of a religious Order, Girolamo Seripando.

Great in his discernment of suitable men, Paul III, on the 12th of December 1538, had appointed as Prior-General of the Augustinian Order a Neapolitan eminent as a preacher, theologian, Ciceronian, and Hellenist, but above all as an ally of Catholic reform. The hopes of the kindred spirits in the Order at once centred upon him, and Seripando, as a matter of fact, at once drew up reforming regulations.

Before the meeting of the General Chapter in Naples in May 1539 Paul addressed to him and to the definitors of the Augustinian Hermits a brief, in which, referring to his anxiety for the restoration of the Mendicant Orders, he ordered, under pain of excommunication, the purging of all Lutheran elements from the Order together with the rehabilitation of its pristine sanctity. The Chapter elected Seripando as General, an office which he continued to administer for twelve years. With the greatest energy he set himself to the task, so full of difficulty, of regenerating an Order from the depths of its decay. Not content with written admonitions despatched in all directions, he undertook the personal inspection and reformation of all the houses of Augustinian

Hermits. Italy came first on the roll, the visitation there beginning in autumn 1539 with the kingdom of Naples, going on to Rome, Siena, Florence, Perugia, Fermo, Recanati, Ancona, Fano, Pesaro, Rimini, Cesena, Bologna, and closing with Padua and Venice. Everywhere he exercised the strictest discipline; and at the same time made his journey the opportunity for frequent preaching. On the 19th of May 1540 he was able to write from Venice that he had visited, with the exception of Lombardy, all the Italian settlements, and now had thoughts of visiting France. This intention he also carried out with the strong support of Paul III.

From the autumn of 1540 to the spring of 1541 he was occupied with the French houses and then with those of Spain and Portugal. This indefatigable reformer did not return to Italy until February 1542; he kept Easter in Rome, and from thence wrote a letter of exhortation to the Italian province enjoining a strict observance of the reforms. With the house in Venice Seripando was afterwards to have the greatest trouble; nowhere else did his remedial measures meet with such strong opposition. Still greater confusion was caused by the intrusion of Lutheran elements, particularly in the Lombard province of the Order. In order to meet this danger and at the same time advance the cause of reform, Paul III convoked a fresh General Chapter at Rome in May 1543. The result of this meeting was unrelaxed effort on the part of Seripando to reform his Order; special resolutions had been passed with regard to preaching and the revision of the Augustinian rules. At the same time he was determined to extirpate Lutheranism from the Order, and found a strenuous supporter in the Pope. When at a later date Seripando was occupied exclusively with the affairs of the Council of Trent, the Pope took care that his reform work was not brought to a standstill.

Paul III was similarly engaged in the renovation of other Orders. The Dominicans claimed his special attention; twice, in 1543 and 1547, a general visitation was set on foot and carried out in obedience to Papal instructions. This Order underwent the same system of scrutiny as the others; special provision was made on the one hand against careless preachers or those who were contaminated by heresy, and on the other against itinerant friars who, in spite of all prohibitions, had become an unmanageable nuisance.

The unrelaxed efforts of the Pope, Seripando, and the bishops in sympathy with them, to restore the old Orders to something like their primitive condition, shows more clearly than anything else how deeply these institutions had been contaminated by the world and how little recuperative power they still retained. Under such circumstances it seems directly providential that the Church should have proclaimed her inextinguishable vital force in a succession of new foundations which, under the blessing and patronage of the Holy See, laid the foundations of a deep inward renewal of Christendom and infused into that body in a wonderful way the currents of reinvigorated life and strength.

During the reign of Clement VII there had already arisen, independently of the religious schism and without any relation to it, certain communities of regular clergy, or, as they were popularly called, of reformed priests, who had devoted themselves, as followers of the evangelical life and as true subjects of the Holy See, to such practical engagements as the intensifying of the spiritual life, preaching, care of the sick, and other works of Christian charity. One of the great services rendered to the Church by Paul III was his recognition of the adaptability of these new organizations to the altered circumstances of the time and his readiness to extend to them his favour and protection.

The oldest of these new foundations, the Order of the Theatines, which sprang from the "Oratory of the Divine Love" in Rome, was still under the direction of its founder, Gaetano di

Tiene, and his colleague, Gian Pietro Carafa. The former was head of the Neapolitan house, while in Venice, Bonifazio da Colle was superior.

The actual direction of the Order had hitherto been in the hands of Carafa; fearing that the forces of the Order would be weakened by disruption, he consented, not without reluctance, to the establishment of the Neapolitan branch in 1533. When in 1535 Paul III expressed the wish that the Theatines should resume their work in Rome, suspended after the sack, and that Carafa should himself return to the Eternal City, the latter was less than well pleased. A return to the restless atmosphere of the Curia filled him with repugnance and alarm. He was devoted to his sequestered life in Venice among his Theatines, and to his work in the hospitals, for which he made heroic sacrifices. He had, however, eventually to yield to the repeated and increasingly urgent solicitations of the Pope, and on the 27th of September 1536 he reached Rome with three fathers and two lay brothers, leaving behind him as vicar in Venice, Giovanni Bernardino Scoto. Carafa's fears were justified; the Pope kept him in Rome, and on the 22nd of December clothed him with the purple. Carafa had hitherto repelled this honour, and now, in his agitation, he fell ill. His cell in the Dominican convent of the Minerva, whither he had repaired, was so bare of furniture that he had not even a table on which to place his Cardinal's biretta, which was hung upon a nail on the wall. Gaetano di Tiene, who had come to Rome to attend the approaching General Chapter, remarked in his simple way that Carafa should have declined the honour. The latter, however, made it clear to him that the Pope's will was irresistible. "I have decided," said Carafa to his sister Maria, a Dominican nun in Naples, to "place my neck under the yoke."

Carafa as Cardinal lost none of his devotion to the Theatine Order, but Gaetano di Tiene was then the ruling spirit, first as superior of the Neapolitan house, and afterwards as the unofficial referee to whom, personally, all the affairs of the community were submitted with the utmost respect and obedience. Gaetano set no limits to his pastoral energy. He preached and heard confessions constantly; the sick and those under sentence of death were never left unvisited; his retreats for the clergy, during which he urged without ceasing that the priesthood knew neither rest nor leisure, were crowned with blessings. He threw himself heart and soul into the direction of the Dominican nunnery of the Sapienza, over which the sister of Carafa, Maria, was Superior. Early in 1538 Gaetano was able to connect with the Church of St. Paul, which in time to come was to be his place of sepulchre, a chapel which, on account of its size and situation in the heart of the city, permitted him and his colleagues to have a fair field for their work in Naples.

The services in St. Paul's were conducted in the most solemn manner, subject to certain special liturgical uses; thus on either side of the altar hangings were suspended so that the officiating priest should not be exposed to distractions. In the church itself men and women were not allowed to worship together. Even the gravestones were removed from the church, which became a model of cleanliness and order. While in many other churches, in accordance with the lax customs of the Renaissance, the behaviour of the people was highly irreverent, St. Paul's was spoken of as a centre of silence and recollection. To bring the vivacious Neapolitans to such a degree of self-discipline can have been no easy matter. On the other hand, Gaetano won great popularity by restoring at Christmas the general custom, as old as the days of St. Francis, of erecting in all churches a representation of the holy manger.

In 1539 the seeds of heresy sown by Juan Valdes in Naples, and more widely scattered by Ochino in his sermons, did not escape the vigilance of Gaetano and his colleague Marinoni, yet he was unable to carry out regulations against these dangers.

From 1540 to 1543 Gaetano's government of the house in Venice was not less energetic. Here also he was determined that an example of divine worship should be set, and encouraged

the faithful to practise frequent communion. In the beginning of 1541 he held, at the request of his friend Giberti, a mission in Verona, the results of which were largely blessed. In the following year he was again engaged in efforts to counteract the teaching of Ochino, who was then, as in 1539, preaching the Lenten course of sermons to great congregations; but he was again unsuccessful in obtaining the removal of the man who was so dangerously at variance with the Church.

Gaetano's last years were spent in Naples, in unceasing labours of compassion for the bodily and spiritual infirmities of his fellow-men. In July 1545 he visited Rome and there made acquaintance with the founder of the Society of Jesus. In May 1547 he was again in Rome, called thither in order to take part in the Chapter of the Order held in the house of Carafa. This was an occasion involving an important decision; the Somaschi, founded by Girolamo Miani with the co-operation of Carafa, and in Venice and Milan the centre of beneficent work among orphans and reclaimed women, had on the 5th of July 1540 received confirmation as an association from Paul III. They had now expressed a wish to submit themselves to the care and superintendence of the Theatines; the Pope entrusted the matter to Carafa's judgment, who, after careful examination, declared himself in favour of granting the request. The Pope and the Chapter of the Theatines concurred in this decision and the two bodies were amalgamated.

In the same year 1547, on the 7th of August, Gaetano died a holy death amid all the disturbances called forth by the attempt to introduce the Spanish Inquisition into Naples. Before his decease he exhorted his associates to place all their trust in Providence, since on that their congregation had been built. At the same time he besought them to be grateful to their benefactors, to have a care for the adornment of the House of God, and to love their neighbours and, above all, the sick. He offered up his life in expiation for the city of Naples, praying God that He would preserve its people in the faith. The guidance of the Order now passed to Bonifazio da Colle, who had entered it at its foundation on the 18th of September 1524, and in November 1548 the Englishman, Thomas Goldwell, was received at Naples as the first member not of Italian birth.

The members of Gaetano's community, who according to the intention of their founder were to form a company of priests devoted to the cure of souls and in direct dependence on the Holy See, were at this time officially styled Clerks Regular, those in Naples being known from the title of their house as Priests of St. Paul, and those in Venice of St. Niccolò da Tolentino. By the people they generally were spoken of either as reformed priests or as Theatines or Chietines, from the name of Carafa's bishopric of Chieti. The latter designation, often bestowed in jest on all friends of Carafa and on the supporters of the strict reform party in particular, came into notice as early as the thirtieth year of the 16th century and afterwards became widely current. The Theatines excited admiration and wonder by their abject poverty; they never begged, but waited quietly for the alms bestowed upon them. "Poverty," wrote the Theatine Bernardino on the 12th of September 1539, "is the only means at the present time of maintaining the clergy in independence and the Church in dignity." The strict manner of life among the Theatines very soon became proverbial, and their example pointed the way with irresistible force to the reform of the clergy throughout Italy.

Besides the Theatines another community of Clerks Regular, on which the friends of reform looked with great hopefulness, grew in importance under Paul III. This was the society founded by Antonio Maria Zaccaria, and was in many respects similar to that of the Theatines. Clement VII, in a brief of the 18th of February 1533, had approved of the congregation founded in Milan, the members of which renounced the world and surrendered themselves wholly to God for the salvation of souls. To attain this end two chief objects were kept in view: the improvement, on the

one hand, of the clergy, in order thus to influence in a Christian sense the generation then growing up and, on the other hand, the reform of the rude and uncultivated classes by means of open-air missions and preaching.

At the request of Zaccaria and his colleague Bartolommeo Ferrari, Paul III, in a brief of July the 20th, 1535, confirmed his predecessor's sanction and enjoined candidates for admission to take the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience at the hand of any secular or regular priest. He also gave permission to the community to choose one among them as their Superior, to be appointed for three years, to admit other clerics and also laymen into their body, to observe publicly in their churches the hours of prayer, and to administer the sacraments of penance and of the altar at all times, with the exception of Easter. The Pope also thought it good that the first church to be built by the Order should be dedicated to St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles being held by them in special veneration, and he conferred upon them all the privileges belonging to Canons of the Lateran. Finally, he placed the community under the immediate authority and protection of the Holy See: this last privilege, however, was at first limited to five years.

In order to support the missions among the people of the Clerks Regular of St. Paul, as the new community at first was called, by means of the evangelization and direction of women, the widowed Countess Luigia Torelli founded a sisterhood of pious women which Paul III approved on the 15th of February 1535. This body, directed by Zaccaria, was known as that of the "Angelice." This was approved by Paul III in a brief of the 6th of August 1549, while at the same time he added to their privileges especially by removing them from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop and placing them under the direction of the Superior of the Clerks Regular of St. Paul.

As the seat of the Angelice, Luigia Torelli had erected a convent in Milan near S. Euphemia; the house formerly occupied by them near S. Ambrogio they presented to the Clerks Regular of St. Paul who, on leaving their residence near S. Caterina, settled there and set up a small oratory which in 1542 they enlarged into a church for public worship. Here they laboured unceasingly, dispensing the Sacraments, preaching, and frequently holding spiritual conferences for the clergy as well as for the laity. An accusation of heresy brought against Zaccaria and his colleagues ended in the complete acquittal of the unjustly incriminated priests. On the 15th of April 1536 Jacopo Antonio Morigia, a friend of Zaccaria, was chosen Superior. The latter had now greater freedom at his disposal for directing members of the Angelice and holding missions out of Milan. At the request of Cardinal Ridolfi he held a mission in Vicenza in 1537, and two years later he was at Guastalla, acting as peacemaker among the citizens; there he was taken seriously ill. He was taken to his home at Cremona and there, worn out by labours of charity and exercises of penance, he died on July the 5th, 1539, having just reached his thirty-sixth year.

"The Church has need of such men," said Paul III. His foundation, which clung specially to Milan, continued to flourish; the house near S. Ambrogio was found too small and the church there also was not roomy enough. For these reasons Zaccaria had already cast his eye on an ancient church dedicated to St. Barnabas standing in a very favourable position on a quiet open place not far from the so-called ship canal and within easy reach of the most populous quarter of the city. By the autumn of 1545 the acquisition of this spot was secured, and Morigia began the erection of a convent and a church from plans of his own. The convent was occupied by All Saints' Day 1547, and the church dedicated to St. Paul. The people, however, kept to the old name of St. Barnabas, and the members of the Order were known among them as the Barnabites.³ On the 1st of December 1543 Paul III had already confirmed in perpetuity the privilege of 1535, then limited to five years. Thus the foundations were firmly laid of the Order from which proceeded that

reform of Milan and other cities of Lombardy which at a later period was consummated by St. Charles Borromeo.

A devotion of a very special character spread gradually over the whole Catholic world through the influence of the Barnabites and the Capuchins. This was the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament during the public Exposition of the Forty Hours. It is impossible from the material at our disposal to decide with certainty whether this beautiful custom owes its origin to the founder of the Barnabites or to the Capuchin, Guiseppe Plantanida of Fermo.

While the Angelice, the true helpmates of the Barnabites, were even at a later date confined to northern Italy, another community had arisen which, in course of time, embraced in its activity the whole Catholic world. In this case also the beginnings were small and obscure. The foundress, Angela Merici, born in 1469 at Desenzano on the Lago di Garda, lost her parents in childhood and, together with her sister, was adopted by an uncle at Salo. The sudden death of this dearly loved sister was a blow which Angela felt all the more deeply as she had passed away without receiving the last Sacraments. She now flung herself with greater devotion than before into a life of piety and became a tertiary of St. Francis. On her uncle's death Angela returned to her brother at Desenzano, where she soon began to gather round her young girls of like disposition to her own. One day while in prayer in a vineyard on the road from Desenzano to Salo she had what seemed to her a revelation from heaven calling upon her to found a community of women who should strive heavenwards in a life of active charity; she saw, indeed, a ladder reaching from earth to heaven on which maidens, with lilies in their hands and crowns about their brows, were ascending led by angels.

Hitherto absorbed in her personal sanctification, she now turned to a work of neighbourly love; gathering about her the often neglected girlhood of Desenzano, she taught them simple lessons in religion and in the knowledge of common things. Invited to Brescia by the noble family of the Patengola, she there showed the same activity from 1516 onwards. According to contemporary statements she reconciled many in that city who had been enemies for years. When a cousin of her own went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1524 she bore him company, and during the Jubilee of the following year she was a pilgrim to Rome. Through a Papal chamberlain whose acquaintance she had made on her journey to the Holy Land she was admitted to the presence of Clement VII, who would gladly have seen the centre of this pious maiden's work transferred from her native district to Rome, but, on Angela's entreaties, he put his wishes aside and allowed her to return to Brescia. There her quiet labours were interrupted by the tumult of the war which, after the League of Cognac, swept over almost the whole of Italy.

Like many others, Angela also sought refuge in the autumn of 1529 in Cremona from the encroachments of the savage soldiery. When the worst danger was over she returned to Brescia, where she took a house near the Church of St. Barnabas and began to contemplate her scheme of founding a religious community with the object of "practising Christian love in tending the sick, teaching young children, and pursuing individual holiness." On a pilgrimage to the sacred mount of Varallo, Angela disclosed her projects to her female friends. On the 15th of November 1535 they all partook of Holy Communion in St. Afra in Brescia, in confirmation of their vow of entire dedication to our Lord. Angela placed the young community under the patronage of St. Ursula, from whom it received its name. The community was not to be an Order: the members, in order to be able to carry out their work in the world, were to make their homes as before with their parents or relations, but were to meet together at fixed hours, to hear Mass daily, and to use certain prayers. As there were no special vows so there was no special clothing. For the direction of the community a Mother Superior was to be chosen for life. This rule, which Angela dictated to the

priest Gabbriello Cozzano, was confirmed in August 1536 by Cardinal Cornaro, Bishop of Brescia. The community, then numbering seventy-six persons, chose Angela as their head in March 1537. The Canons of St. Afra placed at her disposal a dwelling in a favourable situation near their church, and a pious widow gave them a chamber in her house on the piazza of the Cathedral to serve as an oratory.

Angela lived to see her community spread all over Brescia and the villages around. She died on January the 15th, 1540, and found a resting-place in St. Afra, in accordance with a permission granted to her on the 2nd of December 1532 by the Grand Penitentiary. She was followed in the government of her community by the Countess Lucretia of Lodron, who was strongly opposed by a portion of the sisterhood, tenacious of the original regulations of the foundress, in her wish to add a leathern girdle in sign of their virginity to the habit hitherto worn. The disagreement very nearly led to a rupture when, at the critical moment, on the 9th of June 1544, Paul III intervened with a Bull which not merely confirmed the community of virgins founded in Brescia under the patronage of St. Ursula and approved by the Bishop of the see, but also settled the question of a special badge of chastity by granting a special indulgence to all members who should wear such a token. Thereupon the use of the girdle became general among the Ursulines.

The Bull of Paul III, which also gave the Superior the right from time to time and under change of circumstances to lay before the Holy See alterations in the statutes, was the first step towards the transformation of the community into a regular Order. This development, as well as the diffusion of the Ursulines over northern Italy, was accomplished later when their congregation had become one of the most important factors in the revival of Catholic religion throughout the Peninsula.

While Italy was thus refreshed by new streams of life within the Church, apostolic men were also arising in Spain who, after passing through the experience of inward renewal in their own lives, were by work and example evoking a regeneration of the Catholic spirit on the sure foundations of the ancient religion. Such were John of Avila, Louis of Granada, and John of God.

John of Avila, born at the end of the 15th century, was at first bent on devoting himself to the conversion of America, but was restrained from leaving his native country by Alonso Manriquez, Archbishop of Seville. Here he devoted his life to converting hearts to God by his persuasive utterances. The jealousy of other preachers exposed him to many persecutions; he was even on one occasion cited before the Inquisition, but his innocence was soon recognized at that tribunal. His work as a preacher increased greatly as time went on; so many were the towns and cities that he visited that he was called the Apostle of Andalusia. In addition to his labours in the pulpit and the confessional he still found time for those of the desk. His life was written by his pupil and friend, Louis of Granada, then the second great luminary in the ecclesiastical firmament of Spain. Louis, who entered the Dominican Order at the age of nineteen, was, like his teacher, an earnest preacher. He excelled him as a writer of ascetic theology, and is reckoned among the classic authors of Spain. His most famous works are *The Memorial of a Christian Life* and *Guide for Sinners*, both masterpieces of ascetic literature.

John of God also belongs to the spiritual sons of the Apostle of Andalusia. At first, like Ignatius of Loyola, a gallant soldier, he was led to the path of his subsequent achievements by hearing a sermon by John of Avila at Granada in 1539. He left the army and gave expression to his contrition with such genuine southern fervour that he was looked upon as having lost his reason, and he was taken to the great hospital at Granada founded by Charles V, where he regained his balance of mind. Dismissed as cured, he made a pilgrimage to Guadeloupe in New Castille

and thence returned to Granada. Here in 1540 he founded a hospital and a community of persons living in the world who should take care of the sick. In time he extended his heroic work of service, as far as his position as a layman would permit, from the bodies of men to their souls; he exerted himself specially in the reclaiming of women who were leading lives of vice. An act of humanity, the rescue of a boy from the waters of the Xenil, cost him his life in March 1550. Under his successors the association founded by him continued to flourish, although these nursing brothers had no fixed rule. At last Pius V raised them to the rank of an ecclesiastical order; they were known in Spain as Hospitallers, in Italy as “Fate-ben-Fratelli,” and in Germany as Brothers of Pity. The praise of their humane works of compassion is common to all parties.

Paul III, like Clement VII, was repeatedly engaged with the claims of a new order which grew to be one of the most popular of all, and from which blessings without end were to descend upon the Church—this was the Order of the Capuchins.

The youthful creation, which aimed at restoring “even to the very letter” the spirit of the Poor Man of Assisi, went through repeated crises with no diminution of acuteness during the pontificate of Paul III. The claims already put forward by the Observants under Clement VII were now again advanced with still greater violence. It was folly on the part of the Capuchins to attach so much importance to their hood, since they could not produce a single proof that St. Francis ever wore one; it was only done to attract attention, and their dress in its wretched condition was at bottom nothing else than contemptible vainglory. Besides, it was not the intention of the founder of the Order that his rule should be observed literally, since this was possible only for a very few and he had himself relaxed its severity. Finally, the Observants challenged the usefulness of the friars to the Church, since the latter heard no confessions and allowed no funeral rites or burials in their churches. It was not difficult for the Capuchins to reply to such accusations levelled at them in the blindness of passion, especially as regarded the objection that they heard no confessions; they could point to the repeated conflicts which had arisen between the Franciscans and the secular clergy on this very subject; besides, they had not relinquished this duty for the sake of convenience, as their zeal as preachers would prove; when necessity demanded they had never hesitated to give help to their colleagues among the clergy.

If therefore such unfounded charges failed to have any effect on the new Pope, the latter might yet feel anxious when so eminent a personage as Cardinal Quinones represented to him that the Capuchins were disturbing the peace of the Seraphic Order, of which he was protector, that they were preventing the introduction of the good elements of the Observants into the strict convents where the rule of St. Francis was observed in all its purity. Consequently, Paul III on the 18th of December 1534 not merely confirmed his predecessor’s prohibition concerning the admission of Observants, but extended it to all other Orders until the meeting of the General Chapter. Although this very severe regulation was on the 12th of January 1535 again restricted to the transfer of Observants, it was yet in no common degree detrimental to the extension of the Capuchins.

Not less hurtful was the behaviour of Lodovico da Fossombrone, the head of the young Order since 1529, and a man of self-assertive character. Hitherto he had filled his office as Vicar-General most zealously; he looked upon himself as indispensable, and was so fond of rule that it was his ambition to hold his office permanently; therefore he looked out for any pretext to prevent the General Chapter being held. At last a Papal command forced him to summon it. The Chapter, which assembled in Rome in November 1535, chose in his stead Bernardino of Asti. Lodovico felt the smart keenly, accused his brethren of ingratitude, and withdrew from the further proceedings of the Chapter. At his request Paul III called a fresh Chapter in the spring of 1536.

As this resulted in the re-election of Bernardino, Lodovico refused his obedience, although the choice was confirmed by the Pope. The unhappy man, whose behaviour had found support in Cardinal Quinones, was allowed a respite until autumn; as he then continued contumacious, he was expelled from the Order with the Pope's approval.

At the same time the Capuchins had an accession in the famous writer Francis Titelmans, hitherto an Observant. This remarkable man, who at first was attached to the Hospital for Incurables in Rome, was soon afterwards made Provincial of the Roman Province, but unfortunately he died on the 15th of December 1537 on his second visitation journey.

The painful incident of Lodovico's expulsion was naturally made the most of by the enemies of the Capuchins. To what measures they had recourse is best seen from the fact that Quinones was successful in persuading the Emperor to write, on the 4th of December 1535, an autograph letter to the Pope asking him to forbid any further extension of the Capuchin Order, and in particular to refuse them permission to enter Spain.

But in the meantime powerful influences were at work in support of the new branch of the Franciscans. They found an enthusiastic champion in Vittoria Colonna, who had already in August 1535 drawn Contarini's attention to the Capuchins and obtained from Paul III an immediate modification of the renewed prohibition against transference from the Observant communities. Accordingly the Capuchins were permitted to receive Observants whose superiors had not designated within two months convents in which they could live under the reformed rule. On the 29th of December 1535 Vittoria wrote to Cardinal Gonzaga: "I had applied to Bishop Giberti of Verona asking him to certify you that I was speaking the truth in recommending to you these reverend fathers of the holy and true rule of St. Francis. I now send you his letter in confirmation of this." The Emperor, she continued, had been opposed to them, but was already of a different mind and would continue to be so, she hoped, after what he had seen in Rome. She was not mistaken, for after his visit to the humble Capuchin settlement Charles bore the most favourable testimony concerning them to the Pope. Paul III reminded him of the letter which he had written in December 1535. Charles replied, "I never withdraw my orders, but I do withdraw my letter, for I was badly informed."

In this way the Capuchins were restored to favour, while Vittoria Colonna, in her veneration for St. Francis, continued to afford them her indefatigable protection against unjust attacks. The evidence is afforded by her letters addressed in all directions: to the private secretary of the Pope, to Contarini, and to the Duchess of Urbino. While she besought the latter to protect the Capuchins of Fossombrone from molestation, she deplored in particular the persistent hostility of Cardinal Quinones. "He vents his hatred," so she wrote, "on the Capuchins because they have exposed so clearly the defects of his own Order." The representations of Cardinals Sanseverino and Contarini, who were supported by Pole, succeeded in overcoming all the scruples of Paul III. On the 25th of August 1536 he issued a Bull in which, in consideration of the rich fruits already brought forth by the new community and in expectation of fresh services to the militant Church, he confirmed the approbation of the Capuchins pronounced by his predecessor on the 3rd of June 1528 and conferred on the General Chapter the right to elect a Vicar-General who, as hitherto, should be subject to the General of the Conventuals. At the same time the Pope forbade, under penalty of excommunication, the Capuchin habit to be worn by anyone outside their Order. This last ordinance fell heavily on the original founder, Matteo da Bascio, when in 1537 he returned from his wanderings as a preacher of repentance to Rome, where the Capuchins in the previous year had settled on the Quirinal, near the Church of S. Nicola de Portiis.

Clement VII had appointed Matteo to special work as a preacher without attaching him to any convent. In consequence of the recent Papal decree the latter qualification became necessary, but Matteo was unable to make up his mind to conform to it. This incident naturally offered a fresh opportunity for the opponents of the Capuchins to renew their attacks.

The young community was far from securing peace; the Observants found their curtailed activity intolerable and raised incessant complaints. Paul III appointed a commission of inquiry of nine Cardinals, and in accordance with their proposal he gave orders in the beginning of January 1537 that until the General Chapter was held in Rome the Capuchins should not extend their operations beyond Italy and that no Observant should, without written permission from his Superior, go over to the Capuchins, and vice versa no Capuchin go over to the Observants. If any of the latter wished to live by a stricter rule he might betake himself to a house appointed for him by his Superior; where no such convents existed, they were to be established.

But even now dissensions were not yet at an end. The Observants did all they could to have the Capuchin habit prohibited in order that the latter might be subordinate to—*i.e.* in subjection to—themselves. The new Order, however, had powerful supporters. They were in favour with many of the Cardinals, Contarini and Piccolomini in particular, and with the Imperial ambassador Aguilar. Vittoria Colonna came once more to the rescue of her protégés. In the autumn of 1538 she appealed not only to Contarini but to the Pope himself. Her letter to the Pontiff was dated from Lucca on the 16th of September 1538, and contains a most outspoken defence of the Capuchins as loyal and serviceable sons of the Holy See.

To Cardinal Contarini, Vittoria represented that the new Order contained so many remarkable members that it might with certainty be looked upon as the work of Christ. Let the example of the Capuchins and their admirable preaching witness in their behalf. It was her firm conviction that the pure gold would be proved in the fire of persecution and the mere dross be consumed. One by one she met the charges brought against the Capuchins: that they were Lutherans because they preached the freedom of the spirit, that they had no authorized status, that they disobeyed the General of the Order, wore a different habit and received Observants. To the first charge Vittoria replied: “If St. Francis was a heretic, then are his followers Lutherans; if to preach spiritual freedom and to rebuke iniquity in submission to the ordinances of the Church is false, then is the Gospel also false in which it is written, ‘It is the Spirit which giveth life.’”

These eloquent words were not without effect. The Observants failed in their chief demands—prohibition of the new habit and the subordination of the Capuchins. On the other hand, the Pope made more stringent his decree of the 23rd of August 1539 forbidding the Capuchins to receive any Observants except those who had a written permission to show from their Superior or from the Holy See, and a Bull of the 5th of August 1541 repeated this injunction. In other respects the Capuchins remained unmolested; they spread gradually all over Italy; in 1534 they had reached as far as Dalmatia and in 1540 they were in Corsica. Among the people love and respect for them increased from year to year, while their settlements were spoken of as types of the strictly cloistered life. Then came a blow, one harder than which it would be impossible to conceive; the head and glory of the Order, Bernardino Ochino, renounced the faith and married.

The downfall and disgrace of the Vicar-General set the enemies of the Capuchins on fresh intrigues and calumnies. “Such a tempest arose,” wrote a chronicler of the Order, “that without God’s help we had assuredly been lost.” In order to involve the whole Order in disgrace, it was bruited about that Ochino had been its founder, and although the untruthfulness of this statement admitted of easy proof, it often obtained credence, while many even who wished well to the Order were made distrustful by Ochino’s apostasy. There was good reason to fear that the members

might be contaminated by the heresy of the head; a certain number of Capuchins did actually follow the example of their General; others by degrees reinstated themselves. In Rome Ochino's apostasy was known first in September 1542, but the Pope had been in receipt of information earlier in Perugia. How great was his agitation is shown by an expression which fell from him as, on his return journey, he caught sight of the Capuchin monastery on the slopes of Terni: "Very soon there will be an end to the Capuchins and their convents."

That an Order in which such a calamity should have occurred were better abolished was also the opinion of most of the Cardinals; only Cardinal Sanseverino spoke warningly of any hasty steps. Paul III was guided by this eminent man's advice, and gave orders for a thorough inquiry. Cardinal Carpi, as Protector of the Seraphic Order, summoned, at the Pope's command, all the Superiors to Rome, who were there closely examined as to the purity of the faith. The result of the inquiry was that no sufficient ground was established for the abolition of the Order even if, in the case of a proportion of the fathers, suspect opinions could be proven; taking the latter point into consideration, all the members were inhibited from preaching for the time being. Francesco of Jesi was appointed Commissary-General and soon afterwards elected Vicar-General in the Chapter of the Order held at Rome. He organized a thorough visitation of the Order, taking special care to go into the question of purity of doctrine, with close scrutiny, in the provinces of Venice and Emilia. That, notwithstanding this, distrust existed in Rome for some time later is shown by the presentation to the Capuchins, in 1545, of nineteen articles of faith on which they were required to make explicit declarations. The Vicar-General's answer was so satisfactory that the Pope restored to the Order the licence to preach. With this the Order passed safely through the last storm which might have had for them such disastrous consequences.

By this series of trials the Capuchin Order had gone through an ordeal of purification and emerged in such strength that henceforth there were no longer grounds for fear, although the enmity of the Observants did not cease.

The idea of such an Order originating from a perfectly simple man proved itself to possess an inherent vitality in no common degree. Although still temporarily confined within the limits of Italy, the Capuchins yet attained such importance that they more and more outdistanced the Theatines. The reason for this was that the Theatines always preserved a certain stamp of aristocracy, while the Capuchins acted primarily on the broad masses of the people and stirred them to the depths by their penitential preaching. In their outward appearance the poorest of the poor, they were already a living sermon and in immediate touch with that lower scale of men and women of whom they became the favourites and the counsellors. Barefooted and bareheaded, wearing only a coarse frock girt round them by a rough cord, these genuine disciples of St. Francis carried among the waifs and strays of the Italian provinces a truly apostolic missionary power. To know the depths of poverty for Christ's sake, to be spent in works of spiritual and bodily compassion for the love of their fellow-men, were the two guiding stars which led these heroic men on their toilsome way.

A middle place, as it were, between the Theatines and the Capuchins was reserved for yet another Order which, in enthusiastic devotion to the Church and lofty self-surrender for the salvation of souls, had a task of surpassing grandeur to fulfil. This was the Society of Jesus. This association, which was to supply the Church with a yet more powerful weapon than that wielded by the Capuchins in the work of reformation and restoration, had this in common with the rest of the new Orders—the pursuit, in the first place, of practical aims; yet there were also many points of difference between them, and among them this particular one that, during the life-time of Paul III, the work of the Jesuits had already extended far beyond the confines of Italy. Quite apart from

their surprisingly rapid extension and from the striking personality of their founder, the Society of Jesus deserves separate consideration for this reason that, among all the Orders of the modern era, they have formed the greatest support and the greatest defence of the Papacy.

CHAPTER XIV.

IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA AND THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

At the very moment when the Church in Italy was assuming daily a more and more mundane character, and the corrupt elements of the Renaissance were, in the person of the Spaniard Alexander VI, degrading the Holy See, a man was born in Spain who was destined to contribute more powerfully than any other, by the force and the unequalled range of his activity, to purify the Church and to restore by means of new conquests the balance of her recent losses. This was Ignatius of Loyola.

The Loyola family belonged to the lesser nobility of the beautiful Basque country. There, in the province of Guipuzcoa, hidden away among mountain solitudes to the west of the little town of Azpeitia on the road to Azcoitia, stood the cradle of the race, which differed in no respects from the other seats of Basque noblemen. The small building with its thick walls is only two stories high; over the doorway can be seen in stone the armorial bearings of the house of Loyola. In this abode, carefully preserved from decay by the pious regard of posterity, at the beginning of the ninetieth year of the 15th century, Iñigo, who was later known as Ignatius, first saw the light of day. After a childhood passed in the lonely valley, he was taken while yet a lad under the protection of a friend of his family, Juan Velasquez, grand treasurer to Ferdinand the Catholic, who resided sometimes at Arevalo and sometimes at the King's court. The boy's education did not pass the customary limits of that age; he learned to read and write, and after the death of Velasquez he entered military service under the Duke of Najera, viceroy of Navarre. He lived as a genuine child of the Spanish chivalry of those days, filled with the spirit of the Catholic faith, which that chivalry had defended in centuries of wars against the Moors. Always in readiness to deal a blow, rejoicing in the stress of battle, and noble of heart, he was in the rest of his conduct far from being a saint. Juan de Polanco, afterwards his com-panion of long years' standing, relates that in his youthful days Ignatius had been a gambler and had had amorous adventures.

Then came a turning-point. Ignatius's life was to take a direction which should turn the hot head of the camp into a champion of the Church and the Holy See and the founder of a new Order.

When the French were besieging Pampeluna in May 1521 Ignatius was determined to hold the fortress to the last extremity; nor did it yield before the valiant soldier had been severely wounded in the leg. He was conveyed to his father's house, and there it was discovered that the limb had been badly set, and would have to be broken again. Ignatius bore the excruciating pain with no other sign of suffering than the hard clenching of his fists, but it was long before the limb was healed, and in order to while away the time the sick man asked for romances of chivalry. There were none such in the house, therefore he was given a Spanish Lives of the Saints and a

translation in the same language of the great *Vita Christi* compiled by the Carthusian, Ludolph of Saxony, from the Gospels and patristic writings. Ignatius read and pondered the sacred story herein narrated. Still, fancies and thoughts of this world came back to him again. “For two, three, four hours,” he relates, “he called before his mind the deeds of valour which he wished to perform in honour of a certain lady. She was not,” he affirmed, “a lady of ordinary nobility, no Countess, no Duchess—she was one of still higher rank.” Yet there came hours of reading once more in the doings of the saints. “What,” he asked himself, “if I were to do the deeds of a St. Dominic or a St. Francis?”

So his moods and plans varied. Thus he acquired this experience: mundane thoughts fascinated him, it was true, yet in the end they only left his soul parched and discontented; but when he purposed to himself to imitate the strenuous lives of the saints, he not only found comfort in such contemplations themselves, but afterwards felt satisfaction and joy. He came gradually to fix his mind on this contrast, and perceived that in the one case he was moved by an evil spirit and in the other by a good.

Finally, the thoughts of religion prevailed. They took possession of his whole soul; he determined to be God’s knight and not the world’s. In order to strengthen this resolution he copied, as far as his strength permitted him, in ornamental letters, an extract from Ludolph’s *Vita Christi* into an exercise book; even then, as Laynez assures us, he had a special devotion for the mother of our Lord.

Cured at last, he broke away from his family, determined to emulate the great deeds of the saints. He made a pilgrimage to the great Catalonian shrine of Our Lady of Montserrat. There in the rugged mountain wilderness he withdrew, a prey to deep contrition, into seclusion with a Benedictine monk and during three days poured forth the penitential avowals of his past. On the night of the Annunciation he held a vigil after knightly fashion before the time-honoured miraculous picture of Our Lady in the conventual church. He wore a rough garment of penance—a cord round his loins and a pilgrim’s staff in his hand; sword and dagger he hung up by the altar; his knightly apparel he bestowed on a beggar.

In order to escape observation and remain in complete concealment he now bent his steps to the neighbouring small town of Manresa, where he was received into the hospital. In spiritual exercises he was as yet unversed; outward acts of penance seemed to him the one and only standard of holiness. He led accordingly the most austere life, begged his bread, fasted all the week except on Sunday, and three times a day gave himself the discipline; every week he made his confession and received the sacrament of the altar; daily he attended Mass and vespers; every night he rose from his bed to pray and daily passed seven hours on his knees in prayer; the principal scene of his prayers and penitential exercises was a cave near the city. No wonder that by the end of the year Ignatius was seriously ill. Pious women in the higher ranks of life tended him in their homes, but he determined to change his dwelling, and in clothing and living to approximate more nearly to the customary ways of men.

For the first four months he felt an inward joy that was almost without a cloud, but then came bitterest anguish and conflicts of the soul. Once he resolved neither to eat nor drink again until he had found peace. He persevered for a whole week, and only the command of his confessor availed to make him take some nourishment at last. His director also calmed him when he wished again and again to confess sins already laid bare. Peace returned once more, and his heart rejoiced in God.

Great illumination ensued. God treated him, as Ignatius himself expressed it, “exactly as a schoolmaster treats a child whom he is teaching.” He bestowed upon him the gift of contemplative prayer. Often, so he confidently stated at a later time, “he thought to himself that even if no Holy Scriptures had been given us to teach us the truths of faith he would nevertheless have determined to give up life itself for them, solely on account of what he had seen with the soul.” To his bosom friend Laynez he said, in speaking of the days at Manresa, that once in the neighbourhood of the city he had learned more in the course of an hour than all the sages of the world could have taught him. It was by the river Cardoner; Ignatius had sat down on the brink and was gazing into the stream; many of the things then made known to him swept across his vision at a later day when he came to found his Order. In this sense it may be said that Manresa was the birth-place of the Society of Jesus. But that Ignatius then knew clearly and certainly that he was to be the founder of such an Order is a subsequent tradition which does not admit of proof. As the most recent sources of information made public show, Ignatius and those in his confidence spoke in a very different fashion.

While still at Manresa Ignatius led many to a change of life by giving them “spiritual exercises.” This was the origin of the little book written simply and intelligibly, with the utmost brevity and compression of style, which belongs to the most remarkable books of mankind—the Book of the Exercises,—not that it was written down at one stroke. Ignatius himself replied to the question of Gonsalvez: “The Pilgrim—so was Ignatius called in his self-confessions—observed in his soul now this, now that, and found it profitable; then, thought he, this might also be useful to others, and so wrote it down.” Ignatius particularly gave it to be understood that the directions as to the choice of a vocation and as to the formation of resolutions in weighty matters belonged to the time of his serious illness at Loyola. The rules concerning thinking in conformity with the mind of the Church were added years afterwards in France or Italy. But already in 1547 Laynez had declared that Ignatius had made the Exercises his first consideration from the early days in Manresa. Everything points to the probability that there also he wrote out their first draft.

The Book of the Exercises calls for a closer examination. The contents are divided into four “weeks.” Each week can be curtailed or lengthened at need. The indispensable foundation of the whole work is formed by the aim and end of man. “Man was created that he might praise God our Lord, show Him reverence, and serve Him, and by so doing save his soul. All other creatures upon earth were created for the sake of man and to help him to reach his goal. It therefore follows that man must use these creatures so far as they help him to this goal, and abstain from them so far as they hinder him from attaining it.” If he does not thus act, he sins. The meditations of the first week awaken a horror of sin and a dread of its consequences. The soul cleanses herself by confession; she breaks her fetters, reaches the true freedom of the children of God, and presses on with all her strength to her Creator. For no man can there be any other way than the imitation of Christ, which for Ignatius was his life’s ideal, one which he pursued with the sincerity and strength of will peculiar to him.

In the first meditation of the second week Christ appears as the God-sent heavenly King; He must rule over all hearts, and therefore extend His sway over the whole world; He calls upon all to enlist in His army, and places Himself at the head of His loyal troops. All true souls cleave to Him closely. Following the steps of the Evangelists, the meditations now accompany the Saviour through all the passages of his life, with frequent prayers to the Heavenly Father that grace may be given to know and to love the Redeemer more, and to be more faithful to His example. Here the right moment has arrived to make a choice of vocation. The Exercises offer a wise and searching introduction to the treatment of this momentous question; at the same time they serve as the pole-star for any important decision in life, whether such be made in the

Exercises or in the world without. Now, in the Exercises, all, whom a choice of vocation no longer concerns, must in their several stations “reform themselves.” Ignatius makes it perfectly clear that this is a question not merely for priests and religious, but those also whom God calls to wedlock, to power, and to riches.

Every man in his calling and position must, by living faith and practical love, participate in the work of Christ’s kingdom. That is the ultimate goal of the Exercises. In order to attain to it the meditation on the two standards, that of Lucifer and that of Christ, shows us with complete perspicuity the contrast between the ruinous principles of the evil spirit and the principles of Christian perfection as taught by Christ. Two other meditations keep the same aim in view, that of calling forth strong and effectual resolutions; one deals with the “three classes of men,” the other with the three grades or “modes” of humility. The third week, devoted to the sufferings of our Lord, confirms the penitent in his renunciation of evil and in his wholesome resolves. The fourth is a rapturous meditation on the risen and glorified Son of God.

The meditations are interspersed with various counsels and rules of life which, like the directions for making a choice, are serviceable not merely for periods of contemplation but for the whole course of life : such for instance are the rules for the “discernment of spirits”; for the treatment of scruples; for the right expenditure of income; for moderation in food, drink, and sleep; for the practice of meditation, examination of conscience, and other forms of prayer; for the duty of mental obedience to the Church. These last especially are worth their weight in gold. At their head stands the primary maxim: “We must be ready to renounce from our heart our private judgment, to obey in all things the bride of Christ, and this bride is that Holy Mother the Church.” We must, he says further, exhort to frequent confession, communion, and attendance at Mass, not forgetting also prayer in choir, religious vows, the veneration of relics, pilgrimages, indulgences, rules of fasting and abstinence, exercises of penance; and these not only in their inward but also in their external practice. We must also praise the building and adornment of churches and the veneration shown to sacred images and pictures. Above all ought we to praise the precepts of the Church, always defending her teaching and never opposing it. We should always be more ready to praise than to blame the statutes and conduct of those set over us as superiors, even if the persons themselves should not always be praiseworthy, “since to attack them in sermons or in intercourse with the common people would be more likely to give rise to murmurings and scandals than to edification.” In speaking of the predestination of men, of faith, and of grace such expressions should be avoided as are likely to cool the zeal of the faithful for good works. The holy fathers should be read diligently, yet without depreciation of the scholastic teachers. With great emphasis Ignatius insists on the duty of the unconditional surrender of the understanding to the judgment of the Church led by the Holy Spirit. The Spiritual Exercises close in the contemplation of the divine love which finds expression in a striking prayer of absolute self-surrender to God.

One who has no knowledge’ of a spiritual world, to whom the power of prayer is a negligible quantity, and in whose scheme of life there is no room for the inroads of grace, can neither fully grasp the meaning of this book nor explain its effects. Besides this the Exercises were intended to be gone through and not merely read. Their object has been described as the attainment of that tranquillity of soul which consists in the annihilation of the personal will, the surrender of volition. On the other hand, a non-Catholic scholar has recently pointed out with truth that, as a matter of experience, those who have gone through the Exercises and are to this day going through them, have received moral forces which previously they had not possessed. The effect of the Exercises is not to weaken but to intensify and strengthen personality. They are the masterpiece of “a sapient educational system.”

Ignatius himself called his book “ Spiritual exercises whereby a man may be enabled to conquer himself and so order his life that he is never under the domination of any inordinate affection whatever.” Thus prayer is not to him an end in itself. He will not merely teach men prayer as such, he will rather offer them a selection of reflections, readings, oral prayers, examinations of con-science, exercises, penance, which in a determined sequence and combination shall lead up to the point when, as the book itself says, “a man may set himself free from all inordinate affections and, having done so, seek for and find the will of God in conformity with which to rule his life and secure the salvation of his soul.” Through abundant prayer and works of spiritual and corporal penance he seeks to receive the grace of heaven; with this grace the whole man, under the guidance of a wise director, enters into co-operation. Memory, supported by the power of imagination, places before the soul the doctrines and facts of revelation, especially those contained in Holy Scripture; the internal and the external correspond; for the daily work of life are substituted loneliness and silence; yet all this is only a means to an end. The central activities are those of the understanding and the will; the truths of faith are to be weighed calmly and then applied to the action or inaction of the individual life.

Reasonable reflection, independent calculation, magnanimous resolves going into all the details of life, that it is which Ignatius requires. What have I done for Christ? What am I doing for Him? What do I intend to do for Him? Fear and shame, admiration and gratitude, trust and a generous and enthusiastic love must be called forth and the whole character possessed by such sentiments. The master of the Exercises must take care that this possession be not distorted into a morbid excitement, that zeal be not too precipitate. He must give warning against rash and inconsiderate vows, must prevent injury to health from austerities of penance and, however holy the religious life may be, must not recommend it while the Exercises are in progress. Now is the time “when the Creator and the creature, the creature and the Creator, must deal together alone without the mediation of man.”

In the preface which was prefixed in 1548 to the first impression of the Exercises, the author says that he had drawn his material not so much from books as from his own inner experiences and the knowledge acquired in directing the souls of others. The literary sources of the Spiritual Exercises have been industriously explored. It is probable that while at Montserrat, Ignatius had become acquainted with the *Ejercitatorio de la vida espiritual* which Garcia de Cisneros, nephew of Cardinal Ximenes and first Abbot of the reformed Benedictine convent of Montserrat, had composed for the use of his community and had had printed there in 1500. From him he may have borrowed the title of his book and even some of its details. Cisneros himself, to all appearance, was largely indebted to the writings of two Netherlander, “Brothers of the Common Life,” Gerhard Zerbolt of Zutphen and Jan Mombaers, who in their turn again had been influenced by St. Bonaventure and others. Ignatius has taken some things from the *Imitation* of Thomas a Kempis and some from Ludolph of Saxony’s *Life of Christ*. The meditation on the Two Standards is found in part in a mediaeval sermon attributed to St. Bernard, while the teaching on the three degrees of humility has a striking affinity with remarks of Savonarola on this subject.

But these are only single stones. The building, taken as a whole, is a compact and uniform work of art constructed on new and original lines. In particular, none of the writers prior to Ignatius have given such sound and thorough instruction on that form of prayer which, in a restricted sense, we speak of as meditation. There is an entire absence of all emotionalism, he addresses himself to the reason and to faith and imparts his teaching in a manner fitted for the school of life.

One remarkable phenomenon always remains. Here was a soldier, who had learned no more than to read and write and had only just said farewell to a life adrift among the temptations of the world, who yet was able to compose a spiritual work remarkable for inwardness, lucidity, depth, and strength. By Ignatius himself and his first disciples this was regarded as a special instance of the overruling power of the Spirit of God. Paul III handed the book over for examination to three theologians, who had full permission to amend and to improve, and without altering a single word they gave their *approbatio*.

At the request of Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia, Paul III, on 31st July 1548, issued a brief declaring the Exercises to be full of piety and holiness; they had contributed much to the greatest successes achieved by Ignatius and his institution; he (the Pope) gave his unreserved approval, and urged upon the faithful that they should use the work to their own advantage.

Ignatius wished that by means of the Exercises the spirit of his Order might be stamped upon the novices. "This is our armoury," he used to say; he did not wish to see any other method of prayer observed in the Society. The Exercises were, moreover, the means of bringing to him, in 1543, his first German adherent. Peter Canisius, then a young man of twenty-two years of age, wrote about them from Mainz to a friend: "They taught me to pray in spirit and in truth; I felt new forces, as it were, within me; they poured themselves from my soul over my body; I was completely transformed into a new man."

The Society of Jesus in all ages has seen in the Exercises, and particularly in the meditation on the "Two Standards," the pattern of its existence.

Their influence soon spread beyond the limits of the Order and was felt by the great spiritual teachers and saints of the age: Louis of Granada, John of Avila, Ludovicus Blosius of the Order of St. Benedict. Gerhard Kalckbrenner, Prior of the Carthusians of Cologne, wrote on the 31st of May 1543 to one of his brethren, "Such a treasure would be worth seeking for even if one had to go to the Indies." The scholastic theologian Joannes Cochlaeus rejoiced that "now, once more, a teacher had at last arisen who could speak to the heart." Dietrich van Heeze, private secretary and confessor to Adrian VI, affirmed in 1543 that "he had gained so much from the Exercises that he would not give them away were he offered the whole world in exchange." St. Francis of Sales also recommended the Exercises, and St. Charles Borromeo introduced them among the clergy of the province of Milan.

All Orders have adopted the custom of going through the Exercises at stated periods. "The little volume of Exercises of Loyola," says a modern historian, "has exercised on his own Order and the Catholic priesthood generally an influence of a powerfully pronounced character." He might have added that this transforming and sanctifying influence has also been felt, and will continue to be felt, by laymen in the most varied conditions of life.

Ignatius remained about a year at Manresa. Then the craving for occupation drove him, the man of action, again into the world. He set out for Palestine, that region of the world which, in the Middle Ages, had been the magnet of so many crusaders. Wearing the garb of the poorest pilgrim, he sailed from Barcelona to Gaeta and from there made the journey to Rome; he set foot, for the first time, in the Eternal City on Palm Sunday, the 29th of March 1523, when he stayed for fourteen days and received the blessing of Pope Adrian VI. From Rome he proceeded, begging his way, to Venice, and there took ship to the Holy Land.

In Jerusalem heavenly consolations filled his soul; he would, there and then, have given himself up to missionary work among the Mohammedans, but the Franciscan Provincial, appealing to the Papal decrees, ordered him, under ecclesiastical censure, to return to his native

country. The pilgrim bowed to the will of God and returned to Barcelona, as he had come, a beggar.

What was he now to do? He thought of entering a religious house, but his decided preference was for a life dedicated, in freedom, to God's glory. But one thing before all else was clear to him—the need of a well-grounded education. Thus at the age of thirty he took his place for two years on the benches of a boys' school at Barcelona and learned Latin amongst the children. Two pious women, Isabel Roser and Ines Pascual, supplied him with food. For higher studies he went to the universities of Alcala and Salamanca. In all the three towns he gave the spiritual exercises and devoted himself to other works of fraternal charity. The followers who attached themselves to him wore all alike coarse brownish clothing and were thus nicknamed by the people the "Ensayalados."

Many pious souls, especially women, came to Ignatius for spiritual instruction and comfort. His studies suffered in consequence, and he became inevitably the subject of remark. Ignatius incurred the suspicion of being an emissary of the fanatical "Alumbrados," who, under the pretext of being the recipients of signal gifts from God, were spreading distinctive errors throughout Spain, and he was put in prison. In Alcala his detention lasted forty-two days, in Salamanca twenty-two; he refused to employ legal aid, and in both towns he was adjudged innocent by the ecclesiastical authorities. Ignatius afterwards was able to assure King John III. of Portugal that he had never had intercourse with the Alumbrados or known any of them.

He was now, however, drawn towards that institution, which still maintained the reputation, centuries old, of being the centre of European learning—the Sorbonne in Paris. Ignatius reached the French capital on the 2nd of February 1528. Seven years were now spent in methodical study; after three and a half years of philosophical training he took his master's degree; then succeeded the course of theology. In order to collect alms for his support he appeared repeatedly during the vacations in Bruges and Antwerp, and once visited London.

In Paris also Ignatius came under the suspicion of heresy; but the inquisitors, Matthaëus Ori and Thomas Laurentius, both of the Dominican Order, established his innocence. Laurentius drew up for him and his associates a highly honourable testimonial; he was so much pleased with the Book of Exercises that he asked to be furnished with a copy.

The followers Ignatius had gathered round him in Spain had left him again; in their place he found at the Sorbonne a company of friends from whom he was never to be separated. The first was Pierre le Fevre, commonly called Peter Faber, a Savoyard of the simplest piety and keenest intelligence, who was among those who shared board and lodging with him at the College of St. Barbe. In the same company was a young nobleman of Navarre, endowed with brilliant gifts and filled with far-reaching plans: his name was Francis Xavier. Ignatius won the affection of the young professor and withdrew him from associates who at heart had become estranged from the teaching of the Church. Francis finally went through the Exercises and placed himself unreservedly in the hands of his friend. Through the Exercises the Spaniards Diego Laynez and Alfonso Salmeron came to the same determination; they were followed by Simon Rodriguez, a Portuguese; by Nicolas Bobadilla, a Spaniard; by the Savoyard, Claude Le Jay; and the Frenchmen, Pascal Broët and Jean Codure. They almost all had taken the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

On the Feast of the Assumption, the 15th of August 1534, an important step was taken which has often been described as the laying of the foundation stone of the Society of Jesus. Ignatius and six of his first associates—Le Jay, Broët, and Codure had not yet joined the band—

passed beyond the city to Montmartre, on the declivity of which lay the sequestered chapel of St. Denis belonging to the Benedictine nuns. Peter Faber, the only priest among them, celebrated Mass, and during the Holy Sacrifice each one vowed on the Blessed Sacrament to observe the rules of poverty and strict chastity and to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, there to work for the salvation of souls ; yet they determined, as long as their studies lasted, to retain possession of their means. For the sake of their pilgrim's journey they resolved to go to Venice and await during the course of a year an opportunity of securing a passage; if none offered, they vowed to throw themselves at the Pope's feet and place their services at his disposal. The next two years saw the same solemnity repeated and, at least in the year 1536, three new members were among the participants.

In the meantime Ignatius had been obliged, on account of impaired health, to revisit his home; from there he went to Venice. Among those whom he introduced to the Spiritual Exercises were Pietro Contarini and Gasparo de Doctis, the auditor of the Papal nuncio Girolamo Verallo. Even here Ignatius was not beyond reach of calumny, and things went so far that judicial proceedings were opened against him; the sentence, however, was in his favour, and de Doctis lavished praise on his teaching and his character.

Ignatius was the first of the ten comrades to enter Venice. Francis Xavier and the remaining eight wandered on foot from Paris in the winter of 1536, leathern knapsacks on their backs containing the Bible, the Breviary, and their college note-books, the rosary round their necks, towards the city of the lagoons. There they stayed two months and a half; they worked in the hospitals, ministering to the souls and bodies of the sick; then they started for Rome to obtain the blessing of the Pope on their coming pilgrimage.

Only Ignatius was left behind. He feared two men in Rome : Cardinal Carafa, with whom he had had shortly before serious differences of opinion in Venice, and Pedro Ortiz, the Imperial plenipotentiary at the court of Rome, to whom, as a teacher in the University of Paris, he formerly had been obnoxious. But it was no other than Ortiz who gave his friends a warm recommendation to the Pope. Paul III ordered the Parisian theologians to carry on a debate with several Roman doctors while he was eating his dinner. When he had finished his meal he called the former to him and, with outstretched arms, said he was delighted to see so great learning combined with so great modesty. He gave them willingly his permission to go to Jerusalem, sent unsolicited on two occasions money for the journey, but remarked that he did not believe that they would ever reach that city. Cardinal Carafa also showed great signs of favour.

The pilgrims now returned to Venice. There, in virtue of special permission from the Pope, Ignatius, Francis Xavier, and five others were ordained priests.

A ship had now to be waited for. The ten dispersed themselves over various towns of the Republic during the time of suspense, and Verallo gave them authority to preach and hear confessions. But the experience of previous years was now repeated; owing to the war between Venice and the Turks the whole year went by without a single ship setting sail for Palestine; they were thus free from their vow of pilgrimage and had to see in Rome the Jerusalem of their quest. First of all they resolved, however, to visit the Italian universities, "in order to see," as Laynez expressed it, "whether God was calling the one or the other student to their manner of life." But here a doubt arose. In Paris the companions of Ignatius had come to be called "Inigista." They now asked themselves: "When questioned as to what congregation we belong to, what answer can we give?" They agreed to say that they belonged to the Society of Jesus. The love of Jesus had united them; Jesus was their leader, and His glory the only thing they strove for. True servants of Christ two of them were also recognized to be by Vittoria Colonna in Ferrara, the city which

had fallen to their lot. This great woman supported them—they were Le Jay and Rodriguez,—consulted them in cases of conscience, and called them to the attention of Duke Ercole II, who heard them preach and had recourse to Le Jay as confessor.

Ignatius himself, with Faber and Laynez, went on foot to Rome, to prepare the way for the others. At their last halting-place, La Storta, where Ignatius was at prayer in the little church, he had a deep spiritual experience. He believed that he had a vision of Christ, and heard Him say, “I will be gracious to you.” Ignatius told his companions, and observed, “I know not what awaits us at Rome; perhaps crucifixion; but one thing I know certainly, Christ will be gracious to us.” This vision also heartened him strongly to inscribe the name of Jesus on his banner and on that of his companions.

Their reception by the Curia was on the whole a chilling one. Ignatius said that he felt that the windows were shut; yet the Pope accepted willingly the services of the new association. Faber and Laynez were to lecture on theology at the Sapienza, while Ignatius endeavoured to propagate his Spiritual Exercises. The Imperial ambassador, Pedro Ortiz, went with him for forty days to Monte Cassino; when he had gone through the Exercises he appeared to himself to be a different man: he had, in his own words, in those forty days learned a philosophy of which he had never dreamed in the long years of his activity as a teacher in Paris. Cardinal Contarini also underwent the same under the guidance of Ignatius, and was so enchanted that he copied the Book of Exercises with his own hand; he thanked God that He had at last sent the man on earth for whom he had been longing. Ortiz and Contarini became great friends and patrons of the new Society.

Ignatius and his followers first found shelter in a villa on the slope of the Pincian Hill near Trinita dei Monti; Quirino Garzoni, a Roman nobleman, had handed it over to them for the sake of Christ. They begged alms for their support, but the house was too remote; they therefore moved at Easter 1538 into the inner city to a spot which was no better situated, and afterwards in the same year hired from Antonino Frangipani a roomy building in the neighbourhood of the Capitol near Torre del Melangelo which is standing to this day.

In May 1538 the ten members of the Society were all assembled in Rome. They found, wrote Ignatius to Spain, a soil bearing few good fruits and many evil. The Cardinal-Legate, Vincenzo Carafa, gave them full powers to preach and dispense the Sacraments.⁴ They began to preach and give instruction in Christian doctrine in different churches and in public places. The Romans opened wide their eyes when they saw men mount the pulpit who did not wear monastic dress; this was so unprecedented that many said, “We thought that no one but monks had a right to preach.” Another innovation also was preaching after Easter; it was not customary in Rome to have sermons except during Advent and Lent. Ignatius preached in Spanish in S. Maria di Monserrato. Many now began to go to confession and to communicate frequently. This practice, Rodriguez relates, had almost become obsolete in many places in Italy; if a man went every eight days to the Lord’s table, he became the town’s talk; he was spoken of in letters to friends at a distance as a strange novelty.

The “reformed priests,” as Ignatius and those with him were called, continued to gain the confidence of the people. They were soon able to say, “If our number were quadrupled we should not be able to satisfy all wishes.” Those were auspicious beginnings; but the storm was soon to break which threatened to snap the tender plant

Paul III in March 1538 went to Nice to restore peace between Charles V and Francis I; the Augustinian, Agostino Piemontese, now thought that the moment had come to disseminate in Rome the Lutheran doctrine which he cherished at heart. He preached it from the pulpit, yet with

caution, but Loyola and his helpmates saw through the man, and after ineffectual exhortations addressed to him in private, they began to refute him publicly. This infuriated the friar, and also certain Spaniards among the circle of his admirers. They scattered the gravest suspicions abroad against the new preachers. As their reports obtained wide credence, Ignatius demanded an investigation; it was an easy matter for him to convict the principal organ of these calumnies, a Navarrese, of falsehood, and obtain his expulsion from Rome. The others now made a declaration that they held the Fathers to be free from blame; but with that they wished proceedings to come to an end and the matter to be buried in oblivion; they won over the Cardinal-Legate and the Governor of the city to acquiesce in this escape from the difficulty.

But Ignatius and his comrades would have been debarred from any successful work unless every taint of suspicion were removed from the integrity of their conduct and doctrine. Ignatius, therefore, was immovable in his determination that the case should go on; he went to Paul III at Frascati and in a long interview obtained the Pope's permission that the trial should go on to the end and the decision be given in accordance with strict judicial formality. This, however, was not obtained without difficulty; the opposing party had powerful connections and were not inexperienced in the art of intrigue. But circumstances intervened favourable to Ignatius, for at that very moment there were in Rome three of the judges before whom he had previously appeared: the episcopal Vicar of Alcala, the Parisian Inquisitor Ori, and the auditor of the nuncio at Venice; these were unanimous in insisting on his innocence and that of his friends. From Vicenza, Bologna, Siena, where they had worked, came glowing testimonials, as also from Cardinal Contarini and the Duke of Ferrara. At last, after the troublesome suit had dragged on for eight months, Benedetto Conversini, as senior judge in temporal and ecclesiastical cases at Rome, gave his decision: he pronounced complete acquittal on all the ten; all the charges brought against them were groundless.

Ignatius was now able to say his first Mass in peace of mind. It took place on Christmas Day 1538 at S. Maria Maggiore. This coincided with a fresh opportunity of showing acts of charity to the Roman poor. The winters of 1538 and 1539 were marked by the severity of the cold and the scarcity of food, and people lay on the open street stark and half dead. Towards evening the fathers went their rounds, gathered the unfortunates in groups, and took them to the roomy chambers of the Frangipani dwelling-house; there they distributed bread which they had begged, spread out beds of straw, and gave instructions in the faith and prayed; sometimes from 200 to 400 persons were thus tended. Their example kindled others; Cardinals and other great personages collected money; in the hospitals of the city upwards of 3000 poor and sick were ministered to.

"After we had been declared innocent," Peter Faber relates in his *Memoriale*, "we placed ourselves unreservedly at the disposal of Paul III." The Pope accepted the offer gladly, and showed willingness to send some of the community into different spheres of work. The latter, however, had come already to important determinations. Ignatius himself at a later date directed the secretary of the Order, Polanco, to give explanations on this point to the rector of the college at Bologna, who was at work on an account of the origin of the Society. Polanco wrote: "The first of those whom our father Ignatius drew round him in Paris, as well as he himself, betook themselves to Italy, not with the intention of founding an Order but with the purpose of going to Jerusalem to preach among the infidel and there to die. But they were unable to get to Jerusalem and had to remain in Italy; and as the Pope afterwards availed himself of them for the service of God and of the Holy See, then the idea of forming themselves into a corporate society came under consideration." Polanco wrote more explicitly in his Life of the founder: "When they had come together again in Rome in 1538 they were still without any intention of forming any perpetual association or order." But in 1539, so Laynez relates later on, "we gave ourselves to prayer and

afterwards came together and weighed the circumstances of our vocation point by point. Each one set forth as it seemed to him the pro and contra of the matter. In the first place, we were of one accord that we should found a society having a permanent existence and not one limited to the term of our natural lives.”

At first there were great differences of opinion on the question of obedience. Towards Ignatius all indeed had shown persistently the utmost reverence and submission; but the office of Superior, to whom voluntary subjection was offered, had changed in the different groups from week to week and afterwards, when they were altogether at Rome, from month to month. Were they now, in addition to the vows of poverty and chastity which they had taken already in Venice at the hands of Verallo, to pledge themselves to yet another, that of obedience to one of their own body and so constitute themselves an order? From contemporary memoranda it is evident that nearly three months of prayer and penitential exercises preceded their decision. Finally, they all agreed to take the vow.

To Ignatius was assigned the task of drawing up the draft constitution of the Order. Cardinal Contarini, who looked upon the members of this company as his “special spiritual sons in Christ,” undertook to recommend their rules for confirmation to the Pope. But the latter referred the document to the Master of the Sacred Palace, Tommaso Badia, a Dominican, who after two months’ examination pronounced the scheme to be “pious and holy.” On September the 3rd, 1539, Contarini was able to write the news to Ignatius from Tivoli, where Paul III. was sojourning, that he had received the draft with Badia’s opinion. “Today I read aloud to the Pope all the five heads. He was much pleased with them, and confirmed them with expressions of strong approval.” From other witnesses we learn that the Pope, after receiving Contarini’s report, exclaimed : “There is the finger of God!” He then lifted up his hand in blessing and said, “We give this our benediction; we approve it and call it good.” Cardinal Ghinucci, Paul III enjoined, was to draw up a brief appropriate to the occasion, or, at his own discretion, a Bull.

But before such a document appeared there was much ground to be covered. Paul III, in the first instance, ordered three Cardinals to examine the draft. One of them, the influential Bartolommeo Guidiccioni, was opposed, on principle, to new orders; it would be much better, he said, if the existing orders were cut down to the number of four; he would not even look at the scheme of Ignatius.

But Loyola did not give in ; he obtained many prayers, and vowed that he would have three thousand Masses said. Meanwhile good news came from without; Cardinal Ennio Filonardi was full of praise of Faber and Laynez, whom he had besought the Pope to send to his Legation, and Cardinal Francesco Bandini, Archbishop of Siena, gave very favourable accounts of Broët. Suddenly Cardinal Guidiccioni asked to see the plan of the Society; he was delighted with it; here, he declared, an exception ought to be made, and used his influence strongly for its confirmation. The preparation of the Bull was carried out forthwith.

This important document was issued by Paul III at Rome on the 27th of September 1540. It begins with the mention of the first ten members. These men, “impelled, as we may well believe, by the Holy Spirit,” had left the world, formed themselves into a community, and for many years worked in the Lord's vineyard. Then follow the ground lines of the constitution of the Order, commonly called the “formula of the institution.” The word *societas* is used in the military sense of a troop or squadron, which is “emblazoned with the name of Jesus, and consists of men who fight for God under the banner of the Cross and serve none other than Christ the Lord and His representative on earth, the Pope of Rome.” The special aim of the Order is defined to be the furtherance of Christian thought and practice and the propagation of the faith by means of

preaching, spiritual exercises, Christian doctrine, confession, and other works of charity. To the three ordinary vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience another was joined whereby the Society was pledged in a special way to the Pope's service; in virtue of this, it was said, "We must, where the salvation of souls and the spread of the faith are concerned, we must do all within our power to execute on the spot every command of the present Pope and his successors without any hesitation or evasion, whether we be sent to the Turks or to any other infidel peoples, even in the regions named the 'Indies,' or among heretics or schismatics or even, if needs be, among the faithful." As especially necessary and profitable the explanation of the fundamental grounds of the Christian faith was then insisted on. The Superior, to be chosen by the members, shall appoint to and distribute the offices. Capital or settled incomes shall not be held by individuals or by the Society, except in the case of the colleges serving as seminaries for the younger members, whose spiritual discipline and educational training are entirely in the hands of the Society. The daily office is to be said by the members individually and not in common.

The Pope confirmed these constitutions, took the members under his own special protection and that of the Apostolic See, and gave permission for the formation of more detailed regulations. The number, however, of members of the Order was not to exceed sixty. Ignatius was highly gratified at thus provisionally securing so much, and expressed himself in terms of warm gratitude to Cardinal Contarini; nor was Cardinal Guidiccioni passed over without marks of recognition from the whole Society.

In the April of 1541 Ignatius was chosen General of the Order by the unanimous voice of the other nine, present and absent, only one of the latter abstaining from sending his vote. "I chose him," wrote Jean Codure, "because I have always recognized in him a fervent zeal for God's glory and the salvation of souls. He also has always been amongst us as the least of all and the servant of all."

On the 22nd of April 1541 the six members resident in Rome made a pilgrimage to the seven principal churches and in a chapel of the Basilica of S. Paolo fuori le mura took these solemn vows while Ignatius celebrated Mass.

The newly professed conducted themselves so well that the Pope, not quite three years later (March 14th, 1544), cancelled entirely the restriction of the Society to sixty members; at the same time he enjoined that the rules drawn up for itself by the Society should at once receive confirmation. In a brief of June 1545 he further gave the Society, in view of the great advantages it had conferred and continued to confer on the House of God," full powers to preach everywhere, to give absolution for all sins, even in cases reserved for the Holy See, the exceptions of the Bull "Coena Domini" alone being retained, to administer the Eucharist and other Sacraments without obtaining previous permission from the bishop or parish priest, yet without prejudice to any third person.

In the meantime it had become evident that there were very many excellent priests who had been of great help as coadjutors to the Order but yet were inadequately furnished with the educational and theological requirements demanded in the professed members of the Society. In 1546 Paul III therefore ordered their admission ; after a period of probation they were to be allowed to take the vows, but in their simple, not their solemn, form. Likewise, according to the usage existing in other orders, lay brothers were to be received for domestic service.

In the following year the Pope bestowed a plenary indulgence, obtainable once in a lifetime, on anyone offering up prayers in honour of our Lord's Passion after making confession to a Jesuit

priest. Paul III conferred besides extensive indulgences transferable to others on the founder, and encouraged the formation of new settlements by special graces.

The Pope crowned these enactments by the Bull issued, at the instance of Francis Borgia, four weeks before his death. For years Ignatius had wished the Society to possess such a “Mare Magnum” as that granted by Sixtus IV to the Franciscans—a Bull, namely, which should amalgamate once for all the various decrees, privileges, and graces for which otherwise special application for reconfirmation would always be necessary in each particular case.

The Bull appeared on the 18th of October 1549. It conferred exemption on the Society from taxation and from all episcopal jurisdiction; without the General’s consent no member of the Order can accept a bishopric or any other ecclesiastical dignity; the Order cannot be called upon to undertake the spiritual direction of women; the faithful are permitted to confess to and receive communion from the priests of the Order without asking permission of their parish priest—save at Easter and on the administration of the Viaticum. Then follow many other grants and plenary faculties in favour of the Order; the earlier guarantees are confirmed and in respect of missionary countries largely extended.

After the year 1539 and the first authorization of the Society of Jesus its external circumstances began to improve. The fathers who had hired the Frangipani dwelling were joined by Pietro Codacio, who relinquished his rich benefices. This first Italian Jesuit was a man of noble family, much beloved by ecclesiastics of the higher ranks; he undertook to provide a dwelling, sustenance, and clothing for his colleagues.

The first great requisite was a church. Ignatius had his eye on the parish church of S. Maria degli Astalli— popularly known as S. Maria della Strada—not far from the foot of the Capitol and near S. Marco, the Papal summer residence. The building was narrow and inconvenient but in a very good situation for mission work. Codacio went to the Pope and asked him to bestow the church on the Order; they received it in 1540; in 1541 the Bull was drawn up, and in 1542 Ignatius took possession of the church and its appurtenances. Codacio took over the administration of the parish. Besides this he acquired in 1543 the neighbouring and almost abandoned parish church of S. Andrea de la Fracta, with permission to let the church and parish lapse. Six years later the Pope added two other parish churches to the above and in exchange erected four chapels in S. Marco and transferred thither the parochial cures of these four churches. In order to be better able to supervise his church, Ignatius settled in 1541 in a hired lodging of small compass near at hand. Codacio begged from Cardinals and bishops, enlarged the church, and built alongside of it the General’s house; this was occupied in 1544. The picture of Our Lady over the high altar, then scarcely noticed, became afterwards an object of great veneration. On the site of S. Maria della Strada was afterwards erected, by the munificence of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the magnificent church of the Gesu.

The devotion and gratitude of the new Order towards the Pope was displayed in the work undertaken by them in Papal Rome. Here there were unbelievers and sinners in plenty to convert. Among the numerous Jews there were many who recoiled from the acceptance of the Christian faith through an anxious fear for their temporal belongings. Ignatius succeeded in obtaining from the Pope, whose behaviour towards the Jews was marked by traditional leniency, a brief dated the 21st of March 1542 which stated that no Jew was to lose his property because of his conversion to Christianity. Even children who became Christians against their parents’ will were to receive their full portion of inheritance. What had accrued through usury or other unjust means must be restored to the rightful owners, where the latter were to be found; otherwise it belonged to the convert. The same concessions were granted to all unbelievers who received baptism.

In order to facilitate conversions two houses, on Loyola's advice, were established for catechumens, the one for men and the other for women; a confraternity was also founded composed of distinguished and influential personages in Roman society, and Cardinal Marcello Crescenzi was named Protector. Paul III issued a Bull in February 1543 praising the work and conferring spiritual graces. On Whitsunday 1544, amid a great concourse of people, five Israelites were solemnly baptized, one of them being a Rabbi with a great reputation for learning. In 1544 Jews, Moors, and Turks to the number altogether of forty were baptized, and at the beginning of the following year ten others received the same sacrament.

Another undertaking had still better results. This aimed at the removal of a permanent evil which the Renaissance had bequeathed to Rome. Prostitution was a sore from which the capital of the world suffered now as in times past. It was not enough to provoke to tears by penitential sermons; if there were to be no relapses some asylums of refuge would have to be provided. The convent of the Maddalena was indeed in existence for those who wished to take the veil ; but it was not sufficient for all those who sought admission, and among the latter were also married women who had left their husbands. Ignatius determined to create a home for such as these; many showed a will-ingness to help, but no one wished to be the first to begin; he therefore set his hand to the work. Codacio had unearthed a number of antiquities on his building site and sold them for about a hundred ducats. The General gave them for the erection of an institution which was to be called the Casa di Santa Marta. Here married women could stay until they were reconciled with their husbands or remain permanently if they wished to persevere in a moral life; as also could sinful women in the single state until they entered wedlock or professed religion. Cardinals supported the undertaking, and the Pope sent help in money and recommended the work in a special Bull, Leonora Osorio, the wife of the Spanish ambassador Juan de Vega, who confessed weekly to Ignatius, took an energetic part in the work. Also Margaret of Austria, the wife of Duke Ottavio Farnese of Camerino, gave effectual help. The young Jesuit, Peter Faber of Halle, wrote on the 29th of April 1546 from Rome to Cologne, "Every day one of us goes to pray for S. Marta's house." In order to secure the permanency of the institution high ecclesiastics, nobles, and other distinguished persons formed themselves into the "Compagnia della Grazia" under the patronage of Cardinal Carpi, at whose request the Society undertook for a while the religious direction of the institution. On the other hand, Ignatius gave to three noble ladies of Rome the three keys of S. Marta. He was told that his work was hopeless; that these un-fortunates were already too hardened in vice. He replied: "If I only succeed in rescuing one of them from one night of sin, I shall not regret my trouble." His success far exceeded his hopes; in 1545 he was able to write to Spain: "There are now from thirty-seven to thirty-eight women in S. Marta; most of them are doing spontaneously penance for their past life." Up to the end of 1547 more than a hundred women of this class had been brought to a better way of life.

Another institution almost contemporaneous, which also owed its existence to Ignatius or in which he was at least one of the original co-operators, was that of S. Caterina dei Funari. Maidens whose innocence was imperilled by poverty or bad upbringing were here educated until they married or entered a convent.

The Roman orphanages found a warm friend in the General of the Jesuits. Margaret of Austria sent him on one occasion 300 ducats for distribution among the poor. He was told that the Princess wished in this way to assist him and his associates in their poverty, but he never appropriated a penny of it; all was sent to the convents and benevolent institutions of Rome and an exact account rendered.

Ignatius in the first year of his generalship entered the Archconfraternity of S. Spirito in Sassia with the promise of a yearly alms to the hospital. One of the tests which he imposed upon his novices consisted in ordering them to work in the Roman hospitals. The priests of the Society observed with sorrow that many of those whom they visited on sick-beds departed life without the Church's means of grace; Ignatius thereupon remembered the ordinance of Innocent III, ratified by the twelfth General Council, the tenor of which was that the aid of the physician of the soul should be invoked before that of the physician of the body. He earnestly recommended the observance of these enactments with this alleviation, that on the first and second day of illness a doctor should be allowed to attend the patient, but not again on the third and fourth day, unless the latter had in the interval made his confession. All the theologians and canonists of the Penitentiaria signified their approval in writing. The Pope was much pleased with the proposal; about Epiphany in the year 1544 it began to be put into execution.

Two years before this the indefatigable General of the Jesuits had supported a regulation which was destined to have an important bearing for Rome and the whole of Italy. While the Inquisition was especially active, sometimes too active, in the exercise of its functions in Portugal, here and there in Italy it seemed as if the watchmen on the roofs of Sion were fast asleep. "For this reason," wrote Ignatius to Portugal on the 28th of July 1542 to the Cardinals Juan Alvarez de Toledo and Giovanni Pietro Carafa, "I often made urgent representations; they spoke repeatedly to the Pope; now his Holiness has appointed six Cardinals" who were to form a Board of Inquisition. The Papal Bull appeared on the 21st of July 1542.

The reconciliation of enemies was a work of charity which commended itself to the Jesuits' circle of activity. Ignatius himself travelled in the year 1548 to Tivoli and to Citta Sant' Angelo in order to pave the way for the restoration of amity between these two places, then at feud. He was successful in getting them to accept as arbitrator Cardinal de la Cueva, and also called in the help of Margaret of Parma and the Bishop, Archinto, and finally ensured the conclusion of a treaty of peace.

The most difficult and most important pacification due to Ignatius was that between Pope Paul III. and King John III. of Portugal. John was afraid that his country might be ruined through the machinations of the Jews, who, in his father Manuel's reign, had been often compulsorily baptized but in secret remained loyal to Judaism. He thought that he ought to protect himself against these "New Christians" by an exceptionally severe jurisdiction in matters of belief on the lines of the Spanish Inquisition. The disputes into which he had thus been led already with Clement VII were renewed in an accentuated form under Paul III. At first the Pope had suspended the last decrees of his predecessor, but on closer examination he confirmed on October 12, 1535, those relating to the New Christians, which were as just as they were lenient. King John III, filled with deep hatred for these Jews in disguise, now tried to compass his object by means of diplomatic negotiations in Rome. As Charles V intervened on his side, Paul III. gave way, for on the 23rd of May 1536 he ratified the institution of a permanent Inquisition in Portugal. The King disregarded the stipulations which the Pope had inserted to protect the New Christians, and serious complaints were raised in Rome, for John III did all he could to turn the Inquisition into a Royal tribunal. In vain Paul III raised protests against the King's arbitrary behaviour; all the Pope's endeavours on behalf of justice and moderation towards the Jews, and the preservation of the ecclesiastical character of the Inquisition, were without avail. Negotiations were bandied to and fro without result and fresh difficulties arose over and above those already existing.

Miguel de Silva, Bishop of Viseu, a noble of the highest rank, had left Portugal and gone to Venice contrary to the King's wishes. Nevertheless, Paul III made him a Cardinal and

summoned him to Rome. John III now confiscated his episcopal revenues and moreover forbade the Bishop to hold intercourse, even by writing, with his diocese. He was also unwilling to admit a Papal nuncio into the country. Ignatius took the matter very seriously, and wrote a confidential letter to his old friend and colleague Simon Rodriguez, who was resident at the court of Lisbon. It was reported in the Curia, he said, that Rodriguez gave absolution to persons who had helped the King in his aggression on the Cardinal of Viseu and thus laid themselves under the bann of the Church; he, the General of the Order, was, however, unable to believe this; Rodriguez indeed had no faculty empowering him to do so; he would, besides, thereby do injury to the things of God, the Church and the Holy See. At the beginning of 1542 the situation was so embittered that Portugal was on the point of breaking off communication with the Holy See.

Ignatius, who, like many others, laid the blame not on the King but on his counsellors, sought then in every way to arrive at a peaceable solution. The dispute was prolonged for some years to come; Ignatius, however, never halted in his exertions as peacemaker. On the 14th of December 1545 he wrote to Rodriguez that for the sake of the Inquisition and the bishopric of Viseu he had gone to see the Pope at Montefiascone; he had there spoken very fully to the Pope and had made a favourable impression. This communication was followed directly by another announcing that an agreement had been reached. The Pope would withdraw the brief directed against the action of the Inquisition; the New Christians would be allowed a respite to admit of their expatriation; after their departure the Portuguese Inquisition should be put on the same footing as the Spanish. The confiscated revenues of the bishopric of Viseu were to be dealt with in accordance with the advices from Lisbon; all were to be placed in the hands of Cardinal Farnese. The desired Bull on the Inquisition appeared on the 16th of July 1547, and the New Christians were given a year's grace. The King was earnestly recommended to employ gentle measures; Cardinal Farnese was made administrator of Viseu, received the revenues of the bishopric, and pledged himself under his own hand to remit them to Cardinal Silva; only a sum was to be deducted for the stipend of the bishop-coadjutor placed in charge of the diocese; the nomination of the latter was to be left to the King.

About this time a certain Fra Valentino Barbaran sent to Paul III a memoir containing far-reaching complaints against the Jesuits. They were desirous, he said, of reforming the whole world; they had no permission from the Pope to carry out their work at S. Marta, and wished to drive all married women who had been untrue to the marriage vows from Rome, with many other accusations. Cardinal Crescenzi, by command of the Pope, perused the document and drew up a report. He considered it to be of no importance.

In obedience to the Pope the Jesuits tranquilly pursued their good work among the Roman people. They frequently occupied the pulpit, and Vittoria Colonna, who had withdrawn into retirement with the Benedictine nuns of S. Anna de' Funari, asked to have one of them as her preacher.

The General set a good example to his subordinates in giving instruction in Christian doctrine; no sooner had he entered on his office than he began in S. Maria della Strada to expound the elementary principles of the Christian faith; many grown-up persons were among the audience. Although he had little time for preparation and spoke an Italian strongly marked by Spanish idioms, yet his addresses made a great impression. He usually closed with the words: "Let us love God with all our heart, with all our soul, and all our will!" He uttered this with great emphasis and animated visage; many, as Laynez and Ribadeneira who both saw and heard him testify, sought the confessional forthwith in deep contrition.

Among the Roman clergy were many, as Polanco wrote to Spain in 1547, “badly in need of instruction.” On this account Nadal gave three times a week in S. Eustachio a lecture on the professional duties of the priesthood; the Vicar of the Pope enjoined attendance on all who had the cure of souls. The success attending this regulation gave rise, apparently, to another determination. From all parts candidates for Holy Orders came to Rome who were unfitted for their office; it was therefore decided in 1547 that in future none should be ordained who had not previously made a general confession to a Jesuit and had undergone an examination in morals and learning by that Order. Ignatius had no other course open to him than to undertake this arduous task at least temporarily. “Up to the present,” he wrote to Louvain in December 1548, “we have given a certificate of fitness to hardly a quarter of those who have presented themselves.”

The new Order was reserved with regard to the religious direction of women. When Ignatius and his companions came to Rome, he said to them, “We must be very careful to avoid intercourse with women, for there are many of high station” whose influence and example might be of great advantage to many souls. Such a one, in his opinion, was that virile character Margaret of Austria, whose marriage with the young Farnese was so unfortunate. Ignatius was confessor to her and her household, and when in 1545 she gave birth to twins, he was called upon to baptize one of them. To please Cardinal Farnese, Ignatius also undertook that his Order should draw up rules and act as confessors for the enclosed nuns near St. Peter’s, known as the “Murate”; but this was an exceptional case. Requests often came to him from pious women living in the world, from individual religious, and from entire convents of nuns to be received into the obedience of his Society, but Ignatius in all such cases refused. “We who live here in the Curia,” he said, “see every day how things are with the Franciscans and Dominicans and their convents of nuns, how much embarrassment is caused to the friars ; we should fare no better.”

Nevertheless, it seemed at one time as if a female offshoot of the Society would spring up in Rome. The widow Isabel Roser, who had once been Loyola’s pupil in spiritual things and in temporal matters his great benefactress, came in 1545 from Barcelona to Rome. She and some other women asked Ignatius to affiliate them to his Society. On his refusal they made such clamorous entreaties to Paul III. to order the General to receive them, that the Pope granted their request. Thus Isabel Roser, Lucrezia Bradine, and Francisca Cruyllas took the solemn vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience at the hands of Ignatius as Superior of their Order.

Isabel Roser betook herself with great devotion to the work at S. Marta, but she had no idea of obedience. The direction of the new sisters cost much time and trouble, and they and those under their protection required bodily support. Roser in addition was surrounded by a swarm of relations; it was said in Rome that the Jesuits wished to get possession of all their means and were keeping them in Rome by force. Through Ardinghello, Ignatius had representations made to the Pope, who was in residence at Orvieto, that such occupations were not befitting for men who ought to be working all over the world in the great interests of the Church. The Pope agreed, and gave directions that the Order should be released from the obligation of receiving women into their obedience or of undertaking permanently the direction of their souls. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1546 a Papal dispensation released Roser and her companion Cruyllas from their vows of poverty and obedience; they were, however, permitted to enjoy the graces and indulgences of the Society exactly as if they were still members. Ignatius wrote to Roser telling her that he therefore had no longer any claim on her as a spiritual daughter under his obedience, but that he would always regard her as a good and affectionate mother, as indeed she had been for so many years. Isabel felt herself deeply hurt; she even made a claim for damages which, however, the courts did not uphold. Full of complaints and anger, she returned to Barcelona; but in a few

months' time she was writing from there for forgiveness, and later she made a distribution of her property and became a Franciscan nun.

Ignatius had impressed a special stamp on his foundation and he took care that it should not be effaced. The suggestion that he should amalgamate his Order with that of the Somaschi he flatly refused. Miani's community had less affinity with the Jesuits than the disciples of Gaetano di Tiene; the name of "Theatines" given to the latter was for many years extended also to the former. Ignatius tried very seriously to come to an arrangement with Cardinal Carafa for the recall of the Theatines to Rome but he was steadily averse to any project for a fusion of the two Orders, and Cardinal Carafa was, on the whole, of the same opinion himself. Later, in 1551, the Barnabites made similar overtures to Ignatius, but he rejected them, although they had the strong support of Archbishop Sauli of Genoa. On the other hand, Ignatius welcomed with delight the invitation of the strict Carthusian Order—without detriment to the individuality of the one or the other constitution—to mutual approximation and special communion in prayer and other good works.

With equal determination the founder set himself to hold his spiritual children aloof from the strivings of ecclesiastical ambition. King Ferdinand I in 1546 longed to see Le Jay made Bishop of Trieste. Ignatius entreated the King to renounce this scheme, but Ferdinand, on the contrary, desired Paul III to command Le Jay to accept the dignity in virtue of his obedience to the Holy See; the King's ambassador at Rome was instructed to bring all pressure to bear. Thereupon Ignatius, as he reported to correspondents in Spain, made "incredible efforts" to frustrate the nomination. He succeeded in keeping the matter in suspense until the King declared that he would no longer insist on his wishes; Ignatius ordered Masses of thanksgiving to be said and the Te Deum to be sung.

To whatever extent his disciples might aim at Christian perfection and union with God through love, their master never estimated their progress by their demeanour nor even by the greater or less promptitude of their disposition, nor by their sensible enjoyment of prayer, but by the measure in which they exerted themselves to curb their unruly inclinations. "Overcome thyself" was his favourite maxim. Far from depreciating bodily asceticism, he set a value on "fasts, the use of the discipline and other instruments of penance as useful and under certain circumstances necessary," but he esteemed far higher the subjection of an ambitious and selfish spirit. Obedience he asked for before everything else, not a forced and slavish, but a willing and high-hearted obedience. From time to time he would set a test. This happened at the beginning of 1548, when the college at Messina was established. Everyone in the house was to make a written declaration whether he was ready to go there, and when there to take up any office that the General might think good to appoint him to. Canisius assured him that he was equally willing to remain in Rome or to go to Sicily, India, or wherever else it might be; if it must be to Sicily, he was then ready to go as cook, gardener, porter, scholar, or teacher in any department. All the five-and-thirty members who were with him gave wholly similar answers.

In order to train his children in humility Ignatius often allowed their acts of negligence and other faults to be inveighed against from the reading-desk of their dining hall by a lay brother, Antonio Rion, a man of very humble origin who was an adept in the art of cooking and also had the gift of administering rebukes which could be as witty as they were sharp. At the same time Ignatius always made allowance for individual temperament. One, said Ribadeneira, he would treat with the tender love of a mother, another with the authoritative love of a father. In distributing the more important offices and tasks, "in virtue of holy obedience," he often kept in view the inclinations of those under his control. In converse with others Ignatius was earnest and

thoughtful, yet for all his economy of words always friendly, so that his spiritual sons could say that they never went away from him other than contented and happy.

CHAPTER XV.

CONSTITUTIONS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS. ITS WORK IN EUROPE AND THE INDIES.

The principles on which Ignatius governed his Society could not remain in perpetuity as an unwritten tradition. There was need of a rule consolidated in writing. The professed members resident in Rome therefore met repeatedly and drew up a series of resolutions for the life of the new organization.

Their work was handed over for complete revision in 1541 to Ignatius and Codure; but as the latter died soon after, the task fell solely into the hands of Ignatius; he began to commit his work to writing in 1547. About the same time he prepared, at the wish of his first companions and in close co-operation with his secretary Polanco, an amplified copy of that first draft of the rule of the Society which was contained in the Bull of confirmation of 1540. In this, not to mention other alterations, the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience are designated as solemn vows, while this at first had only been predicated of the vow of chastity. At the same time it was clearly declared that the supreme government normally was vested in the General. Together with “vows of the professed” the simple vows of the coadjutors and the scholastics were also mentioned. The first Papal confirmation of this second and final “Formula of the Institute” of the Society was contained in the Bull issued by Julius III on the 21st of July 1550.

The first draft of the Constitutions was finished by Ignatius at the beginning of 1550. He then summoned all the professed living out of Rome, who could conveniently attend, and other prominent members of the Society to the capital, and there laid his work before them for ex-amination. From the notes which each one individually made he introduced alterations with Polanco’s assistance. Even then he looked upon the work as still lacking completion. From 1552 onwards Nadal was ordered to promulgate and explain the Constitutions in Spain, Portugal, Germany, and Italy; Antonio Quadrio did the same in India. Experience was to be the test of all. As regards their substance the rules were now, generally speaking, completed; verbal changes Ignatius continued to make here and there up to his death in 1556. In 1558 at the first General Chapter of the Order they were, after improvement in some unimportant particulars, confirmed and held the force of law. As, in their leading principles, the Constitutions were fully shaped at the time of the death of Paul III, this seems the proper place to form an appreciation of them.

Ignatius had, it would appear, read the rules of the earlier Orders; but when he came to write his own the only works upon his table were the Gospels and the *Imitatio Christi*. Following

the rules concerning choice which he had laid down in the Book of the Exercises, he pondered the pro and contra of each particular question not merely once but repeatedly ; later on he submitted the subject to renewed examination. He often wrote down the result on a sheet of paper and laid the latter on the altar on which he was wont to say Mass; hereupon he prayed to God for illumination just as if he had not yet taken any action at all. Gonsalvez relates that Ignatius had told him that at such times God had granted him many illuminations. "He told me," Gonsalvez continues, "that he could assert this all the more easily as he was in the habit of writing down daily the experiences of his soul. He read aloud to me a considerable portion of these." If not all, yet a certain number of these revelations have been preserved, and they form a remarkable memorial of Christian mysticism.

The actual Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, which consists of ten parts, are preceded by an "Examen"; it states what tests the Order applies to those who are to be accepted as members and how the latter for their part test the life of the Order before pledging themselves for ever by its vows.

"The object of this Society," so we are told at the very beginning of the "Examen," is "not only to pursue the salvation and perfecting of the individual soul by God's grace, but, with the help of the latter, to seek zealously the salvation and perfecting of the soul of our neighbour." The same thought recurs in the course of the Constitutions themselves. "The particular object of the Society is this: we wish to help our own souls and the souls of our neighbours to reach the final end for which we have been created." The Society of Jesus is "founded for the greater glory of God, for the highest general good, and the profit of souls."

Other Orders had attached to personal sanctification, the common aim of all monastic life, such accessory observances as meditation on divine things, or solemn celebration of worship, or the service of the sick, or other charitable works; in like manner Ignatius set as a special task for his community the salvation and sanctification of others; this would redound to the greater glory of God and to the extension of His kingdom over the whole world under the leadership and through the imitation of Christ. Among the Mendicant Orders, and especially among the Dominicans and Franciscans, preaching and similar agencies had been employed already; but Ignatius had set the salvation of souls more emphatically in the foreground, and had adapted with greater consistence, to this end, the choice of members of the Order, their training and education, and the whole disciplinary system of their lives.

A repulsive outward appearance, disordered intellect, intractability of character, bad reputation, uncatholic habits of thought were barriers to admission. None also could be admitted who had worn, even if it were only as a novice, the clothing of another Order. "For," said Ignatius, "such a one ought to have remained true to his first vocation." Some were received as "indifferent"; as long as it was uncertain whether they were qualified for the priesthood or fitted for lay brotherhood, they were to hold themselves in readiness for either alternative and submit to be appointed to the one sphere or the other at the discretion of their Superiors.

The term of probation, in the narrower sense of the word, did not last, as in other Orders, for a term of one but of two years. During this period novices had to undergo various tests; each one had to give a month to the spiritual exercises, to visit the sick in hospitals, and go from door to door on a quest for alms; they had also to attend to the house and do other domestic services. Moreover, they were bound to explain the Catechism, and, if they were priests, to practise themselves in preaching, and in hearing confessions.

On the expiry of the probationary period it was usual in other orders to proceed at once to the assumption of the solemn vows. In this instance Ignatius made a trenchant alteration. By his rule novices only took upon them the so-called scholastic vows, namely, the simple vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, together with the promise to allow themselves at a later period, on the injunction of their Superior, to be incorporated finally into the Order as a professed or formal coadjutor; these final vows, however, were only confirmed after a long and varied probation. In most cases he had to spend yet another year as a scholastic in study; when this was ended, there then remained yet a third year of probation to go through; during this period he had to regain in the “school of the heart” what he might have lost of fervour in the school of learning. Lay brothers were already excluded from the circle of the professed, inasmuch as priests only could assume the solemn vows. The former, however, and generally speaking all who, after the two years’ probation, had taken simple vows, had the consolation of knowing that in virtue even of the latter they were sons of the Order in a true and specific sense.

A large discretion was left to the Superiors of the Order in the matter of dismissing incompetent and unworthy members. This too not only in the case of novices but of those under the scholastic vows; on their part certainly the dedication and obligation were binding for life, but the vows were taken on the tacit understanding that their vows were revocable, on valid grounds, by the Order and their membership dissoluble. In certain cases also a professed might be dismissed, and even the General himself.

For the spiritual life of each member effectual support was forthcoming; the daily Masses, frequent confession and communion, examination of conscience twice a day, meditation, the recitation of the Rosary, festivals of Our Lady, spiritual reading, private exhortations, and edifying readings during meals. All who had not become professed or formal coadjutors had to renew their vows twice a year. All the members must open their whole conscience to their directors or to the Superior in order to guard against self-deception. The professed also must be ready, at least once a year, to give an account of the state of their conscience to the Superior. It must be each one’s endeavour to direct his undertakings with a good and pure intention, more from love of God than from hope of reward and fear of punishment.

In order that ambition may be shut out by bolt and bar, it is strongly prohibited to strive for any post of dignity or pre-eminence in the Order. The professed have to take a special vow in this sense, and even to promise to inform on anyone who shall solicit such honours, and the acceptance even of any dignity outside the Order can only be permitted when this is enjoined under pain of sin by one having authority to do so.

The love of relations must be pure and spiritual. “The closer a man draws to God,” exhorts Ignatius, “and the more generously he devotes himself to the Divine Majesty, the more generous will he find God to be towards him.” This magnanimous love of God must be the fundamental law and mainspring of the whole life of the Order; from this as from its source must spring also the desire to draw ever nearer to the Incarnate Son of God on His Cross and to imitate Him in the joyful endurance of suffering and shame.

The scope of the vows of the Order is accurately measured in the Constitutions. In order to avoid any appearance of covetousness, all spiritual functions must be fulfilled without remuneration. Neither the professed nor the formal coadjutors can hold or inherit any personal property; the houses and churches of the professed have no fixed incomes; professed and non-professed alike must support themselves on alms. On the other hand, colleges and noviciates have fixed incomes whereby the inmates, free from anxieties of subsistence, can devote their whole attention to teaching and learning. Those who have not yet taken the solemn vows can certainly

still hold property, but not at their own free disposition; they must also be ready to renounce it before taking the solemn vows, and even earlier still if the Superior should at any time enjoin them to do so. Without permission of the latter no one can make use of anything or dispose thereof by loan or alienation. Also, as opportunity occurs, each one must practically experience that he is a poor man. Poverty is and always must be the strong bulwark of the life of the Order; for that reason all the professed must swear to withstand any alteration of the rules concerning poverty; in such a case it would behove them to make the regulations more severe.

As regards the vow of chastity, one exhortation is addressed to all “to watch with the utmost care over the doorways of the senses, especially the eyes, ears, and tongue, in order that all that is irregular may be kept at a distance.” They must be assiduous in observing silence when this is enjoined, in having regard to reserve and edification when called upon to speak, in maintaining a modest demeanour, a composure of step and bearing in all their movements. “Fasts, vigils, and similar corporal hardships are certainly not to be indulged in immoderately,” but also “not so sparingly as to chill the fervour of the spiritual, and inflame the lower and merely human motions of the soul.” In private no room must be left for “indolence, the beginning of all vices”; a strict regulation of daily life is therefore necessary.

Obedience was a primary consideration in the spiritual contingent levied by the knight of Loyola for the army of the Church. His soldiers must be capable of “any task, not openly sinful, however difficult and repugnant to the senses” it may be. They must be trained to exhibit obedience not only where formal obligations command, but even on the slightest intimation of their Superior’s wish. Commands must be carried out promptly, completely, and perseveringly; yet their fulfilment must not be merely mechanical and external. Ignatius insists repeatedly on conscious, spontaneous, joyful obedience; therefore his subordinates must make “the will and judgment of their Superior the standard measure of their own judgment and will.” In this sense they are to practise a “blind obedience”; blind not in relation to the thing commanded, but certainly in relation to the deceits and illusions of their own darkness, pettiness of soul, and sensuality.

St. Basil in one of his monastic maxims had once compared obedience to a carpenter’s tool: in like manner Ignatius drew his image from the staff in an old man’s hand; he did not even forget to repeat, at least in a few words, the comparison that St. Francis of Assisi had worked out in such detail for his disciples—that the perfectly obedient man resembled an inanimate corpse.

In order to attain this perfection we ought, Ignatius warns us, “to have God, our Creator and Lord, before our eyes in order that for His sake a man may render obedience to his fellow-man,” “to look upon our Superior whomsoever he be as the representative of Christ,” and therefore to give as “prompt obedience to his word” as though it came from the mouth of Christ. At the same time the Constitutions repeatedly concede the right to the subordinate to make counter-representations to the Superior; only they must have been made the subject of previous prayer and be accompanied with the resolve to do, as best, what the Superior finally determines. Ignatius also adopts the clause in the Dominican Constitutions that, the vows of the Order excepted, the regulations of the Order as such do not bind under sin; in that case the Superior must enjoin something in virtue of obedience. Besides this Superiors can, on good grounds, release a subordinate from the observance of a particular rule.

The General of the Society of Jesus, as sketched by Ignatius, ought not to limit himself to the sanctification of those under him, he must aim also at influencing through them the world around. The renunciation of the world did not drive the hero of Pampeluna, as it had driven the other great monastic founders, to silent, sunlit mountain peaks or to caverns hidden from the

approach of men; Ignatius went in search of sinners in great cities; he bade his young followers cross the seas to deal blows at heathendom. But as yet most of those who rallied round him were not yet stout enough to fight under his banner; they must first be schooled and trained. To this end therefore the colleges were called into being, and with this aim in view the youthful scions of the Order were here instructed in frequent disputations, trained as preachers and Christian instructors, exercised in literary compositions. None could become professed until he had spent four years in theological study and gone through severe examinations.

The scholastics must have a fund of bodily and spiritual health to draw upon ; they were therefore never to be deprived of their needful times of sleep and not to be too much engrossed in household duties, nor were they also to study too long at a stretch or at unsuitable times. Prayers and penitential exercises were not to take up so much of their time as of that of the novices; for, as the Constitutions express it, “God will be as well pleased, indeed better pleased, if with a good intention they serve Him by devotion to those studies which, so to speak, make a claim upon the whole man.” When ordained priests they must associate themselves with all the means afforded by the Catholic Church for the fostering of piety: prayer and Holy Mass, the confessional, preaching and catechizing, spiritual exercises, and the labours of the pen. In the vows of the professed and formal coadjutors great stress is laid on the instruction of children in the elements of the Christian faith, since, says Ignatius, in this way “a great help is given to souls and a high service to God.”

The wide powers conferred by the Holy See on these apostolic workers are to be used with wisdom and discretion and with the wholly unalloyed intention of making them profitable to souls only. The field of labour was coextensive with the world. Their fourth solemn vow binds the professed to go whithersoever the Pope’s word commands them, without even asking him for money for their journey or for any other sort of temporal aid. As often as a new Pope is chosen the General must inform him of this vow and of its scope. The General can send all, even the non-professed, to any place and in the performance of any office coming within the purview of the Society. His fundamental principle must be that “the more general a good is, the more divine is its character”; therefore those spheres of spiritual service are to be preferred through which the influence of good may have the widest expansion: bishoprics, principalities, magistracies, seats of learning and universities, and great nations.

Another engine of activity touched more remotely the salvation of souls, and yet in the hands of the Society of Jesus became a powerful lever thereto: this was the education of extern scholars. In the first conception of the founder this had no place; originally his aim was solely to provide seminaries for his own Order. The novices and junior members of the Order had a common dwelling-place in a university city; thence they went to attend the public lectures. Soon the strength of the Order increased so greatly that he was able to think of allowing its offshoots in the colleges to develop their own educational capacities. Finally, at the request of the founders and benefactors, permission was given to receive extern pupils for instruction, or also to take over middle and high schools which were almost exclusively intended for the tuition of externs.

On these lines then even at an early period the educational rules of the Constitutions were moving. They embraced the whole system of teaching from the alphabet to the curriculum of the university. In the front rank of educational functions stood the exegesis of Holy Scripture and the scholastic theology of St. Thomas Aquinas. The sentences of Peter Lombard were at the same time set down for reading. If the exigencies of the time required it, some other theological text-book might be introduced with the consent of the General and on the advice of men of ripe experience; canon law was also taught with the exception of such portions as concerned the

practice of legal tribunals; civil law and medicine might be taken up by extern pupils; in philosophy Aristotle was master. The collegiate course consisted of five classes: three for grammar, followed by humanity and rhetoric. Together with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, Arabic, the Indian and other languages might be studied where this would be of use; mathematics and history were not to be omitted, and instruction in reading and writing was a labour of love which the Order in no way excluded. To pass Master in the liberal arts three years and a half must be given to philosophy; for the doctor's degree in theology it was required that the customary four years of study should be supplemented by another two. Promotions were free of charge, and entertainments on taking the doctor's degree forbidden on account of the expense.

Higher value was attached to the moral discipline of youth. The works of classical authors, therefore, were purged of unseemly passages and expressions. A book unobjectionable in itself but by an author of bad repute was not to be used as a school-book, otherwise an attraction might be felt towards the author and admiration for what he says rightly be transferred to those things which he asserts wrongly. Where laziness and bad habits do not give way to persuasion bodily punishment must ensue; but the chastisement must never be given by a fellow-member of the Order. All scholars, even the University students, ought to go to confession at least once a month; they must also attend Mass daily, hear a sermon every Sunday, go once a week to the explanation of the Catechism, and also listen once a week to an edifying discourse in Latin which one of the scholars shall be appointed to deliver.

The teachers, in and out of hours of instruction, shall avail themselves of every opportunity to stimulate in their pupils a love of God's service and of virtue. For scholars belonging to the Society itself a special course of study must be drawn up with the General's approval; in this attention must be given to the requirements of time and place. Besides, each college is to have its own regulations going more fully into details. In this part of the Constitutions, as in all the rest, to the rules are often added the words "as far as this is possible." The "when" and "how" are constantly committed to the wise discretion of the Superior. It is evident that the educational rules of the Constitutions were copied from those obtaining in Paris, where Ignatius and his first comrades had studied.

The working of the Society must, despite its complexity and great local expansion, maintain its characteristic of unity. Of service for this was the correlated distribution of the Society into a varied membership of novices, scholastics, lay brothers, ecclesiastical coadjutors, and professed, with their hierarchical order and dependence, as well as the combination of individual houses into provinces and of these into assistances under one common head. The functions of obedience and command ascend in an ordered series of succession from the subordinates upwards through the immediate, mediate, and highest authorities, and vice versa from the latter downwards. The Provincial must make frequent visitation of the houses.

The secret par excellence of the powerful solidarity of the Jesuit Order lies in the supreme authority of the General. Chosen by the general assemblage of the Order, he alone among all the officers holds his office for life; he it is who has power to admit all and to dismiss all, who nominates and removes not only the provincials but also all rectors of the novitiates and the colleges, who dispenses spiritual powers and graces, limits them and recalls them, who convenes and presides over the general assemblies of the Order. To him every third year each province of the Order must send a confidential member to report to him on the condition of the province. In difficult affairs indeed the General must attend to the counsel of the Assistants, about four in number, given him as assessors by the general assembly, but their counsel has not binding power. Yet on the other hand again, this supreme authority in the Order is moderated not only by the

divine and ecclesiastical commandments but also by the Constitutions of the Society itself; their alteration belongs only to the General Congregation of the Order. This highest tribunal is composed of the General, his Assistants, the Provincials, and each couple of professed chosen in each province by a Provincial Congregation consisting of the Provincial, the Rectors, and the rest of the professed. The General Congregation also alone has the right to dissolve a college. The General is recommended to give a wide scope for the activity of his subordinate officers. It is the duty of his Assistants to watch over his personal tasks; they must take care that he does not injure his health through too severe a manner of life or through excess of exertion. Further, the Order sets beside him an Admonitor, who, whether he be likewise chosen by the General as his confessor or not, has in case of necessity to call his attention to faults in his behaviour or in the conduct of his office. It is also the Assistants' duty to take care that a General who is incapable of work or is unworthy of his place should be provided with a coadjutor or a successor.

A second unifying tie in the Order is brotherly love. A common system of life, uniformity of doctrine in sermons, lectures and writings, mutual discussion in Provincial and General assemblies bind their hearts together. "In their ceremonies" the Society "shall, so far as it is practicable in different localities, follow the Roman usage, as this is the more general and is in a more particular way adopted by the Apostolic See." The officers shall in their commands show good-will, modesty, and charity, so that their rule shall be more by love than by fear. The Provincials and Rectors must always have certain members of the Order marked out for them with whom in matters of importance they can consult even if the decision rests entirely in their own hands.

Ignatius showed exceptional skill in turning correspondence into an instrument wherewith to direct the Order and cement its unity. Frequently, at appointed times, the General must receive reports from the Provincials and Rectors, the Provincials from the Rectors, and the latter from those whose work lies outside the houses, to all of whom, in return, replies and instructions must be sent.

Moreover, in each house of the Order an account must be given of anything consolatory or edifying that has been reported from the rest. To serve this purpose, at appointed times letters are set in circulation. Thus mutual remembrance is maintained, the different fields of labour are passed in review, lessons are learned from the experiences of others, comfort is afforded in moments of misfortune, and the spur applied to a noble emulation.

The originality of the founder of the Society of Jesus was displayed not merely in his choice of new weapons but in his rejection of old methods of warfare. Nothing was further from his thought than a desire to subjugate the world; his only purpose was to supply the Papacy with a band of auxiliary troops always ready to march and easy to handle in the defence and extension of the Church. For this reason the men of the Order were never to be hampered by the episcopal staff or tied down to one fixed spot by the regular direction of women's souls. After giving in the Constitutions solid guarantees for the inner life of the individual members, Ignatius felt that, for the sake of the tasks set before them, many external means of protection, which for centuries had been of the greatest blessing and service to the religious orders, must be cast aside. Among them was the special dress of the orders. To the enemies of the Church the monk's garment was an abomination; nor was this all: stained by the immoral and renegade, the habit even in many Catholic districts was more likely to find doors and hearts closed against it than opened to receive it. Ignatius ruled that his followers should wear the dress of the countries in which they were living; at the same time they were always to be mindful of respectability and poverty. Also in their keep and the other external observances of life they were to conform to local customs without

being bound by a general rule to observe special fasts and other acts of penance; in the practice of the latter they were rather to be guided each one by the direction of their confessor or superior.

In the same spirit Ignatius also took another bold step which the founders of the Theatine Order had not yet ventured upon, and for which ten years after his death he was still unforgiven by many pious and learned men. Strongly attracted as he was personally to the solemn observance of the Church prayers in choir, he yet released his Order entirely from this practice in order that the work of preaching, hearing confessions, and giving instruction might meet with no impediment; those who wish to seek edification in prayer in choir could find, he said, churches enough wherein to satisfy their wishes.

It would seem that the founder of the Society of Jesus in all these regulations had before his eyes the saying of St. Thomas Aquinas: "Strictness in external things is not the main point in the life of an Order... That Order does not stand highest which exceeds others in strictness in externals, but which in the external ordering of its life adapts itself most reasonably to the special object for which it exists." A computation has been made of the number of times in which in his Constitutions Ignatius makes use of the phrases "to the greater glory of God," "to the greater service of God," and such and similar expressions are found to occur in more than two hundred and fifty places. The Constitutions are the shafts of light which irradiated from his soul, and his soul was filled with love—the love of God and of his neighbour. If in his Exercises Ignatius revealed himself as a great director of souls, in his Constitutions he appears as a great lawgiver to his Order.

A great opportunity for vindicating this zeal for God's glory occurred to the Order at the end of 1545, when the Council of Trent was opened. Ignatius had placed Le Jay at the disposal of the Bishop of Augsburg, Cardinal Otto von Truchsess, who appointed him his procurator at Trent in December 1545. Le Jay had his seat by the Bishop's side, although only with a consultative voice. He was one of the two to whom, on the 23rd of February 1546, the first draft of the decree on the Holy Scriptures and tradition was entrusted. With Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo, Prince-Bishop of Trent, he stood on a footing of great confidence. But the Pope himself also wished to send some Jesuits to Trent. Ignatius had to select them; he named Faber, Laynez, and Salmeron. Faber, however, died soon after at Rome. From the instructions which the General gave them for their conduct at Trent we see that the care of souls was to be a primary consideration. In preaching they were to avoid exposition of the doctrines on which the Protestants were at variance with the Catholics; their sermons and instructions were to end with a prayer for the Council. In speaking they were to be very cautious and unassuming.

From the presidents of the assembly, the Cardinal-Legates del Monte and Cervini, Laynez and Salmeron met with a very cordial greeting—their reception by the bishops was not so warm; the Spanish prelates in particular were almost ashamed of the youth and shabby clothes of their fellow-countrymen. The latter made haste to visit the poor, who had been gathered together in a house outside the city. On alternate days Laynez, Salmeron, and Le Jay went thither and said Mass, expounded the cardinal doctrines of the Faith, and administered the Sacraments. "With great matters," they wrote conjointly to Ignatius on the 4th of June 1546, "we do not mix ourselves up beyond what is imposed upon us by our duties." They had no respite from work; all bishops and divines at Trent were forbidden to preach in public; at the request, however, of some of the Fathers, Laynez was ordered by the Cardinal-Legates to occupy the pulpit, and he preached to great congregations on Sundays and feast-days in S. Maria Maggiore. Before this the Legates had already bidden him and Salmeron take part in the gatherings of theologians, who were not Fathers of the Council—the so-called lesser theologians,—in which divines of the first rank from different

countries discussed before Cardinals and bishops the burning questions of the hour. Here Laynez and Salmeron dealt with the question of justification with such soundness and learning that many members of the Council asked them for copies of these disquisitions. Laynez refuted Seripando's view of "imputed justice" in a treatise which threw light on the whole question.

Peter Canisius, who was appointed in February 1547 by Cardinal Truchsess as an assistant theologian to Le Jay, wrote from Trent to Rome: "Other theologians have barely an hour to speak in; but Laynez was allowed by the Cardinal-President to speak for three hours and even longer." The Bishop of Foligno declared a year later that none had expressed themselves at Trent so clearly and intelligibly as Laynez and Salmeron. From justification the discussion passed to the Sacraments; Laynez and Salmeron were instructed by the Legates to summarize the errors of the Protestants and the contrary statements of Fathers and Councils. Cardinal Cervini presented this work to the Fathers as a basis for the negotiations. Salmeron, in the middle of July 1546, in a letter meant only for the General himself, stated: "The doctrine of some of the theologians is bad; Cardinal Cervini therefore takes care that in the meetings of theologians one of us is among the first speakers and explains the subject; the other is kept in reserve for the end; it is his special business to refute the less correct opinions that have been expressed. Almost all the bishops, Italian, Spanish, and French, are on our side; and among the Spaniards those who at first were most against us now speak openly in our praise, invite us to their tables, and impart to us what they intend to say in the congregations... Many learned prelates come to us before the congregations to consult us about their votes. Others who are better versed in other subjects than theology receive our instruction willingly and thoroughly. Cardinal Cervini gives us his entire confidence."

At the beginning of 1547 Ignatius, at the request of the Duchess of Tuscany, wished to send Laynez to Florence; but Cardinal Cervini declared that he was indispensable, and Bishop Archinto, the Vicar of Paul III, wrote to the General that his sons could not do more good at any place in the world than at Trent. When in March 1547 the transference of the Council to Bologna was decided on, Laynez and Salmeron were also sent there by the Legates. Le Jay and Canisius wrote repeatedly to Cardinal Truchsess, to whom the removal was highly displeasing, and asked for instructions. As the reply was long in coming, they betook themselves to Bologna as Ignatius had ordered. At last Le Jay received from Truchsess the hint not to appear as his procurator in Bologna: he was now a simple theologian. Although the assembly at Bologna was, owing to the Emperor's opposition, only a troublesome waste of time, the Jesuits stayed there a considerable time. Laynez spoke for three consecutive hours on the sacrament of penance; Canisius also sometimes spoke. The secretary of the Council, Massarelli, wrote in his diary on the 15th of May 1547: "This afternoon I was with Messers Claudius, Jacobus, and Alphonsus, of the Society of Jesus, and showed them the censures and opinions on the Canons on the Eucharist; we conversed for four hours over these opinions. I then drew up my report of this for my very honourable masters." Salmeron in November 1547 was still working for the Council.

These exertions were also of advantage to the Society. Bishop Guillaume du Prat of Clermont came to the conviction that the Jesuits would be of service to the Church of France, and resolved to found two colleges for them, one in Paris, the other in Billom. Many other bishops also expressed a wish to have some Jesuits in their sees. The Bishop of Badajoz sent very favourable reports to the Spanish court of Laynez and his colleagues at Trent. He also sent Salmeron's printed sermon to the council of the Inquisition as the best that had been delivered on the Council. The Inquisitors were much pleased with it. "Thus," wrote the Provincial Araoz from Madrid to Rome, "others have done more for us by their speeches than we have ourselves with all the sweat of our brows in Spain."

Venice was the first city, with the exception of Rome, in which the Jesuits found a foothold. The Venetian patrician Andrea Lippomano offered the young members sent to study at Padua by Ignatius a residence in the priory of the Teutonic Order belonging to him there; he soon went a step further and without any solicitation declared himself ready, with the Pope's permission, to assign this benefice entirely to the Society. Paul III ordered an investigation of the circumstances to be made, and then as supreme administrator of the property of the Church ordained that the priorate of Padua should be set apart for the maintenance of two houses of students of the Society of Jesus, one to be established in Padua and another in Venice. Philip, the Spanish heir-apparent, wrote to the Doge that the priorate might certainly be given to the Jesuits and every favour be generally shown to them, as he knew them to be men of zealous, learned, and edifying conversation. When the vote was afterwards taken in the Senate there was also a very large majority in their favour.

In compliance with their desire Laynez was sent to the Venetians by Paul III, and together with other duties he gave lectures thrice a week on St. John's Gospel. Cardinal Cervini succeeded in securing for a while the services of Pascal Broët for his native place, Montepulciano. In Verona, Salmeron, sent thither by Ignatius on the invitation of the learned and pious Bishop Luigi Lippomano, preached on Sundays to the people on the Epistle to the Romans. To another very learned bishop, the Dominican, Ambrogio Catarino, Bobadilla was given for his see of Minori.

In Faenza, Lutheran teaching had been disseminated by the apostate General of the Capuchins, Ochino; moreover, in the city and throughout the whole Romagna many vendettas existed, some of which had been handed down for more than a century; assassinations constantly ensued. There Broët appeared and in seven schools of the city gave Christian instruction; his sermons produced such an effect that on one occasion more than a hundred persons were at the same time solemnly reconciled. He also founded the Compagnia della Carita for the purpose of seeking out the sick poor, moving them to confess and receive communion, and providing for their nourishment and medical aid.

Belluno underwent a like transformation. Attendance upon sermons had dropped out of practice; un-Catholic views on confession, purgatory, and the saints were diffused. In 1549 Bishop Giulio Contarini made an arrangement with Ignatius that Salmeron should come to Belluno, and in that year the Sacraments were frequented by nearly a thousand more persons than in the year before; Lutheran books, translated into Italian, were cast into the fire; the city made public declaration that Salmeron had wrought a new birth and total renovation.

The first beginnings of the Order in Modena were less fortunate. The academy in that city had a reputation of years' standing as a centre of error and free thought. As early as 1536 and 1539 Paul III had taken serious steps to remedy the evil. In 1543 the bishop of the city, the noble, peace-loving Cardinal Morone, invited Salmeron to fill the pulpit of the Cathedral. He began a course of sermons; the members of the academy soon began to accuse him of caustic and acrimonious allusions. Morone having returned home in the meantime heard one of the sermons himself. He received the impression that in it the good works had been rated too highly, and made representations to Salmeron on the subject. The quick-tempered Spaniard made a reply which was somewhat disrespectful; thereupon the Cardinal, as he expressed himself later on, got rid of his man upon the spot. When, fourteen years afterwards, Morone was imprisoned in St. Angelo by Paul IV on suspicion of heresy, this brush with Salmeron formed one of the points of the indictment. The magnanimous Cardinal, however, was not diverted by this misadventure from his leaning towards the Jesuits; their college at Modena was the outcome of his insistence.

One of the great supporters of the innovators in religion was Renee, Duchess of Ferrara, wife of Duke Ercole II, a French princess deeply implicated in Calvinistic teaching. Her husband's confessor, the archdeacon Guido Guidoni of Modena, therefore made use of a favourable hour to warn the former that he, who had so many counsellors at his disposal for the government of his temporal affairs, should at least have the assistance of one man to be his exhorter and helper in the things that concerned his salvation. Ercole assented, and ordered the Pope to be asked to send to him Le Jay, whom Ignatius instructed, while in Ferrara, to look upon the Duke as his true and only superior. Le Jay came and took up his abode in the hospital; the Duke, in whom Ignatius was deceived, troubled himself, however, very little about him. It was reported that Ercole had said that he did not wish to have anything to do with Theatines, as he had no wish to be called one himself. Le Jay, at the Pope's orders, went in 1549 to Germany.

The favourable prospects of the erection of a college in Florence were destroyed in 1547 by the young Polanco. The General had commissioned him to carry spiritual aid to the people of Florence under the direction of the Duke and the Archbishop of that city; he, however, was carried away by such excess of zeal that he attempted to enforce written advice on the Duke Cosimo and the Duchess Eleanora, instructing them how to reform their life and government; this gave grievous offence at court. Ignatius gave him severe reproof: "Such a course," he wrote, "can only then be undertaken when the sympathy, confidence, and esteem of such high rulers has been secured"; Polanco must now try and remove the soreness he had caused by services to the sick in the hospitals and similar exhibitions of a humble spirit. Laynez indeed appeared, at the wish of the Duchess, in 1548, and on the Sundays in Lent preached to concourses of 8000 to 9000 persons in the Duomo; but it was not until 1551 that the college was able to make a beginning.

The Society had to face an actual outburst of storm in Parma, where the opposition was led by a member of a religious order. The principal cause of offence was the frequency of communion introduced by the missionaries; in particular much comment was passed on the conduct of Giulia Zerbini, a woman of high position and great piety, who not only practised the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius herself, but gave them to friends of her own sex. She received communion during a sickness every day and, it was said, on those days on which she received the Lord's Body she took no other food. The judicial investigation instituted by the Bishop of Parma, Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza, led on the 30th of December 1543 to a complete acquittal of the Jesuits.

In the Jesuit, Silvestro Landini, Italy then possessed a missionary of the first rank. A priest of Casola wrote of him to Ignatius: "When he, accompanied by five or six ecclesiastics to whom he had given the Exercises, went through the country, the people in the fields laid down implements of work, left their oxen, and came running up to them, sometimes ten, twenty, thirty at a time, begging them to hear their confessions." The town of Correggio had for more than twenty years been rent by feuds, two parties, a French and an Italian, were opposed; on one occasion, within a short time five-and-forty men were slain, nothing was spoken of but murder and revenge, and men even came to church carrying weapons. Landini by his preaching made an entire change; arms were flung away, and all—women, children, the aged—exclaimed, "Peace, peace." With sobs and entreaties for forgiveness they fell into one another's arms; some hundred went at the same time to the Sacraments.

From Castiglione in the Lunigiana the magistrate Baldassare Turiano wrote to Ignatius on the 27th of November 1547 begging that "Padre Silvestro" might not be sent elsewhere. "He makes peace between relatives, between neighbours, between communities; he induces run-away monks to return to their convent; he stirs men up to give means of subsistence to convents and to the poor; he procures rules against profane swearing and for the reverent observance of Sunday;

he preaches in churches and public places, explains the Catechism, exhorts men to enter the religious life; he fasts daily, his food is a coarse bread of millet seed, his drink a little water. Great and small model their lives on his; even if he were not to preach, his example alone would be a constant sermon." Six months later Raffaello Augustini reports from Fivizzano: "Padre Landini has been with us for about three weeks. He imitates the Apostles and other saints of the primitive church, being ever occupied in prayer, preaching, penance, and works of charity. He is making great efforts to banish hence the plague of Lutheranism, which has forced its way from Lucca into the diocese of Luni." After some months' work in Foligno, the Bishop of the see, the Benedictine, Isidoro Chieri, gave his testimony in the words, "We thought that an angel from heaven and not a human being was dwelling among us." Also in Bologna, Brescia, Naples, Pisa, Pistoja, Reggio, and other cities Jesuit missionaries were welcomed. They often tried to give some perpetuity to their work by forming confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament, associations of women for the protection of penitents of their own sex, and similar communities.

The first Jesuit to set foot in Sicily was a native of the Netherlands, Jacob Lhoost; he had been sent by Cardinal Rodolfo Pio to his diocese of Girgenti. Laynez, at the bidding of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, brought reforms into the Archdiocese of Monreale; in the cathedral he delivered lectures on the Book of Ecclesiastes. Jeronimo Domenech came in May 1547 to the capital Palermo; he became confessor to the viceroy Juan de Vega and his wife, restored order to a convent of female penitents which had fallen into the most neglected condition, worked hard for the erection of orphanages for boys and girls, and had a catechism printed for the schools of the island. The Bishop of Patti, Sebastiano de Aragon, Inquisitor for Sicily and one of the foremost men in the kingdom, went through the Spiritual Exercises, together with his vicar and chaplains. At the request of the viceroy, Ignatius in 1549 procured a brief from Paul III. ordering the reformation of the Sicilian convents of nuns. In the same year a college of the Society was opened in Palermo.

A year earlier Palermo's mercantile rival, the rich city of Messina, had received a similar institution in answer to requests addressed to Paul III and to Ignatius. It was the first of the Order which from its beginning and primarily was set apart for the education of extern scholars. The General wished to make of it a typical specimen. His choice of the first teachers was characteristic; they included a Spaniard, an Italian, a German, a Frenchman, and a Savoyard; before they left Rome they were put through the test of giving instructions before him. He then sent the ten, who had been selected for Messina, to the Pope to ask his blessing; their spokesman was Peter Canisius. The Pope gave an extempore address which lasted half an hour, full of affection for Sicily and the Society of Jesus. Jeronimo Nadal, the first rector, gradually modelled the college on the plan of Paris, where he had himself studied.

In the autumn of the year 1548 a new scheme of studies was extended throughout Sicily, and also in Calabria. The scholars showed great diligence; as an efficient means of moral discipline frequent confession proved its influence among them. Messina was so delighted with the new school that already in 1548 it ventured to apply to the Pope for powers to change the collegiate system into that of an university. The time for that, however, had not yet come, and the hopes which the founder of the Order had built on this foundation were not fully realized, but the work in Palermo and Messina bore continuous fruit. "The whole of Sicily," wrote Canisius, "is in the grip of a moral renovation."

The first among all the disciples of Loyola to enter on Spanish ground was one of his relations, Antonio Araoz, who had joined the Society in Rome. His arrival was at the end of 1539, when he preached in various places with success. He himself informed Ignatius how on the Holy

Cross day of 1540, the pulpit had to be erected for him in the open air near Azpeitia; over 4000 men had come to hear him; many climbed to the roof of the church or the branches of trees in order to have a better hearing. In 1541 Peter Faber came to Spain; in the following year he was in Germany, and in 1544 went from there to Portugal, where he met Araoz. Soon, bearing with them letters of recommendation from King John III of Portugal, they both made their way to Valladolid to the court of the Spanish heir-apparent, Philip. There they found powerful patrons in Cardinal Juan Tavera, in the Grand Inquisitor Diego Tavera, and in the Papal nuncio Giovanni Poggio, who undertook the maintenance of the Fathers. On Prince Philip removing his court to Madrid Araoz was frequently resident there. He defended earnestly the practice of frequent communion, which many at that time regarded as unpermissible and stigmatized as a Jesuit invention; he also laboured with success at the moral renovation of the convents of women of Catalonia. At Philip's request Ignatius, in concert with the Spanish ambassador in Rome, had obtained from Paul III. the requisite instructions and faculties.

In 1547 Araoz was appointed by Ignatius first Provincial of the Society in Spain. Within two years a college was started at Valladolid; the house which was assigned to the Fathers was fitted up by the nuncio Poggio at his own expense. Between 1544 and 1546 colleges also arose in Valencia, Gandia, Barcelona, and Alcala. Hostility, however, was not wanting. This was no subject of alarm to Ignatius, on the contrary, he felt cause for depression when the colleges enjoyed long intervals of peace; for then he began to fear that the zeal of the Society might be languishing. In Saragossa the Prior of the Dominicans did his utmost towards the foundation of a Jesuit college; the Viceroy, the Inquisitors, the civic council, and many notables were on his side, but the Carmelites, Franciscans, and Augustinians joined hands with the local clergy and for a time made the execution of the scheme impossible. The new Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain, Juan Martinez Siliceo, was also unfavourable to the Society; he issued orders prohibiting any but parish priests to administer communion in his diocese. This ordinance was directed against the Jesuits who, it was reported, had been spoken of as heretics by the Archbishop.

Salamanca was the centre of the most violent storm of opposition to the new Order. Cardinal Francisco de Mendoza, Bishop of Coria, had in Rome proposed to the General that he should erect a Jesuit college in that city of Spain in which the first university had been opened. This had taken place in Salamanca in 1548. In the learned and wealthy Doctor Alonzo Ramirez de Vergara the school had a liberal benefactor. There an antagonist of the new community arose in the person of the Dominican Melchior Cano, since 1546 first professor of theology in the University of Salamanca, and a man whose brilliant gifts and deep learning had made him the pride of Spain. The strange hallucination took possession of him that the Jesuits were the forerunners of Antichrist. He first gave public utterance to this notion during the Lenten sermons of the year 1548. At the close of the same year, on the 25th of November, the Jesuit Alvarez had to inform Ignatius: "Today Doctor Cano preached before the whole University: one of the curses of Christendom is the short-sightedness of those prelates who, in order to please some pious souls, give their sanction to new and laxly regulated orders; I mean orders whose members go to and fro about the streets like other people—an order of loungers, I call them; they are given up to indolence, they take good care not to mortify the body, they procure for them-selves permission to say their prayers out of the curtailed Roman breviary." Fourteen days later Cano was understood to say, "Signs shall go before the Last Judgment. Among them hypocrisies, 'Alumbrado'—revelations, exercises, and what now is deemed holy shall then be accursed and led down to hell."

Cano did not name the Jesuits, but everybody knew of whom he spoke. Fingers were pointed at them in Salamanca; to hold converse with them was to forfeit reputation. The persecuted teachers suffered quietly for a time and waited; they then sought out Cano and

privately addressed to him explanations and arguments. When this was unavailing Ignatius bethought him of a more telling means of defence. At his instigation the General of the Order of Preachers, Francisco Romeo, sent from Rome in December 1548 a circular letter to all brothers of his Order in which he announced “that the Society of Jesus had the approval of the Pope, and was doing an extraordinary amount of good by its labours and example; he therefore, in virtue of holy obedience, forbade any attack, public or private, on the new Order, which ought rather to be looked upon as an ally in their spiritual warfare and to receive their protection and help.” Somewhat before this Pope Paul III, at the request of Cardinal Mendoza, had written already to the Bishops of Cuenca and Salamanca in which he bitterly complained that evil men in Salamanca and in some other parts of Spain had blackened the Society and its members in sermons, lectures, and confidential conversation, thereby depriving them of popular confidence and undermining their influence for good; the Pope therefore appointed the two bishops protectors of the Order and gave them all the necessary powers. Cano now held his peace for some time.

The feeling of enmity towards the Jesuits began to wane in Salamanca. To this change of disposition contributed especially, together with Estrada’s Lent sermons and the devotion of his comrade Miguel Torres to those in prison and under sentence of death, the Apologia of the Jesuits, written by a member of Cano’s own Order, the distinguished Dominican Juan de Pena. Louis of Granada also, great as a master of Spanish style, greater still as a master of the Christian life, one of the noblest ornaments of the Dominican Order in that century, was a staunch and outspoken friend of the Society. For some time indeed it seemed as if another great spiritual teacher, Thomas of Villanova, Archbishop of Valencia, were about to take his place among the opponents of the Jesuits; to him, the stern Augustinian monk, many things in the new Order seemed dangerous and suspicious, but when the saintly man was shown how all had been approved at Rome, he disquieted himself no longer and became a great benefactor of the Order. John of Avila, the Apostle of Andalusia, deplored that old age and illness hindered him from joining the Society; but, he wrote to Ignatius, he wished to do all that he could for them; from the first he had seen in them a work of God and a gift of Providence.

Much closer to the Society was yet another saint to be drawn. When Ignatius in 1527 was brought prisoner to Alcala on a charge of heresy, he was met in the street, so the story goes, by the young Marquis Francisco de Lombay, eldest son of Duke Juan III of Gandia, mounted high on his steed, with a retinue of friends and servants. Little did either of the two men dream in what altered circumstances they should meet together in the years to come.

Appointed viceroy of Catalonia by Charles V in 1539, Francis Borgia, who was in 1542 a Tertiary of the Franciscan Order, heard through Peter Faber of the Society of Jesus. Soon afterwards his father Juan III died, and Francis succeeded to the Dukedom of Gandia. One of the responsibilities he now felt most strongly was the care for the newly converted Moors; in order to give them religious help he founded at Lombay a large Dominican convent. For the education of the young Moriscos he wished to found a school in the town of Gandia and hand it over to the Jesuits; Ignatius, however, urged him to found a special college. While hitherto these institutions had been reserved for young members of the Order only, now for the first time admission would be given to Moorish children as well and to others from outside. The college was opened in 1546, and Paul III raised it in the following year to the rank of a university. The Duchess did not live to see this, for she died on the 27th of March 1546. Thereupon Francis went through the Exercises and took a vow to enter the Order. He could not, however, refuse to take his place by the side of Philip on the assembling of the Estates of Aragon in 1547. The Prince wished also to make him his “Majordomo”; but Borgia now resolved to withdraw gradually from the world. Ignatius obtained for him the Papal permission to take the vows of solemn profession and notwithstanding

this to administer during three years his temporal possessions; by that time his children would be provided for and his foundations completed.

On the 1st of February 1548 Francis made profession at Gandia before a few witnesses; the documents were put on paper in secret characters and sent to Rome. Borgia continued to dress as a layman and to keep princely state. The step that he had taken was not publicly known in Spain until 1551. Six months after his profession the General had to shorten by half Francis' periods of prayer and to prohibit his macerating scourgings and fastings; "otherwise," wrote Ignatius, "his bodily strength will be ruined"; there must be "mens Sana in corpore sano". Now already, while yet amid the preliminaries to his ordination as priest, Francis was setting forth "the greater glory of God" by his exemplary virtue, his wisdom, his influence over the wielders of spiritual and temporal power. Since his Duchy was the exclusive heritage of his eldest son and his remaining seven children had not means adequate to their position, Paul III sanctioned, at his petition, on the 23rd of January 1549, his appropriation, as a provision for the latter, of 25,000 ducats from the residuary estate of his great-uncle, Giovanni, Duke of Camerino and Nepi, who had died intestate.

On their way to India the members of the Society touched the soil of Portugal. The Portuguese doctor Diego de Gouvea wrote from Paris to his former pupil Ignatius to ask whether he and his associates did not wish to evangelize the Portuguese Indies. Ignatius sent him the reply that "they were ready to go joyfully to the Indies when the Pope sent them." On this King John III applied to Paul III for six Jesuit missionaries for the East Indies. Ignatius, however, could only spare two, Francis Xavier and Simon Rodriguez. In Lisbon they had to await a passage, but there they so captivated the people by their apostolic fervour that they were implored to abandon their journey; finally, with the Pope's consent, Rodriguez at last resolved to remain in Portugal. The King entrusted the Society with the spiritual direction of the young noblemen who, to the number of nearly a hundred, were brought up at court. Almost all, Ignatius reported in 1542, go to confession and communion weekly and hear sermons every Friday. Many young men sought admission to the Order, and the King sent them to study at his University of Coimbra; the college which he established there for the Society numbered in 1547 already 115 members of the Order, including 92 scholastics; John spent yearly 3000 ducats on their upkeep. In 1545 Ignatius had to yield to the King's pressing request that Rodriguez should undertake the tuition of his son. In the following year Rodriguez was also nominated Provincial of Portugal. For the college of Coimbra in the years 1545-46 he composed, on a basis given him by Ignatius in Italy, a series of general rules and some also for special employments, which later were widely adopted throughout the whole Order. The Blessed Peter Faber praised the piety and discipline which he maintained among the Portuguese brethren. They were popularly called "the Apostles." When they passed through the country in their poverty, preaching and administering the Sacraments, every town and every village was open to them.

In 1548 the Jesuits Gonsalvez and Nunez passed over from Portugal to Morocco and conveyed to from 500 to 600 Christian captives in the Moorish city of Tetuan the consolations of religion. Deeply touched by their afflictions, they returned to Portugal and collected clothes and medicines and money to the amount of over a thousand ducats. The King also committed to the Society the task of delivering captives.

It was at the instance of Paul III that the first Jesuits went to Ireland. His choice fell on Alfonso Salmeron and Pascal Broët; they brought with them three Papal letters: one contained many ecclesiastical faculties; the second recommended them to the Irish bishops; the third concerned their free passage through the country. The bearers were to visit in the Pope's name the

Irish bishops and native princes, confirming them in their loyalty to the Church, exhorting the clergy, reforming convents, urging the erection of schools for Latin, pawnshops and similar beneficent institutions, and finding out suitable occupants for vacant Church offices. Ignatius specially urged upon them to adapt themselves as much as possible to Irish customs and “become all things to all men”; if they had to collect fines or burdens they were at once to distribute the money through others among the poor or see that it was spent on religious objects.

Salmeron and Broët reached Scotland under great difficulties. There Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, and other leading men strongly dissuaded them from pursuing their journey. They would accomplish nothing, they were told, and in view of the hostility of Henry VIII to Rome were imperilling their lives. Nevertheless, they determined to go on, and James V of Scotland, the father of Mary Stuart, gave them letters to the Irish grandees and a companion for their journey. They landed on the island in the Lent of 1542; the Irish chiefs were entirely under the yoke of Henry VIII, and they had pledged themselves to a man to recognize the King as their ecclesiastical head and to deliver up the emissaries of the Pope. Loyal bishops had to go into concealment; the convents were for the most part deserted, the people savage and split into factions: “Not one stone has been left upon another,” wrote Salmeron. They heard a few confessions, bestowed indulgences and other graces, but the English were on their track and they had no place of refuge to receive them. Thus after a sojourn of thirty-four days they returned, in accordance with their instructions, by way of Scotland to Italy. “To outward appearance a failure,” says one versed in Irish Church history, “this first mission of the Jesuits to Ireland was destined in course of time to bear much fruit.”

In France also the beginnings of the Order were not noticeable. Some young men were sent by Ignatius to Paris to study in 1540, and from time to time others joined them. In 1548 a group of eighteen students lived together in an annexe of the Lombards’ college; they had their Superior and observed the rules of the Order, yet only a few knew that they belonged to the Society of Jesus; the majority were lads who dressed as laymen in clothes of different cut and colour.

When in 1542, on account of the war between Francis I and the Emperor, proclamation was made to the University of Paris that all subjects of Charles V must quit France under pain of death and confiscation of property, eight members of the Jesuit colony in Paris migrated to Louvain. Here two of the most prominent citizens went through the Spiritual Exercises: the Inquisitor Dietrich von Heeze, once the confidential minister of Adrian VI, and the learned theologian Ruard Tapper, Chancellor of Louvain University. Heeze was ready to enter the Society, but Peter Faber, to whom he had made known his resolve, dissuaded him on account of his age and the great influence for good he was able to wield outside the Order. The first recruit from Louvain was Cornelius Vischhaven, a priest of great piety and strictness of life. Peter Faber during a short stay in Louvain had so ingratiated himself and his cause in the hearts of the youth of the University that, on the rumour of his departure for Portugal, nineteen undergraduates declared their wish to accompany him; nine of them he sent thither. In 1547 the members of the Order in Louvain chose Vischhaven as their Superior and drew up regulations for the ordering of their common life. Ignatius confirmed the latter, but enjoined on the community that the permission of the Bishop of Liege should be invited for their corporate settlement.

As in the Netherlands, so in Germany the first appearance of the Jesuits was, so to speak, the result of accident. Peter Faber had been instructed by Paul III to accompany the Imperial ambassador Ortiz into Spain. Then Ortiz received orders to attend the conference on religion at Worms: he took Faber with him, and both reached their destination in 1540. Faber occupied himself with the confessional and the Exercises; afterwards he went with Ortiz to Ratisbon,

whither the conference had been transferred and a Diet summoned. Here so many applied for the Exercises that Faber's time was insufficient; some who had gone through them undertook to give them to others; thus Cochlteus initiated the Bishop of Meissen and Robert Wauchope the Bishop of Spires; Faber himself took charge of the Prince Abbot of Kempten and the Portuguese envoy. Ecclesiastical and secular princes became penitents of Faber, among them the Duke of Savoy. In a letter from Ratisbon of June the 8th, 1541, the Pope was informed: "No small benefit, as we know from experience, has accrued from the Exercises both among the princes and their subjects. Some were faltering, now they are strengthened; some had already fallen away, now they are restored."

From Ratisbon in the summer of 1541 Faber had to go with Ortiz into Spain. But he was soon to be back again in Germany. Paul III, on the strength of reports received from the citizens of Ratisbon, summoned Faber with Le Jay and Bobadilla to Germany in 1542. Faber reached Spires on the 17th of April and awaited the instructions of the Papal nuncio Morone; the Rhenish district was assigned to him as his sphere of work. In Spires itself he gave the Exercises to the Cathedral cantor, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, who afterwards as Cardinal and Bishop of Augsburg was one of the chief pillars of the Church in Germany. Morone then ordered him to go to Mainz. The Archbishop and Cardinal, Albert of Brandenburg, wished to make full use of his services for the restoration of the spiritual and moral condition of his clergy, fallen into deep decay. In Mainz also he was chosen as master of the Exercises by two of the best bishops in Germany: one was the gentle, high-minded Julius Pflug, Bishop of Naumberg, and the other the learned and eloquent Michael Holding, then Bishop-coadjutor of Mainz, later Bishop of Merseburg. Faber lived with the parish priest of St. Christopher and turned him, as Canisius expressed it, from a "concubinarius into a Carthusian." At the Cardinal's wish he began, in the winter of 1542, a course of lectures on the Psalms. Albert also had a plan of appointing him, with other theologians, to attend the Council of Trent.

In the following summer Faber, with the Archbishop's consent, complied with repeated and pressing invitations to visit Cologne. The Archbishop, Hermann von Wied, an ignorant man and of totally mundane character, had summoned the apostate Dominican, Martin Bucer, in 1542 to protestantize the archiepiscopal foundations of Cologne. A substantial portion of the Cathedral chapter, the secular Estates, and some of the Council of the Imperial city of Cologne were on his side; the Catholics held back through fear of the Archbishop. Faber now bestirred himself and went to Bonn, where the Emperor and Hermann had a meeting in order to present to the Papal nuncio a memorial from the University of Cologne setting forth the necessity of some serious intervention. The representations addressed by the Emperor to the lax ruler of the archdiocese were productive of at least some good results; soon afterwards a petition from Cologne reached the nuncio in which he was implored not to allow Faber to depart from the city. This was followed by a Papal command which provisionally detained Faber in Germany. Faber, whose sermons in Cologne were a great success, hired a house there and made it a home for the seven young Jesuits who, in the meantime, had gathered in the city. He was thus the founder of the first Jesuit settlement in German territory.

In July 1544 Ignatius called him back to Portugal, and two years later he died in Rome; the Church venerates him as Blessed. In his spiritual diary Faber noted on the 10th of June 1543: Since he had come to know Germany the thought of such a people falling away from the Church filled his soul with continual anguish. This sacred compassion was never extinguished; among the seven persons for whom he specially prayed were, besides the Pope and Emperor, also Luther, Melanchthon, and Bucer, and among the seven cities for which he had all his life long under-taken to intercede Wittenberg held the first place.

The lovable and popular qualities which adorned Faber were also conspicuous in his companion Claude Le Jay; he also looked for salvation much more in a reformation of morals than in the contests of theologians. The nuncio Morone in 1542 sent him to work about the Danube and in Bavaria. "I have hopes that his work will be of service," wrote Morone to Cardinal Contarini. Le Jay came with Wauchope to Ratisbon, where they presented the Papal letters to the Bishop and Chapter; they could not, however, obtain a footing. In the city Le Jay incurred odium because he urged the removal of a preacher of bad repute; many of the clergy too were unwilling to change their mode of life, and the two strangers were threatened with expulsion from the city or immersion in the Danube. "We told them," said Le Jay, "that heaven can be reached by water as easily as by dry land." But at the beginning of 1543 Le Jay had to leave Ratisbon; he went to Ingolstadt and gave lectures at the University on the Holy Scriptures; he was called upon to introduce Moritz von Hutten, Bishop of Eichstatt, then living in his neighbourhood, to the Spiritual Exercises; then, in obedience to the Pope's commands, he went to Dillingen to Cardinal Truchsess. Here he was met by an invitation from Duke Ernest of Bavaria, Archbishop of Salzburg, to attend a Provincial Synod, at which he should sit as a member and vote. But he was aware that it would be contrary to the Pope's wishes to take part in deliberations on religious questions at the approaching Diet at Worms, and he was under the impression that this assembly at Salzburg would prepare the way directly for such deliberations; he therefore confined himself to receiving the resolutions in his chamber and expressing his opinion upon them. At Salzburg he also composed two theses: one maintaining the Bishop's responsibility for prohibiting, without special permission from the Pope, participation in the ecclesiastical debates in an Imperial Diet; the other, proving that Protestants were still heterodox if, even while holding another doctrine of the Faith, they denied solely and exclusively the primacy of the Pope of Rome. At the same time he made use of the opportunity of urging on the Archbishop the need of establishing a boarding-house for boys who were to be trained for the priesthood. On his return to Dillingen the Cardinal had already set out for Worms; Le Jay had to follow him, His sermons in Italian, delivered during the Diet, pleased King Ferdinand and others in high station; the bishops often invited him to their tables and asked him to visit their sees.

Other tasks were allotted to Nicolas Bobadilla, Le Jay's colleague from the Order. Morone was of opinion that he should accompany the Imperial forces into Hungary, there to put a curb on the Lutheran preachers, attend to the spiritual interests of the soldiery, and exercise an improving influence on the clergy. He was kept, however, in Vienna; the nuncio Girolamo Verallo wished to have him in his house, but Bobadilla preferred to lodge in a hospital; he preached, gave expositions of the Epistle to the Romans, and prepared Jews and Turks for baptism; King Ferdinand often had conversations with him. But soon afterwards began for Bobadilla a period of constant shifting to and fro with the most varied activity. With Verallo, whose nunciature to the Emperor was soon changed for that to the King, he visited Nuremberg, Spire, Worms, Brussels, and Ratisbon. In the intervals he was engaged in writing, preached in Latin at Passau and Ratisbon, visited, at the bidding of Cardinal Farnese, the Imperial camp during the Schmalkaldic war and took care of the Italian hospital, engaged in the reconstruction of the University curriculum at Cologne, and supported the Catholics of that city in their contest with the apostate Archbishop. In the address of a letter from the Bishop of Vienna, Frederick Nausea, to Bobadilla, the latter was termed "the most vigilant agent of the Apostolic See in all Germany."

Bobadilla was always ready to speak and had much to say, sometimes with a touch of braggadocio. He spoke his mind to ecclesiastical and temporal magnates alike, with a frankness which more than once was disfigured by bluntness and discourtesy; it was on account of this that his German career came to an abrupt end. The asperity of his language with regard to the Interim

led the Emperor to dismiss him from Augsburg; he went to Rome, where Ignatius gave him a cold reception. Canisius some years later gave him testimony : that he had worked hard for the Germans in war and peace, run great dangers, and “put a sturdy shoulder to the wheel” on behalf of the Catholic cause, especially at Diets of the Empire.

Bobadilla and his two comrades had worked on German soil as strangers; the first German Jesuit and at the same time the greatest among them was Peter Canisius. Born in Nymegen in 1521 of a family of good standing, he studied at Cologne as a youth, taking his degree of doctor in philosophy in 1540. Three years later he was led through the Spiritual Exercises by Peter Faber; there, as he himself tells us, he heard the voice of God calling him to join the Order. He took the vows on the 8th of May 1543. Returning to Cologne from Mainz, he pursued his theological studies; in addition he began at once to lecture on academic subjects, gave Latin addresses to students and ecclesiastics, and preached simple sermons to the people; he was also anxious to promote frequent communion, especially among young students. He was the first member of the Order to appear publicly as an author; in 1543 he published at Cologne an enlarged and improved edition of the writings of the mystic John Tauler the Dominican; in 1546 this was followed by a Latin translation in three folio volumes of the works of Cyril of Alexandria and of Leo the Great. The small band of Jesuits, consisting almost entirely of students, which had been formed at Cologne in 1544, was supported for the most part on the paternal inheritance of Canisius. The part taken by him in the struggle with Archbishop Hermann von Wied was an active one. He went, at the bidding of the clergy and University of Cologne, in quest of help and protection to the Emperor and the Papal nuncio in the Netherlands, then to Bishop George of Austria in Liege, and again to the Emperor and nuncio in Suabia. From this last mission he was unable to return to Cologne, for Cardinal Otto von Truchsess of Augsburg sent him to the Council of Trent. Then, in obedience to the General of the Order, he went to Bologna, Rome, and Messina; his continuance in Italy, however, was not to be for long; he belonged to Germany.

After the death of Johann Eck the reputation of the University of Ingolstadt began to decline. In order to infuse new life into the institution the firm Catholic Duke William IV of Bavaria sought permission from Paul III to levy three-tenths on every convent and benefice in his dominions for this purpose. At the same time he asked the Pope to send him some Jesuits as professors of theology; among them was to be Le Jay. The Duke found every encouragement in Rome, for Paul III and those in his confidence were anxiously desirous of establishing Jesuit colleges in Germany. At the Pope’s bidding Ignatius appointed Le Jay, Salmeron, and Canisius for Ingolstadt; Canisius was first sent for from Messina to Rome. On the 2nd of September 1549 he and his colleagues received the Papal blessing. On the way to Germany the three future professors of theology submitted themselves in the University of Bologna to an examination by Bishop Ambrogio Catarino and two other Dominicans, and then received from the Papal Legate, Cardinal Giovanni Maria del Monte, the cap of doctor of theology.

Meeting as they advanced with friendly receptions from the Cardinals of Trent and Augsburg and from the Duke of Bavaria, they reached Ingolstadt on the 13th of November 1549. The University prepared for them a public reception, and on November the 26th Canisius opened his course of lectures. It was one of the last successes within reach of Paul III that he was able to send Peter Canisius to the field of work for which he was the right man. The time had now come when a summons to halt was to be given to the victorious onrush of Protestantism, since of its previous conquests a portion were to be rewon. Canisius was one of the best leaders in these successful contests; during their continuance under the successors of Paul III he won for himself the name of a second Apostle of Germany and elevation to the altars of the Church by his academic exertions, his countless sermons and instructions, his composition of catechisms and many other

writings, the accomplishment of arduous tasks laid upon him by the Pope, indefatigable work at the diets and other assemblies, the foundation and direction of colleges of his Order, and finally by his life of prayer and genuine holiness.

Before the call to Bavaria had come the Jesuits had received an invitation to cross over into Africa. The occasion was in some ways a remarkable one. King John III of Portugal received one day a letter from Claudius Atanaf Sagad, the Negus of Abyssinia. The latter wrote: Some years before a man had appeared before him who stated that he had been recognized by the Pope of Rome as Patriarch of Ethiopia, but personally he evinced himself to be unfitted for such a post. The Negus wished to be informed if this man were really Patriarch, and if not, asked the King to send him one with due authority, for the Abyssinians wished to obey the Pope. King John could think of nothing better than to turn to Ignatius for help. His wish was, he wrote, that one of the Jesuits should undertake the Patriarchate. This was a case in which there was sore need of help. The cleric Juan Bermudez, who had joined himself in 1541 to a troop of Portuguese on their journey to Abyssinia, had certainly played the part, in that country, of Catholic Patriarch, but he had received from Rome neither consecration nor jurisdiction; he was an interloper, not to say an impostor. Ignatius did not reject the petition, since it did not concern the acceptance of a dignity bringing with it pomp and leisure but of heavy and difficult burden. The transaction was not finally settled until 1555, when the Portuguese Jesuit, Nunez Barreto, was consecrated to the office.

The Order was more speedily settled on the Congo. The mission of the Jesuits was already begun here in 1548, but unfortunately the promise of its inception was not fulfilled. Loyola's disciples were happier in their Brazilian mission of 1549, when they successfully laid the foundations of the conversion of the South American Indians.

All these undertakings were as nothing compared with the results to which the Order could already point in the newly discovered regions of Asia, where history is linked with the fame of a man whose name is still revered to this day by friend and foe alike : with that of Francis Xavier. On the 16th of March 1540 Xavier left Rome to go at the Pope's orders to the East Indies. On May the 30th he reached Lisbon, where he received four briefs: the first, dated July the 27th, 1540, appointed him Papal nuncio for the Portuguese Indies on both sides of the Ganges, and of the Cape of Good Hope, with full ecclesiastical powers; two other briefs enlarged his powers, and in a fourth he was recommended to the Princes and rulers of these territories. While Francis was waiting for a passage at Lisbon high and low showered marks of respect upon him: he consoled himself for the absence of tribulation by the thought of the sacrifices he should be able to offer in India; to be long without suffering, he thought, was to be no true soldier of Christ. Suffering awaited him on the voyage, which lasted more than a year.

On the 6th of May 1542 he landed in Goa. At once, as one of his biographers relates, he threw himself at the feet of the Bishop of the country, the Franciscan Juan de Albuquerque, showed him his faculties, and declared that he wished to use them simply at the bidding of the Bishop. He looked upon himself only as the fellow-worker of the Franciscans, Augustinians, and other apostolic men whose labours lay in this difficult region. The Christian population of Goa was morally in a bad condition. Xavier quickly made up his mind; he made his dwelling in a hospital and began a fight in good earnest against the immorality of the Portuguese colonial officials; he collected alms from house to house for the sick, the poor, the prisoners; ringing a little bell as he went, he called to the children and male and female slaves in the streets to come and listen to Christian teaching; he also taught them to sing songs in which truths of the Catholic faith were conveyed in verse. Already on the 20th of September 1542 he was able to inform his brethren at Rome that so many had come to confession that in order to satisfy all he would need

to multiply himself by ten; he had also induced the prisoners to make general confessions; the lepers outside the city had all become his good friends, and the viceroy was now sending him to a quarter where he had hopes of many conversions. This was the so-called Fisherman's Coast or Cape Comorin. Eight years before the baptism of several heathens had taken place, but as the place was barren and poverty-stricken, no Portuguese could settle there; the inhabitants were out of reach of all spiritual help. Xavier took with him three natives; afterwards he was joined by two of the Order. For a year he went from place to place leaving behind him written prayers which the inhabitants were to learn by heart and repeat daily.

The chief opponents of Christianity, the Brahmins, tried to bribe him, but he inexorably exposed their shams and had the idols destroyed. Many sick persons, for whom he prayed or had prayers said by the Christian children, were healed. Sometimes he gave baptism to a whole village; "Often," he wrote on the 15th of January 1544, "my arms are weary from baptizing and I cannot speak another word from having so repeatedly recited the prayers to the people, one after another, and given instructions in Christian duties to them in their native tongue." But, as he says in the same letter, he thereby feels an indescribable inner consolation. Only one thing caused him sorrow: "How many there are here who are not Christians because no man troubles himself about the pious and holy work of making known the faith!"

Details of Xavier's work in India were brought to Portugal by young Juan Vaz, who for six months had been his companion in these countries. "I will send you," says Martin Santacruz to Peter Faber on the 22nd of October 1545, "some of the things Juan Vaz has told us": "Father Xavier goes about with bare feet; his garments are shabby and torn. He is called the 'great father' and all love him well. A king has given orders throughout his kingdom that all are to show obedience to his brother, the 'great father,' as though it were to himself; all who wish are free to become Christians. He also gave him much money, but Xavier gave it all away among the poor. Along the coast he has built from forty-four to forty-five churches. He has four native-born Indians with him whom he has had ordained as priests. Six other Indians from the College of Goa are on the point of taking Orders. He takes with him two, three, four, yea six thousand men into the open country, mounts on a tree, and then preaches to them." In the following years Xavier made flying visits, preaching everywhere to Christians and heathens, to cities and districts on the frontier and in the interior of India; he carried his teaching to the island of Ceylon, and spent nearly a year in the Moluccas and the Isle of Amboina.

All that was related of his ecstatic prayer, of his compassionate love for the children, the slaves, the sick, the sinners, the soldiers, of his prophecies, of his gifts of healing, of his raising of the dead, gave to his preaching an almost irresistible power. On the 27th of January 1545 he was able to write from Cochin to Rome that in the short space of a month he had baptized more than ten thousand men. He took special care to protect the newly made Christians from the greed of European adventurers and the violence of Portuguese officials. He called upon John III in strong and outspoken language to abolish such misdeeds. What he had set on foot as a pioneer of the Gospel in different places is shown in the catechetical writings which he left behind him and in the number of the members of the Order who, in ever-increasing numbers, were sent out to him from Europe. At the beginning of 1550, without speaking of Goa, the ground for colleges had been laid already in Bassein, Cochin, Ouilon; other Jesuits were at work in the Moluccas, in Malacca, in the island of Socotra, on the coasts of Comorin. Xavier, named Provincial for India in 1549 by Ignatius, could give him witness that amid the dangers of the greatest moral corruption these men had led unsullied lives. The new viceroy of the Indies wrote to Portugal that the labours of the Jesuits resembled the labours of the Apostles of old. In the sensual mercantile city of Malacca in the year 1548 there were already many who frequented the Sacraments weekly—by

1550 the city was almost entirely transformed. On the fisher coast the Jesuit, Antonio Criminali, displayed special zeal; he fell there under the blows of savage assailants, the first victim of fidelity to pastoral duty.

Xavier's steps were closely followed by the Netherlander, Gaspar Berse, who was sent in 1548 from the East Indies to the island of Ormuz. He lived in a thatched hut, gave daily instruction to children and slaves, preached three times a week, and disputed on Saturdays with the Jews in the synagogue. Thirty shocks of earthquake which visited the island on his arrival he made the occasion for penitential preaching. Every day he heard many confessions, feuds and illicit connections disappeared, all priests reformed themselves, and the Jesuit was looked up to by all, Christian and non-Christian, as a prophet and a worker of wonders.

From Cochin Francis Xavier wrote on the 20th of January 1548 to Ignatius and the other members of the Order in Rome: "When I was in the city of Malacca some Portuguese merchants informed me that a short time ago certain very large islands had been discovered in this part of the world, which are called the islands of Japan. There, so they affirmed, our holy faith might be spread with great success; there more than any other country of the Indies were great things to be hoped for, since the people of those islands were quick-witted and eager to learn." In Malacca also the Japanese, Angero, came to Xavier, who converted him and determined to go with him to Japan. From Angero's accounts he had learned that in China, Japan, and Tartary the same religion, Buddhism, was professed, and his convert wished him to become acquainted with the "great schools" and to overcome them. From the universities Christian doctrine would penetrate among the people. The Indian friends of Francis Xavier were beside themselves when they heard of his plans. They set before him the exceeding dangers of the journey; the sea was infested by pirates, and it was precisely Europeans, when they fell into their hands, on whom they were wont to perpetrate cruel tortures; besides, there were many hidden reefs and frightful storms, "when out of four ships two are saved, this is much"; Xavier was well aware of this, but he trusted in God, who has power over winds and robbers.

Before his departure he wrote a letter to the General on his knees, as he himself tells us, asking his prayers for the undertaking. With two brothers of the Order and a few Japanese converts he left Malacca on the 24th of June 1549 for the island kingdom. As no other ship was to be found, he took the small junk of the Chinaman Necoda who, it would seem, was more of a pirate than a merchant. They landed in Kagoshima, the home of Angero, on the 15th of August 1549. The latter converted his relations, and the Prince of Satsuma, to whom the city belonged, permitted all his vassals to become Christians. In November 1549 Francis Xavier addressed letters from Kagoshima in various directions in which he thus expressed himself: Among all the peoples who have recently been discovered, the Japanese seem to be the best; they have a high sense of honour, are valorous, seekers of knowledge; a great portion of the people can read and write; they listen willingly to speech concerning God; only the Bonzes are addicted to unnatural vices. Xavier wished to go to the Emperor at Miako, the modern Kioto, then the university of Japan; he was also thinking already of making his way, with the Emperor's help, into the Chinese Empire. He recommended to the leading teachers of the college at Goa the Chinese and Japanese youths who were studying there, begged the Jesuits of Malacca to show the greatest kindness to two Bonzes who were to land there, and called for three members of the Order to come to him in Japan.

The later work of Xavier in Japan and his plans for the mission to China, up to the day in December 1552 when he died on the island of Sancian in sight of the coast of China, lie outside of the pontificate of Paul III. He had now proved himself to be already a great propagator of the kingdom of Christ. From Rome Xavier had been drawn to the farthest East, and from thence he

was ever looking back to Rome. "I will," he wrote on the 5th of November 1549 from Kagoshima to Goa, "give an account to his Holiness the Pope, who is Christ's representative on earth and the shepherd of those who believe in Him, and also of all those who are on the point of coming to the knowledge of their Saviour and obedience to the Pope's spiritual jurisdiction."

Xavier and his master Ignatius both alike became what they were through the Papacy. The latter once spoke of Manresa as his grammar school, his university was Rome. There the comrades of Montmartre received their call to form a new Order; there Ignatius met with the Church's approval of his designs, was chosen General, wrote the Constitutions of the Order, received from the Pope his sphere of work and spiritual authority; from thence he sent out his faithful followers into the wide world. The reputation and power of the Papacy were then shaken well-nigh to the ground; a great portion of the clergy was defiled by greed and unchastity; many convents were deserted or disorganized; the influence of the Church over the schools had, for the most part, vanished. Wide strata of the people were ignorant of and indifferent to sacred things; the stream of heresy from the north threatened to sweep' over Europe in a flood. On the other hand, new worlds had been discovered; millions were waiting for the message of salvation. It was therefore, so to speak, inevitable that a new Order should arise such as the Society of Jesus, with its devotion to the Roman See, its catechisms and spiritual exercises, its system of education, its message of war to error at home, and its message of the Gospel to the heathen abroad.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE TURKISH WAR.—THE MEETING BETWEEN PAUL III. AND CHARLES V. AT LUCCA.—THE CONCILIAR QUESTION, 1541-1543.

The ambiguous attitude assumed by Charles V at the close of the Diet of Ratisbon inflicted serious injury on the Imperial authority and on the Catholic cause.

The Pope, like the German Catholics, was filled with deep mistrust, a mistrust intensified by the representations made to him by Francis I; but the Protestants, as had all along been feared in Rome, felt emboldened to make further encroachments by the concessions they had succeeded in exacting. The situation was made still worse by the unfortunate turn taken by the Turkish war. The consent of the Diet to a subsidy from the Estates had come too late; before the resolution was passed the troops of Ferdinand I had raised the siege of Ofen and on the 21st of August 1541 had begun their enforced retreat. The Sultan, who appeared before Ofen on the 26th, deceived Isabella, Zapolya's widow, and by a combination of force and cunning made himself master of the capital of Hungary, which henceforth for one hundred and forty-five years was to remain subject to the Crescent. The whole country, from the Danube to the Theiss, was incorporated in the Turkish empire.

With the Christian princes at variance with one another, Cardinal Aleander saw in the loss of the largest portion of Hungary the prelude to the subjugation of the whole of Europe to the house of Osman.

In Rome the news aroused such alarm that it seemed to many as if the infidel were already at the gates of the city; not less was the consternation in the territories of the Hapsburgs. In Vienna the thought of a second siege filled men with terror, but fortunately the hereditary possessions of the house of Austria were left unmolested by the Turks; on the contrary, the Sultan on the 22nd of September left Ofen on his return march to Constantinople. One reason for this certainly was the extensive warlike preparations of the Emperor, who had determined in person to strike a blow at the Turkish power in its most opposite extremity, the city of Algiers. With this object in view, as soon as the Diet of Ratisbon was over he made his way by Trent to Milan and from there to Genoa; thence on the 10th of September 1541 he journeyed to Lucca to hold a conference with Paul III.

The Pope, despite the representations of his physicians and of the French party, left Rome on the 27th of August, leaving Cardinal Carpi behind as Legate. On the 8th of September he entered Lucca in state, amid festive decorations and surrounded by Cardinals Farnese, Santafiora, Contarini, Henry of Portugal, Gambara, Cervini, Guidiccioni, and Trivulzio. He went first to the

Cathedral and then to the episcopal palace, which was to be his resting-place. On the 10th of September Margaret, the wife of Ottavio Farnese and daughter of the Emperor, arrived, the latter himself coming on the 12th, accompanied by the Dukes of Ferrara, Florence, and Camerino. Paul III had sent Cardinal Farnese and four other Cardinals to meet him at the Porta S. Donato. The two heads of Christendom exchanged greetings in the Cathedral. On the 13th of September Charles V had a long conversation with the Pope in the bishop's palace. The latter returned the visit on the following day at the Palazzo della Signoria, where the Emperor was lodged. Return visits were paid to Paul III on the 14th and 15th, and on the 16th he went to see the Emperor. The two final conferences took place on the 17th and 18th; Charles left Lucca on the 18th, while the Pope remained until the 20th. On his way home he stopped at Bologna, Loreto, and Camerino; October was drawing to an end when he again entered Rome.

To the mass of subjects claiming the attention of Pope and Emperor fresh material was added by the arrival of the news of the capture of Ofen, whereby the Turkish question was opened out afresh. The time at their disposal was much too short to admit of the numerous political, religious, and private differences between them being discussed and final decisions formed upon them.

The point of first importance for the Emperor was to secure the Pope's aid in dispelling the menace of war from France, which was looming in the near foreground, on account of the attempt on the lives of the French diplomatists Rincon and Fregoso, and threatened to obstruct the expedition against Algiers. Paul III promised to do his best, and while still in Lucca a capable diplomatist, Girolamo Dandino, was despatched to France. He was to urge the maintenance of the armistice and to lay before the French King, Charles's proposal that the Netherlands instead of Milan should be the dowry to be brought by his daughter to the Duke of Orleans. Paul III had advised the cession of Savoy to Francis I, while the dispossessed Duke of that country would be compensated with Milan. He was probably led to suggest this scheme, which was rejected by Charles, by some *arrière pensée* with regard to Ottavio Farnese, whose name, however, had not yet been mentioned. The Papal policy concerning Milan was dismissed in the same way as the recommendation that the Emperor, instead of attacking Algiers, should go directly to the aid of his brother Ferdinand. As regards the religious affairs of Germany, the Pope spoke openly on the Recess of Ratisbon, against the terms of which Contarini addressed a protest from Lucca to the Cardinal of Mainz.

The Papal decision, which the Emperor wished for, on the Catholic League and the reform of the German Church had to be postponed, as there were not Cardinals enough in Lucca to form a consistory; still, a prospect of the gratification of his wishes was held before Charles. The question of the Council was also gone into thoroughly at Lucca. The Emperor now showed himself to be so far compliant to the Pope's wishes as to be ready to accept Vicenza as the place of meeting. The Pope, who had spared himself no pains to obtain, before his meeting with Charles should take place, the acquiescence of Venice in this choice, received an inopportune check at this very moment by the final announcement, after long delays, of the Republic's refusal, actuated out of consideration for Turkey and France. It appears that the Emperor, with an appeal to the Recess of Ratisbon, suggested Trent as a place specially suitable. On this as on the other questions under consideration no definite pronouncement was reached at Lucca; the Pope reserved himself for con-sultation with the Sacred College.

On the 28th of September the Emperor, in whose suite was Ottavio Farnese, left the harbour of Spezia with his galleys. By a rapid descent on Algiers, which under the Turkish Pasha, Hassan Aga, had become a nest of piracy, he hoped to put an end to the almost unceasing pillage of the

coasts of Spain, Naples, and Sicily and to divert the Sultan from an attack on Austria. The latter object was attained, but the undertaking against Algiers was a total failure.

This had been foreseen by experienced observers, for at the advanced season of the year violent storms might be expected with certainty. Paul III had already drawn the Emperor's attention to this at Lucca. The obstinate determination of Charles to carry out his plan was a grave mistake which he had to rue bitterly. When, on the 20th of October, the African coast came in sight, the sea was so stormy that the landing of the troops had to be put off for three days. Even then heavy seas hindered the disembarkation of cavalry, artillery, and provisions. The troops, 22,000 in number, pitched their camp before the city; they were full of courage and assurance, but all their hopes were soon shattered by the inclemency of the elements. During the evening of the 24th of October a storm broke out which lasted all night; torrents of rain, with the volume of waterspouts, submerged the camp, so that the soldiers were wading knee-deep in slush and water. On the following morning the storm had risen to hurricane pitch and in a short space of time annihilated before the eyes of the army ten great galleys and more than a hundred transport vessels. Even more sensibly felt than the sacrifice of life demanded by this tempest was the loss in artillery, ammunition, and food-stuffs. The critical position of the camp was intensified, as the soldiers could not make use of their rain-soaked muskets against the onsets of the enemy. It was a desperate business to ward off the incessant attacks; the courage and presence of mind of the Emperor alone saved the army from total ruin. As the most necessary supplies were lacking, the troops were compelled at great sacrifice and amid persistent engagements with the enemy to fall back upon Cape Matifou, where the remainder of the fleet had taken refuge. Here the soldiers were got on board, but fresh storms brought loss and disaster on the homeward voyage; at last, on the 1st of December, the Emperor landed at Carthage.

When in the middle of November news reached Rome of the unhappy issue of the Algerian expedition, the central point of public interest was, together with discussions on ecclesiastical reform, the question of the Council.

Immediately after the conference at Lucca the Pope had thrown himself with energy into the preparations for the Council. Cardinal Farnese had already on the 5th of October 1541 commissioned from Bologna two of the most prominent members of the Sacred College, Contarini and Aleander, to make proposals regarding the time as well as the place of the Council irrespective of the circumstance whether the Christian princes were at peace or at war, or whether there was agreement between them or not. The persons named were also to consider carefully the reform of the German Church as desired by the Emperor at Ratisbon, to propose personages fitted for the task, and to draw up a draft of instructions for the preachers. All this was to be got ready so as to admit of a speedier settlement on the return of the Pope to Rome. As Aleander fell ill Contarini took the work in hand alone. It was ready by the middle of October; as introductory to the reform of Germany, Contarini recommended the appointment as nuncio of Giovanni Morone, Bishop of Modena, to be accompanied by the Scotsman, Robert Wauchope, and two members of the Society of Jesus. With regard to the Council, Contarini abode by his opinion of its urgent necessity, which he emphasized with great precision. On the question of locality his unfortunate experiences had brought a change of mind and he also rejected Trent. Any German town he ruled out, not only on account of the existing unrest and the strength of Protestantism, but also because of the opposition of other nations. Besides, the Pope would be putting his life in danger if he were to visit such a cold climate at his advanced age.

Yet a further reason there was; since the Recess of Ratisbon had demanded a council in Germany, it might seem a concession of weakness to give way on this point, as if the Council

should assemble in virtue of a resolution of the Diet and not in virtue of the Papal authority. A council in Spain was out of the question, while to a city in France no Germans would go ; thus no other country remained but Italy. Here, since the Germans were opposed to Milan and the French to Ferrara and Bologna, Mantua had the strongest recommendations. It was near Germany, was an Imperial city, although not wholly subject to the Emperor, and offered all the requirements for such an assembly. Since the Germans did not travel during the winter, the right time would be eight days after Easter. As to the Recess of Ratisbon, it called for no further consideration, having been passed without the co-operation, indeed without the knowledge of the Legate and nuncio.

With these well-grounded proposals Paul III was in substantial agreement. All the efforts of the Imperialists to turn the Pope's choice on a German city were in vain. They only gained one point, that a final decision should be deferred until Morone, appointed on the 7th of November 1541 nuncio-extraordinary to the Diet at Spire, should have given his report on the opinion of the German Catholics; in the meantime, Ardinghello, who had been sent to France on the 11th of November, would also have furnished fuller information on the attitude of Francis I. On December the 17th Paul III addressed a request to the latter as well as to the Emperor that they would allow their Cardinals to come to Rome to take part in the deliberations there to be held on the question of the General Council.

Francis I adhered, even after this fresh exhortation of the Pope, to his old standpoint. Out of consideration for the Protestants and the Turks he was now, as before, against a Council; his objections to the Cardinals' journey were put so strongly that the nuncio Capodiferro saw there was little to be hoped for. Paul III, nevertheless, held firmly to his plan. On the 3rd of January 1542 he discussed both the time and place of the Council with his Cardinals. They were all agreed that Whitsunday (May 28) should be adhered to as the latest date for the opening. The opinions as to place varied widely; besides Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, and Piacenza, Trent was also strongly recommended; no determination, however, was yet arrived at. On January the 4th Morone left Modena on his journey to Germany, where twice already he had supported the interests of the Holy See with distinguished success. In accordance with Contarini's proposal he had, as colleagues in the reform of ecclesiastical affairs, Robert Wauchope and three sons of St. Ignatius: Peter Faber, Nicolas Bobadilla, and Claude Le Jay.

In Trent and Brixen Morone left traces of his reforming activity. In Munich he dealt with Duke William of Bavaria on the subject, and in Dillingen with the Bishop of Augsburg and the Cathedral Chapter. To the latter he made serious representations on the disregard of celibacy, on the lavish tables, drinking bouts, gaming and hunting parties in which the clergy indulged, and on their ignorance and want of mental culture. The capitular clergy listened to his remonstrances willingly, and showed a disposition to alter their manner of living. The Bishop, who was counted one of the most learned of the Prince-Bishops of Germany, thanked Morone for the Papal messages delivered to him and said that he would do his utmost to give effect to those admonitions; at the same time he deeply deplored that the predecessors of Paul III had not twenty years before taken the reformation of Germany in hand. Now, in his opinion, their efforts would be fruitless since the bishops, even with the best wish to do so, could effect nothing more. He proceeded to enumerate the chief hindrances: the exemptions of the Chapters, the ungovernable character of the German nobles, the support which the bad example of the clergy in moral relations finds in the licence of the Lutherans, the tyranny of the secular princes, and the deficiency of Catholic priests. Even from a council, the Bishop remarked, he no longer hoped for a remedy for such great disorders unless Germany first became united and laid aside her particular dissensions. In the course of these arguments he attacked now the Bavarians, now the Emperor and the other princes. Morone met this despairing pessimism with exhortations to pluck up courage and not to

follow the example of the soured and listless who, while they bewail the past and despair about the future, stand with folded hands and let the opportunities of the present slip away, while the bad goes from worse to worse. The bishop must not imitate such, but use his gifts and learning in God's service, and if for the reasons adduced he cannot reckon on the full extent of his jurisdiction, he yet ought to try at least and unite the few souls over whom his authority extends.

Apart from the ecclesiastical reforms which Morone was to introduce with the co-operation of the German bishops, Contarini's instructions also comprised important business bearing on the Pope's entrance into the Catholic League, the Turkish war, and lastly the Council. As the document relating to the Catholic alliance contained some expressions prejudicial to the Papal jurisdiction, Paul III wished them to be recast in such a way as securely to establish his rights. As a subsidy the Pope was willing to give, not, as was demanded, a fourth, but a sixth only of the whole. He was ready to send 5000 men against the Turks if the Emperor would command the army in person, otherwise only half that number, and even that amount merely in the event of the Papal States being unmenaced by a Turkish landing.

With regard to the Council, Morone's instructions were to announce the Pope's determination to summon one, but at the same time to state the reasons why the place of meeting could not be Germany. In the first place, the Pope wished to take part in it himself, or at least to be not far away, and at his great age it would be impossible for him to undertake the journey to or encounter the climate of Germany. Further, it was to be feared that owing to the agitated state of that country the treatment of ecclesiastical questions there would only heat men's tempers the more and make the breaches between them still wider, even to the outbreak of war, a thing most repugnant to the Pope, whose wishes were directed only to the restoration of peace in Christendom. Paul III wished, however, in the choice of a place to consult as much as possible the convenience of the German people; he therefore recommended in the first place Mantua, a city lying almost at the foot of the Alps, in the neighbourhood of Germany, and in other respects peculiarly suited. In case this proposal could not possibly be carried out he named in the second place Ferrara, also very favourably situated and well fitted for the purpose; since, however, the latter place, although certainly a fief of the Church, but not under immediate Papal rule, could not with certainty be offered by the Pope, the Legate might propose Piacenza or Bologna, cities of the Papal States; he was also fully empowered, if the Germans were in agreement with him on the point, to offer definitely one or other of these cities. Whitsunday was to be fixed upon as the date of opening.

Morone, who in the course of his journey had discussed the subject of reform as well as that of the Council with Duke William of Bavaria at Munich and with the Bishop of Augsburg at Dillingen, reached Spires on the 8th of February, where the Diet was opened on the following day. The German princes were divided, as formerly, on the question of the Council. Duke William of Bavaria declared the Synod to be absolutely necessary and was in favour of its immediate opening. Mantua he preferred to any other place, but, if this were impossible, Trent; but he announced his intention of agreeing entirely with all that the Pope decided. Morone was displeased at finding on his arrival at Spires that almost all the spiritual princes were absent, so that there was no means of coming to an understanding with them. He regretted this all the more as he had a suspicion that the Imperial orators, Montfort and Naves, and King Ferdinand as well, were inclined to consent to the settlement of religious affairs by a national council or by another Diet in order to guarantee the help of the Protestants against the Turks. The King of the Romans, moreover, who was then only occupied with the demand for support throughout the Empire against the Turks, saw with dissatisfaction that the Pope's representatives were bent on separate negotiations with the Catholic Estates. Already in the first audience, given on the 9th of February,

he tried to induce Morone to explain the task with which he was entrusted in a session of the Diet. Morone had to refuse, since he was not instructed to this effect and had no letters of credence to the Diet but only to certain individual princes. He told the King and the vice-chancellor Naves that he was not at Spire to negotiate with the Diet but with the Emperor and the King of the Romans, in the Pope's name. On further pressure, however, from Ferdinand he applied through Farnese to the Pope for power to address the Diet on the subject both of the Turkish war and of the Council.

Ferdinand thought, as Morone did not fail to observe, that in the public session no one would venture to declare himself against the Recess of Ratisbon, while he feared that the nuncio might succeed in isolated negotiations in winning over individuals to a hostile position. The King was also displeased at the promptitude with which Morone had announced openly that the Pope had resolved to open the Council at Whitsuntide. The Bishop of Spire, who was the only ecclesiastical prince present at the time of the nuncio's arrival, said that he would accept the Pope's orders, but recommended the Council to be held in Germany in order to cut off all further excuse for calumnious statements about the Holy Father; he proposed Metz or Trent, both of which places in a certain degree were in Germany and yet out of Germany. The Cardinal of Mainz, on the contrary, with whom after his arrival Morone had long consultations, declared that the hindering of the council in Germany would be dangerous even although certain bishops were in favour of it, but the speedy assemblage of the Synod he thought very necessary.

In a letter written by Farnese on the 6th of March Morone received the permission desired by Ferdinand. He was now at liberty to lay before the Diet all his instructions regarding the Turkish subsidy and the Council. As regards the Council, he was to explain that the Pope, who had always been ready to hold the Synod and had offered it, was now more than ever determined to carry out his wishes. In order on his part to remove every doubt and impediment, the Pope would also be glad to summon the General Council to Trent, if none of the cities of which prior mention had been made were found suitable. With regard to the opening of the assembly, the Pope even now would prefer that it should be fixed for Whitsuntide; but if, as time was advancing, it should be found desirable to postpone the date, he left the settlement of that point to Morone's discretion; as soon as his answer was received the Bull of summons would be prepared.

On the receipt of these instructions Morone, on the 23rd of March, laid before the Diet the Pope's proposals regarding the subsidy for the Turkish war and the Council. He spoke strongly of the Pope's determination, and remarked that matters had hitherto been in suspense only at the request of the Emperor and King Ferdinand. In accordance with his previous instructions he unfolded the reasons which had led the Pope ostensibly to object to a German meeting-place for the Council; he mentioned the four cities which had been proposed at first, but then explained that his Holiness, if these places for various reasons should be deemed less suitable, offered to summon the Council to Trent in order to meet more fully the wishes of the German nation and to obviate all hindrances. As the date of opening he proposed the 15th of August, the festival of the Assumption of Our Lady.

The Protestants, who had abstained from appearing at the session, at once raised a protest against a Council the summons to which depended on a Pope, while the Electors and Catholic Estates were satisfied with the proposals. Subsequently, on the 30th of March, Morone received a fresh letter from Farnese of the 21st according to which the seat of the Council had been again dealt with in consistory on March the 15th, and besides Trent, Cambrai had also been taken into consideration, the latter appearing to a majority of Cardinals to be preferable to Trent on account of its situation and out of regard for the existing political relations. To the Pope both places were

acceptable; Cambrai indeed was less convenient owing to its being further off; but as the object of the Council was the general good of Christendom, he would give his decision in favour of that one of the two cities which should be considered most adapted for that object. The nuncio was to confer with the King on the subject and with any other person whom he thought it good to speak to.

Morone was upset by this message. He feared, not without reason, that fresh suspicions would be aroused in the Germans concerning the sincerity of the Pope's intentions. On the 1st of April, having on that day received the verbal reply of the Estates to his former proposals, he laid before the Diet, on the advice of King Ferdinand, a fresh proposition in which, besides Trent and the four Italian cities, he recommended Cambrai. Previously, however, he had already made corresponding communications to the Electors of Mainz and Treves, and to Bavaria and some other Catholics. As he had feared, this new proposal was no better received by the Catholics than by the Protestants; even on the Catholic side it was suspected that the Pope had no intention of holding the Council and was trying in this way to evade it. The nuncio was accused of disingenuousness and vacillation. On the 4th of April Morone received the written answer of the Estates, which corresponded to the verbal declaration of their deputies made on April the 1st. Cambrai was not even mentioned; on the other hand, the Estates declared that if no more suitable city in the Empire, Ratisbon for instance, or Cologne, was to be obtained from the Pope, they wished, in that case, for Trent in preference to the other places named, and they earnestly begged that the Council might be convened and held without further delay.

The attitude of Ferdinand towards the demands of the Protestant Estates caused Morone and the nuncio Verallo not less anxiety than the question of the Council. The Papal representatives were not sparing of warnings against further concessions; but the King had an eye for his necessities which forced him to give his consent to things of which at first he had taken no thought. By the Recess of the nth of April the Ratisbon conditions of peace, together with the suspension of all causes affecting matters of religion pending before the Imperial Courts, were extended over another five years. As regards the Council, the Recess held to the 15th of August as the date for its opening and reiterated the wishes expressed in the letter of April the 4th; the protest of the new religionists was expressly mentioned. Ferdinand justified his fresh compliance by the state of his affairs which, at the present juncture, forced him to shut his eyes. The King of the Romans was soon to learn from experience what the Turkish war subsidy voted in the Diet of Spire was worth.

The Diet had promised to raise 40,000 foot and 8000 horse soldiers within six months. These troops were to be assembled at Vienna by the beginning of May; but the promise was not kept either with regard to time or numbers. It was the beginning of July before 30,000 were in readiness, in addition to which Paul III, to the disgust of the French, sent 3000 infantry and 500 horsemen, somewhat more than he had stipulated; these troops reached Vienna on the 3rd of July. With the contingents raised by Hungary and the Austrian and Bohemian Estates the host increased to upwards of 55,000 men. Want of money, with the accompanying lack of discipline and insubordination among the soldiery, put a check to any active operations. At last, in September, the army took the field. If this ended in a scandalous disaster the chief blame rested on the incompetent commander-in-chief, Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg, and the spirit of disaffection among the unpaid soldiers which culminated in open mutiny. As the assault on Ofen by the Papal troops was not supported by their German comrades, the attempt failed; without having effected the most meagre results Brandenburg decided to withdraw; and the great army disbanded itself "amid the derision of all Christendom."

In a consistory held on the 26th of April 1542, Paul III, notwithstanding the French opposition, finally decided to summon the Council to Trent out of regard for the wishes of Germany. After this important matter had been discussed again on the 5th and 12th of May in consistory the Bull was read aloud on the 22nd and its publication agreed to. This took place on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul.

In the important document drawn up by Sadoletto and dated May the 22nd, Paul III glanced back at his endeavours to promote the Council since the beginning of his pontificate, on his various earlier convocations and the reasons then existing for the frustration of his plans; he then announced that he was determined to wait no longer for the consent of any princes, but fix his eyes only on the will of Almighty God and the general good of Christendom. He summoned the Council to Trent on All Saints' Day, the 1st of November.

The Conciliar Bull met with a most unfavourable reception. Francis I met it with a flat refusal; he declared to the nuncio Capodiferro that since Trent had been chosen without his consent, and was a city which offered no security to his subjects, he would not suffer the Bull to be published in his kingdom. The nuncio made counter-representations in vain. The King angrily remarked he would see to it if anyone dared to act contrary to his command; his determination to refuse recognition to the Council of Trent, which served only the Emperor's interests, was irrevocable.

Not less troublous were the experiences of the nuncio Verallo and the Papal private chamberlain Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, who was sent specially to convey the Bull to the Diet opened at Nuremberg in August 1542. Both gave notice of the Council in lengthy orations to the Diet on August the 13th. While the Protestants renewed their protest, the Catholic Estates gave answer to the envoys of Paul III first orally on the 17th of August and afterwards in writing; they thanked the Pope, and expressed their readiness to attend the Council either in their own persons or, in case of hindrance, in those of their envoys and procurators. King Ferdinand, in his letter of reply to the Pope of September the 21st, 1542, notified his joyful readiness in complying. While the Protestants had nothing but ridicule for the Council, the Catholics, as Verallo learned in private conversation, doubted for the most part whether the Synod, in view of the disturbed state of Europe, would ever meet at all. In the Recess of the Diet the Council was not even mentioned, an omission significant of the general opinion. Otto Truchsess, in obedience to his orders, went from Nuremberg to Poland, where, on the 15th of October, he gave intimation of the Council to King Sigismund in Cracow. He likewise presented the Bull to the Archbishop of Gnesen, who forthwith communicated its contents to his clergy and the episcopate in a Provincial Synod.

The summoning of the Council called forth marked signs of disfavour from the Emperor. This was connected with the neutrality strongly maintained by Paul III and the renewed outbreak of war with France Paul III had done all in his power to prevent the unholy conflict between the two most powerful sovereigns of the West. When the Pope in December 1541 sent his chamberlain Giovanni Ricci to Siena to report to Granvelle on the ineffectual mission of Ardinghello, the Emperor's representative thanked him in the warmest terms for the Pope's intervention in behalf of peace. At the end of March 1542 Ricci was again sent by the Pope, always hopeful of maintaining peace, to the two contending princes. He carried with him on this occasion a brief for Francis I with an autograph postscript by Paul III containing earnest exhortations to peace. Not till the 24th of May did Ricci, eagerly awaited by the Pope, return to Rome, only to set forth again immediately on the 30th of May to hasten with fresh pacific messages to the French and Imperial courts. On the 7th of June he reached Francis I. Although the King's demeanour offered but little

prospect of peace, Ricci, on the 16th of June, was with the Emperor with new proposals of mediation.

In Italy, at this time, the renewal of hostilities was looked upon as inevitable. Even the Pope's optimism was shaken, and he began to see that he was cherishing but dwindling hopes of the prevention of the unholy strife. Nevertheless he was determined, under cover of his unbroken neutrality, to press to the utmost his proposals for mediation.

The Imperial ambassador Aguilar and the Roman envoy of the Duke of Florence took every opportunity at this time to influence Paul III to become the partisan of Charles V. When the war actually broke out in July they redoubled their efforts in this direction, but without success. They reminded the Pope that he himself previously had undertaken to declare against Francis if he made common cause with the Turk. Paul III thereupon replied that he was only waiting for Ricci's return, which took place on the 22nd of July. It was evident that he had effected nothing. Still the Pope's attitude underwent no change. He thought it too hazardous to declare openly against Francis I, since then the latter might apostatize. In that case, he represented to the Emperor, the French King would seize upon the property of the Church and then become a more powerful opponent of Spain than before. When on the 31st of July Ricci gave a report of his mission in consistory, Paul III. deplored with emotion the war between Francis and Charles, but no decision was reached. On August the 7th, with the consent of the whole Sacred College, the Pope appointed two of the most famous and most experienced Cardinals to be Legates for peace: Contarini was to go to the Emperor, Sadoletto to the King of France. The departure of the latter was prepared with such despatch that he was ready to start on the 17th. Paul III once more was now confident of a good result, but the unexpected death of Contarini necessitated the appointment of a successor; the Pope first thought of Morone, but afterwards gave the Legation to the Portuguese Cardinal Miguel de Silva, who had eagerly solicited the post; he had little idea, however, of the Emperor's mood.

The strict neutrality to which the Pope saw himself driven in consequence of the French King's threats of apostasy was unbearable to Charles V. Since Francis I, who was in alliance with the Turk, had been the aggressor, he was convinced that it was the Pope's duty to declare himself against him. In Paul III's role of mediator he saw the action of a partisan of his enemy. He was deeply wounded that the Bull of the Council in its exhortations to peace should speak of him, the champion of Christendom, in exactly the same tone in which it spoke of Francis, his deadly enemy, and in his estimation the sole destroyer of peace.

At first Charles fought against his agitation, so that it might not seem as if he wished to hinder the Council, and also advised his brother to take no offence at the phraseology of the Bull. But when the French declaration of war arrived soon after, his long-suppressed indignation at the Papal neutrality found vent with extreme violence. In his detailed reply to the Bull, dated from Monzon the 25th of August 1542, Charles bitterly complained that he was placed by the Pope on a level with Francis I. He had always been an obedient son to the Father of Christendom; at incalculable cost, at the peril indeed of life itself, he had fought the Turks by sea and land; he had used every resource to suppress heresy in Germany, while the boundless ambition of Francis I had turned the sword of the infidel against the Christian, stiffened the obstinacy of the Protestants, put difficulties in the way of the Council and even now, under the flimsiest pretexts, had broken up the armistice concluded through Papal mediation. The ample statement of all his disputes with the French King had been interspersed by the Emperor with numerous hits at the Pope. At the very beginning, he says, Paul III might take as an example the father in the Gospel, who indeed welcomes back the lost son, but still does not set him above the industrious and obedient one.

Then follows the complaint, which he, the Emperor, cannot refrain from uttering, that the whole College of Cardinals is subservient to the will of Francis I in order to purchase an ostentatious profession of faith. In conclusion, Charles V observes without disguise that if the Pope rightly understood his duty he would make cause against Francis without reserve; in this way alone can the Council be held and a possible remedy for the scandals of Christendom be found; whether under other conditions the Council can be attended by the Estates of the Empire and the bishops of the Imperial States is a question which the Pope in his own wisdom must answer.

On the 18th of September the Imperial ambassador handed this embittered letter of his master to the Pope, then in sojourn in Perugia; the ambassador took the opportunity of again asking the Pope to take sides decisively against Francis I. But Paul III still adhered now to what in former years he had once said to Granvelle, the Chancellor of Charles V: "Neutrality in Rome, like our daily bread, must be regarded as a necessity." This view was shared by the Cardinals, with the exception, naturally, of the adherents of Francis I and Charles V. Among the latter, Cardinal Dionisio Laurerio went so far as to demand that Francis should be deprived of the title of Most Christian King and that excommunication and war should be declared against him.

What specially withheld the Pope from taking extreme measures against Francis I was the total miscarriage of the ecclesiastical penalties passed on Henry VIII. To attempt now similar proceedings against the French King would, it appeared to him, be a downright act of folly, as he would thereby not only sever a member from the Christian body, but split Christendom itself into two portions. With regard to the Emperor's letter, Farnese told the nuncio Poggio on the 19th of September 1542 that an answer would be sent after the Pope's return to Rome; at the same time, for the information of the nuncio, certain objections made by Charles to the composition of the Bull were refuted.

In the meantime the more immediate preparations for the Council had begun. On the 2nd of June, in express anticipation of the coming Synod, the College of Cardinals was increased by seven new members, among whom was Morone. In August a prelate and some other officials were sent to Trent, and on the 18th of September the Pope appointed Bishops Gian Matteo Giberti of Verona and Gian Tommaso Sanfelice of Cava as commissaries to superintend the further preparations. Of these two the latter only, who left on the 23rd of September and reached Trent on the 5th of October, was in a position to meet the requirements of his task. That he did this actively and prudently his despatches to Farnese show. In consultation with the Bishop of Trent preparations, carefully considered and arranged, were made for the lodgment of the Cardinals, bishops, envoys, and their suites, for a regular postal service, for the internal and external security of the city, for the security of the streets, and for the provisioning and commissariat. Sanfelice, to his great dissatisfaction, had besides to encounter the doubts of the citizens of Trent whether the Curia was really in earnest about holding the Council, since up to the 25th of October not a word had been heard of the nomination of the conciliar Legates.

On the 16th of October 1542 the Pope nominated, after prolonged consultation, the three conciliar Legates. They were Cardinals of distinction: Parisio, Morone, and Pole. Three days later they received the Legatine cross. Their instructions were, at the command of Paul III, drawn up by the Cardinals Giovanni Maria del Monte, Bartolommeo Guidiccioni, and the Bishop of Feltre, Tommaso Campeggio; they bear the date the 26th of October, 1542. Pole left Rome for Trent on the 26th of October, and Morone and Parisio on the 27th and 28th. The delay in their journey was apologized for by Farnese in a letter of October 28th to the Bishop of Cava in which the latter and the Bishop of Trent were commissioned to receive the prelates on their arrival until the coming

of the Legates. On the 30th of October the Pope renewed the decree of the 29th of May 1536 on the Papal election in case such an emergency should arise during the Council.

Sanfelice thanked him on Nov. 10 for this letter, which enabled him to meet the doubters with greater confidence.

Immediately after the appointment of the Legates the remaining requisite steps for the approaching opening of the Council were taken. In briefs of October the 16th those foreign Bishops whose previous summonses to Rome in view of the Council had not been followed by any result, were again urgently addressed by the Pope. On November the 3rd Farnese directed the nuncio Poggio to intimate to the Emperor the nomination and departure of the Legates, and to beg him to send the prelates of his States to the Council. The invitation to the Spanish Bishops was entrusted to the Portuguese Cardinal de Silva of Viseu, who had succeeded Contarini, on the death of the latter, as Legate to the Emperor. Sadoletto, who had been sent in the interests of peace as Legate to France, tried to get Francis to look favourably on the Council; he was unable, however, to move the King from his stiff attitude of refusal. His interposition on behalf of peace was equally unsuccessful.

Cardinal de Silva fared still worse. In disgrace with his own King, he received from the Emperor, who had come to terms of friendship with the Portuguese monarch, the worst reception. The mission of the Legate was still more objectionable than his person, and he determined simply to dismiss him; on the 8th of October he communicated to the Pope his intention. The letter is full of dry remarks on the Pope's mediation for peace which had only made Francis I more daring; as his Holiness was the originator of the armistice, it was his duty to avenge its violation; the longer sojourn of the Legate was purposeless, negotiations with him were superfluous, as they only afforded the French King fresh opportunities of exercising deception.

After this very clear declaration no other course remained to the Pope but to recall the Legate; which he did on the 2nd of November. The Pope now resolved to try once more the experiment which had been successful in 1538. After long discussion in consistory it was decided on the 10th of November to address an almost identically expressed brief to both sovereigns with the proposal that, for the sake of negotiations on the subject of the peace which the Turkish danger made so necessary, they should meet the Pope personally in Lombardy. The Pope, in making this proposal, dwelt on the great duty which his office imposed upon him of never failing to exercise the authority of the father as well as of the judge.

The date fixed for the opening of the Council had in the meantime been exceeded by three weeks when the Legates made their solemn entry into Trent. This proceeding seems at first to have evoked favourable and hopeful impressions. Hitherto, as Robert Wauchope had found in September, public opinion in Germany had been tepid and inactive, those who were well disposed towards the Council were shy of expressing themselves, while those who declared themselves ready to attend the Council in person were determined to wait until the Pope had begun his journey to Trent; among these were the Bishop of Ratisbon and the Archbishop of Salzburg, who promised that he would then appear with his provincial bishops. On the 13th of November came the Cathedral Dean of Salzburg, Ambrosius von Lamberg, to inform himself of the position of things in Trent.

The three Legates, on their arrival in Trent, sent to Farnese a list, which has not been preserved, of the German bishops who sent envoys to the Council with the promise to attend themselves or by representatives; they thought that they had grounds for hoping that now that their coming was an established fact that an increasingly great number would attend. Less

optimistic was Gian Tommaso Sanfelice, Bishop of Cava, who wrote to Farnese on the 30th of November: "As yet no one has come; we must at least, this once, take care that Italian prelates appear, especially such as belong to the Curia." In Sanfelice's letters of December the 6th and 9th the same view is expressed concerning the participation of the German bishops, and he calls attention to the fact that the forthcoming Diet at Nuremberg would decide whether the Germans generally would attend the Council or not. On December the 17th Sanfelice urged again that the Italian bishops must put in an appearance first. The Archbishop of Salzburg certainly wrote a letter on the 28th of November to Morone in which he declared that, since he had been informed of the Legates' arrival, he was now ready, together with his provincial bishops, to come to Trent as soon as he heard that the Council would pursue its course. He also instructed the Dean of his Chapter to tell Morone, on the delivery of his letter, that he would appear in person with eight of his suffragans within eight days if he heard that as many prelates from Italy and other countries had arrived as would secure the constitution of the Council. The Dean thought, moreover, that all the other German prelates would follow as soon as the participation of the other nations became known and the certainty of a General Council thus secured; he also declared that it was taken for certain in Germany that King Ferdinand would go to Trent at the close of the Diet. On the 14th of December came from Ferdinand himself the message to the Bishop of Trent bidding him express to the Legates the King's delight at the beginning of the Council and to keep in view the early arrival of his envoy; his own absence he excused on account of the Diet, but intended when that was over to go to Innsbruck in order to be able, in case of necessity, to reach Trent without difficulty.

Charles V had nominated, on the 18th of October, the Chancellor Granvelle, his son Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, the Marquis de Aguilar, and his ambassador at Venice, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, to be his orators at the Council. Granvelle, however, did not leave Spain before December. On his arrival in Italy he not only avoided paying a previous visit to the Pope, but his intention of going to Trent was also carefully kept a secret from Paul III. when Granvelle's younger son Thomas de Chantonay and the Imperial ambassador Aguilar had an audience of him on December the 24th. For the sake of complete secrecy it was also arranged that Aguilar should remain in Rome and not take a part in the embassy.

The Florentine secretary Lorenzo Pagni, who accompanied Granvelle into Italy, was certainly of opinion, as he reported to his sovereign the Duke from Piacenza on the 28th of December, that the Imperial Chancellor was going to Trent with the intention of bringing about an adjournment of the Council. In any case, the Imperial diplomacy was directed towards leaving the Pope and the conciliar Legates entirely in the dark as to the intended mission and its object; the latter were to be entirely unprepared and taken by surprise, a manoeuvre which in the event proved completely successful.

The arrival of Granvelle and his companions at Trent took place on the 7th or 8th of January 1543. They at once visited the Legates. During the proceedings on the following day Granvelle requested a public audience for the orators in the Cathedral in which they could tender excuses for the Emperor's absence and the delay in the despatch of his orators, then publicly notify their appearance and receive an official acknowledgment that this had taken place. The Legates did not comply with this demand; the precedents of former Councils must not be departed from, for before the Council had been solemnly opened, after previous fasting and prayer, it did not appear to be becoming to proceed to any public act; the presentation of the mandates had always taken place after the inauguration in the congregations. But if they wished a certificate from the Legates of their appearance and the presentation of the mandates, they were ready to give them one. Granvelle replied with warmth that the refusal of a public audience was an affront to the Emperor;

he threatened, if the Legates persisted therein, to put forward a plea of nullity against the Council and to have the same affixed to the doors of the Cathedral. The Legates stood firm; it was not in their power to grant an audience in the Cathedral; an understanding, however, was arrived at by an assurance that the orators should be heard in the house of Cardinal Parisio. Here they appeared with a retinue on the 9th of January.

The Bishop of Arras made a speech in which he first spoke of the necessity of a Council and of the Emperor's persistent zeal in its behalf, now once more manifested in the despatch of his orators, whose presence in his name would be an effectual help to the carrying out of the Council. If Charles V was unable to be present himself, he had an adequate excuse in the preoccupations of war which prevented him leaving his dominions; their own late arrival also was caused by the danger and insecurity of the journey and the existing condition of affairs; the bishops in the same way had been hindered from coming up to the present time by this very insecurity; they promised, however, in the Emperor's name, that he would himself appear later, unless he was hindered, contrary to his wishes, in the case of his presence being of use to the Council, and that he would send his bishops as soon as they could undertake the journey. They were now here themselves with full powers to assist the Council in every way. After this discourse the Emperor's mandate was read out and then, at Granvelle's request, a notarial deed was drawn up registering the whole proceeding. At the close of this public transaction the orators again assured the Legates, but not in the presence of witnesses, of their best wishes, but on the following day, January the 10th, Granvelle informed the Legates individually that he was obliged to return to Nuremberg to the Diet. Accordingly, on January the 11th he left Trent, together with his son.

The whole manner of his arrival, combined with his departure for Germany, filled the Legates with justifiable suspicion. They surmised that Granvelle had come to Trent only in order to ascertain that the Council had not yet begun; they were also in anxiety lest the Imperial diplomacy, as soon as the eighteen months fixed by the Recess of Ratisbon had expired, should pursue the object, at the Diet of Nuremberg, either of deciding on a national council or of yielding to the demands of the Protestants in order to secure their aid against the Turks. To meet this danger it was represented to the Pope by the Legates that he ought not now to delay in inducing the bishops to betake themselves to Trent to enable the Council to be held; he ought also to send someone from Rome to Nuremberg to make, simultaneously with the nuncio Verallo, the necessary representations to King Ferdinand and Granvelle, in order to turn them from their ruinous schemes, since the whole question of religion and reformation must be reserved to the Council. Notwithstanding the promises and the decisive protests made by the Legates, Mendoza, who had remained behind temporarily in Trent, also returned on January the 17th to his post as ambassador to Venice.

Orders were at once given from Rome corresponding to the Legates' admonitions. In his answer to the letter of the 9th of January 1543 Farnese had informed them on the 20th that the Pope had given orders that steps should be taken to secure the presence at Trent of an appreciable number of Italian bishops. Cardinal Cervini was commissioned on January the 19th, and again, on the receipt of the fuller reports, on the 22nd, to inform the Italian bishops appointed for that purpose that they must hold themselves in readiness for their journey. On the 29th of January the Pope, in addition to his preparations for the journey to Bologna, had been specially occupied with urgent reminders to the Italian and other bishops of their journey to Trent. To a great number of prelates present in Rome, wrote Farnese on the 14th of February to the nuncio Poggio, the orders for departure have been sent, while others are every day holding themselves in readiness to start.

Corresponding measures were taken with regard to the remaining bishops in and out of Italy. The nuncio Poggio was at the same time instructed to urge upon the Emperor to send without delay the bishops of all his territories and to exhort the King of Portugal to do the same. To King Sigismund I of Poland, on the 18th of February, a brief was sent. The Pope thanked him for his reply, sent by Otto von Truchsess, and prayed him to send off his orators and the prelates of his kingdom. On February the 25th orders were sent to the Sardinian metropolitans and their suffragans to repair with the abbots and other prelates of their dioceses to the Council without delay; similar instructions were sent to many other prelates as, on the 5th of March, to the Bishops of Sitten and Chur and the Abbots of St. Gall and St. Urban.

To the Diet at Nuremberg Otto von Truchsess was sent as in former years. He brought with him a brief addressed to King Ferdinand and the archbishops, bishops, and princes assembled in the Diet, drawn up on the 18th of February 1543, complaining of the neglect of the invitation to the Council shown by the bishops of Germany up to that time. The object of Otto's mission was described to be the enforcement of this invitation with the co-operation of Verallo. Truchsess left Rome on the 26th of February; in accordance with his instructions, he was first to visit Trent to transmit orders to the Legates and to receive from them advice regarding his mission to Germany. On his arrival in Nuremberg he was, if King Ferdinand, Granvelle, and the nuncio were there, to seek out the latter first and go with him to the King to lay before him the object of his mission and convey to him information about the Pope's journey to Bologna; his instructions for Granvelle were similar. If, however, Ferdinand and the nuncio had already started for Bohemia, he was to give his information to Granvelle and then follow up the King and Verallo, returning to the Diet from there, if the nuncio thought good, on the accomplishment of his instructions. Truchsess reached Trent on March the 12th and continued his journey on the 15th, after transacting his business with the Legates. They gave him, further, a letter for Verallo which, while referring him for the most part to Truchsess's verbal communications, contained special injunctions to do everything in combination with him that could check dangerous resolutions in the Diet.

Truchsess who, on his onward journey from Augsburg had transacted business with Duke William of Bavaria and received in Eichstatt the solemn promise of Bishop Moritz von Hutten to attend the Council at Trent, reached Nuremberg on the 22nd of March. In accordance with his instructions he had an interview with King Ferdinand on Holy Saturday, in the presence of the nuncio; the King gave him benevolent assurances of the presence of the German bishops at the Council. He then saw Granvelle, who complained with emotion of the distrust felt towards him in Rome, but finally also promised his assistance in the matter of the Council. On March the 26th Truchsess went to see the Bishop of Augsburg, Christoph von Stadion, who enlarged on the necessity for the Council and the dangerous condition of Germany, and likewise declared his readiness to give support. On April the 6th Truchsess reported again that he had sent the briefs addressed to princes who were absent from Nuremberg through their envoys; the archbishops he intended to visit personally. Truchsess at this time was full of hope for his mission and that after the Diet was over the Catholics would go to Trent without delay, as so many had already determined to do: thus the Cardinal of Mainz had already given orders to that effect to the Bishop of Hildesheim, to his own coadjutor, and to two theologians.

On the whole, however, the Catholics confined themselves to fine words and empty promises, since King Ferdinand, notwithstanding his ostensible goodwill, was implicated in his brother's policy. The Bishop of Vienna, Nausea, whose enthusiasm for the Council had led him repeatedly to ask the Pope to call him to his side, since it was in his power to give him important information, could only on receipt of the brief of February the 18th send a letter of excuse to Paul III to say that on account of express counter-orders from the King he was obliged to abandon his

departure for Trent; his immediate journey must be put off, but he hoped as soon as possible to attend the Council and to pay a visit beforehand to the Pope. On the other hand, the apprehensions aroused by the Diet in the Catholic party were not fulfilled. The Protestants certainly, as Verallo wrote to Farnese on the 12th of April, were not backward in trying, if possible, to bring Charles to summon a national council; but no conclusion was reached on the further treatment of the religious question, nor was the question itself discussed in the Diet. Granvelle on his return to Trent from Nuremberg took to himself the credit for this. The Protestants on this occasion had to be content with another protest against the Council. The danger of a national council was not removed in this way; it was only pushed somewhat into the background.

One by one and at long intervals a few bishops arrived at Trent; they were Italians, for the most part, attached to the Curia, and a few Germans. On Granvelle's first arrival in Trent, besides the Bishop of Cava, Bishop Richard Pate of Worcester had already arrived and was a witness of the proceedings on the 9th of January. On March the 10th came Tommaso Campeggio, Bishop of Feltre, and on the nth Cornelio Mussi, Bishop of Bertinoro; on the 20th of March they were followed by the Archbishop of Corfu, Giacomo Cauco, and Bishop Giacomo Giacomello of Belcastro. On the 28th of March the procurators of three German prelates presented their mandates, and on April the 4th the Legates mentioned the presence of the Archbishop of Otranto, Pietro Antonio da Capua. The good feeling and zeal of the prelates who up to April 15th had appeared on the scene is praised in a letter of the Bishop of Trent to Farnese on the 30th of April from Brixen, the former having come to that city a fortnight before. About this time also the Bishop of Chironia (Cheronaea), Dionigi Zannettini, was at Trent. On the 10th of May arrived the Bishop of Hildesheim, Valentine von Teutleben, and his coadjutor Balthasar Waneman; the two bishops, who were accompanied by the jurist Dr. Conrad Braun, came together in the name of the Cardinal of Mainz. The Bishop of Hildesheim made special excuses in a letter to the Pope for the absence of Albert, laid stress on the necessity for a Council, and made strong representations that everything should be done to avert the threatened national council and to obtain from the Emperor in the meantime the revocation and cancellation of that consent to the Recess of Ratisbon which the Protestants had wrung from him under pressure. The Bishop of Wurzburg, Conrad von Bibra, since he could not attend in person, appointed on the 1st of June as his representatives the Bishops of Eichstatt and Hildesheim. The former of the two, Moritz von Hutten, came to Trent at the end of June and went thence to visit the Pope at Bologna. The hope that after the close of the Diet a still greater number of German bishops would arrive proved deceptive. In consonance with the policy of Charles V, the Spanish bishops who appeared were as few in number as the French, the latter being forbidden to travel by Francis I. The further time advanced the more nugatory seemed the prospect of the opening of the Council.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE MEETING BETWEEN PAUL III AND CHARLES V AT BUSSETO. — SUSPENSION OF THE COUNCIL.—THE POPE'S NEUTRALITY AND EXERTIONS FOR PEACE.—MISUNDERSTANDINGS WITH THE EMPEROR.

PAUL III had left Rome on the 26th of February 1543 for Bologna, partly on account of his endeavours to secure peace and partly that he might be nearer to Trent. His journey was opposed by many in Rome, where the worst reports were in circulation as to the Emperor's intentions. Nevertheless, the Pope set out; he did not listen to the complaints of the Romans, the representations of the Cardinals, and the prayers of his relations, who brought before the aged man the dangers of a journey at such an unfavourable season of the year. Cardinal Carpi again remained behind as Legate. To the General of the troops, Alessandro Vitelli, was committed the safe custody of the castle of St. Angelo. Paul III entered Bologna on the 17th of March; in order to personally acquaint himself with the state of things in Trent and to be better informed as to the views of the Legates, he summoned Cardinal Pole to him on the 3rd of May. Pole started on the 5th. A discussion was held in consistory on the 9th of May whether, under existing circumstances, affairs at Trent should be allowed to drift or the Council be postponed to a more favourable time. The prevailing view among the Cardinals was that the Pope's efforts hitherto had been more than sufficient to prove his zeal. If the experiment of the Council were persisted in much longer, the only result would be to make the disobedience of the Catholics appear all the more culpable and inconsiderate and increasingly to diminish the respect for Papal authority among the party of error. It would therefore be the lesser evil to dissolve the assembly now with a promise of resumption at a time when the members of the Christian body seemed better disposed thereto. The Pope, however, was unwilling to make a decision until he had personally conferred with the Emperor, who on May the 1st had embarked at Barcelona for Italy. On the 13th or 14th of May, Parisio was also summoned to Bologna. In Trent the sudden departure of the two Legates, the object of which was a matter of mere surmise, produced a dispiriting impression. The assembled prelates felt that their last hope of meeting in Council had slipped from them.

On the 26th of May Granvelle, with the Bishop of Arras and his two other sons, arrived at Trent on his return from Nuremberg. In discussing the question of the Council with Morone, who was the only Legate left in Trent, he regretted that the two others had been called away, since when this became known in Germany the Council would be regarded with general incredulity, the Protestants would become bolder than ever, and the Catholics correspondingly depressed. If it were the Pope's intention to dissolve the Council, then it would be fitting that he should first consult the Emperor and the King and even himself as to the manner and way of doing so. Morone replied that he was not aware that Paul III had summoned to him his colleagues for the purpose

of dissolving the Council. He thought it much more likely that he wished to take their advice as to what ought to be the next matter for negotiation with the Emperor. For the rest, no decision had been taken whether the Council was to go on or be suspended; if the Pope had already resolved on the latter course, he would not have allowed Morone himself and the other prelates to remain longer in Trent. He was also certain that the two Legates would return. If the Emperor came to Italy and had a meeting with Paul III, it would only be reasonable that the question of the Council should be dealt with and settled between them; but it was no matter of surprise if the Pope wished also to confer with two of his Legates beforehand. As his own opinion, which, as he observed, he had not imparted to the Emperor or the King, Granvelle gave it to be understood that the Council ought not now to be actually opened and held, or dissolved, but allowed to remain in its present unsettled condition; so that an Imperial army in Germany might find in it precisely the kind of weapon with which to curb the Lutherans, while on the other side it would bring moral support to the Catholics and the wavering.

Charles V had landed at Savona on May the 24th and then gone on to Genoa, where he found Pier Luigi Farnese sent by the Pope to invite him to a conference at Bologna. The Emperor, who was little inclined for peace negotiations for their own sake and was in haste to reach Germany, declined the invitation, but on the other hand showed himself willing to meet the Pope at some spot convenient to himself, such as Parma or Mantua. Charles V adhered to this even when Cardinal Farnese proposed a town not far from Bologna; he could not go so far out of his route. It was believed by many that the Emperor, out of consideration for Henry VIII, with whom to the general astonishment he had concluded on February the 11th, 1543, an offensive alliance against Francis I, wished to create the appearance of being forced reluctantly into a meeting with the Pope.

Farnese arrived at Bologna with the Emperor's answer on June the 8th, just in time to take part in the consistory held on that day. The views of the Cardinals were divided; not a few were of opinion that the aged Pope should not risk his health by any greater excitement nor expose the majesty of his office to any further humiliation. Sadoletto, however, interposed in a contrary sense; as regarded the question of health he imparted their decision, as a matter of course, privately to the Pope; as far as the Papal office was concerned none other existed—for the servants of the Church—to the care of which the salvation of Christendom could be committed. Nor could there be any doubt that the conclusion of peace might be awaited with greater certainty if the Pope appeared personally as a mediator. Besides, the contemplated meeting would also be of service in dissipating the rumours of a serious quarrel between the two sovereign heads of Christendom. The Pope yielded to this advice, and the consistory agreed unanimously that the conference should be held at Parma or in some other conveniently situated place.

The Pope accordingly left Bologna on June the 11th and reached Parma on the 15th, where he found the Marquis del Vasto with an autograph letter from Charles. Great difficulties were caused at the last moment by the Emperor's intention of appearing with a large military force. The Papal party remembered then full well the claims of the Emperor on Parma, raised in his letter of complaint to Clement VII. In order to obviate all grounds of danger, it was agreed on the 17th of June that the meeting should take place in Busseto, a small town belonging to the Marchese Pallavicini; both parties were to be accompanied by an equal number of retainers. A consistory on the 18th of June approved of this arrangement, whereupon Cardinals Parisio and Cervini were appointed Legates to the Emperor.

In Parma Paul III received the Bishop of Vienna, Frederick Nausea, who, as he had repeatedly asked permission to do, communicated his views to the Pope and handed him the manuscript of his *Sylvae Synodales*.

Paul III, reached Busseto with fourteen Cardinals on June the 21st. They remained there till the evening of the 25th of June, when the Pope returned to Parma and the Emperor went on to Cremona. In the long and repeated interviews between the Emperor and the Pope all the points of dispute between them were examined. It was decided that further negotiations should be held in Rome over the Spanish pragmatic policy. The nomination of Cardinals of Imperial leanings, as wished for by Charles, fell through, for Paul III held firmly that in the event of such a creation corresponding claims on the part of France would have to be considered. Charles V proposed further that the hostile relations between the Pope and Ascanio Colonna should be brought to an end by the marriage of a son of Ascanio with Vittoria, the Pope's niece, an arrangement which meant the rupture of the negotiations begun over a marriage of this lady with the Duke of Orleans. Another question handled at Busseto related to the possession of Milan; this was a matter closely bound up with the most important topic with which the diplomacy of that day had to deal: the reconciliation of Charles V and Francis I.

The plan already ventilated of conferring Milan on a third party was one which had been brought to the Emperor's immediate attention by his warmest adherent in the Sacred College—Cardinal Carpi. The latter had maintained in a memorial on the subject that Charles ought not to be Count, Duke, or Prince, but solely the Emperor; he ought to be the owner not of many provinces but of great fiefs. With the possession of Milan his luck had deserted him. The restoration of the Duchy to Francis I would not satisfy the latter's thirst for territory but only whet that appetite the more; but he himself also ought not to be the owner, since thus he increased the number of his enemies and raised the suspicion that he was covetous of foreign countries. In the case of his wiping out this suspicion by erecting Milan into a special Duchy, Francis I. would no longer have adherents, Charles on the contrary would have Germany and Italy on his banners would fly over the most remote lands, and he would win undying glory.

If the Emperor, then, was neither to resign Milan to the French nor keep it as his own, it might appear to him to be a good way of escape out of the difficulty to bestow it as a favour on Ottavio, his son-in-law, the Pope's nephew. This scheme, which was not a new one, was recommended to Charles at Genoa by Pier Luigi Farnese and now at Busseto made a subject of serious consultation. Charles had, in fact, no counter-project to suggest as to how he could then compass the desired peace.

It seems that at the outset a hope had arisen of coming to an agreement on this basis, if it were true that the viceroy of Milan, the Marquis del Vasto, had already greeted, as was said, Margaret as Duchess of Milan. That Charles should have entered seriously into a "bargain over Milan" certainly appears questionable in view of the strategical importance of the place, but the Farnesi were counting on the financial necessity of the Emperor, who had only just handed over to Duke Cosimo the fortifications of Florence and Leghorn for money.

The amount which Paul III was to give for Milan had been discussed already in Genoa with Pier Luigi. The Emperor's demands were enormous; at first two, then one million ducats, with perhaps yet other hard conditions such as the retention of the citadels of Milan and Cremona. It was owing to the exorbitant demands of Charles that the negotiations on this point at Busseto came to a standstill. They were not broken off; as Charles instructed his son to discuss the matter with the Spanish Council of State, the Farnesi still cherished a hope of attaining their object.

Although on this question Paul III, under family pressure, made himself deeply subservient to nepotism, he never lost sight of active endeavours to effectuate a peace. Giovio bears witness with what rare shrewdness and wonderful memory he availed himself of every opportunity that was of service to that object. As the Emperor in the bitterness of his enmity to Francis I would not listen to the Pope's representations, the latter asked him to hear the Cardinals. Charles assented, and on June the 24th he appeared in the midst of the Sacred College. To the brilliant speech in which Cardinal Grimani recommended peace the Emperor replied with emphasis and conviction. With rising emotion he defended his old standpoint, so often explained before. As Paolo Giovio on taking his departure kissed his hand, the Emperor remarked: "Get ready to write, and give a correct account in your history book, for the war that is about to take place will furnish you with fresh and troublesome material." Paul III expressed astonishment at the Emperor's passionate temperament, but gave assurance that in any case he would stand by King Ferdinand in his resistance to the Turks—a promise which was kept.

With regard to the Council the Pope, taking into consideration the war in Europe and the danger arising from the Turk, proposed to the Emperor at Busseto that the Council should be suspended to a more suitable moment and at the same time that some place should be chosen other than Trent, which was unhealthy, cramped, and ill supplied with provisions. To this the Imperial ministers objected that the Diet of Ratisbon had agreed to Trent and demanded the immediate tenure of the Council; therefore, without consulting the Estates, the Emperor could not consent either to the suspension or the translation of the Council. As no agreement was reached, the Pope finally promised to take the advice of the Cardinals.

In Trent during the last days of June Morone, in compliance with instructions from Farnese, drew up an interrogatory circular for the prelates asking what they thought ought to be done. The opinions were divided; immediate translation to another place was favoured by the Archbishop of Corfu and the Bishops of Chironia, Feltre, Bertinoro, and Belcastro. Their principal reason rested on the consideration that the Synod, if it were to take place in Trent, would be essentially a Council of Germans under the influence of the Emperor, since the French bishops would not come to that city. Also, the assembly being authorized as a General Council by the Pope might easily, under those circumstances, be more dangerous than even a national council in Germany, to which also, perhaps, obstacles of the same kind might arise. The above-named bishops also put their objections in writing, and sent them to Farnese.

The Archbishop of Otranto, on the contrary, saw the greatest danger in the threatened national council and was of opinion that the most important question now was how to prevent the latter, since during the existing period of unrest it was impossible to carry out the Council at Trent or elsewhere; the best course, he thought, would be to sustain the hope of a Council as it had existed hitherto, since a translation undertaken without the consent of the German princes, who had approved of Trent, would only offer them a temptation to take arbitrary proceedings. If, sooner or later, peace were brought about, the Council then could either be held in Trent, as the removal of external disadvantages was a matter of possibility, or be transferred elsewhere with the consent of all parties. This opinion of the Archbishop of Otranto, Morone added, was also in agreement with that of the Bishop of Hildesheim and the other agents of the Cardinal of Mainz, who recently had been so much disturbed by the departure of the two Legates from Trent and whose last hope for the rescue of the Catholic remnant in Germany was bound up with the stability of the Council at Trent, while the dissolution of the latter or its removal from thence might be followed by the worst results. The present war also might soon come to an end, and with its cessation the chief obstacle to the Council would disappear. The Bishop of Eichstatt, when Morone was writing, was on his way to visit the Pope.

Morone himself, in view of the great danger to Germany under all circumstances, was with difficulty able to adopt a decided attitude. On the one side there was present to his mind the assumption that the General Synod of the Church was now certainly impossible, on the other that the national synod or a Diet dealing with matters of religion was hardly avoidable, in which case the best course perhaps would be to revoke the publication of the Council and to announce by a Bull the impracticability of convening that assembly at Trent. In that case a Christian reformation might be carried out at once in those countries where the Papal obedience still prevailed. But Morone was still unable to make up his mind to recommend this method. He gave as his reason that this involved the assumption that Germany was lost beyond hope, an assumption from which conclusions must be drawn perilous to the rest of Christendom. Nor was Morone more attracted by the recommendation to prorogue the Council, since such a step, taken without the consent of the German princes, would affect the Empire in exactly the same way as a complete dissolution. He was therefore most inclined to associate himself with the opinion of the Archbishop of Otranto, as thereby at least he would not be an accomplice in the inevitable ruin of Germany.

After his meeting with Paul III the Emperor began his journey towards Trent, while the Papal decision on the question of the Council was awaited, and took up his quarters in that city from the 2nd to the 5th of July. In the suite of Charles V were some Spanish bishops who now, when it was too late, expressed their willingness to take part in the Council and immediately afterwards departed.

In Bologna, whither the Pope had returned on the 1st of July, he was delayed only by the expectation of Morone's report and that of the bishops assembled in Trent. On the arrival of these documents it was decided in a consistory held on July the 6th that the Council should be suspended until a more convenient date; the resumption of the Synod was reserved for the Pope's decision. The Bull of suspension is of the same date, July the 6th; it makes retrospective mention of the Pope's efforts, calls attention to the six months' period of suspense in Trent, and states as reasons for the momentary impossibility of holding the Synod the war between the Christian princes and the Turkish danger; Morone was recalled, and the prelates assembled in Trent dismissed. The Bull was not published until September the 19th; a brief of July the 6th informed Morone of the consistorial decision. He and the bishops waited in vain for the arrival of the Bull to enable them to take their departure, but not until July the 25th did a brief arrive giving permission to leave Trent. Morone thereupon took his departure and the others dispersed; at the same time briefs announcing the suspension of the Council and giving the grounds for this decision were sent out to a number of metropolitans and princes.

The suspension was undoubtedly justified, since under the existing circumstances nothing beneficial could be expected from the Council. Probably a certain number of votes were given vindictively as a retort to the Emperor's frustration of the Papal scheme concerning Milan. How far Charles V shared this opinion must remain a matter of conjecture; what is certain is that as every prospect of his holding Milan for Ottavio Farnese melted away his relations with Paul III became more and more delicate. To this many other causes contributed; in order to keep the Protestants in a state of inaction, the Imperial diplomatists took care that they should be made aware of the tension which had arisen between the Pope and their master. With this object the bitter letter that Charles V. had addressed to Paul III on the 25th of August 1542 was translated into German and circulated in printed copies. The document thus acquired an increased importance, and what a damaging effect such a measure must have had in Rome can easily be imagined.

The fresh state of tension between the Emperor and the Pope led of necessity to nearer relations between the latter and Francis I, an approximation which might become all the closer as the party of Charles V in the Sacred College had been reduced to very slender dimensions. The French King had for a long time been making efforts in a very tactful way to wipe out to some extent the stigma which he had incurred by his alliance with the infidel. When the Turkish flotilla under Chaireddin Barbarossa appeared at the mouth of the Tiber at the end of June 1543, the French commissary who was on board made it publicly known that the Papal territory had nothing to fear. The Turks in fact refrained from any acts of plunder and soon afterwards withdrew from the coasts of the Papal States. The attitude also taken by Francis towards the religious innovations in France could not fail to produce a favourable effect upon the Pope. A few weeks after the declaration of war against Charles V the King had ordered the Parliaments to take severe measures of repression against all who showed disobedience to the Church; throughout the whole kingdom proceedings against the Protestants were ushered on to the stage with demonstrative effect. In this way not only was the Pope favourably impressed, but Charles V and Ferdinand I were also at the same time, with their obsequiousness towards the German Protestants, placed in a very prejudicial light before the eyes of Catholic Christendom.

As the crowning touch of all came the alliance of the Emperor with Henry VIII of England. Charles V made necessity his excuse for this connection whereby he was to protect himself against the combination, far more perilous to Christendom, of France and the Turks. His ambassador in Rome renewed his demands that the weapons of ecclesiastical and temporal power should be wielded against Francis; this was all the more urgent since the King had provided the Turkish ships with every supply which could enable them to attack Nice. Paul III replied to the Emperor's representative that if he were to direct his arms against the French, he could not dispose of them at sea and on land in Hungary, as was at present the case, to the advantage of the house of Hapsburg, but that if he brought ecclesiastical pressure to bear on Francis he would be exposing the Holy See to the danger of losing France just as it already had lost England. Besides, he saw himself placed in the necessity of now exercising also his functions as a judge and of examining with which of the two contending parties lay the guilt of hindering the consummation of the peace which was so necessary for the world.

The Imperialists tried to excuse the policy of their master by calling attention to the dissimilarity of the alliances formed by Charles and by Francis. The alliance of the Emperor and Henry VIII aimed solely at victory over the French and consequently over their allies the Turks, it did not mean the support of the English monarch in his aggressions on the Holy See; much rather was there ground for hope that the Emperor would be successful in bringing Henry once more into the right way.

Paul III was not moved from his standpoint of neutrality. As the mediator of peace he determined on November the 21st, 1543, to send Cardinal Alessandro Farnese as Legate to both the sovereigns. In order to gain the support of the German princes for his endeavours on behalf of peace, the Bishop of Sarno, Francesco Sfondrato, was despatched soon after; he was at the same time directed to justify the Pope's attitude in the question of the Council.

Farnese was given the Legatine cross in an assembly of Cardinals on the 27th of November 1543. The Imperial ambassador, Juan de Vega, who had replaced Aguilar in the summer of 1543, took this opportunity of trying to induce the Pope to come to an open breach with France. He laid, in fact, before the Pope a letter from Francis I to his son the Duke of Orleans, together with a supplementary instruction to the latter from which it appeared that the King was seeking the friendship of the Landgrave of Hesse and showed himself ready to introduce Protestantism into

Luxembourg. But Paul III was not to be drawn into any precipitate measures; he postponed an inquiry into the circumstances until the next consistory. On this occasion he discounted the Imperial ambassador's eulogies of his master's adherence to the Holy See, the reward of which fidelity was to be a forced alliance on the Pope's part against France, by ordering a report to be presented through Cardinal Parisio on certain pragmatic decrees issued in Spain by Charles V of a nature derogatory to the rights and freedom of the Church. With regard to the documents implored against the King of France, since they were the originals, it was resolved that the nuncio should have speech with the King upon the matter and receive from him his justification.

In the consistory of the 19th of December 1543 a heated altercation took place between the Pope and the Cardinal of Burgos, Juan Alvarez de Toledo. The latter complained of the severe sentence passed on the pragmatic measures taken in Spain, while similar enactments in France and other countries passed into law without criticism. When Paul III remarked that he was opposed in general to all such legislation, but that the Spanish was much the most objectionable, the Cardinal retorted: "The French alliance with the Turks and yet other things worse than that were winked at." The Pope brought the discussion to an end by referring to the Emperor's alliance with Henry VIII, which was worse than a compact with the Turks.

Cardinal Farnese, accompanied by Giovanni Ricci and Niccolò Ardinghelli, had left Rome on the 28th of November 1543. He travelled first to the seat of the French court, where a very respectful reception greeted him; thence on the 6th of January 1544 he went to the Emperor. On reaching Brussels on the 12th he found that Charles had already left, and not until the 20th of January did the Cardinal come up with him, at Kreuznach; on the 23rd both made their entry on horseback into Worms.

Farnese delivered a letter from the Pope to the Emperor exhorting to peace. In order to conduce to the restoration of peace between the Emperor and the King he made certain proposals in which the surrender of Milan or the cession of Savoy to France were suggested. Charles V was convinced that the Pope's peace proposals were mere words which held out no prospect of results. He was determined, as he himself said, neither to allow himself to be caught nor to give up the execution of his plans and the pursuit of the military undertakings which he had entered upon in order to reacquire what had already been wrested from him. He declared to the Cardinal that, as long as a hand's breadth of Italian soil was in the grasp of France, a peace was impossible. The Emperor was so excited that he hardly allowed Farnese to finish his speech, and he broke in upon his explanations with the words: "Monsignore, through us you hold the Archbishopric of Monreale, your father became Duke of Novara, Ottavio Farnese received the hand of our daughter with an income of 20,000 ducats; in order to come to agreement with his Holiness we have suffered the loss of two of our best friends, the Duke of Urbino and Ascanio Colonna; and now we are so treated, and must submit to it, that the Vicar of Christ, who has received so many benefits at our hands, is ready to join forces with the King of France or rather, we should say, with the Turk. He may well look to it that we do not deal the same measure to him that we dealt to Clement VII."

The Cardinal's attempt to justify the Pope's action was dismissed by Charles with the remark that he knew more than enough of the obstinacy of Paul III. It was therefore superfluous to have more words on the matter. The Cardinal, who during this painful interview had shown great self-command, asked at its close that he might have the Emperor's permission to discuss the question further with Granvelle; to that Charles V offered no objection.

With the Emperor in this frame of mind there was little to hope for from negotiations with Granvelle and Idiaquez. On the 24th of January the Cardinal had once more an audience of the

Emperor to which also Granvelle, Idiaquez, and the nuncio Poggio were admitted. The long debates, in which religious questions as well as political were bandied to and fro, were entirely fruitless. On Farnese entreating that at the coming Diet the interests of religion should be borne in mind, the Emperor asked him what counsels in particular the Pope had to impart to him. When the Cardinal replied to this apologetically that he had no instructions, Charles rejoined that at previous Diets the representatives of Rome had done more harm than good; at the ensuing Diet the reform of the Church and the removal of abuses would be dealt with; he was resolved to do his duty as a Christian prince.

Farnese could not conceal from himself that his mission was a total failure. The Emperor rejected all overtures to France and showed openly that in the approaching Diet he would have no impediment raised to his negotiations with the Protestants by the presence of a Papal Legate. The Cardinal was still sufficiently master of himself to avoid an open rupture, and in order to facilitate the re-adjustment of relationships he declared the Pope's readiness to give 50,000 ducats to the funds of the Catholic League. Sfondrato remained behind to attend to the settlement of this point, while Farnese at once began his return journey to Rome.

The Emperor went from Worms to Spire for the Diet, where he hoped the Estates would give him openhanded support in obtaining a full reckoning from France. In this he was successful, since in the Recess of June the 10th 1544 he made such large concessions to the powerful confederates of Schmalkald as well-nigh to give away the Catholic cause.

In this Recess the Council was spoken of in a manner and in terms which were entirely Protestant; the authority of Pope and Church were passed by without mention. As it was uncertain whether and how soon "a common, Christian, free Council" would be held, a fresh Diet ought to be summoned before the expiry of another year or a German national synod called to settle the religious question in Germany pending the meeting of a General Council, all to be done without participation by the Pope, in accordance with proposals emanating from the Emperor and the Estates of the Empire through their theologians. During the interval concessions surpassing all their boldest hopes would be made to the Protestants in respect of the sequestered Church property, the reconstitution of the Imperial Court of Chancery, and the cases affecting religion still in litigation. The cases were to be quashed and assessors belonging to the Protestant party admitted to the Court of Chancery. Finally, the Catholics were bound to contribute to the churches and institutions which had been taken possession of by the Protestants.

The resolutions of Spire, a copy of which reached Rome through Verallio in the middle of July, must have given the greatest offence to the Pope. The French party in Rome exulted; they hoped now to bring Paul III completely round; as early as March, after Farnese's return, the French thought that their goal was in sight. The Cardinal-Legate's ungracious reception and speedy dismissal by the Emperor made all the more impression on the susceptible Pope as they were in sharp contrast to the brilliant advances of the French court. The results of Farnese's mission to France consisted in the agreement of Francis I to the marriage of the Duke of Orleans and Vittoria Farnese, whose dowry was to be made up of Parma and Piacenza. In return the King demanded of the Pope an open declaration in his favour and against Charles V. This Pier Luigi now sought to prevent with all his power. This man's influence over Paul III was then unusually great, for Farnese was at the time making ostensibly a change for the better in his mode of life. According to the account given by Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, Pier Luigi did not cease to represent to the Pope that a war with the Emperor must inevitably bring with it in its train the ruin of the family of Farnese. In consequence of this no express and public hostility to Charles was evinced, but it was perceptible from other signs that the Pope's preference was veering towards France.

It was not merely the censure on April the 2nd of the Spanish pragmatic measures which filled the Imperial party in Rome with anxiety; they found no less cause for apprehension in the Pope's repeated evening conversations and the secret proceedings in consistory. About this time the ambassador de Vega had begun to drop all diplomatic considerations. When on the 3rd of April he met, at the house of Margaret, the Emperor's daughter and wife of Ottavio, Cardinal Alessandro, and the latter used expressions of courtesy towards the Emperor, de Vega replied that such words were worthless; he wished to see deeds. Passing on to the secret transactions in consistory, the ambassador observed that he knew that the betrothal of Vittoria to the Duke of Orleans had been discussed; such a violation of neutrality would bring with it the ruin of his Holiness, the ruin of the Holy See and of the house of Farnese.

Matters became still more acute when Margaret in her impetuous way took up the Imperial party with intensity and allowed herself to make disparaging remarks on the "Farnese brood." Paul III's enemies, Cosimo de' Medici and Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, flung oil on the flames. Cosimo's representative informed de Vega that his Duke had been informed that with the favourable connivance of the Farnesi, French recruiting was going on in the Papal States.

De Vega forgot himself so entirely as to reply to Pier Luigi, who, before leaving for Parma, had conveyed to him his willingness to do something for the Emperor, that he would certainly let the latter know how badly his servants and relatives demeaned themselves. A similarly sharp expression was used by Charles himself towards the Papal nuncio. Yielding to the pressure from Henry VIII, he at last even made up his mind to recall his ambassador from Rome.

On the evening of May the 22nd de Vega secretly left Rome without taking leave of the Pope and without leaving any representative behind. While this critical situation lasted Alessandro Farnese maintained the undisturbed calm of the practised diplomatist. A short time before, when Margaret one day blurted out, "Don't you see that in view of the Emperor's indubitable victory you are preparing the ruin of your house?" he replied, "Madam, when the Emperor's victory is an assured fact—then our position will at once be clearly taken. But who knows what is going to happen?"

These words denote plainly the actual situation of affairs. Papal diplomacy before taking a definite position wished to know what the outcome of the great contest was to be. A friend of Cardinal Gonzaga was of opinion, in the beginning of June, that Paul III would think more than thrice before he made open cause with Francis I. But that in view of the Emperor's threatening demeanour the Pope should have thought of making his position sure by an alliance with Venice and the Catholic Estates of Germany can cause no surprise. On the 9th of June Cardinal Ippolito d'Este arrived in Rome as French ambassador, after having previously, certainly without success, tried to woo the Republic into an alliance. The reception prepared for him was exceptionally magnificent, and his apartments were in the palace of the Cancelleria. The Romans now believed that the triple alliance of Rome, France, and Venice was already concluded, especially as the city was full of rumours of the seductive offers held out by Francis to the members of the Farnese family.

The Romans were as much deceived as those diplomatists who thought that the Emperor's ominous attitude at Spires and other signs of enmity from the Imperialists would drive the Pope to an open rupture with the temporal head of Christendom; Giovio, as was shown, was a much shrewder judge of the situation when he wrote, in his caustic way, on June the 7th to the Duke of Ferrara, "Pope Paul as a man of common-sense and high character will certainly remain neutral. The day after tomorrow the Cardinal of Ferrara will be here knocking at a door which won't open. His Holiness will wrap himself up tightly and hang weights on his feet so as to elude any

temptation to take flight. It is said that the Cardinal of Ferrara will, as he did in Venice, pray here also for help; but St. Peter will stand just as neutral as St Mark.”

Even if Paul III had secret inclinations towards the side of France, he still avoided an open declaration; for ten years he had kept his neutrality, and to that policy he clung as before. Therefore, when rumours were abroad of negotiations between the two opponents, he determined, notwithstanding his hitherto discomfiting rebuffs, in a consistory held on the 30th of July, to support the cause of peace by the despatch of Legates. Cardinal Morone was sent to the Emperor and Cardinal Grimani to Francis I.

In the same consistory measures were taken with respect to the Recess of Spires, which had been so injurious to Catholic interests. Already at the beginning of June the Pope and Cardinals had discussed this question. To pass over in silence resolutions so damaging to religion and the authority of the Holy See seemed irreconcilable with the Pope's duty as the chief ruler of the Church. Every effort ought to be made to induce the Emperor to withdraw his concessions. Giovanni Ricci, Archbishop of Siponto, who had been appointed nuncio to Portugal on the 27th of July 1544, was instructed accordingly to bring the influence of the King of Portugal, of Prince Philip of Spain, and other prominent personages in that kingdom to bear upon Charles V. A very severe letter of remonstrance for transmission to the Emperor himself was drawn up and read aloud in the consistory of July the 30th.

This important document, the composition of which was largely the work of Cardinal Carafa, was at last completed on August the 24th after yet another discussion on the Recess of Spires in a special congregation of Cardinals. Besides the letter to the Emperor, others of similar import were addressed at the same time to his confessor Soto and to Granvelle. They contained exhortations to act counter to the Spires resolutions. Protests against the Recess were also sent to King Ferdinand and the Catholic princes of the Empire.

In the comprehensive brief addressed to Charles V on the 24th of August 1544 the Pope began by enforcing the duty that lay upon him of protesting against the decrees of Spires. He did not wish to incur the penalties of the high priest Heli, who left unchastised the evil doings of his sons, but to shield himself as well as the Emperor from the wrath of God. The resolutions of the Recess of Spires excluded from the treatment of religious affairs the very person who, from the first existence of the Church, had wielded the first and highest authority in that sphere, in his place laymen, even the votaries of condemned teachers of error, were indiscriminately to pronounce their decisions. Yet the Emperor ought not to listen to those enemies of the Church who whispered in his ear that the priests and pastors of the faithful were neglecting their duties and that he ought to step into their place, for even the best will and intention could not justify in the affairs of the Church, any more than in the affairs of a private household, the intrusion of alien authority into matters placed by the ordinance of God in the hands of another. Even Oza, who wished to uphold the tottering Ark of the Covenant and certainly was inspired by the best of motives, was yet instantaneously struck down by the hand of God because he did that which only the priests and Levites had a right to do. Why were Core, Dathan, and Abiron swallowed up in an earthquake if it were not that they arrogated to themselves the dignity and functions of the priesthood? And yet the priesthood of the Covenant was only the shadow of the Christian priesthood. King Ozias, otherwise so distinguished, was carried away by pride at his successes and, despite the opposition of the priests, entered into the holy place to kindle incense on the altar, and straightway became a leper all the days of his life. Yet to what a pitch of power and renown had God raised those Emperors who, like Constantine and Theodosius and Charles the Great, had shown honour to the priesthood of His Church. How evil had been the end of such enemies and persecutors as

Anastasius, Maurice, Constans II, Justinian II, Philippinus, Leo III, and, later, Henry IV and Frederick II. Next to the people of the Jews, who had denied the Saviour Himself, no nation had suffered severer punishments than the Greeks, whose stubborn obstinacy had hardened them in separation and apostasy from the Holy See. How then should Charles V escape the wrath of God if he walked in the footsteps of such hostile Emperors, he the successor of those who in days gone by had been careful to render to the Church the same meed of honour which they had received from her?

The settlement of the religious difficulties lay nearer, the Pope continued, to no man's heart than to his own; but even in the pursuit of so beneficent an aim he could not yield to the Emperor the place of leadership, but only concede to him the mighty office of champion and pray him to exercise the same. More than that was not required, since on his own initiative the Pope had greeted with joy any opportunity which gave the least hope of opening the Council. On every occasion when the most slender possibility of holding the Synod showed itself he had sent his Legates; the Germans, whose reconciliation was made increasingly difficult by the Emperor's ever-enlarged concessions, he had treated with more compliancy than any other nation, inasmuch as he had appointed Trent to be the meeting-place and had sent his Legates thither; but "I came, and there was not a man: I called, and there was none that would hear" (Isa. 1. 2). Even now the Pope is not to blame if the Council is not a reality; one thing only is wanting, and that is the conclusion of peace between the Emperor and the Christian princes, Francis I in particular, since the war is the only obstacle which has caused the postponement of the Council. The Emperor therefore has it in his power to open up the way for the Council; to the Emperor it belongs to listen in matters of faith to the Pope's voice and to give the latter a free hand in the matters appertaining to his office; to the Emperor it belongs to withdraw the concessions made with untimely leniency to the enemies of the Church. Otherwise the Pope cannot rest satisfied with mere admonition, in which even Heli was not sparing towards his sons, but with the help of God will take all those steps the neglect of which brought upon Heli so grievous a punishment.

This hortatory letter was to be delivered by Cardinal Morone. But Charles V, then in the midst of his war with Francis I, refused in the most positive way to receive the Legate. Cardinal Farnese lost no time in informing Morone of this on the 9th of September; the latter received the news at Lyons on the 15th of September and thereupon began his return journey. As soon afterwards peace was concluded between Charles and Francis at Crespy, Grimani's mission also was rendered superfluous.

The Papal chamberlain David Odasio was entrusted with the delivery to Morone of the letter of expostulation. When he reached the Imperial headquarters he found, contrary to expectation, that Morone was absent. Since he had no instructions to deliver the letter to the Emperor in person, he only left a copy of it at the court and brought back the original with him to Rome, but the letters addressed to Soto and Granvelle he delivered. The presentation of the original letter to the Emperor was then committed to Flaminio Savelli, a relative of Charles, who started for Worms at the end of January 1545 in order to convey to Otto von Truchsess, Bishop of Augsburg, the insignia of the Cardinalate.

The communication of the letters to King Ferdinand and the Catholic Estates was entrusted to Giovanni Tommaso Sanfelice, Bishop of Cava, who on the 27th of August 1544 had been appointed nuncio-extraordinary to Germany. The latter accomplished his mission with such despatch that Ferdinand I was already in possession on September the 24th of the letter addressed to the Emperor. At the moment of its delivery the contents of this important document had already been anticipated by facts. Peace between Charles V and Francis I had been concluded.

The conditions agreed to at Crespy on the 17th of September, to the exclusion of the Pope, signified for the French King an honourable peace. In order to settle the dispute over Milan it was stipulated that the Duke of Orleans, Francis' second son, should marry either the eldest daughter of the Emperor, Maria, or a daughter of King Ferdinand, receiving in the former case the Netherlands and in the latter Milan. The Emperor renounced his claims on Burgundy, the King restored Savoy and gave up his claims on Milan, Naples, Flanders, and Artois. Both monarchs engaged themselves to join in common warfare against the Turks and to give mutual support to each other towards the "reunion of religion." In the latter connection secret articles were agreed to that both princes should support the Council and carry out its decrees by armed force. Francis I promised to make no more fresh alliances, especially with the Protestants of Germany.

The conclusion of peace removed one of the principal causes of the Emperor's irritation against the Pope. Further, as a wise statesman Charles V perceived that an answer to the letter of expostulation could not well be sent without inflicting serious injury on the honour and reputation of the two heads of Christendom; he also felt that in the Recess he had agreed to more "than he could be responsible for." After calm reflection he could not but see that the Pope's complaints on this score were not unjustified; statesmanship and Catholic sentiment were equal determinants in the decision to give only a verbal answer to the Pope's letter. Taking into consideration the great importance of the matters dealt with in the letter and the manner in which expressions used in that document affected the Imperial authority, dignity, and reputation, it seemed better that the Emperor's detailed reply should be reserved for a more suitable occasion. Then it could be explained and clearly proved that he had no guilty responsibility for the doleful condition of Christendom, but that personally as well as indirectly he had persistently endeavoured to avoid and ward off such calamities, as was the duty not only of a good Emperor and as the dignity and authority of the Empire demanded, but as befitted every Catholic prince who was loyal to the reverence due to the Apostolic See. If everyone according to his position and rank had so acted, the present distresses of Christendom would have been avoided.

The admirable self-restraint then observed by Charles V redounded to his lasting reputation as a Catholic and a statesman. It shattered the hopes of the Protestants that the two heads of Christendom would be involved in sacrilegious strife and led the way to a combination between Pope and Emperor from which the greatest results would follow. The state of affairs demanded that a good understanding should exist between the two highest powers in the world. That these two should, especially at first, have approached each other with grave misgivings is only too intelligible from the course of previous events.

First of all, at the end of November the interrupted diplomatic relations were resumed in the regular way by the return of Vega to the post from which he had withdrawn in May. Opportunity for a fresh fit of petulance was given by the nomination of Cardinals on the 19th of December, at which certainly three Spanish prelates (Francisco Mendoza de Coria, Gaspar d'Avalos of Compostela, and Bartolome de la Cueva) were appointed to the purple, but to the exclusion of Charles's principal nominee, Pedro Pacheco. The Emperor was so unable to suppress his annoyance that he forbade the prelates above mentioned to assume their Cardinal's dress. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that Pier Luigi Farnese's secretary, Annibale Caro, who was to sound the Emperor as to his master's investiture with Parma and Piacenza, met with the very worst reception. The Bishop of Trent, Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo, and the Bishop of Augsburg, Cardinal Otto von Truchsess, then undertook with success to renew closer relations between the Pope and the Hapsburg brothers.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SPREAD OF THE GERMAN SCHISM.—CARDINAL FARNESE'S MISSION TO WORMS. NEGOTIATIONS FOR AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN PAUL III. AND CHARLES V. AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS.—INVESTITURE OF PIER LUIGI FARNESE WITH PARMA AND PIACENZA. THE CONVENING OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

The concurrent pressure upon the house of Hapsburg from the Turks and the French since the year 1541 had been used by the Schmalkaldic League as an opportunity for usurping authority over the Catholic Estates of the Empire and introducing the new ecclesiastical system into regions of Germany which hitherto had been Catholic. To the protestantizing of the bishoprics of Naumburg, Zeitz, and Meissen had succeeded the campaign of the Elector John Frederick of Saxony and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse against Duke Henry of Brunswick, the last prince of importance who still held fast in northern Germany to the ancient faith. The enterprise was successful, for Henry was unprepared for war; the Schmalkaldic forces had no difficulty in taking possession of the Duchy, into which they at once introduced the new doctrines. After that the overthrow of the old Catholic conditions in Hildesheim and Thuringian Muhlhausen was also carried out by means of violence. In south Germany the year 1542 saw the introduction of the Protestant teaching into the city of Ratisbon, while in the following year the Count Palatine, Otto Henry of Pfalz-Neuburg gave his adhesion to the same cause.

On the Lower Rhine still heavier losses awaited the Church. There no less a personage than the Prince Elector and Archbishop of Cologne, Hermann von Wied, threatened to secede. The total incapacity of this prelate in theological learning—he had never succeeded in becoming master of the Latin language—was in strong contrast with his passionate interference in theological questions. At first an opponent of the Lutheran heresies, this inconsistent prince of the Church showed later a suspicious inclination to patronize the advocates of the new system. Little by little the Archbishop, whose theological standpoint was hopelessly confused, found himself on a precipitous slope on which he entirely lost his footing. At the end of 1542 he summoned Bucer to Bonn and ordered his priests to administer the chalice to the laity and to preach Lutheran sermons. Although the Cathedral Chapter, the University, and the city clergy of Cologne held out manfully on behalf of the Catholic faith, Hermann persisted in his efforts to protestantize his diocese. In May 1543 Melanchthon visited Bonn in person, and in July the secular Estates declared themselves in agreement with the Archbishop's course of action.

At the same time it was rumoured that Francis von Waldeck, Bishop of Munster, Minden, and Osnabrück, was on the brink of apostasy. This prelate, prone to intemperance and

licentiousness, had for some length of time caused serious scandal in Catholic Westphalia by his personal conduct and his toleration of Protestant preaching. In the beginning of 1543 he solicited admission into the Schmalkaldic League. The same step was taken by the Duke of Julier and Cleves, who since 1541 had been involved in war with the Emperor's sister, Maria, Regent of the Netherlands, on account of the succession to Guelders. William, who had been for long under the influence of Protestant-minded counsellors, promised the Schmalkaldic leaders that he would protestantize his states in return for their help against the Emperor. But since Philip of Hesse opposed the entrance of the Duke of Julier and Cleves into the League, the latter found himself alone when Charles appeared in the summer of 1543 with a greatly superior force. On the 24th of August, Duren, the chief stronghold of the duchy of Julier, was stormed and the entire country overcome. On September the 7th William appeared as suppliant at the feet of the Emperor in the camp of the latter at Venlo. Charles restored to his conquered enemy his ancient inheritance, but compelled him to renounce Guelders and Zutphen as well as his alliances with France and Denmark and also to cancel his introduction of religious innovations into his duchies.

The overthrow of Duke William of Cleves had a decidedly reactionary effect on the development of affairs at Cologne. There the Emperor personally encouraged the Catholics to energetic resistance to the Archbishop's religious changes and insisted on Bucer's dismissal. Thereby the great danger threatening the Church on the lower Rhine was, if not indeed removed, yet substantially diminished.

The Emperor's victory over the Duke of Cleves had, however, yet another important result: it opened Charles's eyes to the "weakness and political incapacity" of the Schmalkaldic group. He perceived, as he relates in his commentaries, that henceforward it was no longer simply impossible to curb their high spirit by force, but that this would be a very easy thing to do if only the attempt were made under suitable circumstances and with adequate means. The Emperor's first requirement certainly was the unconditional support of all his subjects in his war against France, and thus the Schmalkaldic League had experienced once more a brilliant triumph at the Diet of Spires. Charles V, however, in his innermost heart disliked the concessions into which he had been coerced by the pressure of necessity; that he did not intend to adhere to them is shown by the secret clauses of the Peace of Crespy, by which Francis I was pledged to give the Emperor support in restoring religious unity. In this way the political situation was shifted in a manner favourable to the meeting of the Council.

Immediately after the conclusion of peace Charles V and Francis conveyed through the nuncios accredited to their courts as well as through their ambassadors in Rome the expression of their wish that the Council should soon be opened at Trent. Before their messages had yet reached Rome Paul III, on his part, had already taken the initiative towards summoning the Council, now that the peace had cleared the way.

On the 29th of October 1544 Francesco Sfondrato, who had exchanged his former Bishopric of Sarno for the Archiepiscopal See of Amalfi, was sent as nuncio-extraordinary to the Emperor in order, in the first instance, to be the mouthpiece of the Pope's congratulations on the peace, but also to point out that one of the most important fruits of that peace was the possibility now opened of summoning and holding the Council. He was once more to represent to the Emperor all the efforts which the Pope had made to hold the Council up to its last suspension and the great necessity of holding the Synod, and then to announce that Paul III now wished to remove the suspension and to enter upon the Council without delay. Therefore he besought his Majesty to co-operate with the Pope, especially by the despatch of the prelates of his Empire to Trent; the Emperor, on the other hand, ought to prevent the discussion of religious questions at the

forthcoming Diet of Worms; no Legate also would represent the Pope in that assembly. With regard to the seat of the Council his Holiness was averse to any change of place, notwithstanding the inconveniences which had arisen at Trent and his own inability to proceed thither, as an alteration on this point would only give occasion for fresh difficulties and delays. On the 31st of October, Girolamo Dandino, with similar instructions, went as nuncio to the court of Francis I.

On the 7th of November the French ambassador, George d'Armagnac, Bishop of Rodez, read aloud in consistory a letter of Francis I of the 28th of October, in which, among other requests, he asked the Pope to open the Council within three months and certainly in Trent or the place that seemed most suitable to the Emperor and the King. About the same time, after Sfondrato's departure, a letter was also received from the nuncio in France which, at the King's command, communicated in similar terms the position of the latter on the conciliar question; there was also a letter from Poggio announcing what Granvelle, in the Emperor's name, had pronounced on the matter.

As soon as the Pope was assured of the agreement of the two sovereigns, on November the 14th the unanimous assent of all the Cardinals was given in consistory to the removal of the suspension of the Council and the fresh proclamation of the same on the 25th of March 1545. The final decision and the issue of the new Bull of summons took place in consistory on the 19th of November; in place of the 25th of March, as intended, the fourth Sunday in Lent, the 15th of March 1545, was fixed for the date of opening. In the same consistory Cardinals Cupis, del Monte, Carafa, Parisio, Cervini, Guidiccioni, Crescenzi, Cortese, Pole, together with Grimani and Morone, who were temporarily absent, were deputed to attend to the affairs of the Council. In a Bull also dated the 19th of November Paul III. renewed his earlier decree on the Papal election in case his death during the Council should render such a measure necessary. The publication of the Bull of summons followed on the 30th of November. On December the 3rd all bishops of all nationalities absent from Rome were summoned thither for the Epiphany.

In a consistory on the 6th of February 1545 the following were appointed conciliar Legates: the Cardinal-Bishop Giovanni Maria del Monte, the Cardinal-Priest Marcello Cervini, and the Cardinal-Deacon Reginald Pole. On the 22nd of February the Legatine crosses were distributed, whereupon Cervini left Rome on the 23rd and del Monte on the 24th of February. Pole remained in Rome some time longer through fear of the machinations of Henry VIII, and rejoined the others later. The Bull of nomination for the Legates of the 22nd of February was sent after them with another of the same date, empowering them, if the worst came to the worst, to hold the Council in some other city than Trent and to dissolve or continue it at their own discretion. Not until the 27th of April was the brief, antedated at the wish of the Legates to the 10th of February, got ready. This gave them full powers to bestow an indulgence on their entry into Trent and on the opening of the Council. The two Legates who had left for Trent brought with them a brief of the 22nd of February for Cardinal Madruzzo of Trent in which he was directed to undertake the necessary preparations for the Council. On the 23rd of February Bishop Sanfelice of Cava was, as in September 1542, again sent to Trent to make arrangements for lodgments and commissariat. The secretary of the Council, Angelo Massarelli, had left Rome on the 23rd of February with the Legate Cervini, but was sent forward by the latter and reached Trent on the 6th of March, where he already found the Bishop of Cava. By a brief of the 6th of March the Legates were still further empowered to preside over the Council in twos or even singly if the others were absent or hindered.

The two Legates, Cervini and del Monte, reached Rovereto on the 12th of March and on the 13th made their solemn entry into Trent. Besides the Cardinal of Trent and the Bishop of Cava

they found no other prelates. On the 14th the Bishop of Feltre, Tommaso Campeggio, made his appearance. Under these circumstances the Council could not be opened on the 15th. On the 23rd of March the Imperial orator, Don Diego Hurtado da Mendoza, came, was received on the 26th in the house of Cardinal del Monte by the Legates in public audience, and received on the following day their answer. On the 8th of April the orators of King Ferdinand, Francesco de Castelalto and Antonio Quetta, presented themselves before the Legates.

In the weeks supervening on the date of opening only a few more prelates appeared, among them the Bishop of Bitonto, Cornelio Mussi, and the Abbot Jean Loysier of Citeaux. In April a mandate of the viceroy of Naples, Pedro de Toledo, give occasion for counter-regulations. The latter had given orders that of the bishops of the Neapolitan kingdom only four, to be appointed by him, should go to the Council as procurators for the rest. The nuncio Poggio had already in March given notice of similar intentions on the Emperor's part with regard to the Spanish bishops. The matter was all the more dangerous since Cardinals with Imperial leanings, such as Ercole Gonzaga, were dreaming of a deposition of the Pope by the Council after the manner of Basle. In any case the freedom of the Council seemed to be threatened by the decrees of the Neapolitan viceroy, since the princes in this way might make themselves masters of the Council if it lay in their power to reduce hundreds of votes to those of a few of their satellites. The mandate of the viceroy led to the publication of the Bull of the 17th of April 1545 by which the prelates were bound, save in cases of just impediment, to appear personally at the Council, and representation by procurators was forbidden.

In the meantime the Imperial policy with regard to the Council had entered once more on its former tortuous path. In the proposition, presented by Ferdinand to the Estates at the Diet of Worms in the Emperor's name on the 24th of March 1545, the Council about to be held certainly was not passed over in silence, but on the other hand a promise was made that, in the event of the Council not having begun before the close of the existing Diet and taken in hand the work of reformation, the Emperor would summon afresh the Estates of the Empire, which would then enter upon the task of reform themselves. In place of Verallo, transferred to the Imperial court, Fabio Mignanelli, Bishop of Lucera, had been appointed permanent nuncio to Ferdinand. When he entered Worms on April the 2nd he was confronted by the difficult situation which the declaration in the Emperor's proposition had already caused. In his audience with Ferdinand on the 4th of April he received in reply to his official representations on the subject of the Council an evasively reassuring pronouncement, while Cardinal Otto von Truchsess of Augsburg, with whom he afterwards conversed, put before him with urgency the danger which threatened if the Council were not held at once. On the 7th Mignanelli visited Granvelle again, who was vehement in his complaints of the letter that had been sent to the Emperor. To Mignanelli's suggestion that it only contained fatherly admonitions, Granvelle replied that representations of that kind might certainly have been conveyed to his Majesty, but that the Bishop of Cava had no right to communicate the document to the Catholic princes; in this way the letter had been made known to the Protestants, who were on all sides circulating the most scurrilous refutations.

The most passionate of these retorts had been written at the command of the Elector and Chancellor of Saxony by the originator of the religious disruption, now standing on the verge of the grave. This was the pamphlet which appeared in March 1545 "against the Papacy in Rome, founded by the Devil," the most violent effusion of Luther's pen. The chief ruler of the Church is here spoken of with wearisome iteration as "the most all-hellish father," "his Hellishness," and styled "Juggler," "the Ass Pope with long asses' ears," "desperate knave," "the destroyer of Christianity," "Satan's bodily dwelling-place," "the Devil's apostle," "the author and master of all sins," "Roman Hermaphrodite" and "Pope of Sodomites." By means of a Council the Pope

and his followers could not be made better: “Since they believe that there is neither God nor hell nor a life after this life, but live and die like cow, sow, or any other cattle, it is indeed laughable that they should hold seal or brief or reformation. Therefore this were best; let the Emperor and the Estates of the Empire tell the vicious, scandalous knaves and the cursed dregs of the devil at Rome to go to hell for ever; yet there is no hope there that any good will be gained. We must work in other ways. Nothing was ever set right by Councils.” What, however, ought to be done to extirpate “the devil-founded Papacy,” Luther tells us in the words: “Fall to now, Emperor, King, Princes, Lords, and whoever will fall to along with you. God brings no luck here to idle hands. And first of all take from the Pope, Rome, Romandiol, Urbin, Bononia, and all that he has as a Pope; for he has with lies and tricks—ah! what say I, lies and tricks!—he has with blasphemies and idolatry shamefully filched, robbed, and robbed from the Empire and trampled them under foot, and therefore has he led to their reward in the eternal fire of hell countless souls through his idolatry and destroyed Christ’s kingdom, wherefore he is called an abomination of desolation. Therefore ought he, the Pope himself, his Cardinals and all the rabble of his idolatry and Papal holiness, to be taken and as blasphemers have their tongues torn out from the back of their necks and nailed in rows on the gallows just as they attach their seals in rows to their Bulls. Yet what a trifle is this compared to their blasphemy and idolatry! Therefore let them hold one Council, or as many as they please, on the gallows in hell, deep below all devils.”

The contents of Luther’s scurrilous libel correspond with the frontispiece, which represents the Pope on his throne in priestly robes but having asses’ ears and surrounded by devils, who are crowning him from above with a scavenger’s bucket and from below are dragging him down to hell.

At the same time Calvin composed, in the form of forty-seven scholia on the Papal letter, a violent pamphlet against Paul III. Johann Sleidan, once a French spy, afterwards the historian of the Schmalkaldic League, published two addresses to the Emperor and the Empire in which he called for measures of force against the Pope, who is identified with Antichrist.

Undisturbed by the indignation displayed by the Catholics and even the Emperor at the scandalous writings of Sleidan and Luther, the Protestants had these and other poisonous pamphlets and vulgar caricatures of the Pope distributed in the Diet. These proceedings, as well as their unconditional rejection of the Council, show how powerful they already felt themselves to be. The situation was made worse by many on the Catholic side casting doubts on the sincerity of the curial efforts to bring about the Council. To the remonstrances of Granvelle, who, opposed to the nuncio in this respect, had also called attention to the fact that since the notification of the resumption of the Council no further communications on the progress of affairs had been made to the Imperial ambassador on the side of the Pope, Mignanelli replied that Paul III testified by his action that he wished for the Council, but in his report he gave a warning that the Curia had better make up for lost time. Mignanelli also instructed the Legates in Trent on the state of things in Worms; a letter from him in cipher full of details was sent on to Rome by the Legates on the 23rd of April.

Mignanelli’s reports, a warning letter from Cardinal Truchsess, and the advice of Cardinal Madruzzo were decisive in determining the Pope to yield to the earnest desires of Charles and to send Cardinal Farnese to Worms.

After Paul III, in a consistory held on the 14th of April had given fuller information to the Cardinals concerning this important mission, Alessandro left Rome on the 17th. So that no attention should be excited in Germany, he was attended only by a small suite. After Farnese’s departure a letter reached Rome from the conciliar Legates in which they fully set forth that the

very imminent danger of a national council in Germany in consequence of the proposition of the Diet, made the early inauguration of the Council at Trent necessary, in any case before the close of the Imperial Diet. Paul III thereupon on the 23rd, and once more on the 27th of April, caused instructions to be sent to the Legates to open the Council on the 3rd of May 1545, the Feast of the Invention of the Cross. Out of consideration for Farnese's mission the command was not made absolute, but left the Legates at liberty to postpone the opening in case during the interval further information should come from Worms which would seem to make this expedient.

Cardinal Farnese travelled very quickly. On the 21st of April he was already in Bologna, and on the 23rd in Mantua, where the Regent, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, discussed with him among other matters the failing strength of the Pope. The same evening the Legate hastened on to Peschiera, whence a ship belonging to Cardinal Madruzzo conveyed him to Riva. There the latter Cardinal and his two Legatine colleagues awaited him and in their company he entered Trent on the 25th. Just as he was on the point of setting forth again on the 28th of April the order for the opening of the Council reached the Legates. Farnese, however, was successful in persuading the latter of the necessity of deferring this event until he had had speech with the Emperor. Since Mendoza also and the Cardinal of Trent were in agreement with Farnese, the Legates followed their advice and reported on the matter on the same day to Cardinals Santaflora, Cervini, and Morone. Farnese also at the very moment of departure wrote to the Pope upon the subject.

On May the 3rd the Legates called the ten bishops, who up till then had appeared in Trent, to a meeting and communicated to them the Papal orders and their reasons for temporary delay, on which all were agreed. The Pope ordered Cardinal Santaflora to write to the Legates on the 4th of May with his approval of the postponement, but on the 21st communicated to them instructions that as soon as they were informed from Worms of the Emperor's consent to the opening of the Council they were to proceed thereto without delay and without waiting for a fresh Papal mandate. That the Pope at this time assumed that there would be only a short interval of delay is proved by the fact that on the 9th of May he had instructions sent by Cardinal Santaflora to the nuncio in France to urge Francis I to send the prelates of his kingdom to the Council at the earliest possible moment.

Cardinal Farnese reached Brixen on the evening of the 29th of April 1545. There he met Bellagais, the secretary of Cardinal Truchsess, who assured him that King Ferdinand, Granvelle, and the Catholics hailed his appearance at Worms with great joy. A message received from Verallo, that the Emperor had rescinded the order forbidding the Cardinals nominated on the 17th of December 1544 to assume the insignia of their new dignities, also helped to dissipate any misgivings as to the reception that awaited Farnese from Charles and Ferdinand.

The Cardinal's further progress was not without anxieties owing to the danger of his seizure in a Protestant ambuscade. On the advice of Cardinal Truchsess, who had sent his only brother to meet him, he abandoned the usual post-roads on foot and did not touch Augsburg. In the course of his journey Farnese fell in with Niccolò Madruzzo, brother of the Cardinal of Trent, who was to accompany him until he reached Worms. In Dillingen, which he reached on the 5th of May, the Legate found awaiting him a messenger from Cardinal Truchsess with urgent entreaties to suspend the journey as the Protestant Duke of Wurtemberg was not to be trusted. Farnese and his companion were burning with impatience to advance, and the Legate thought for a moment of braving the dangers and passing through the Protestant Duchy in disguise, but on further consideration he decided to choose the safer course and to go round the zone of danger. Therefore, under sufficient protection, with a guide of King Ferdinand, he made his way by Ulm, Scheer, Donaueschingen, and Freiburg to Spire and thence to Worms.

When in Ulm the Cardinal had an opportunity of catching a glimpse of the Protestant world. The noble minster of that city he found to be in the interior “as white as a mosque,” with a bare, undecorated altar. The desolation of this House of God, “as empty as a barber’s basin,” had a profoundly depressing effect on the Cardinal and his company. What a difference between this and the churches of Italy, richly adorned with works of art! Farnese, who naturally did not disclose himself, visited the booksellers’ shops in Worms and found there only Protestant works. On this occasion he plunged with great boldness into religious discussion. On his representing that no one had a right to leave the old secure path at the bidding of a private person guided by his own passions, he was met with the rejoinder that no one should have any other guide than the clear words of Holy Scripture; they were perfectly sufficient, wherefore a Council was unnecessary. The animated counter-propositions of the Cardinal were without effect. He had shown so much eagerness on this occasion that his companions urged him to use greater caution in the future; nevertheless, the Cardinal soon afterwards was holding discussions, in Catholic places, it must be said, and on more than one occasion with a lettered member of the Protestant community.

When Farnese entered Worms on the 17th of May he had already been preceded by Charles V. The delay caused by the Legate’s circuitous journey had one good result; his appearance in Worms could be accounted for simply as bearing on the Diet and the subsidy required for the Turkish war.

Farnese’s audience with the Emperor took place on the 18th of May. Charles made open display of his Catholic sentiments; he met, hat in hand, the Pope’s representative in the foremost reception chamber, and when the latter withdrew, the Emperor reconducted him, in the same manner, to the door. The reception generally was such that in Farnese’s opinion he had never before been greeted so well as on this occasion. Even if Charles V did not disguise a certain dryness and firmness of demeanour, yet, when Farnese touched in a tone of apology on former misunderstandings, he remarked that it would be better to let bygones be bygones and turn over a new page. Further, the Emperor assured him of his determination to give his protection to the Holy See and the house of Farnese. The Legate’s second mandate, like the first, met with the best reception. The Emperor offered a subsidy of 100,000 ducats for the Turkish war, to be deposited for that purpose in Augsburg. Farnese’s third request was that Charles should support the Council by ordering his bishops to participate in it, and that he should put a stop to the attempt of the viceroy of Naples to substitute a small representative body for the collective episcopate of that kingdom and prohibit such attempt in other parts of the Empire. To this Charles V gave an evasive answer.

Further transactions were carried on by Granvelle, who certainly praised the Pope’s decision to open the Council, but pointed with emphasis to the danger with which this step was coupled—the danger of the Protestants then breaking up the Diet, of a massacre of Catholics in Germany, even of a vindictive enterprise against Rome itself; the Emperor alone could make but a feeble resistance against such an attack, if the German Catholics could not be counted on. All depended on the help of the Pope.

The Cardinal was amazed at these announcements. That the Emperor, whose illicit concessions to the Protestants in former years had drawn from the Pope the most serious remonstrances, should now be seeking an alliance with Rome to compass the forcible suppression of these very Protestants, seemed to him at first incredible. The cool treatment of the affairs of the Council, as well as the sudden announcement of the Emperor’s extreme fear of the Protestants, aroused strong suspicion in the Cardinal. He rejoined that the task of getting the better of their opponents lay in the first instance with the Emperor, but that financial support from Paul III.

towards their chastisement was not excluded. That the Emperor was really in earnest in the matter seemed to the Cardinal at first to be highly doubtful. His surmise was that Charles in reality would go no further than to extract as much money as possible from the Pope under the pretext of a war against the Protestants and then, indifferent to the interests of the Holy See, would, as he had done before, come to some accommodation with the Protestant Estates against levying the Turkish subsidy.

In the course of the negotiations, however, this misgiving vanished. Farnese became convinced that the Emperor's plan of armed aggression on the Protestant Estates was seriously meant, and that his endeavours to put off the Council were only a feint to enable the opening to take place with all the greater prestige. The Emperor's proposal to use force against the Protestants with the Pope as his ally would rouse not merely an expectation of the restoration in Germany of the deeply injured Catholic Church, but also a hope that Charles would uphold the Papal authority against that of the Church assemblies instead of making himself, as was feared, the champion of the movements aimed at the limitation of the Papal power. Moreover, there was the prospect of the union between Emperor and Pope being also of the greatest advantage to the exaltation of the house of Farnese.

The nuncios at Worms, Mignanelli and Dandino, could find nothing sufficiently favourable to say in their reports to Rome of the tact and sagacity displayed by the Cardinal-Legate during the negotiations. Both held the view that the Pope under all circumstances must agree with the Emperor's plan that they should make common cause in warfare against the Protestants. Even Farnese was of this opinion, but without definite instructions on this entirely unexpected proposal, without powers to enter into so weighty and far-reaching a scheme, he could only give the general assurance that the Pope would support with all his might an undertaking of such importance to the Church. In order by his personal mediation to bring to a conclusion so promising a compact between the heads of the Church and Empire as well as to keep his great secret safe, he resolved to return with all speed to Rome. He and his companion Aliprando Madruzzo put on German clothes in order to keep up their incognito and to escape the machinations of the Protestants, whose suspicions were now aroused. In the stormy night between the 27th and 28th of May the Cardinal left Worms. By the 2nd of June they were in Trent, where he reported to the Legates the success of his mission with regard to the Council, and on the evening of the 8th of June he rode into Rome.

Cardinal Farnese brought with him an autograph letter from the Emperor in which he announced that he had come to a complete understanding with the Legate and prayed his Holiness to come to an early decision. Paul III at once resolved to accept the Emperor's offers. After discussing the important situation with the Cardinals, he declared himself prepared to give extensive help. He would pledge himself to bank at Venice 100,000 ducats in addition to the same amount deposited by Farnese at Augsburg; 12,000 Italian infantry and 500 light horse were to be maintained at his cost for four months; besides, the half-year's income of the Spanish Church, amounting to 400,000 ducats, would be assigned and permission given for the sale of the holdings of Spanish convents, which would be compensated in other ways, to the amount of 500,000 ducats. The Pope was also inclined to acquiesce in the postponement of the opening of the Council. On the other hand, he demanded that the money contributed should be spent exclusively on the operations against the Protestant Estates, and that no agreement should be concluded with the latter to which the Pope and Emperor were not both parties. By the 17th of June Farnese was able to communicate these offers to Granvelle. The day before he had written to Charles V. that the Pope's firm determination to place all his power at the Emperor's disposal had filled him with greater joy than he had ever experienced before.

Paul III then ordered preparations for war to be made on a vast scale, the objects of which could not be doubted. The courier despatched on the 16th of June with the offers to the Emperor must have travelled with such extraordinary speed that on the 23rd he reached Worms. Evidently the hammer was to strike while the iron was hot.

The Emperor was all the more delighted with the Pope's offer as he was in expectation of soon having yet another 100,000 ducats, making 300,000 in all. He promised to expend the Papal contributions only against the Protestants and not to make any terms with them to which the Pope was not also a party. The war itself he intended to begin in the course of the year.

As on the 27th and 28th of June so also on the 1st and 2nd July the nuncios were still able to report that Charles was occupied in the preparations for the campaign and seeking to form an alliance with Duke William of Bavaria, and to lull the suspicions of the Protestants by making arrangements for a religious conference. But already on July the 4th the nuncios received an intimation that difficulties had sprung up which might cause the war to be put off until the following year.

The more the Emperor pondered over the state of affairs the more doubtful it seemed to be that a speedy beginning of the war was possible. Although a considerable time had passed by he was still hoping for the available ready money. In addition to this the negotiations with Bavaria, contrary to expectation, were not proceeding favourably. The Emperor's fears were increased by Ferdinand and Granvelle, so that on the 5th of July the postponement of the undertaking was a settled affair. On the following day the High Steward of the Empire, Johann von Andelot, left Worms in order to lay before the Pope by word of mouth the changed condition of things.

Andelot had an audience on the 15th of July. He first of all set forth the reasons which had compelled the Emperor to defer the war until the next year; in the meantime measures might be considered for supporting the Catholics against the attacks of the Protestants, and a written agreement drawn up determining the shares in the burden of war to be borne by the Emperor and the Pope. In the second place, Andelot begged that the opening of the Council might not be premature; in any case, that the Emperor should have previous intimation so that by withdrawal from Worms he might escape the dangers threaten-ing him from the Protestant side. Andelot pressed his requests further: that the Council after its opening should at once occupy itself with reform and not with dogma. He also asked for the Pope's consent that the Emperor should keep the Protestants in check by holding a religious conference and summoning a new Diet for the winter at which he promised to avoid any encroachments on the authority of the Holy See. Finally, Paul III was asked to take steps against the Archbishop of Cologne, who might prove a serious obstacle to the Emperor's plans.

The Pope, who from the Emperor's communications to Farnese and his lavish offers had become firmly convinced the outbreak of war was close at hand, was painfully surprised by Andelot's announcement; nevertheless, his reply was as accommodating as was possible. He was ready for war at any moment, but submitted to the more competent judgment of the Emperor with regard to its commencement. He was prepared to conclude an agree-ment on the basis of his existing offers. The opening of the Council, which he would gladly notify to Charles, did not admit of longer delay, but the proceedings would be such that the cause of religion and the war against the Protestants would derive advantage and not prejudice from them. The best help the Catholics could have would be the continued presence of Charles in Upper Germany. The Pope on his side would, under any circumstances, continue to give them his protection; he was also willing to take summary measures against the Archbishop of Cologne even to the length of deposition.

Whilst acceding to the latest wishes of the Emperor, Paul III had hopes that the latter would raise no objections to the plan which he had long been maturing of conferring upon Pier Luigi Farnese the fiefs of Parma and Piacenza. This matter had already been a subject of conversation during Cardinal Farnese's sojourn in Worms. Charles V would have preferred to see the above-named cities bestowed upon his son-in-law, Ottavio Farnese. But this did not suit the views of Pier Luigi; he himself must be the master of those fertile territories. It was represented to the Pope that Parma and Piacenza were in constant danger of being lost in war, and their only security was the government of a prince with undisputed authority. Still the Pope hesitated before taking the final step. Pier Luigi therefore sent to Rome his confidential secretary, Apollonio Filareto. The eloquent representations of this agent were at last successful, in the beginning of August, in allaying the lingering scruples of the Pope.

Nothing now remained but to win the consent of the Sacred College. This Cardinals Farnese and Gambara undertook to do, the latter having been from the beginning a warm partisan of Pier Luigi. Everything seemed to be settled, and on the 7th of August a final vote was to be taken in consistory. Then on the evening of the 6th, just as the Pope was retiring to rest, Andelot and Marquina appeared on the scene with the announcement that the Emperor gave his consent only to the investiture of Ottavio. When Paul III opposed his firm determination not to relinquish the cause of Pier Luigi, the representatives of Charles gave way to the length of assuring him that they would allow the case to proceed in silent acquiescence.

But in the College of Cardinals an objection sprang up. Here undoubtedly the ambitious Ottavio had cards to play. On the 12th of August the Pope in person brought the subject before the consistory. He pointed out that the two cities were far too responsible and far too costly a possession for the Holy See, he therefore conveyed them to Pier Luigi and his heirs as fiefs in return for a yearly tribute of 9000 ducats. Pier Luigi was in a position to uphold these cities and to give to the Holy See in compensation Camerino and Nepi, the latter places, on account of their situation, being much more important and profitable, so that in the end their acquisition would be a gain. The opponents were, naturally, not satisfied with such flimsy arguments; they wished to know whether the Pope, who was only the trustee of the Papal States, had any right to alienate portions of their territory. The opposition was so vehement that the Cardinals came to no conclusion. In a second consistory on the 19th of August the treasurer produced accounts which showed that the yearly net income of Parma and Piacenza only amounted to 7339 ducats, while those of Camerino and Nepi reached 10,375; besides, the fortification and garrisoning of Parma and Piacenza during the existing pontificate had amounted to over 200,000 ducats. But even these figures did not convince the opposition. The Pope in his financial estimates might not be altogether at fault, yet the fact stared them in the face that a small hill-town like Camerino and a place as paltry as Nepi could not be looked upon as more than an equivalent for such prosperous and wealthy cities as Parma and Piacenza. The jest that the Farnese intended to take a closet (Camerino) in exchange for two stately chambers was not unjustified.

The strongest opposition came from Cardinals Cupis and Juan Alvarez de Toledo, Archbishop of Burgos. Pisani, Carpi, and Sadoletto also spoke against the project, but submitted their opinion to the superior judgment of the Pope. Trivulzio, Armagnac, and Carafa were far away from the consistory, so that the final decision lay with only a small group in the Sacred College.

A Bull, antedated the 26th of August, decreed the incorporation of Camerino and Nepi into the States of the Church and the investiture of Pier Luigi with Parma and Piacenza, these cities

being erected into a Duchy. Ottavio was compensated for the loss of Camerino and Nepi by the Dukedom of Castro; the Prefecture of Rome fell to the lot of Orazio Farnese.

The scandalous unconcern with which Paul III indulged his nepotistic instincts on this occasion was shown by the fact that the famous Alessandro Cesati was ordered to strike a medal the obverse of which represented the naked Ganymede supported by the Olympian eagle in the act of watering the Farnese lily.

The new allocation of territory brought with it a change in the jurisdiction of the Papal States. A new Legation was formed comprising Camerino, Spoleto, Terni, Narni, and Rieti. This Umbrian Legation was bestowed on Cardinal Durante, while Assisi and Citta di Castello were transferred to the Legation of Perugia.

While the courtiers were heaping congratulations on the new Duke of Parma and Piacenza and throwing out hopes for the acquisition of Milan, the opposition were enraged at the success of Paul III in surmounting so many obstacles. In a letter of the 23rd of August 1545 to the Duke of Ferrara, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga gave expression to his bitter scorn of the "dear old man" who was about to raise the new Duke to the thrones of France and Spain, and indeed of the whole world. "To us scions of ancient princely houses, whose heritage was won by so much effort and is with such difficulty maintained, it seems strange indeed that so new a prince should spring up like a mushroom in the night." Carafa gave nobler expression to his deep repugnance to this latest act of nepotism to which Paul III had yielded, to the injury of the Church and the temporal power. On the day of the consistory, apparently with deliberate intention, he made a pilgrimage to the seven principal churches of Rome.

In the face of this arbitrary proceeding of the Pope's, the Emperor found his hands tied by a twofold knot. On the 27th of August his daughter Margaret had at last borne the longed-for offspring of her marriage with Ottavio Farnese. It did not therefore become Charles V to protest against a decree which opened up the prospect of a Duchy for his own grandson. But a still more decisive motive for silence lay in the plan of war against his Protestant subjects, towards which the Pope's help was indispensable. He therefore accepted the accomplished fact without expressing approval or the reverse. Nevertheless, the relations of the Pope and the Emperor continued for some time to come to be anything but satisfactory.

The Recess of the Diet of Worms of the 4th of August 1545, which entirely ignored Council and Pope and promised a religious conference, continued, in spite of the tranquillizing assurances of Andelot and Vega, to be as much as ever an object of mistrust and anxiety to the Papal party. There was, further, the difference of stand-point from which the question of the Council was regarded. This became apparent when Juan de Vega made excuses for the Recess to the Pope and at the same time requested that the Council should remain suspended throughout the whole of September, and that also subsequently, after the opening had taken place, no decisions on questions of faith should be declared, but that the transactions of the Council should be confined to disciplinary matters. Upon this Paul III turned the discussion to the question of the transference of the Council, which had for so long claimed attention. As the ambassadors announced that they had no powers to deal with this point, Girolamo Dandino, Bishop of Caserta, was sent as nuncio-extraordinary to the Emperor's court in order to obtain clear information as to Charles's intention in this respect as well as in regard to the war against the Protestants.

According to Dandino's instructions dated the 13th of September 1545, he was to propose to the Emperor in the name of Paul III that the Council should be no longer deferred, as Charles out of consideration for his plan of campaign desired, but opened at once, but in some place more

convenient for the bishops of all nations, as well as for the Pope and Emperor, than Trent with its numerous disadvantages. In opposing the reasons adduced in favour of a transference to Italy, the predominant consideration that weighed for Trent, its suitability for the Germans, was no longer taken into account, since the Protestants expressly declined to appear wherever the Council might be held and the German Catholics also stayed away on the plea that, owing to the existing state of disturbance, they could not desert their churches. If the nuncio saw any inclination on the Emperor's part he was as far as possible to secure his consent to the choice of a new place being left entirely to the Pope; but if Charles wished the Pope to make some specific suggestion, then Bologna was to be recommended.

Dandino, accompanied by Marquina, secretary to the Imperial ambassador Vega, reached the Emperor's court at Brussels on the 3rd of October. On the 4th he laid his instructions before the Emperor, who at once declared his objection to a transference, an objection which was renewed on the pursuance of the negotiations by the regent Figueroa and the Imperial secretary Idiaquez. On the 7th the nuncios Verallo and Dandino had another audience of the Emperor in which the latter went more thoroughly into his reasons for opposing the transference.³ On the 10th the Emperor handed to the nuncios the written reply to be communicated to the Pope. Therein he stated fully the grounds of his refusal, but on the other hand agreed to an immediate opening of the Council by the Pope, although he wished that at first there should be no discussion of the Protestant heresy. On the 19th Marquina, bearing the Emperor's reply to the Pope, reached Trent on his journey to Rome and handed to the Legates letters from Verallo and Dandino containing fuller information concerning the Emperor's position. On the same day the Legates wrote to Farnese and the Pope. They protested strongly against the Emperor's demand that the Council should deal only with reform and throw the questions of faith into the background, and proposed that the Pope should send an answer through the Bishop of Caserta to the effect that, since the Emperor was set against a transference of the Council, he would proceed to open the same forthwith at Trent, but with the freedom and in the order which were the prerogatives of that body.

After the arrival of the Imperial embassy in Rome it was decided provisionally in consistory on the 30th of October that the Council should be opened in any case before Christmas, the date to be determined in the next consistory. This took place on the 6th of November, when it was finally settled that the opening should be held on the Third Sunday in Advent, December the 13th; the prelates absent from Trent were to be recalled. When the news of the great achievement of the Schmalkaldic League in capturing Duke Henry of Brunswick reached Rome, many believed that the Council would be prorogued once more. But a letter of Cardinal Farnese of November the 21st informed the Legates that the Pope remained determined that the Synod should be opened on the 13th of December. On the 24th of November Farnese communicated the same to Poggio, and on the 26th to Verallo and Dandino. A brief of the 24th of November exhorted the King of Portugal to send his prelates. On the 27th of November Morone who, as Legate, was still in residence at Bologna, was recalled to Rome in anticipation of the approaching Council.

At the repeated request of the Legates a special Edict of Inauguration was sent to them in a brief dated the 4th of December 1545. After a congregation on the 7th of December of the Cardinal deputies for the affairs of the Council, Farnese sent the brief to Trent on the same day; it reached that city on the 11th. At the same time the Legates received a brief of the 5th of December which gave permission to the German bishops to be represented by procurators on account of the gravity of their position and notwithstanding the promulgation of the earlier decree; the execution of the brief lay, however, at the discretion of the Legates, who did not, however, publish it, but reserved it for use should emergencies arise.

A host of difficulties had now been overcome. All was ready for the opening of the Council on German soil and in the ancient episcopal city of Trent. The longing of many years, the event around which so many baffled hopes had centred, was on the point of realization.

CHAPTER XIX.

TRANSACTIONS AND DECREES OF THE FIVE FIRST SESSIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT (DECEMBER 1545 TO JUNE 1546).

On receiving the Papal brief giving orders for the opening of the Ecumenical Synod on the 13th of December the Legates immediately appointed fasts and processions for the 12th and proclaimed an indulgence for those who received the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion. Since the shortness of the time did not permit of the observance, in the usual manner, of three previous days of fasting and prayer, those who found it impossible to prepare for the reception of the Holy Eucharist until the Sunday could obtain the indulgence on the following Sunday as well as if they fasted on the foregoing Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday and then made their communion. On the 12th of December the procession of the Tridentine clergy took place; in the afternoon a congregation of the conciliar prelates was held at Cardinal Cervini's lodgings, at which Cardinal Monte delivered an address and read aloud the brief of December the 4th, whereupon a discussion ensued on his proposals for the solemnities of the opening and the orders for the day of the first session.

Paul III in a Bull of the 13th of December ordered universal intercessions and processions to invoke God's protection on the Council and promised a plenary indulgence to all who took part in these pious exercises or, in case of hindrance, fulfilled some equivalent duty, fasted on the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday of the week following the promulgation of the Bull, went to confession, and on Sunday received the Holy Eucharist. In Rome the intercessory processions were held on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of December.

On the 13th of December, the Third Sunday of Advent, the Council of Trent was solemnly opened. The Fathers assembled with the Legates in the Church of the Holy Trinity and thence proceeded in copes and mitres, accompanied by the clergy of the city, in solemn procession, singing the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, to the Cathedral, the choir of which had been fitted up as the council hall. Here the senior President of the Council, Cardinal del Monte, celebrated the solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost and published a plenary indulgence for those present. Bishop Cornelio Mussi of Bitonto then mounted the pulpit and preached a Latin sermon in which he gave his enthusiasm free course, not unmarked by faults of bad taste. After Cardinal del Monte had read the prayers prescribed in the *ceremoniale*, Bishop Tommaso Campeggio of Feltre read from the pulpit the Bull "Laetare Jerusalem" of the 19th of November 1544, and the Bull of the 22nd of February 1545 nominating the Cardinal-Legates.

After that Alfonso Zorilla, the secretary and theologian of the Imperial ambassador, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, presented a letter of apology from that diplomatist, who was detained in Venice by illness, and laid his mandate before the Council. Finally, Cardinal del Monte gave

another short address, declared the Council open with the assent of the Fathers, and appointed the 7th of January for the second solemn session; the ceremonies ended with the singing of the Te Deum. Present at the opening session besides the three Papal Legates, Cardinals del Monte, Cervini, and Pole, were Cardinal Madruzzo of Trent, four archbishops: Antoine Filheul of Aix, Olaus Magnus of Upsala, Pietro Tagliavia of Palermo, and Robert Wauchope of Armagh, one-and-twenty bishops, five generals of orders, and the ambassador of King Ferdinand. Of the bishops the most noted were Juan Pacheco of Jaen, soon afterwards made Cardinal, Braccio Martelli of Fiesole, Tommaso Campeggio of Feltre, and Giacomo Nachianti of Chioggia. Among the generals of orders were the Servite, Agostino Bonucci, and the learned Augustinian Hermit, Girolamo Seripando.

The theologians present at the first session included four secular priests from Spain; all the rest were regulars, namely, six Dominicans, among them Ambrogio Catarino and the famous Domenico Soto, ten Franciscan Observants, eight Franciscan Conventuals, five Augustinian Hermits, as many Carmelites, and four Servites. On the following day the Legates sent to Rome the announcement of the opening of the Council and applied for further instructions.

Three general congregations, occupied with the organization and procedure of the Council, formed a preparation for the second session. In the congregation of December the 18th the Legates laid seventeen articles before the Fathers dealing with the external order of the Council and to be submitted for discussion in the next congregation. The important question whether dogma or reform was to be discussed first in the Council was also brought before the Fathers in this first congregation and made the subject of debate. As differences of opinion manifested them-selves, a decision was for the time being postponed at the instance of Bishop Ferreri of Ivrea. In this congregation the Portuguese Dominican, Hieronymus ab Oleastro, as temporary ambassador of the King of Portugal, announced, in an address, the later arrival of orators from that monarch and presented his sovereign's letters of the 29th of July 1545 to the Council and the Pope, which were then read aloud.

At the command of the King of France the Archbishop of Aix and the Bishop of Agde laid before the Legates, first in the congregation of December the 18th and then in that of the 19th, their instructions that the Council should not enter upon its deliberations before the arrival of the French ambassadors and the rest of the French prelates. This ominous suggestion, designed to put a check on the business of the Council, was, after previous deliberation with the prelates, met, on the 20th of December, by a refusal couched in intentionally vague and general terms and handed in writing to the two French dignitaries. The Council, it said, would always show becoming consideration for the King of France, as far as God's honour and that of the Synod permitted; but his Majesty, knowing that the sessions of the Council admitted of no further delay, was requested to hasten the attendance of his repre-sentatives and bishops.

Since the discussion of the article presented on the 18th of December concerning the formal procedure of the Council led to no practical result, in a congregation on the 22nd of December a commission consisting of the three bishops, of Ivrea, Cava, and Feltre, and the Auditor of the Rota, Pighini, was formed to deal with the matter first of all with the Legates, and then to report to the general congregation. Although the above named declined to serve, the three bishops were re-elected in the next general congregation of the Council on the 29th of December for a term of three months. On December the 22nd the question of the right to vote belonging to abbots and generals of orders had been left undecided. At the two next general congregations, on the 29th of December 1545 and the 4th of January 1546, the subject came under discussion again. Opinions were widely divergent; some wished the voting to be vested exclusively in the bishops, others

wished the decision to be deferred until the Council were more largely attended. Cardinal del Monte carried the point that the right to vote of the generals of orders should be recognized. After long discussion, and likewise on the motion of del Monte, it was decided in the case of abbots that the three Benedictine abbots sent by the Pope should have one vote collectively, not as abbots but as representatives of their Order.

In the general congregation held on the 4th of January, the senior President, del Monte, informed the Fathers more fully of a letter of Farnese of the 31st of December, by which the Pope approved of what had been done and ordered the Legates to deal in the first instance with matters of faith; in so doing, however, only the doctrines and not the persons of heretics were to be condemned, a measure which aimed at conciliating the Protestants. Further, the brief of the 1st of January 1546 was read aloud, by which the Fathers in attendance at the Council were freed from contributions and permitted to draw upon their incomes. Later came up for recital and approval the decree appointed for publication in the second session, whereupon there arose, as was subsequently again repeated, a debate on the style and title of the Council. Several Fathers proposed in particular that to the title "Sacrosancta Tridentina Synodus" the clause used by earlier Councils "universalem ecclesiam repraesentans," should be added. This proposal met with special opposition from Cardinals del Monte and Madruzzo. The first showed that it was uncalled-for to imitate thereby the precedents of Constance and Basle; the latter pointed out that this magniloquent title would only irritate the Protestants. The majority were in favour of rejecting the additional clause. Finally, on the 4th of January, certain conciliar officials were elected, while some wished their nomination and appointment to proceed from the Pope, to which proposal some of the Fathers, zealous in their defence of the prerogatives of the Council, raised objection. Paul III. had at first looked to the humanist Marcantonio Flaminio to be secretary to the Council; as the latter declined, the post was given provisionally on the 4th of January to Angelo Massarelli, hitherto private secretary to Cardinal Cervini, until the Council, which claimed for itself the right of appointment, should come to a final decision. Since Luigi Priuli, who, it would appear, had been chosen by the Council in the beginning of February, did not take up the office, Massarelli continued to hold it, and was tacitly recognized as secretary.

On the Pope's nomination Achille de' Gyassi was appointed consistorial advocate; the post of abbreviator was given to Ugo Boncompagni, noted for his great knowledge of canon law.

On the 7th of January 1546 the second session of the Council was held in the Cathedral of Trent. It was opened by Bishop Juan Fonseca of Castellamare saying the Mass of the Holy Ghost and Bishop Coriolano Martirano of S. Marco preaching a sermon. After the usual prayers and ceremonies the secretary, Massarelli, read aloud an impressive exhortation from the Legates to the Fathers, composed by Cardinal Pole. In eloquent terms this document described the corruption of the Church and exhorted the Fathers to amendment and contrition of heart, whereby alone they could expect the descent of the Holy Spirit upon them. Especially urgent was the entreaty to expel all passions which can darken the reason, and never to lose sight of the sacred things of God by espousing the interests of the world. The Bishop of Castellamare then ascended the pulpit in order to read the Bull of April the 17th, 1545, forbidding Bishops to be represented at the Council by procurators, the brief of December the 4th at the opening of the Council, and lastly a decree on the blamelessness of life required of the Fathers. The last was approved unanimously; but the "placets" of nine Bishops were accompanied by protests against the omission in the title of the words "universalem ecclesiam repraesentans." Bishop du Prat of Clermont, on the other hand, made complaint that in the decree the name of the King of France was not expressly mentioned together with that of the Emperor. Besides the three Legates and the Cardinal of Trent there were present four archbishops, six-and-twenty bishops, three abbots, and five generals of orders.

In the interval between the second session and the third, appointed for the 4th of February, the position of the Legates towards the Pope and his Council had begun to be one of difficulty. General congregations were held on the 13th, 18th, 22nd, 26th, and 29th of January and on the 3rd of February. As in the first congregation, so in that of the 13th of January, the title of the Council gave rise to prolonged debate. The Legates, mindful of the opposition shown in the previous session, wished to bring the question to a final issue. They spoke against the addition “universalem ecclesiam repraesentans.” Cervini addressed the Fathers at great length, followed by Madruzzo and Pacheco, who in this session appeared for the first time with the insignia of a Cardinal; then the Bishop of Astorga spoke, and also finally the Augustinian Seripando.

The last-named succeeded in silencing the opposition. Seripando pointed out in particular that there was no question of excluding that designation for ever; it was only a postponement until a larger attendance of members and the passing of important decrees gave a semblance of propriety to so pretentious a title. The opposing Bishops declared that they would not be fully satisfied until it was agreed that in future the words “oecumenical” and “general” should be inserted in the Decree, expressions already made use of by the Pope in his Bull of Convocation.

These more formal controversies were trifling in comparison with the disputes occasioned by the very important question whether the Synod should begin with decisions on dogma or with disciplinary measures of reform. Paul III wished for the former, Charles V for the latter.

The primary consideration with the Emperor was the avoidance of offence to the Protestants, who would be embittered by the rejection of their new tenets at the outset of the Council; together with this he nourished a strong distrust of the Pope’s intentions with regard to reform. The latter started with the view that in accordance with ancient custom and the nature of the case, the safeguards of dogma, as the things of most importance, should first be settled. Paul III also looked upon it as preposterous that instead of appearing as the accuser he should, of his own free will, place himself in the position of the accused, in order that in the meantime the contumacious might go unpunished while he submitted himself, as if they were the judges, to their criticism. Finally, he was afraid that the immediate treatment of the reform question by the Bishops would lead to a repetition of the occurrences of Constance and Basle.

Weighty reasons could be adduced in favour of the Pope’s standpoint, above all the usage of the ancient councils. The Imperial ambassador Mendoza, himself an expert in canon law, acknowledged this. Besides, it was clear to everyone that not only the morals of the Catholics stood in need of improvement, but that the faith of Christendom, so violently attacked, demanded protection. Notwithstanding, when the Legates endeavoured to carry out the Pope’s wishes at Trent they met with passionate resistance. Already in the general congregation of the 18th of January 1546, and afterwards in that of the 22nd, the debates were long and violent. That reform should take the first place was urged especially by the Cardinal of Trent. The opposite standpoint was championed by Cardinal Pacheco and the Archbishop of Aix. The Bishop of Feltre, Tommaso Campeggio, brought forward on the 18th of January a proposal for a *via media*, that dogma and reform should be dealt with simultaneously. As the Legates saw no possibility of carrying a resolution in the sense of the Papal instructions, they fell in on January the 22nd with the proposal of the Bishop of Feltre, whose reputation stood very high. Although Madruzzo still continued his opposition, the Legates were successful in carrying through the compromise of the Bishop of Feltre which was to be published as a decree at the next Session.

Paul III, however, was in no way disposed to consent. On the 26th of January the Legates received a letter from Farnese dated the 21st and 22nd of January insisting on the Pope’s determination that the treatment of matters of faith should have priority. The Legates, therefore,

in order to gain time, put the question on the same day to the general congregation whether the date of the session might not be postponed, as the matters intended for publication then were not sufficiently advanced; no such decision, however, was reached. On the other hand, in the general congregation of the 26th an important resolution of another kind was carried. The negotiations as hitherto conducted had revealed the want of a settled order of business and of uniform guidance. Among the various proposals made in this respect, one at last which the Legates brought forward carried the day. It provided that the whole number of the Fathers should be divided into three separate classes, each of which should sit under the presidency and in the house of one of the three Legates, and prepare the agenda to be presented to the general congregation.

In the meantime the Legates were endeavouring, in repeated despatches to Rome, to justify the resolution of January the 22nd as unavoidable, and thereby to gain the Pope's approval. In the short period remaining before the day of the session, the 4th of February, they could not hope to obtain this. Moreover, on the 30th of January they received once more a letter from Farnese dated the 27th, according to which the Pope's intentions were inflexible. Consequently, after previous understanding with Cardinals Madruzzo and Pacheco on the same 2nd of February, when the three separated congregations met jointly for the first time, they brought forward the proposal that the decree appointing the simultaneous treatment of dogma and reform should not be published in the forthcoming session, nor for the present at all, but be reserved until the attendance at the Council had become more numerous. In the general congregation held on the following day it was resolved, in spite of the violent opposition of the Bishops of Badajoz and Astorga, that the decree should not be published at the session on the morrow, but be treated from henceforward as if it had been enacted. The Legates were now able to make this concession, since on the very evening of February the 2nd they had received a letter from Farnese dated the 30th of January according to which the Pope consented that the resolution of January the 22nd should not be withdrawn ; only, the Legates were to take heed that the treatment of matters of faith should still be considered of primary importance.

As nothing else had been prepared for the session, which nevertheless was now bound to be held, it was resolved to publish only two decrees, the first of which should declare the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed to be the common foundation of all Christian belief and the presupposition on which all future definitions of faith must depend; the second, out of regard for the prelates whose attendance at the Council was still expected, should fix the ensuing session for the Thursday following "Laetare" Sunday, which would fall on the 8th of April.

On the following day, the 4th of February 1546, in the third solemn session, at which the Archbishop, Pietro Tagliavia of Palermo, said Mass and the learned Dominican Ambrogio Catarino preached, these resolutions were accordingly passed. Only the Bishops of Fiesole, Capaccio, and Badajoz handed in written protestations against the omission of the phrase "ecclesiam universalem repraesentans," while the two latter also objected to the non-publication of the decree of the 22nd of January. Present at the session were the five Cardinals, six archbishops, six-and-twenty bishops, four generals of orders, and three abbots.

According to the resolution of the general congregation of January the 22nd, letters in the name of the Council were to be addressed to the Pope, the Emperor, and the Christian princes thanking them for the goodwill hitherto manifested by them, and praying them to send a greater number of prelates. When these documents came up for recitation in the general congregation of the 29th of January, strong differences of opinion were revealed; in particular, a dispute arose over the precedence of the King of France or of the King of the Romans at the reading aloud of the

letters in the session. As no agreement was reached, the reading of the letters and their approbation in the session was deferred, and also their despatch.

After the business under preparation had been settled and the order of procedure laid down in essentials, the Council after the third session entered upon its active labours, and accomplished in the course of a year, up to the transference to Bologna, a considerable portion of its task, although the external condition of affairs was little favourable to the progress of a work undertaken in the greatest seriousness and with much enthusiasm.

The only German bishop present at the beginning of the Council, Michael Holding, Bishop of Sidon and auxiliary Bishop of Mainz, had, in obedience to a summons from the Emperor to the Colloquy at Ratisbon, been obliged to leave before Christmas, and was only able to attend the second session, leaving Trent immediately, on the following day, the 8th of January. Germany since then had only been represented by the procurators of Cardinal Otto von Truchsess of Augsburg. German bishops were not to be expected for a while owing to the disturbed state of the Empire and the Emperor's attitude. By the end of January and in the course of February various disquieting rumours were already current in Trent with regard to the intentions of the Protestants. On the 29th of January Massarelli recorded that he had heard from Cardinal Madruzzo that the Protestants had offered to recover Piedmont from France for the Emperor if the latter would renounce his alliance with the Pope and withdraw his support from the Council. On the 23rd of February Madruzzo again affirmed on reliable sources of information that a deputation of German Protestants was shortly to be expected at Trent to assert the illegality of the Council. Luther's death, which took place on the 18th of February 1546, did not alter the hostile attitude of his followers towards the General Synod; Melanchthon, on the contrary, now issued at the bidding of the Elector of Saxony a work in opposition to the Council; and soon afterwards two long pamphlets were printed by the Protestants, containing a rejection of the Council.

From the side of the Imperial policy, the Council, after its opening on the 13th of December, contrary to the hopes of the court, met at first only with restrictions, since the plans of Charles V as then existent were not in favour of the undisturbed progress of the dogmatic labours of the Fathers. The Emperor, already resolved to meet the Protestants, if necessity demanded, on the field of battle, wished first of all to make one more attempt at reconciliation by means of a religious conference to be held during the Diet appointed to meet at Ratisbon. To meet the justifiable offence caused by the resumption of such religious conferences after the Council had been opened, Charles, before his departure for Ratisbon, gave the nuncio Verallo a general assurance that affairs would be conducted there in such a manner as to give the Pope satisfaction. The religious colloquy was only a mask. The Emperor, however, expressed a wish that the Council might for a while suspend its labours in order to avoid irritation of the Protestants. The religious discussions at Ratisbon, opened on the 27th of January but actually begun on February the 5th, were just as ineffectual and resultless as all their predecessors, and ended in the departure of the Protestant disputants from the city on the 20th and 21st of March without having even waited for the Emperor's arrival.

About this time the Cardinal of Trent in a confidential conversation with Massarelli spoke of the danger of a transference of the Council to Germany, while the adoption of an Italian city would never meet with the consent of the Emperor and the Germans.

At last, on the 15th of March, the Imperial orator Francisco de Toledo also reached Trent. He was intended temporarily to replace Mendoza, who was ill, and afterwards, if it was necessary, to be joint representative with him of the Emperor at the Council. Francisco de Toledo paid his visit to the Legates on the 18th of March, and then, on Madruzzo's advice, went at once to Padua

in order to confer personally with Mendoza and to come to a closer understanding. After his return he attended for the first time, on the 5th of April, a general congregation, and there presented his mandate; in the next general congregation, on the 7th of April, he received the written reply of the Council. In the solemn session held on the following day all these documents were read aloud. From that time forward the intrusion of the Imperial policy into the procedure of the Council was carried on by the ambassadors with far greater want of consideration than had been shown hitherto by the Cardinal of Trent; for Charles V, in view of his attitude towards the Protestants, was seeking at any price to avoid the discussion of dogmatic questions. On the 25th of May, Mendoza also at last arrived in Trent.

The Council in the meanwhile had applied itself to a subject which the Legates had brought forward in the general congregation of February the 8th: the establishment of the Canon of Holy Scripture as the foundation and bulwark of the defence of Church doctrine. Here clear definition was all the more necessary as the Reformers appealed in the first instance to the Bible, certain portions, however, of which they rejected. The question therefore had to be examined, whether all the books of the Old and New Testaments in common use were to be regarded as parts of Holy Scripture; and also a point of no less importance, what respect was due together with the written word to that ecclesiastical tradition which the Protestants had entirely discarded.

One only among the Fathers of the Council, Nachianti, Bishop of Chioggia, a man of Protestant tendencies, was of opinion that tradition should be disregarded, since in the gospels all was written down that was necessary to salvation and the Christian life. This view, however, was rejected and refuted by appeal to Holy Scripture and the ancient Fathers. On the establishment of the Canon of Holy Scripture animated debates from time to time arose.

After long discussion in the general congregations of the 12th, 15th, and 26th of February, the 5th, 17th, and 27th of March, the 1st, 3rd, 5th, and 7th of April, and in the particular congregations preceding them, which were accompanied by meetings of the theologians, the two decrees were at last agreed to which were published in the solemn session of the 8th of April 1546. The first dogmatic decree, "Of the Canonical Scriptures" (de canonicis Scripturis), declares not only the Old and New Testaments, but also apostolic tradition, to be the sources of the Church's doctrine, and sets forth the Canon of the Bible. The discussions on the misuses which had become current with regard to editions and translations of the Holy Scriptures, as well as with regard to their interpretation and use, led to the second decree of the fourth session, "Of the editing and use of the Sacred Books". Here it was in the first place declared that the ancient Latin version, preserved for so many centuries by the usage of the Church under the name of the "Vulgata," was in public recitals, disputations, sermons, and expositions to be held to be authentic, and no one was to dare, under any pretext whatever, to reject it. This, as had been set forth in the preceding discussions, did not assert that the language or form of the Vulgate was incapable of improvement, but only that in matters of faith and morals it contained no errors. In the same province of teaching it was enacted that all interpretations of Holy Scripture were forbidden which did not adhere to the sense held by the Holy Catholic Church, or disagreed with the clear consensus of the Fathers. Further, the decree prescribed the greatest care and accuracy in the future issue of editions of the Bible, and ordained that for the future no books on religious

Besides these two decrees of the 8th of April, it had been intended to publish a third in the same session on a resolution of the general congregation held on the previous day. This was to contain an indictment "in contumaciam" against the bishops who still abstained from attending the Council. But before the proceedings began, the Legates were induced by the ambassadors of Charles V, supported by the two Imperialist Cardinals, to drop the publication for the present; it

was represented that Charles V and other princes would take offence, whereupon the majority declared themselves in favour of postponement. At this session the Archbishop of Sassari sang the High Mass, and the Servite General, Agostino Bonuccio, preached, while the prelates in session were the five Cardinals, eight archbishops, forty-one bishops, four generals of orders, and three abbots. The time between the third and fourth sessions was occupied with the transactions of the Legates with the Pope over an important matter of ecclesiastical reform.

After Paul III had given his consent to the resolution of the 22nd of January 1546 that the Council should treat questions of reform and dogma concurrently, the Bull "Superni dispositione," probably drawn up in January 1542 but not published, was again produced, with fresh suggestions for revision, and conveyed to the Legates for their opinion on the 17th of February 1546. By this document the jurisdiction of the bishops in their dioceses was to be extended as against the limits imposed by the Roman Curia, and some of the most crying abuses done away. In their answer of the 7th of March the Legates pointed out the necessity that, in this matter, the Pope's ruling should not be one-sided, but be preceded by consultation in the Council. At the same time, in their letter to Cardinal Farnese they expressed themselves without reserve on the general expectation and demand for reforms, and showed that the programme contained in the Bull under consideration was quite inadequate. Paul III. was in no way displeased with their candour, and sent answers through his secretary Maffei and Cardinal Farnese on the 13th and 23rd of March 1546, consenting to the submittal of the question of reform to the Council, while reserving to himself a certain amount of co-operation by reconstructing the Bull in conformity with their observations.

In a letter of acknowledgment dated the 10th of April 1546 the Legates again unfolded with much detail their reasons for insisting that the labours of reform should be a joint burden to be borne by the Council in combination with the Pope.

They first laid stress on the necessity of reform of the Dataria, which must begin with deeds and not with the issue of Bulls. But besides the reform of this tribunal, that of the Consistory was also absolutely imperative. The primary consideration must be to bestow bishoprics with proper caution and sense of responsibility, and in places where the appointment lay in the hands of princes to accept such persons only as possessed the proper qualifications in age, worthiness, and learning, and were able and willing to reside in their sees. The appointment to a plurality of bishoprics must, even in the case of Cardinals, be entirely abolished.

The reform of the episcopate, the Legates continued, consists mainly in the enforcement of the duty of residence; with regard to the regular clergy, the presence of Generals of Orders at the Council permits of the necessary settlement being reached; as to the secular power, the canonical penalties against the transgressors of ecclesiastical jurisdiction must be renewed, and with an increase of severity. As far as the rights of the Apostolic See are concerned, all depends upon the just dealing of the Pope. The grievances of the bishops are specially directed against pensions, tenths, the ordination of unworthy priests, the exemptions granted to protonotaries and other privileged persons, against the absolutions of the Penitentiaria, and above all against the bestowal of benefices carrying with them a cure of souls on unfit recipients, who are non-resident and pluralists. The Dataria must be inflexible in filling up vacancies only with men of competent learning and approved piety, who have the inclination and the sense of duty to discharge their functions in person. For the training of a good body of clergy the Legates advised the encouragement of seminaries, and with justifiable severity they finally denounced the monstrous abuses of the so-called reversions.

In a letter to Farnese of the 15th of April the Legates, with a thorough recapitulation of the state of things, asked what matters were now first to be taken in hand. Farnese's answer of the

24th of April expressed the Pope's full approval of the Legatine programme of reform, but insisted that their labours in this direction should not retard the progress of their dogmatic decisions, and that the Council should not pass resolutions without the Pope's consent, just as he wished to carry out the measures of reform immediately and directly affecting himself, only in agreement with the Synod.

The approbation of the decrees published at the fourth session of the Council by Paul III gave rise to difficulties which were only removed after long negotiation. Not only the commission of theologians appointed by the Pope to consider the decrees, but also the College of Cardinals, expressed unfavourable criticism of the proposition that the Vulgate, without previous revision or improvement, simply as it stood, was to be declared authentic. It was only after repeated and elaborate justification of the decrees on the part of the Legates that the approbation of the Pope was obtained.

After the fourth session the Council in the general congregation of the 15th of April was occupied with the still unsettled questions of reform which were now to form the subject of discussion in the fifth. The Easter season offered a moment of respite. Then in the general congregations of the 10th, 18th, 20th, and 21st of May the work proceeded. There was a discussion on the erection of chairs of exegesis of Holy Scripture and the art of preaching. In dealing with the highly necessary reform of the pulpit, particular attention was directed to the limitation of the privileges of the monks. The debates on this point were occasionally very heated; as usual, Bishop Martelli of Fiesole gave way to uncurbed violence of language. He was met by the Dominican, Caselli, Bishop of Bertinoro, who in other ways also was at great pains to refute all the grounds of objection brought against the religious orders. A great impression was made by a speech from the General of the Augustinian Hermits, Seripando, who in very calm and effective words balanced the reasons for the exercise of the preacher's office by the bishops or the regular clergy. Seripando showed clearly that under existing circumstances the bishops and parish priests could not meet the exigencies of preaching in a diocese. After thus proving the necessity of calling in the regulars as auxiliaries, he went on to show how unreasonable it was that even in their own churches they should be entirely dependent on the bishops. The bishops' duty of residence was also treated in the general congregation of the 10th of May, and again on the 9th and 10th of June. The decision on this difficult question was, however, postponed to a later date.

The Imperial ambassador, Toledo, supported by Cardinal Madruzzo and the other prelates of the Emperor's party, did all he could to prevent dogmatic questions also being prepared for the next session. To this wish of the Emperor the Legates opposed the, for them, more authoritative wish of the Pope. They wrote in any case to Rome for powers to enable them to suspend the Council rather than to be forced to yield to the Emperor's attacks on its freedom. After they had once more received, through a letter of Farnese of May the 13th, the intimation that they were to pay no regard to the Emperor's objections, they laid before the general congregation of May the 24th the article on original sin as the subject of discussion for the dogmatic decree of the forthcoming session. This important topic occupied the general congregation on the 28th and 31st of May, the 4th, 5th, 8th, 9th, and 14th of June; on the 16th of June the decree was drawn up. It contained a thorough and lucid definition, in opposition to the vacillating doctrines of the Protestants, of the nature of original sin, of its propagation, of its consequences, and its remission in baptism.

The Immaculate Conception of Mary was also the subject of deliberations of the most profound and weighty character. Cardinal Pacheco had already proposed the de-finition on the 28th of May. The newly arrived theologians of the Pope, Laynez and Salmeron of the Society of

Jesus, maintained the same view with ardour, and were supported by no inconsiderable number of the Fathers. The opposition came chiefly from the Dominicans. They were so strong that Pacheco on the 8th and 14th of June moved that the decree should only contain the words, “The Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God is a pious opinion.” But even on this point Pacheco was not successful; the majority were against any immediate decision on the question.

The Synod at the end of the decree only declared that it was not their intention to include in this decree on Original Sin the blessed and immaculate Virgin Mary and Mother of God. The terms of the ordinances of Sixtus IV on this question were adhered to.

The decree on Original Sin was published on the 17th of June 1546 in the fifth public session. This was attended by the three Cardinal Legates and Cardinal Pacheco, nine archbishops, forty-eight bishops, two mitred Benedictine abbots, three generals of orders, many theologians, and the Imperial ambassadors. The solemn High Mass was sung by Bishop Alessandro Piccolomini of Piacenza, while the Dominican, Marco Laureo, preached. The final passing of the dogmatic decree raised once more objections from Cardinal Pacheco and a certain number of other bishops on account of the omission of an express clause on the Immaculate Conception of Mary.

After this dogmatic decree came another for publication of a sound reforming character. It dealt with the Holy Scriptures, instituted expert instruction in the same, and regulated preaching. Among particular enactments was one ordering that in cathedral churches, where foundations already existed for lectures on theology and Holy Scripture, the bishops must provide that those who drew the salaries also carried out the obligations. In other churches where no such foundations existed, vacant livings should be given to learned men, or a common contribution be levied to endow suitable lectureships on the Holy Scriptures. Nor should similar instruction be lacking in convents, and princes ought to be exhorted to supply such lectureships to universities where they were still lacking. But in order that, under the show of godliness, godlessness might not be sown, no one should be permitted to exercise such functions privately or publicly who had not been examined first by the Bishop as to his manner of life, his opinions, and his knowledge, and been found approved.

With regard to preaching, it was ordered that bishops, archbishops, primates, and all other prelates of the Church should be bound in duty themselves to preach the gospel, and in case of hindrance to find suitable persons to take their place; that parish priests should at least on all Sundays and feast days, either in person or through fitting substitutes, teach those things the knowledge of which is necessary to salvation, whereby in short and intelligible words they may point out the faults which men ought to shun, and the virtues after which they should strive. The regular clergy, even in the churches of their order, are forbidden to preach before they have received from their superior a certificate of character and learning and a permission from the bishop; preachers who disseminate errors or cause scandal must be forbidden the pulpit by their bishops, and if they have been teachers of heresy be dealt with according to the customs of the locality; the bishop, however, should be careful that no preacher is molested on false charges or otherwise given cause for just complaint. Regulars who are not enclosed and secular priests who have not undergone sufficient examination must not under any pretext receive episcopal permission to preach until they have made application to the Holy See. The collectors of alms or *questuaries* shall never preach themselves or get others to preach for them.

At the request of the Archbishop of Sassari, the brief of June the 7th to the Legates, in which the Pope confirmed the decrees of reform, was then read aloud. Finally, the Promotor of the Council, Severoli, raised the charge “in contumaciam” against the still absent prelates. The

proposed opening of the case against them was, however, deferred, since in the voting opinions were much divided as to which bishops should incur liability. Pacheco claimed immunity for the Germans; others wished to restrict the proceedings solely to those who were in Italy, or only in Rome, without making their appearance in Trent.

On the very day before the session a courier reached Trent from Ratisbon who brought to the Legates the Emperor's pressing entreaties that they should omit dogmatic decisions in the forthcoming session, out of consideration for his policy towards the Protestants. It was obviously no longer possible to give effect to this wish.

The sixth session had been fixed for the 29th of July. In the general congregation on the 21st of June the Legates decided that the agenda for the session should comprise the dogmatic decree on justification and the measures of reform relating to episcopal residence and its hindrances.

The Pope and the commission appointed for the Council were here entirely at one. The Legates were all the more in earnest as they held that on the article on justification all other dogmas depended, just as all other reform legislation depended more or less on the enforcement of episcopal residence. In order to give support to the discussion of these two important points the Pope deputed a band of distinguished theologians. The envoy of the republic of Lucca affirmed with satisfaction that the fifth session had been held with the participation of nearly seventy voting members, so that opponents could now no longer point the finger of criticism at the slender number of those who attended the Synod. Spirits rose still higher when on the 26th of June the ambassadors of France at last made their entry into Trent. They were Claude d'Urfe, Jacques de Lignières, and Pierre Danes. Their letters as plenipotentiaries were to be presented at the general congregation on the 30th. It seemed as if on this occasion the conflicting claims of the French and the representative of Ferdinand I might lead to an unseemly quarrel over precedence. The wisdom of the Legates, however, found a way of escape which satisfied both parties. In consequence the Imperial ambassador, Mendoza, attended in person the solemn reception of the French envoys. In his oration Danes called to mind, yet in moderate terms, the services rendered by the French Kings to the Church, in order afterwards to lay special emphasis on the fact that Francis I had always kept his kingdom pure from any stain of error. The most important passage in his speech was the exhortation to the Fathers to restore unity to Christendom on the firm basis of dogma, and thence to proceed to a thorough reform of ecclesiastical evils. In the execution of this programme King Francis would array all his power on their side.

The appearance of the French ambassadors and their declarations encouraged the hope that the Synod would soon be more amply constituted by the arrival of the French bishops. Meanwhile the Fathers threw all their energy into the settlement of the doctrine of justification, which, as yet, had hardly ever come within the scope of Conciliar treatment. They hoped in deep earnest that this subject, which struck at the capital doctrines of the Protestants, would be mastered in time for the sixth session, appointed to meet on the 29th of July.

While thus everything warranted the prosperous continuation of the labours of the Council, suddenly unforeseen difficulties arose which threatened even to cut short its days. The long-impending war between Charles V and the Protestant Estates had broken out, and the Emperor and the Council were links in a closely forged chain.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PAPAL-IMPERIAL LEAGUE OF JUNE 1546.—THE SCHMALKALDIC WAR.

With ever growing success the political and military organisation of the Protestant Estates known as the Schmalkaldic League continued their efforts to weaken the Imperial authority in accordance with the principle, “Cujus regio ejus religio,” to set up within their own boundaries the supremacy of religious absolutism, and to establish an order of things which should leave no room for the ecclesiastical princes, especially those who still clung to the belief and discipline of the Catholic Church.

The Emperor had laboured in vain to bring the ecclesiastical troubles to an end by means of a peaceable settlement and to appease the Confederates of Schmalkald by far-reaching concessions. Every new success only emboldened the latter to make fresh encroachments. Now, as before, they were suitors for foreign help; now, as before, their proceedings within the limits of the Empire bore everywhere the stamp of the negation of that Empire’s laws.

If the existing system of the law was not to founder utterly, the aggressions of the Protestant Estates would have to be met by force of arms. Even the Emperor convinced himself of this at last. According to his own memoirs, the thought of encountering the Protestant Estates of the Empire on the field first came to Charles V after his successful overthrow of the Duke of Cleves in the summer of 1543. At first the time was not fully ripe; some fresh provocations must yet be given. The strongest was undoubtedly the stubborn refusal of the Protestant Estates to attend the Council summoned by the Pope, because it was neither general nor free, nor even Christian.

In the meantime the peace with France had entirely altered the political situation, and created the possibility of giving a decisive turn to affairs in Germany by an appeal to the sword. The protestantizing Estates were not blind to the danger which they thus incurred. Nevertheless, with the temerity of previous successes, they demanded of the Emperor impracticable terms: either security against the decrees of the Council by a recognition under the laws of the Empire of a territorial ecclesiastical system, or a council without the Pope, which was identical with the subversion of the whole ecclesiastical constitution then existing.

At the time of the Diet of Worms, when the Protestant policy of entire disavowal of the “papistical council” at Trent was made manifest, the plan of Charles V. to apply force had already assumed so definite a shape that he proposed to Cardinal Farnese in May 1545, an offensive alliance with the Pope against the Protestant Estates. The Cardinal hastened joyfully to Rome, where the Pope at once entered into the scheme and ordered preparations for war to be begun at

once. But it soon became evident that the Emperor, fully apprised of the greatness and difficulty of the undertaking, had made up his mind to defer hostilities until the following year.

The Pope consented, and, in conformity with the Emperor's wishes, took advantage of Andelot's presence to have a draft drawn up of the articles of the Papal-Imperial League for the overthrow of the protesting Estates. To the terms of this proposal, however, the Imperialists had many objections. They disliked, to begin with, the wording of the preamble that the use of force appeared necessary to Charles V, since in consequence of the determined refusal of the Protestants no more hopes could be entertained of the removal of the religious troubles by the Council. They also took exception to the clause stating that the Emperor ought not, without the express sanction of Paul III, to enter into any negotiations with the Protestants. They also demurred to the subsidy being restricted to 200,000 ducats, and the payment of the auxiliaries to a period not longer than four months. As the nuncios Dandino and Verallo did not feel authorized in introducing alterations of such importance into the document, Marquina, who had come to Rome in October 1545 on the matter of the Council, undertook to negotiate with the Pope concerning the objections to the draft treaty and other wishes of the Emperor as well, bearing on the taxes to be levied on the Spanish ecclesiastical funds.

The political situation was further improved for the Emperor by the armistice concluded with the Turks in November 1545 by Ferdinand I. Not less favourable was the continuance of war between France and England, which deprived the Schmalkaldians of any hope of support from either of those powers. But in the Empire itself affairs were undergoing a development which almost forced the Emperor to take decisive steps against the Protestant Estates.

The latter were always usurping new positions. In August 1545, Duke Augustus of Saxony appointed a Protestant "bishop" in Merseburg in October, Sebastian von Heusenstamm was chosen, through the intrigues of Philip of Hesse and contrary to the wishes of the Emperor and the Pope, to succeed Albert of Brandenburg in Mainz, where the Protestant party promised themselves that he would follow the example set by the Archbishop of Cologne, Hermann von Wied. The latter, when Paul III took action against him, had appealed, on the 9th of July 1545, to a free Christian council to be held in Germany or to a Diet, and gave in his adhesion to the Schmalkaldic League.

The affairs of Cologne caused anxiety to the Emperor, not merely because by the introduction of Protestantism on the Rhine his possessions in the Netherlands were seriously threatened, but because of other reasons beyond that. As the secession of the Elector Palatine Frederick to the new religion was to be expected, the Protestants, in the event of Hermann von Wied holding his own, would have a majority in the Electoral College. If the Catholic Church in Germany collapsed, the fall of the Roman-German Empire would follow.

Charles V was fully conscious of the gravity of the situation. In his memoirs he summed up his feelings at the time in the words: "Come what will, I am determined, dead or alive, to remain Emperor in Germany."

Although Charles did not conceal from himself the greatness and difficulties of his enterprise, he did nothing precipitately. To the Pope he showed himself determined to have the form of the treaty altered. The negotiations over this were protracted, but when Marquina left Rome at last on the 13th of December 1545 he had gained weighty advantages for his master. On December the 27th he presented to the Emperor at Bois-le-Duc the answer of Paul III, containing important concessions. The preamble of the treaty was entirely altered; it now ran that the Emperor and Pope allied themselves in support of the Council. A larger subsidy than 200,000

ducats Paul III refused, but, on the other hand, he consented to extend the payment of the auxiliaries over another two months, making a total of six months. Further, he declared his readiness to help the Emperor should he be attacked unjustly by any other prince—France was meant,—not only during the war against the Protestant Estates, but also for six months after its termination. The article which made it impossible for Charles V to enter into pacific negotiations with the Protestants before the outbreak of war seems to have been allowed to drop out of sight at Rome. On the other hand, Paul III insisted that while war continued, the Emperor, without the express consent of the Holy See, should be debarred from making any agreement with the Protestants, so far as the object of the war was concerned, and in particular any compromise on matters of religion.

If not all, yet the essential wishes of the Emperor were thus satisfied. It was therefore to be expected that the signature of the treaty thus amended would now take place, but instead of this, the decisive moment was again put off. At the Imperial court various tendencies were at work. The Emperor's confessor, Pedro Soto, was for war, and composed a report, exposing with great acumen the weak side of the Schmalkaldic League, in order to remove the Emperor's fears. To the confessor Granvelle stood opposed, and Charles, who on the whole liked to put things off, deferred his decision and declared he would not settle the treaty before he got to Ratisbon. He hoped not merely to obtain still further alterations in the agreement, but also was afraid lest in the event of a final determination the Protestants should get to know beforehand of the blow that was being aimed at them, and thus be able to take counter-measures the more easily.

Besides deceiving the enemy, it was of the first importance for the success of the undertaking that alliances should be won and the right time chosen for delivering the first blow. With admirable circumspection the Emperor bent his mind on creating a political situation favourable to the approaching war. If even in this respect he achieved successes which were of no mean value, yet from time to time he was visited by grave doubts as to the possibility of carrying through an enterprise on the success of which his all was staked. The indecision with which in February and March 1546 he still continued to express himself with regard to his military plans justifies the conclusion that if a means had offered itself of attaining his end without having recourse to war, in no case would he have thrust that instrument aside.

In the first place, Charles V on the 27th of January 1546, allowed the religious conference, already promised in the Recess of Worms for the 30th of November 1545, to begin at Ratisbon. It must be assumed that he wished thereby to gain time and also to make an impression on the Pope, since he can hardly have reckoned on any sort of success. The prospects of a friendly agreement were more unfavourable than ever. It was not merely that since the last attempt of this kind, made five years before, the feeling on both sides had altered, essentially, and that all hope had departed of ever attaining anything by means of such conferences, but the position of the Catholics was one of the utmost difficulty since the sessions of the Council of Trent had begun. From nearly all the Catholic princes the Emperor had received refusals. The staunch Catholics were more than ever disinclined for conferences on religion, since the total failure in 1541 of the colloquy at Ratisbon arranged by the representatives of the middle party in conjunction with the Emperor. In these strict circles the opinion had been reached, not incorrectly, that in such conferences the Protestants had always come off as the winning side. Even from the side of the disputants themselves difficulties were in store for the Emperor. Julius Pflug, in whom Charles placed special confidence, and to whom, for that reason, he had offered the place of President, declined on grounds of weak health. Even the Bishop of Eichstatt, Moritz von Hutten, who thereupon consented to fill the post, declared that he was only there in order to attend to the external order of the conference, but not to express his opinions on matters of faith. The Catholic

theologians, the Spanish Dominican Malvenda, Eberhard Billick, the Provincial of the Augustinians, Johann Hoffmeister, and Cochlaus, who obeyed the Emperor's summons, addressed letters to friendly curialists begging them to prevent the Pope from attaching an unfavourable meaning to their conduct.

The Protestants, on their side, were much divided as to the attitude that should be taken towards the conference. To the strict Lutherans organizations of this sort seemed to be equally preposterous and superfluous. From their point of view the old believers had nothing else to do but simply to accept the new "Evangelium" proclaimed by Luther. This was approximately the opinion of the Saxon Elector and his theologians. The Landgrave of Hesse, having a diplomatic turn of mind, thought otherwise. Constantly under the influence of the slippery Bucer, he was again once more in favour of a certain amount of compliancy.

The opening of the Council of Trent threw the Protestantizers into no small perplexity. They had to choose now between participation in the Council or in the new conference on religion; they decided for the latter as being in their opinion the lesser evil of the two. Consequently, on the 17th of September the Elector of Saxony came to an agreement with the Landgrave that Melanchthon, Bucer, Schnepf, and Brenz should be spokesmen; the Elector nevertheless was indisposed towards the conference. He and his theologians were fully determined to prevent any agreement being reached at Ratisbon. At a later date Melanchthon's place was taken by Major.

The conference opened on the 27th of January 1546, and there at once arose an unpleasant wrangle over matters of form. The actual proceedings began on the 5th of February with a speech from Malvenda which raised a protest from the opposite side. By order of the Emperor the fourth article of the Confession of Augsburg, on justification, was to be discussed first at the conference. Malvenda unfolded the Catholic view; Bucer replied to him from the 6th to the 11th of February. From the 12th to the 17th Billick spoke; he was opposed on the two following days by the Protestant theologians. From the 19th to the 22nd the debates were carried on "without notes or memoranda."

The speeches of the Catholic delegates, with whom on this occasion no representative of the middle party was present, breathed a very different spirit from those of five years ago. The semi-Lutheran doctrine of justification, then supported by Gropper, was now energetically rejected; the spirit of the Catholic revival was distinctly perceptible. The Protestant theologians had great difficulty in establishing Luther's doctrine of justification and in adducing as proofs on their side such Bible texts as the Catholic theologians had used on theirs. Not even an approximation, far less an accord, was reached between them. It was clearly recognized that this was not, as had been asserted at the conference in 1541, a mere logomachy, the misunderstandings of which might be cleared away with ease, but a controversy involving two conceptions of the most important doctrine of Christianity, which at the innermost core were diverse and irreconcilable. It was not, however, this consciousness of the fact which was decisive for the further course of the debate, but the publication on the 26th of February of an Imperial edict binding the disputants on oath to observe secrecy as to their transactions, in order to put a stop to unjustified attempts at interference from without. This reasonable and well-meant ordinance was welcomed by the Protestant party as an opportunity for recalling their representatives and thus bringing the conference to an end. On the 20th of March the Saxons departed after handing in a protestation. In spite of the most imploring entreaties on the part of the Presidents, the remainder of the party followed, appealing to the commands of their rulers. Even the gentle Pflug wrote at the time to Gropper that the repulsive and odious behaviour of the Protestants had nullified the

conference, although the Emperor called it together at the urgent request of the opponents themselves.

At the same time the Protestants had published two long memoirs in which they rejected the Tridentine Council and therefore demanded a free council, open to all Christians in common and without party, in a German city, to which the Emperor should summon not only the clergy but also the laity. These declarations were peculiarly fitted to dispel any illusions as to the absolutely negative attitude of the Protestants towards the Council of Trent. The Landgrave Philip expressed himself in the same sense in an interview which he had at Spires at the end of March with the Emperor. When Philip also met the Emperor's request that he should attend the forthcoming Diet with a qualified promise, this certainly was not likely to allay the Emperor's displeasure at the Landgrave's behaviour.

Charles thereupon made haste to reach Ratisbon, arriving there on the 10th of April 1546. His experience at the Diet there, as well as the outcome of the religious conference, could not but confirm him in his opinion that all pacific negotiations were in vain, and that nothing now remained but the appeal to arms.

In Rome the Emperor's conduct had been watched with strained attention. He was as much as ever an object of distrust and suspected of playing a double game. The feeling in curial circles is described in a letter from Bishop Giovio to Duke Cosimo of Florence of the 18th of February 1546. "Never," he says, "will the Emperor's sword be drawn in reality against the Lutherans; such an undertaking would be too perilous and unbecoming his sagacity. Charles will so comport himself at Ratisbon as to win over the Protestants and secure their friendship in order to make use of them in his schemes against France."

The Imperial ambassador Vega believed for his part that the Pope at heart was opposed to the wars against the Protestants. Paul III, he advised, should be taken on his weakest side and gained by hopes of the aggrandizement of the Farnesi.

Marquina reached Rome again on the 23rd of February 1546. His instructions were that the Emperor agreed to the conditions imposed by the Pope, but was not yet ready to ratify the treaty. This fresh delay must, together with renewed attempts at friendly negotiations with the Protestants, have disquieted the Pope intensely. Paul III's irritation at Charles was heightened still more by the want of consideration for his wishes and interests shown by the Imperialists in other matters. Quite apart from the interminable disputes over Spanish prize claims and Neapolitan tenths, there was a catalogue of grievances of other sorts: there was the Pragmatic question, the Emperor's demand that the Colonna should be reinstated, his attitude towards the matrimonial projects which were being forged for Vittoria Farnese, Pier Luigi's daughter; lastly, the question of the suzerainty over Parma and Piacenza. A statement made by Granvelle in April to Buoncambi, Pier Luigi's agent, left no doubt that Charles held steadfastly to his Imperial rights over both these cities.

For a long time the relations between Pope and Emperor were materially influenced by the violent disputes into which Paul III was drawn with his old opponent Cosimo de' Medici.

The hostility of Cosimo to the Pope of the house of Farnese, whose intercourse with the Florentine exiles seemed suspicious, was constantly fanned into flame by Cardinal Accolti, who was resident in Florence, and against whom Paul III had sworn vengeance. This dangerous man busied himself with the most perverse schemes. In the summer of 1542, when the relations between Pope and Emperor were of extreme delicacy, he laid before Charles V a detailed plan whereby Paul III might be struck to the heart. The Emperor was to make himself master of Rome,

put an end to the temporal power of the Pope, and once more assert the rights of the Empire. In order to give Accolti an assured position, Cosimo in the autumn of 1543 had succeeded in obtaining his appointment as ambassador from Charles to Florence. When the Pope thereupon uttered threats, Cosimo let Accolti know that he need have no fear, as he could easily obtain help from the Duke of Urbino, Ascanio Colonna, the Abbot of Farfa, and the Perugians. He refused un-conditionally to give up Accolti, while in the dispute on tenths in the spring of 1545 he agreed to a compromise. But immediately afterwards the question of the reform of the very decadent convents of Florence gave rise to fresh misunderstandings with Rome.

Cosimo was a bitter enemy of the Dominicans of S. Marco. He complained that in remembrance of Savonarola they nourished republican tendencies and supported the opposition to the Medici. By a stroke of arbitrary power they were made an end of at one blow; on the 31st of August 1545 the Dominicans were expelled from S. Marco, S. Domenico at Fiesole, and S. Maria Maddalena at Mugnone because they had secretly harboured the exiles. The representations and complaints of the Pope at this proceeding were repudiated by Cosimo through his representative in the sharpest manner. Paul III therefore brought before consistory in November a brief addressed to Cosimo threatening him with excommunication if within three days of notification he did not reinstate the Dominicans who had been driven forth without form or trial. This time Cosimo gave in. The Dominicans were allowed to return, but the envoy Del Caccia was recalled from Rome. Only an agent named Francesco Babbi remained behind.

By March 1546 the quarrel between Rome and Florence was again in a blaze. The Dominicans of S. Marco complained that Cosimo had forbidden any alms to be expended on the convent. Paul III thereupon, on the 15th of March, made a strong protest, and Babbi, who lodged with the Imperial ambassador, was put under arrest. For this the latter also now made a remonstrance. Cosimo, however, wrote a letter of justification to the College of Cardinals. Angry as Charles was at the Pope's severe proceeding, he yet counselled the Duke to show moderation, since a war between Rome and Florence would have been destructive of his plans in Germany. Vega exerted himself to bring about an agreement, which was reached in April.

From the remonstrances to Cosimo, as well as from other sources, it is evident that the war against the Protestants formed the central point of the Emperor's policy.

Paul III was in error when he doubted the Emperor's sincerity in this undertaking. But the Pope's apprehensions admit of explanation, since Charles even after his entry into Ratisbon continued to put off the signature of the treaty. The Emperor then disclosed to the nuncio Verallo that he must first obtain King Ferdinand's consent and know for certain what the Pope's concessions from the revenues of the Spanish Church would amount to. When the latter had come in, Charles declared that he could not sign the treaty until King Ferdinand had arrived. Verallo, who was unable to obtain any clue to the labyrinthine policy of the Emperor, went through a painful time. Week after week went by and still no decision was reached; again and again it was reiterated that the Pope must still have patience. Verallo and Cardinal Truchsess were of opinion that Cardinal Farnese should appear once more in order to make all things clear. Farnese declined at first to undertake the journey, as he did not know whether his coming was wished for, and it seemed to all appearance as if the Emperor intended to give up the war. At the beginning of May 1546 the outlook began at last to improve. Soto then informed Verallo that Charles, since King Ferdinand delayed his coming, only awaited the arrival of Duke William of Bavaria before ratifying the treaty. On the 6th of May Verallo wrote that the Emperor was altered and seemed now to think seriously of the war. In his subsequent despatches also he was able to report indications of a more favourable aspect of affairs. In the middle of May, Granvelle and Soto

announced the prospect of a speedy decision, but still counselled reserve and close secrecy for yet a while longer. On the 18th Verallo had an audience of the Emperor, who still seemed as determined as ever to let things drift and to avoid the appearance of openly avowed measures.

When afterwards, on the 21st of May, Cardinal Madruzzo arrived in Ratisbon, a termination seemed at last to be assured. To his astonishment Verallo now found himself excluded from the negotiations which were taking place. Together with Madruzzo, Cardinal Truchsess was, on the other hand, admitted. As the nuncio subsequently was informed, Charles V was ready to sign the treaty of alliance in exact conformity with the second draft, but Madruzzo was bidden to lay before the Pope a further series of demands. Before all, the Emperor wished the Pope to make a special agreement binding himself in case of necessity to supply troops for a longer period, if possible up to the end of the war, or at least for a period of certainly eight months. He also asked for a further extension of the time, fixed in the original draft as six months from the finish of the campaign, for taking steps against disturbers of the military operations, *i.e.* the French. Charles hoped thus in a circuitous way to compass what he had earlier striven for in vain for years, a permanent alliance with the Pope against Francis. The old wish that the Papal subsidy should be raised from 200,000 to 300,000 ducats was again expressed. Further demands included the Pope's permission to levy a half of the ecclesiastical revenues of the Netherlands, an appeal for more vigorous support from the Catholic Estates, especially the bishops, and the payment of the war funds, not in Augsburg and Venice, but in Ratisbon and Trent; finally, the Legatine dignity for the war was asked for Cardinal Madruzzo, the negotiator, and for Cardinal Farnese.

By the beginning of June all this was settled. Still a whole week went by before the treaty was signed. The cause of this fresh and final delay was that the negotiations with Bavaria lasted longer than Charles had expected. To gain the support of this power seemed to the Emperor an indispensable preliminary to his great undertakings. He thus secured a base of operations within the Empire, an arsenal and a provision store for the war. On the 7th of June 1546 a treaty was made in closest secrecy between Charles V, Ferdinand I, and Duke William of Bavaria. The last-named undertook to supply 10,000 gold gulden, to place a great portion of his artillery with ammunition at the Emperor's disposal, and to maintain the Imperialist troops at a moderate cost in his territories.

On the same day on which this compact was agreed to the Emperor summoned Verallo to his presence and with exhortations to profound silence initiated him into the secret of his arrangements with Bavaria and Madruzzo, and declared himself ready to ratify the treaty with the Pope. With Verallo standing by, Charles affixed his signature to the document, dated the 6th of June. The treaty ran thus: "As Germany for many years, to its grievous hurt and in peril of total ruin, has been disturbed by erroneous teaching, and all remedies have proved fruitless, a General Council has assembled itself in Trent, the decisions of which are now rejected by the Protestants and the Schmalkaldic League. The Pope and Emperor have therefore determined to combine in the following alliance for the glory of God and the salvation of Christendom: The Emperor binds himself, after all friendly means have been unavailing, in the next month of June, with the aid of the Pope, to open war against the Protestants, the Schmalkaldic League, and other German teachers of error, in order to bring them back to the true and ancient religion, and to the obedience of the Holy See. The Emperor further binds himself, not, without the express consent of his Holiness or the Apostolic Legate, to make any terms of agreement with the above-named false teachers which can affect the reason and object of the present undertaking, or injure or prejudice its progress and success, and in particular to refrain from any concessions in matters of religion and the constitution of the Church. The Pope promises, within a month from the conclusion of the treaty, to deposit 100,000 ducats in Venice, which, with the 100,000 ducats at Augsburg, shall be

spent exclusively by the commissaries of his Holiness on the purposes of the war. The Pope also engages to place, at his own charges, under the command of a Legate and necessary officers, 12,000 Italian infantry and 500 light horsemen as auxiliary troops for six months, or up to the close of the campaign if it should be of shorter duration. He consents, in addition, to set apart for the war, for one year, half the ecclesiastical revenues of Spain, with a further 500,000 ducats from the sale of conventual property. During the undertaking, and for six months afterwards, the contracting parties pledge themselves to render mutual assistance, should one or other of them be molested by a third party. Entrance into the alliance, which is to be confirmed by the Sacred College, lies open to the Catholic Estates of Germany, and to all Christian powers in general.”

Cardinal Madruzzo was to deliver the treaty as ratified by Charles to the Pope, and to be the spokesman of the Emperor’s further wishes. About midnight on the 7th-8th of June, Aurelio Cattaneo, the Cardinal’s secretary, started for Rome to announce beforehand his master’s coming. Madruzzo himself left early on the morning of the 8th, with such speed that he did not wait a moment for the documents requisite for his mission. These were conveyed by an Imperial courier on the 10th of June to the ambassador Vega.

Verallo’s reports from the 1st to the 4th of June, which reached Rome on the 9th, finally dispelled the doubts which had never ceased to prevail in the Curia of the Emperor’s firm intention of beginning the war. Cattaneo arrived on the evening of the 13th, followed on the 18th by the courier, whereupon Vega made haste to see the Pope. On the evening of the 19th of June Cardinal Madruzzo’s arrival was also announced. He was received at once on the following morning, together with Vega, by the Pope. Paul III seized this opportunity to complain of the long delay, and to bring up his old grievances against Charles V: the keeping back of the Imperial recognition of Pier Luigi as Duke of Parma and Piacenza, the disputes over prize cases in Spain, the tenths in Naples, and the maintenance of the Pragmatic. Madruzzo was not slow in offering tranquillizing assurances on all these points.

As the consent of the Cardinals was one of the express conditions of the alliance, the treaty had to be laid before a general congregation. This took place on the 22nd of June in the palace of S. Marco, the summer residence of the Pope. The French and Venetian Cardinals raised such strong opposition that Paul III found himself compelled to intervene personally in the discussion. He was supported in particular by Madruzzo, who was a warm advocate of the war. The opposition’s chief objection was to the sale of the Spanish Church property; at last it was generally agreed that this point should be allowed to drop, the Pope being left to his own discretion to find out some other equivalent. The treaty thereupon was accepted unanimously. In drafting the document, the alteration above mentioned was not taken into consideration, in order to avoid any fresh delay, only, at the end of the treaty a supplementary note was added that by the June named as the future starting-point of the campaign the current month of June 1546 was meant. In this form the document was signed on the 26th of June by Paul III in the presence of Madruzzo and Vega. The day before, Cardinal Farnese had been nominated in a consistory *Legatus a latere* to the Emperor and the army. On July the 4th a solemn ceremony took place in the Church of S. Maria in Aracoeli, when Cardinal Farnese received the Legatine cross, and Ottavio Farnese was appointed commander-in-chief of the army and received the marshal’s staff and the standard of war “against the Lutherans.” The most complete arrangements for the conveyance of the subsidies and the equipment of the troops were made at once. There was all the greater necessity for despatch as the Emperor was placed in a position of great difficulty.

Charles V had from the beginning surveyed the coming events with the greatest circumspection. In a confidential letter to his sister Maria, of the 9th of June 1546, he described

the situation as one that was most favourable to him. The war against the Duke of Brunswick has drained the Protestant finances. In Saxony and Hesse the greatest discontent prevails both among the nobles and the other subjects, who are tired of being kept in grinding poverty and bitterest serfdom. Then the Protestants are split up into different sects, and ample help is promised by the Pope. Further, I have hopes even of inducing some of the Protestant princes, such as Maurice of Saxony and Albert of Brandenburg, to submit in matters of religion to the Council.” He intended accordingly to begin the war by attacking the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse as destroyers of the public peace, and to justify his action by their conduct towards the Duke of Brunswick. Even if this pretext, he thought, did not prevent his opponents from thinking that the war was one of religion, yet it was through this pretext in any case that he would cut them off.

At the same time, this first reckoning was to some extent mistaken. The Emperor certainly won over by secret agreements Duke Maurice of Saxony, the Margraves Hans of Brandenburg-Cüstrin and Albert of Brandenburg-Culmbach, and also secured the neutrality of the Elector Palatine and the Elector of Brandenburg; but South Germany remained true to the Schmalkaldic League, and armed with such rapidity that they might have forestalled Charles’s attack. Even before war was declared, the Emperor found himself in Ratisbon already in serious danger from his enemies. While his troops lay at great distances in the Netherlands, Italy, and Hungary, or were gathering at the recruiting grounds of South Germany, the foe already had at his disposal in the immediate neighbourhood squadrons and regiments fit to take the field.

But the incapacity of the Schmalkaldic League was still greater than its strength. In the Commentaries, in which Charles enumerates with satisfaction the defects of his enemies, he speaks of them as if God had smitten them with blindness.

As a matter of fact, the Schmalkaldic forces in the first weeks of the war might easily have obtained the victory if they had only understood in any degree how to avail themselves of the exceptionally great advantages of the situation. Their complete self-deception with regard to the attitude of Bavaria was of most momentous import to them. For long they never once suspected that Duke William IV was in alliance with the Emperor, and even later never realized it with perfect certainty. They trusted Chancellor Eck that Bavaria would remain neutral and keep watch to see on which side fortune was leaning. In consequence the bold dash of the first detachment of the Oberland Leaguers, led by Schartlin von Burtenbach and Schankwitz, was a failure. Their plan was to fall upon the Imperialist mustering-places in Upper Suabia, to seize the passes of the Tyrol, thus cutting off the Emperor’s communications with Italy, and afterwards even to make a raid on the Council at Trent. On the 9th of July Schartlin had already taken Fussen, but durst not follow up the Imperialists as they retired over the adjacent Bavarian frontier, since the order had come from Augsburg that they were not to push Bavaria into the arms of the enemy by a violation of the supposed neutrality of that power. Schankwitz on the night of July the 10th captured the strong Ehrenberger pass near Reutte, and afterwards had already pressed on to Lermoos when he also received counter-orders. The council of war at Ulm did not wish to anger Ferdinand, of whose neutrality they had hopes. As any further advance of Schartlin’s troops would become a source of danger to Ulm and Augsburg, he was obliged on July the 14th to fall back with all his forces.

The Schmalkaldic forces now turned their thoughts to an entire concentration of their military strength, to be followed by an advance on the Emperor, who was still sojourning in Ratisbon. On July the 20th Schartlin joined forces with the Wurtembergers and took Donauworth; during the 3rd and 4th of August the Saxons and Hessians came up to that city with the South German contingent. The approximate numbers of the Schmalkaldic army now amounted to

30,000 foot soldiers, 4600 horsemen, and about a hundred guns. They greatly outnumbered the Imperialists.

Charles V had made use of the breathing-space given him by his enemies, by gathering about him reinforcements. By the 3rd of August he thought that Ratisbon might be abandoned without danger. On the 4th he entered Landshut, where he hoped to effect a conjunction with the auxiliary troops called out of Italy. For the Schmalkaldic army everything depended on preventing this combination. But even this favourable opportunity for snatching victory was allowed to slip through their hands; not merely were they hindered at every step by consideration for Bavaria, but they were wanting in the self-sacrifice, spirit, and confidence which their cause demanded. Saxony and Hesse had brought no war funds; they thought they had done enough in adding their troops to those of the South Germans. The cities were getting tired of paying out moneys, and thought that the Word of God cost much too dear, that it would have been better to have stayed at home and come to some compact with the Emperor. When the hopes of foreign assistance proved illusory, the boastful assurances of victory with which they had started gave place to deep despondency. To the want of the necessary money, for which the plunder of churches and convents did not suffice, there was added the lack of unity among their leaders. What the impetuous Landgrave wished was displeasing to the slow-moving Elector; what Schartlin von Burtenbach counselled was rejected by both. Before the Schmalkaldic leaders had come to a decision, Charles had joined hands with the expedition sent out of Italy by the Pope.

This consisted of 10,000 infantry and more than 700 light cavalry. The latter, with Giovanni Battista Savelli at their head, entered Landshut on the 7th of August; the infantry appeared three days later, but were so exhausted by the long march that a rest was imperative. The commander-in-chief, Ottavio Farnese, waited on Charles V on the 11th of August, and was received with the utmost marks of respect; two days later the order of the Golden Fleece was conferred upon him. He afterwards paraded his troops before the Emperor, who was highly delighted with their eminently soldierly appearance. "The men," wrote Verallo to Rome, "have surpassed all our expectations." By this accession of strength and other reinforcements Charles was now numerically superior to his enemies, against whom he now published the Ban dated the 20th of July.

On the 26th of August Charles occupied a well-fortified camp on the plains before the Bavarian frontier fortress of Ingolstadt. The enemy directed their fire on city and camp, but did not venture on an open attack. Their retirement, which began on September the 4th, was in glaring contradiction to the bombastic and insulting language of the letter of defiance which they had just delivered to the Emperor. Thus in the moral scale also Charles was superior. Failure also attended the attempt of the Schmalkaldic forces to cut off the supports coming to the Emperor from the Netherlands under the command of Maximilian Egmont, the Count of Buren. On the 15th of September Egmont's force joined that of the Emperor, who had now at his disposal over 50,000 infantry and 14,000 cavalry. Notwithstanding his superiority, Charles was determined not to stake all on one throw; his plan was rather to keep the enemy in check and wear him out financially. The situation of the latter grew worse; the help which they had solicited from Denmark, France, and England never came, while even their strong hope that the Turks would open a way of relief to them was unfulfilled. The Emperor took Donauworth, Dillingen, and Lauingen; the Schmalkaldic forces fell back until they took up their position about the middle of October in a fortified camp to the north of Ulm near Giengen. Here they remained inactive for six weeks while Charles lay encamped at Lauingen. Many fell victims on both sides to disease, the rough autumnal German weather telling with special severity on the unacclimatized Spaniards and Italians; the

latter troops gradually melted away from sickness and desertion. The Emperor refused to be drawn into a battle; his dogged caution was to crown his banners with victory.

At the end of October a new aspect of the Emperor's widespread plans was disclosed. Duke Maurice of Saxony declared war against his cousin John Frederick, and put into execution the Ban which had been pronounced against him. It was not, however, by the Saxon catastrophe that the war was decided against the fortunes of the Schmalkaldic League, but by their financial necessities. "The promised French money," wrote Philip of Hesse, "did not come. Wurtemberg and the cities cannot and will not give any, Saxony and ourselves have none; therefore we must give in." On the 23rd of November the confederates broke up at Giengen. The Landgrave made haste home through Wurtemberg "to his two wives," as Schartlin scornfully remarked; the Elector plundered on his way back weak dependencies of the Empire, whether, like Gmünd, Mainz, and Fulda, they were Catholic, or, like Frankfort, Protestant.

The retreat of the Schmalkaldic forces quite unexpectedly made the Imperialist troops, who from wet, cold, and sickness were in a very precarious position, masters of the field. The war on the Danube was brought to a victorious close without a battle, almost without a skirmish, through the circumspection and iron persistency of Charles, who had displayed throughout great tranquillity and confidence. Seldom was a contest begun on the one side with greater braggadocio and carried out with greater incompetency. The strange spectacle was witnessed of an army originally the stronger retreating without having struck a blow, finally separating and hurrying homewards in rapid flight.

Scarcely had the Emperor entered on his victory than the cities and princes of southern Germany began to compete in abject entreaties for grace and pardon. Charles V. forgave, but he made the guilty pay roundly for the cost of war. In matters of religion he believed that at first in southern Germany general toleration must be observed. This position, in which the Pope justly saw a violation of the treaty of June, was followed by other questions also which led afresh to serious breaches of amity with the Holy See.

CHAPTER XXI.

DISSENSIONS BETWEEN PAUL III. AND CHARLES V.

The insecurity of the foundations on which the friendship between Charles V and Paul III rested was shown by the circumstance that, while the signatures of the treaty of June 1546 were scarcely dry, fresh differences emerged. The old suspicions and exorbitant demands on the part of the Emperor raised barriers in all directions to a permanent understanding.

Charles V, in the first place, was offended that Paul III, in spite of the pleadings of Cardinal Madruzzo, would not consent to an extension in time of the obligations laid upon him by the treaty. Madruzzo, on the other hand, obtained the Pope's consent to the wishes of Charles with regard to the disbursement of the moneys in Trent and the attribution of the half of the ecclesiastical revenues of the Netherlands. Nevertheless, the Emperor was not satisfied. From the first he had assiduously placed the political motives for his hostile action against the Pro-testants in the foreground, while endeavouring to veil, in fact to repudiate, the religious motives. Since there were cogent reasons for this behaviour, he could not but feel aggrieved that in Rome the ecclesiastical objects of the war in common were emphasized unceasingly, and in the briefs to the Kings of France and Poland, the Doge of Venice, the German archbishops and bishops, and the University of Louvain an open summons was given to a crusade against the German heretics. In reply to this, however, the Pope could point out that Charles V himself had demanded that the treaty should be discussed in consistory; and that the briefs, at the urgent request of the German ambassador, had been so discussed before they were sent off. The Emperor's complaint that the treaty of June had been communicated to the Swiss Confederation was justified. In this way the German Protestants received authentic information concerning the object of the blow directed against them, and they did not hesitate to use the weapon placed in their hands to incite their co-religionists. The breach of confidence which this involved was inexcusable, and can only be explained on the assumption that Paul III, never free from suspicion, wished to make any agreement between Charles and the Protestants impossible.

How little confidence was placed in the Emperor is evident from the fact that Verallo in the beginning of August 1546 recommended some consideration to be shown for his wishes in the affairs of the Council, since otherwise it was to be feared that some hurtful agreement might be made with the Protestants and Granvelle's threat of a national council be carried out. Under these circumstances the nuncio and his master in Rome looked with misgiving on the cautious policy of Charles and his attempts to win over a portion of his adversaries by concessions.

The Pope's distrust, eagerly fomented by the French, was in reality not unjustified, for the guarantees in matters of religion by which Duke Maurice of Saxony, the Margraves Hans von

Brandenburg-Cüstrin and Albert of Brandenburg-Culmbach were gained, could not be brought into accord with the treaty of June. If Paul III had heard of these agreements at once he might then have complained with much greater right of the non-fulfilment of the treaty, as Charles did with regard to the immediate payment of the war funds. The difficulties in this connection, as well as those regarding the compensation for the alienation of the Spanish Church property objected to by the Cardinals, were removed in essential points by the arrival of Farnese accredited as Cardinal-Legate to the forces. He was not, however, in a position to prevent further disputes over the management of the Italian auxiliaries and delays in their payment.

Farnese, who had his first audience on arrival on the 24th of August 1546, also presented to the Emperor the Bull agreeing to the conveyance of the half of the ecclesiastical revenues of the Netherlands. Charles V thanked him, but declined to comply with the Legate's request of the 29th of August that he would openly declare the war to be a religious one. With regard to a series of minor contentions the Emperor promised redress. He did not, however, go beyond fair words. The pettiness of Charles in shelving any arrangement in matters of trifling consequence caused an annoyance which was all the more bitter as the Pope was conscious that in all primary points he had discharged his heavy obligations.

Paul III, and his family had to learn that the hopes which they had cherished of greater consideration on the Emperor's part for their private wishes were not in the way of realization. The disappointment was all the greater as they had reckoned on the Emperor's gratitude for the very substantial assistance brought to him at a most critical moment by the Papal troops. Instead of this, Granvelle came forward with reiterated complaints of the communication of the treaty to the Swiss. Charles V., however, showed himself only too much inclined to lay the personal responsibility for the daily grievances arising among the Italian soldiery on the Pope himself, who, he thought, was intentionally causing him difficulties in all directions.

The extraordinary distrust with which the two heads of Christendom regarded each other, although the general situation demanded imperatively the best understanding, received its worst illustration in their mutual attitude over the affairs of the Council.

The war between the Emperor and the Schmalkaldic League was bound to react upon the Synod in session at Trent. The news of the capture of the Ehrenberger pass by Schartlin von Burtenbach had caused such terror in that city that many of the Fathers thought of immediate flight. On July the 15th, 1546, as the doctrine of justification had now undergone thorough examination, four bishops were appointed in the general congregation to draw up the decree on that subject. The discussion then proceeded, in the course of which Cardinal Pacheco spoke. But when it came to the turn of Archbishop Jacopo Cauco of Corfu, the latter declared that he had not supposed that they would be discussing justification that day, but more probably, in view of the danger from the war, a removal or a suspension of the Council. The Archbishops of Siena and Matera also dwelt upon the danger. The Legates themselves, in a letter of the 25th of June 1546 to Cardinal Farnese, had called attention to the distressing situation of the Council. They said it was neither decorous nor without danger to remain so close to the assembling of troops and fanatical enemies. There were no means in Trent of repelling an attack threatened by friends of the Lutheran party in the Grisons, an attack which was all the more sure of success as that canton had sympathizers in Trent itself, Verona, Vicenza, and other neighbouring places. But even the soldiery who were friendly to them would be burdensome owing to the decreasing supply of provisions; they covered the country like hordes of locusts; an assembly of defenceless clergy would be in a sad plight under such circumstances. It seemed at the least a hard demand to make upon them that amid such anxieties they should devote their attention to conciliar deliberations.

The Pope, however, was not at all well pleased with the Legates' suggestion that the seat of the Council should be removed. The Emperor had repeatedly made known his wish that the Council during the war should under any circumstances continue assembled in Trent. Paul III was determined not to embroil himself at any price with Charles over this question at the very moment when he had entered into alliance with him to bring the Protestants into forcible submission to the Council. The Legates therefore received orders to remain in Trent, and to proceed with the deliberations. How disagreeable such instructions were is shown by a letter from Cervini to the Papal secretary Maffei of the 8th of July. Cervini declared that he bowed to the Pope's will, but expressed his fear that the time might come when it would be the business of the mail-clad Emperor to prescribe to the Council the course of its proceedings. Yet the Pope held fast by his determination, once for all expressed, that he would not for a moment consent to the proposal of the Legates that the sessions should be suspended on account of the approaching passage of troops; on the other hand, he was not willing to meet the further wish of the Emperor, who was still pressing for a cessation of the dogmatic discussions. As long as the Synod in Trent remained open, it must continue, in accordance with the Pope's wishes, to carry out its tasks fully.

On the 21st of July Paul gave instructions to Cardinal Farnese, then on his way to join as Legate the Imperial army, that he might represent to Charles, if the latter demanded the avoidance of dogmatic questions, that such an interruption of the activities of the Council would only then be possible if the Council were transferred to some other spot.

The timorous Cervini again broached the subject of removal when Cardinal Farnese as Legate passed through the southern Tyrol with the Papal troops. Farnese's illness at Rovereto gave Cervini an opportunity of discussing the matter with him thoroughly. As Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga informed Camillo Capilupi, Cervini set before the Legate in such vivid colours the danger of Charles becoming supreme over the Council, as he would be supreme in the approaching war, that Farnese was won over to the proposal for a removal of the Council, and in that sense reported to Rome. It seems that hopes were entertained there that Charles might be induced to give his consent to a removal. This certainly was not to be thought of now; Charles clung to his determination that the Council should be a dummy to serve as a prop for his scheme of policy. If the Pope thought that this was more than he could consent to, his reasons were not difficult to understand. It would be beneath his dignity and a thing impossible in itself to require the Fathers of the Council to regulate their conduct by the dilatory course of German affairs and sit idle in Trent squandering time and money until the cast of the iron dice should have decided the Schmalkaldic war.

As Cardinal Cervini was lingering by the sick-bed of Farnese in Rovereto and Pole had gone on already on the 28th of June to recuperate his feeble health at Padua, Cardinal del Monte was left the sole President of the Council. His position was not an enviable one. Seeing that the Pope was opposed to any postponement of the sittings, he had proposed in the general congregation of the 28th of July to hold the session and there publish the dogmatic decree as it stood. Pacheco, on the contrary, with the almost unanimous consent of the Fathers, asked for a postponement of the session, and that too contrary to the view taken by del Monte that the prorogation should be indefinite. In opposition to Pacheco, the Archbishops of Corfu and Matera, Cauco and Saraceni, declared them-selves in favour of a translation of the Council. The former remarked that to stay in Trent under the existing conditions was to tempt Providence and to inflict great indignity on the whole Church; moreover, he had no doubt that if the Emperor were informed of the true state of affairs he certainly would be the first to approve of a removal of the Council to some safer place. At these words he was violently interrupted by Cardinal Pacheco exclaiming : "Speak to the business in hand, and do not digress upon the intentions of the Emperor, of which

you know nothing.” Cardinal del Monte, to whom the Archbishop’s utterance of opinion had been by no means displeasing, refrained from calling the latter to order, and thereby brought on a passage of words between himself and Pacheco. The latter displayed no little excitement. Some of the Spanish bishops emulated him in violence of language, and it taxed the Legate to the utmost to restore calm. In a letter of July the 29th the conciliar Legates represented to Verallo that, in view of the war, a removal of the Council seemed advisable, as otherwise it was to be feared that it might dissolve itself. They named as suitable places Ferrara or Lucca.

On the 30th of July the general congregation continued the discussion of the decree on justification. At the close of the sitting Pacheco again demanded the appointment of a fixed day for the next sitting. As del Monte, who was again sole President, opposed him, the Imperialist Cardinals Madruzzo and Pacheco attacked him in the most reckless fashion. Madruzzo allowed himself to go so far as to accuse del Monte of conduct unbecoming a Christian, taunting him at last on his plebeian origin. The assembly broke up amid great excitement without having come to any decision.

This outburst on the part of the Imperialists was exactly calculated to precipitate what, in the interests of Charles V, they wished to prevent. Del Monte, deeply chagrined at the contempt of his authority, was now more than ever in favour of a removal of the Council from Trent, where the authority of an Imperial master seemed to be quite as dangerous as the peril from foreign enemies. Madruzzo himself perceived that his anger had carried him too far; Cervini, on his return from Rovereto on the 31st of July, made warm representations to him. The incident was also made the subject of conversation with the Cardinal-Legate Farnese, who arrived in Trent on the 2nd of August. The result was surprising. On the 3rd of August Bishop Pietro Bertano of Fano, as representing not the Council but the Legates only, yet with the approval of Madruzzo and Pacheco, was sent to the Imperial court with the object of favourably disposing Charles to the removal of the Council to Ferrara, Lucca, or Siena. On the following day Achille de’ Grassi was despatched to Rome to inform the Pope more thoroughly of the state of affairs. Bertano did not get far. In Brixen he met Aurelio Cattaneo, secretary to the Cardinal of Trent, returning from the Emperor’s court. From him he received so vivid an account of the irritation shown by Charles at the proposal to translate the Council that he was convinced of the futility of his mission and on August the 4th turned back to Trent. De’ Grassi also was recalled thither by a special messenger, to be again sent forth on the 6th of August with the most recent information. He was the bearer of a letter to the Pope from Cervini, dated August the 5th, containing a report of the threatening language in which the Emperor had inveighed against him. At the same time the Legates forwarded to Verallo a document of the 5th of August exculpating themselves, and Cervini in particular, from the charge of endeavouring to bring about the dissolution of the Council. On the 7th of August Bertano also left for Rome, sent by Madruzzo.

In the meantime, on the night of August the 7th, Montemerlo, Farnese’s secretary, had arrived in Trent. He brought to the Legates, together with a letter from Cardinal Santafiora of the 3rd and 4th of August, in which Lucca was recommended, a Bull dated the 1st of August 1546 conveying full powers, in the case of prolonged continuance in Trent becoming impossible, to translate the Synod to some more suitable place with the consent of the Fathers or of a majority.

Montemerlo was also authorized to show a letter from Santafiora to Verallo in which the latter was instructed to inform the Emperor of the proposed translation, while avoiding any appearance of soliciting his approval. The Legates were to use their discretion whether this open letter should be forwarded or not to its destination. The Imperialist Cardinals and Mendoza received the communication with strong disapproval. Farnese, with the consent of the Legates,

came to an understanding with them that neither should the translation be decided upon nor the letter to Verallo forwarded until they had once more received a reply from the Pope to the reports to be presented to him by Farnese and the Legates; in the meanwhile, the Council was to continue its labours in the congregations. The plan of bringing the question of translation before the next general congregation was abandoned by the Legates on the receipt of a written expostulation from Farnese, who had left Trent on the 10th of August. On the contrary, del Monte, on the 13th of August, after an introductory address tending to allay the apprehensions of the Fathers for their safety in Trent, ordered the discussion of the decree on justification to be resumed.

A letter of Bishop de' Nobili of Accia is descriptive of the situation then existing. He speaks strongly of the great disinclination of the Legates and a large number of the Fathers to see the work of the Synod obstructed by the Emperor's insistence that the decree on justification should not take shape out of consideration for the Protestants. It is matter of complaint, writes de' Nobili, that the Council has been deprived of its freedom, many Fathers on that account have left, others make the best of the situation. In letters to Santafiora of the 16th and 17th of August the Legates complain that the Imperialists assiduously protract the work of the sittings, and beg to be removed from their posts.

Paul III displayed great indignation on hearing Cattaneo and Bertano's account of the attitude of Charles V and of his threatening language towards Cervini. He also spoke very angrily of Madruzzo, accusing him of having incited the Emperor against the Legates. It was only with great reluctance that the Pope made up his mind to defer the translation of the Council for a while. Already on the 16th of August he had, through Santafiora, renewed the authority given to the Legates to take this step, provided it conformed to the voice of the majority. They were, however, if possible, without delaying the opportunity for removal, to proceed as far as they could with the decrees on justification and the residence of bishops and to have them settled in their entirety or in part. On the following day, however, news reached Rome that in the event of a translation the Emperor intended to come to an understanding with the Protestants, or to take steps to constitute a national council. Upon this the Pope resolved, all convinced though he was of the necessity of a translation, to meet the Emperor so far as to detain the Council at Trent for some time longer and to settle the decrees under consideration. Farnese was to use his influence to obtain from Charles a declaration that he would consent to the translation taking place at the end of September or the middle of October. The Legates in the meantime were to secure the consent of the prelates so as to be certain of having a majority in favour of the translation at any time at which the Pope might announce a fresh decision respecting it. These instructions were communicated to Farnese and the Legates on the 17th of August. On the 24th Santafiora wrote to Farnese that the Council must be moved at the latest by the end of October; the Emperor must also be led to ponder the danger of a schism arising if the aged Pope were to die while the Council sat at Trent.

The Legates, taking into consideration the repugnance shown by the prelates to a much longer continuance in Trent, would gladly have taken their votes at once in the general congregation on the question of translation and then have awaited the subsequent orders of the Pope. They would not have been displeased even if the order prohibiting the Fathers to leave the Council on their own initiative had been relaxed, so that the necessity of a translation to avoid dissolution from within might have been proved by facts. But the Pope, mindful of the negotiations with the Emperor then in the air, refused his assent to both suggestions. The negotiations led to nothing. Farnese attempted in vain in an audience on the 29th of August in the camp at Ingoldstadt to win the Emperor's approval of a translation to Lucca. Charles explained to the Legate that the presence of the Council in Trent was exactly the one thing essential to the assured success of his operations in the field, so that Farnese for the moment could only declare

that he would advise the Pope to order the Synod to continue its sittings there for some weeks longer, under the assumption that it was now a certainty that after that the translation might be under-taken. To the conciliar Legates Farnese wrote on the 31st of August that for the present they must not move in the matter. Cardinal Truchsess of Augsburg also warned them with reference to existing circumstances, in a letter of the 31st of August, what the consequences of a translation would be. Farnese found the Emperor, in consequence of the tardy progress of the war, in a less uncompromising mood on September the 8th. The latter still declared that under the conditions of the moment all talk of a translation was out of the question, but he thought that perhaps later on the matter might admit of discussion when it had become apparent what the further course of the campaign would be.

The Pope was exceedingly mortified by the attitude of Charles V. In the beginning of September he remarked in a discussion with the ambassador Vega: "You have not yet been victorious over the Protestants, and nevertheless your demands are already insupportable; what will your first step be when the Emperor is victorious?..." Paul III was unshaken in his determination that the translation should take place, and on the 11th of September, in his reply to Farnese's first report, bade him repeatedly call attention to its necessity, adducing in particular, among other reasons, the danger of schism in the case of his death. On the 15th of September the Pope ordered a letter to be sent to the Legates making urgent inquiries as to the prospects of a majority when the question came up for decision by the votes of the Council. On the 20th of September, Paul III, after an interview with the Imperial ambassador to discuss the Emperor's objection to the translation, directed Santafiora to write that he still held by his opinion that the removal ought to take place by the middle of October; this Farnese was at liberty to communicate to the Emperor, who would appreciate the Pope's reasons, with which he was already previously acquainted. The conciliar Legates were again, in a letter from Santafiora of the 22nd of September, requested to state what result they anticipated on submitting the question to the vote in the middle of October. In the meantime they were to push on as far as possible the decree on justification as well as that on episcopal residence, so that it might not appear as if the Council were going to rise from its labours in order to evade reform.

Further difficulties at this time were raised, to the Pope's annoyance, by Francis I, who refused to consent to the choice of an Imperial city, but on the contrary wished the Council to be transferred to Avignon whither, he promised, he could induce even the English and Lutherans to come.

On the 2nd of October Maffei wrote to Farnese that in his opinion the Pope, in case of necessity, would decide on a further postponement of the translation in order to avoid the convocation of a national council by the Emperor or something even worse than that; Farnese, however, was to do all he could to overcome the opposition of the monarch; the latter might hand over the management of religious matters to the Pope, just as the Pope had left the management of the war to his Majesty. As the month of October was half over without any fresh news coming from Farnese concerning the matter, the Pope had conveyed to him the expression of his astonishment and the reiterated intimation that the time was now fully come to proceed on the grounds already mentioned.

The Legates on their part were now no longer willing to take upon themselves the responsibility of deciding on the question of translation through the votes of the Council. On the contrary, they proposed on the 9th of October that the Pope should suspend the Council after the close of the approaching sitting and then summon the prelates to Rome in order to establish the remaining reforms with their approval and consent. A principal reason for this proposal was the

repeated opposition, on the part of the Imperialist prelates, to the further consideration of the dog-matic decrees which the Legates had to encounter at this time. Paul III's treatment of this proposal was vacillating.

On October the 14th Maffei wrote to Farnese that his Holiness seemed disinclined to it. On the other hand, he wrote again on the 16th, Paul III for a time was against any alterations with regard to the Council, but that he approved of a suspension if it could be arranged without opposition and with the consent of the Imperialists. A letter of Maffei to Cervini of October the 16th also expressed fears lest the matter should be carried out contrary to the decision of a majority in the Council.

On the 20th of October Maffei informed Farnese that the Pope now intended, so as to avoid any cause of offence to the Emperor, to give no order himself for a translation or suspension of the Council but to leave the matter to the Council's own decision, as a measure whereby the continued attendance of the Imperialist prelates at the Synod would be secured; then he intended to convene prelates of different countries in Rome for the purpose of drawing up a draft of reform. In the same sense Santafiora wrote to the Legates on the 20th of October. Three days later he gave them to understand that they had better take steps towards suspension as quickly as possible, before the aspect of affairs underwent a change.

The Legates in their reply of the 25th of October, besides pointing out that the favourable opportunity which had offered at the beginning of the month was over, urged in particular how dangerous it would be if the powers of self-suspension were to be recognized in the Council when, like those of summons and dissolution, they resided in the Pope alone; such a measure, moreover, could only be passed in a session, and for this they were not sufficiently prepared. They designed, however, to consider carefully several ways by which the Pope's intentions might be carried out. First of all they must play upon the Imperialists' fears of a translation in order to obtain their consent to a suspension as the lesser of two evils. Madruzzo undertook to apply this argument to Pacheco and Mendoza. Mendoza seemed even to be in agreement, and held out prospects of the Emperor's consent.

The last accounts received, on the 28th of October, from Farnese before his return from Germany, through his secretary Antonio Elio, who had been sent on in advance, were not favourable to suspension. According to these the Emperor in opposing the project adhered to the reasons he had already expressed, although he did not intend thereby to dispute in any way the right of the Pope to adopt such a measure even without his consent. For the rest he no longer intended to oppose the wishes of Paul III in respect of the future action of the Council whether in matters of dogma or of reform. Charles V set forth his standpoint with greater precision in his instructions to Don Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, who at the end of October had been sent as ambassador-extraordinary to Rome. Charles herein declared that it had never been his intention to hinder the proceedings of the Council in the deliberations on the article on justification; what was of interest to him was that this subject should be examined and tested with the greatest thoroughness on account of its importance in relation to the Protestants. He therefore thought it also appropriate that fresh invitations from the Pope and the Legates should be sent to the German bishops requesting their attendance at the Council or at least, so far as they had legitimate excuses to offer, that of their theologians, especially those who had taken part in the religious conferences of time past and knew all the ins and outs of their opponents' machinations. He also thought that it might be well to submit the article on justification to the opinion of some of the universities, such as Paris or Louvain.

Besides the affairs of the Council, Mendoza was to treat of delay in the payment of the subsidies promised by Paul III. for the war against the Protestant Estates and the appointment of Verallio with plenipotentiary powers to execute the functions of Legate to the army, hitherto vested in Farnese. The Cardinal, who suffered severely from the unaccustomed climate of Germany, had already applied for recall, but out of consideration for the Emperor his request had been refused. Now at last, on the approach of the cold season, permission was granted to him, and on the 25th of October 1546 he began his return journey to Italy. Two days previously he had his farewell audience. In this all the questions still at issue, especially the Council and the agreement with Francis I, came under discussion, and finally an opportunity was given to treat of an incident which affected the conflict of interests on both sides in the Italian Peninsula. This was the dispute between Pier Luigi Farnese and the Count del Verme of Romagnese, whom the viceroy of Milan, Ferrante Gonzaga, protected.

The supremacy of Spain bore heavily on Italy. For this reason Paul III from the beginning of his pontificate felt that both as Pope and as an Italian ruler he was bound to oppose the establishment in Milan of the authority of a sovereign who was already master of Naples and Sicily. Naples and Milan under one ruler threatened not merely the remains of Italian autonomy but the independence of the Holy See. Paul III. would have liked best to have seen Milan in the hands of a Farnese, or at any rate of an Italian, but if this presented itself as an impossibility, then a French would have been more desirable than an Imperial prince, as in the former case at least an equilibrium of forces would have been restored in Italy. The peace of Crespy stipulated that either the Netherlands or Milan should be held by the Duke of Orleans, son of Francis I. After the Duke's death (September the 8th, 1545) had made this engagement void it was not to be expected that Francis would rest quiet without some compensation for his baffled prospects. The King, in fact, did hold Savoy for himself for a while, but in this question "the interests of France lay hidden by those of the Pope, to whom the establishment of Imperial preponderance in Italy could not be less insupportable than it was to the King."

The conflict of interests in Italy had become more acute when Charles V in April 1546 appointed Ferrante Gonzaga as viceroy of Milan. Paul III had hoped that Ottavio Farnese, the Emperor's son-in-law, would have received this important post. Instead of the latter there came to Milan in the person of Gonzaga a man who was a bitter adversary of the house of Farnese and one who at a former time had cast covetous eyes on Parma and Piacenza. Ferrante's brother, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, did all he could to keep this enmity alive; no wonder the conflict with Pier Luigi, whose recognition as Duke of Parma and Piacenza the Emperor stubbornly declined, was an endless one. In this contention the Imperial diplomacy interfered in favour of Gonzaga.

As Pier Luigi, to counteract the hostility of the Imperialists, attached himself to France, the situation grew even more strained. Ferrante urged Charles V to put an end to the matter by expelling Pier Luigi from Parma and Piacenza. What under such circumstances would follow when Charles made himself completely master in Germany? The old dread felt by Paul III. grew more intense, kept alive as it was by the machinations of France. The Imperial supremacy was bound to react with the worst effects on the Farnese family, on the States of the Church, and on the Council.

While the conflict between Papal and Imperial interests was reaching its sharpest point the position of the nuncio Verallio at the court of Charles was one of poignant distress. On the 12th of November 1546 the nuncio and Granvelle came into violent collision during an examination of their respective grievances. Granvelle complained of the lack of support given to his master by the Pope; he once more turned the discussion in an uncalled-for manner on the disclosure of the

treaty of June to the Swiss. Verallo's attempts at an excuse were brushed aside by the Imperial minister, who demanded angrily that the Pope should show more zeal in his behaviour. On Verallo asking what then his Holiness was to do, Granvelle referred him to the mission of Mendoza. The nuncio replied that Paul III would certainly do all that was possible, but reciprocity demanded that the Emperor on his side should make some advances to the Pope. "What advances? What advances?" cried Granvelle. "We would like to send him a whole army who should fire him a salvo and blow an alarm." In consequence of this scornful rebuff Verallo on his part also broke through his restraint and enumerated a series of points in which Charles V had failed to show any compliance: the still unsettled incident of the prebend of Barletta, the encroachments on ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Naples and Spain, and other instances. Granvelle replied that general affairs and private ought not to be mixed, and said threateningly that if the Pope did not give more thorough and more substantial support it would be necessary to find out other ways of safeguarding the Imperial interests. When the nuncio then brought forward Pier Luigi's quarrel with the Count del Verme the two diplomatists fell into a renewed altercation. In the eagerness of their dispute they both sprang from their seats, a circumstance which Granvelle made use of to close the interview and bow the nuncio politely out. In the report which Verallo at once sent to Rome of this occurrence he drew the conclusion that Charles V was bent on making his supremacy effective over the whole of Italy.

The impression made in Rome by these and other communications need not be described. It was the extreme of un wisdom on the Emperor's part to exasperate and wound the Pope's feelings at the very moment when he was asking for a prolongation of the treaty. Cardinal Farnese, who was once more in Rome on the 10th of December, found the Pope still undecided but deeply hurt that even in such a small matter as that of the "spolia" of the bishopric of Badajoz the Emperor showed not the smallest desire to oblige him. Nor did the Pope feel less painfully Granvelle's behaviour over the quarrel between Pier Luigi and the Count del Verme. Verallo was instructed on the 13th of December to bring both matters once more before the Emperor. In this letter Farnese impressed on the nuncio the necessity of establishing a secure peace between Charles V. and Francis I. as that upon which everything else depended.

For such a peace the Pope had been working ever since November with an earnestness proportioned to the clearness with which he gauged the consequences of a breach between the two monarchs. In this case he was in conflict with France, as his alliance with the Emperor was still binding. It was therefore of great importance to him to induce the Emperor to withdraw from Piedmont as a concession to Francis I. By taking the part of the French King in this matter he put the latter under an obligation, a circumstance of double value while his relations with the Emperor were so strained. As an intermediary in the cause of peace the Modenese, Gurone Bertano, was on the 5th of January 1547 sent to Germany.

In the meantime the question had become urgent whether the alliance concluded with the Emperor should be prolonged or not. It appears that Cardinal Farnese was in favour of a further guarantee of help, while the Pope from the first had leaned to a contrary opinion. He was principally influenced by his old fear of the Emperor's supremacy, but also by the little inclination displayed by the latter for a peace with France. Therefore, since the outbreak of another Franco-Imperial war seemed probable, Paul III was confronted with the danger of being drawn into the strife with results in the sphere of politics and of ecclesiastical affairs which no man could foresee.

At the time of Farnese's mission to Germany Paul III, fully realizing this danger, had instructed him to bring his influence to bear on Charles V in favour of a final peace with Francis. He had been untiring in pointing out to the Imperialist as well as to the French representatives in

Rome the necessity of such a peace, had ordered the nuncio to work in the same sense, and finally, when all else had proved vain, had sent Bertano. Until this question was settled Paul III. could not make up his mind to prolong his alliance with the Emperor. There was the further consideration that after the news of the war in Germany, received in December, a turn in affairs had taken place which apparently made the Emperor much more independent than hitherto of assistance. The state of the Papal finances also threw weight into the scale. The despatch and upkeep of the Pope's contingent had cost 300,000 ducats. How was it possible for the Pope, who had to bear also the burden of the not inconsiderable expenses of the Council, to produce the immense sums demanded by a fresh war? Finally, and this may well have been the master motive, the Pope was full of distrust of the intentions of Charles, who had addressed to Verallo the language of menace. What had been gained by the great sacrifices already made? The answer did not admit of doubt. Simply that the political power of the Emperor had been greatly strengthened, while in matters of religion, even after his successes in south Germany, a state of uncertainty prevailed.

Apart from Cologne, where the removal of Hermann von Wied was rendered possible, the Catholic cause at first derived very little advantage from the swing of the pendulum. The restoration of a few convents in Wurtemberg meant very little in presence of the fact that the Imperial policy was much more bent on bringing the defeated Protestants into civil subjection to the head of the Empire than into religious obedience to the Pope. On many grounds these tedious, cautious methods, which in their results indeed were not successful, seemed to be justified; but in any case it was the Emperor's duty to have fulfilled his treaty obligations in matters of religion. By them he was expressly bound not to make any agreement with the Protestants on matters affecting the cause or object of the war without the consent of the Pope or his Legate, and especially to refuse concessions which would run counter to the interests of religion and the constitution of the Catholic Church.

The Imperial diplomatists had already infringed this stipulation by the engagements entered into at Ratisbon with Duke Maurice of Saxony and the Margrave Hans of Brandenburg-Cüstrin. While in the treaty with the Pope the origin of the war as alleged was the refusal to submit to the Council sitting at Trent, in the agreement with the Duke and the Margrave the authority of the Council was altogether disregarded. In those made with the Count Palatine Frederick and Duke Ulrich of Wurtemberg the question of religion was not even mentioned. Also in the treaties with the Estates of the Oberland the recognition of the Council was not made a condition, but only submission to the decrees of the Diet and the jurisdiction of the Imperial Chancery. In religious affairs the Emperor still gave these Estates express security for the toleration of the "existing religion," on account of which they were not to be liable "to the sword or any other form of forcible authority." Accordingly the Protestant preachers were at liberty, even under the very eyes of the Emperor, to go about as before declaiming against "the Antichrist in Rome."

All these treaties with the defeated Protestant Estates were concluded without the consent of the Pope or that of the Legate's successor, the nuncio Verallo, having been invited, as was expressly laid down in the compact of June 1546. That Charles was well aware of the violation of treaty thus committed is clear from his anxious endeavours to keep Verallo aloof from all negotiations. The nuncio only appeared upon the scene in order to hear the Emperor's complaints of the behaviour of the Papal troops and his threats against Paul III if the latter should not consent to a prolongation of the treaty. It was a misfortune that here again Verallo was not equal to his task; a stronger man would have insisted more forcibly on the observance of the treaty.

If the whole of the previous behaviour of the Emperor had been of a kind to disgust Paul III in the highest degree with the treaty, so must the disloyal agreement with the Protestant Estates, in the hour of their defeat, have revived the opinion in Rome that the Emperor was only making use of the Pope's assistance for the extension of his own political power and that, heedless of the Papal interests, he was making a vital attack on the Church by illicit concessions to his adversaries in order to disarm their opposition. Under these circumstances, the Pope's determination to refuse the renewal of the treaty, which had expired in December, to suspend his subsidies and to withdraw his forces, is intelligible.

Intelligible as this course of action by Paul III might have been under existing circumstances, undisputed as his formal rights were, yet the question may be asked whether a Pope led only by ecclesiastical considerations would have taken a step which was of a kind to give the Protestants the greatest advantage. The quarrel between the Emperor and the Pope, moreover, never would have been of so violent a character if France had not continually fanned the flame. Paul III, in his dread of the Hapsburgs becoming masters of the world, was only too ready to listen to such insinuations, especially when Charles V. gave cause for just complaint. Both parties were to blame for the outbreak of fresh causes of dissension and the final dissolution of an alliance directed against the common enemy.

The withdrawal of a benefaction is not seldom construed as an active offence. Paul III. was too well schooled in human nature not to know this; therefore the briefs drawn up on the 22nd of January 1547, announcing the recall of the Papal auxiliary forces, were couched in the most temperate language. Charles was congratulated in the handsomest terms on a victory in which indeed the Pope himself also had been a participator, and the expectation was expressed that his work in Germany would be crowned by a restoration of the Catholic religion. With genuine diplomatic skill the most important point was introduced briefly at the close: "Since the war is as good as at an end, and your Majesty's position is wholly favourable and secure, we have determined to recall from Germany the troops sent to your aid and which now are terribly reduced in numbers, with the intention, in the case of such another occasion arising and your undertaking a similar war against the enemies of the Christian religion, of again springing to your side, as we have hitherto done, according to our own strength and that of the Apostolic See."

To Cardinal Farnese, who still favoured an extension of the alliance, fell the disagreeable task of giving Verallo more precise instructions as to the manner in which he was to justify the contents of the brief on its delivery to the Emperor. The nuncio was to call attention to the Pope's deep regret that audience was so long refused to his representative and that the latter, contrary to treaty, had not been admitted to the negotiations with the Protestant Estates. In a drastic postscript written in his own hand Farnese gave lively expression to his keen annoyance at the turn affairs had taken. During his presence at the Imperial court a deaf ear had been turned to his expostulations that greater consideration should be shown to the Pope. Like Cassandra, he had foreseen everything that had come to pass.

Farnese's prognostications of evil were surpassed by the reception given to Verallo in an audience at Ulm, on the 2nd of February 1547, when he presented his instructions to the Emperor, then exasperated by the publication of the decree on justification at Trent and by the exhortations of Bertano to come to a peace with France.

As far as the recall of the Papal troops was concerned, Charles observed scornfully, he was thankful to be quit of a pack of Italian robbers who had done nothing but harm; only, the reasons adduced for the withdrawal were puerile and untrue. For the congratulations offered by his Holiness he kissed his feet, but did not believe in their sincerity; on the contrary, he had become

more and more convinced that the Pope had entangled him in this war with the intention of destroying him. In order to give a hint that he saw through the cause of such conduct the Emperor, whose temper had been steadily rising, recalled a well-known Italian proverb to the effect that it was excusable in young men to contract the French sickness but not in the old. Although the nuncio tried to give another turn to the discussion, the Emperor applied the proverb, so insulting in its double meaning to the Pope, a little further by remarking that this was no new complaint with Paul III, as he had already suffered from it in his youth. Throwing off figures of speech, the Emperor said plainly that the Pope was getting out of his alliance on the inducement of France. He was certain that Paul III.'s one object in drawing him into war was to ruin him; but God had ordained otherwise, and he hoped, even without the Pope's help, to bring his undertaking to a victorious end. Charles accounted for his refusal to give an audience by his many preoccupations, his gout, and the conviction that Verallo only wished to ply him with empty speeches.

To the complaint that he had made agreements with the Protestant Estates without consulting the Pope, Charles replied in anger that he had acted with wise precaution, since the name of Paul III was so hated in Germany and many other Christian countries on account of his evil deeds that its introduction would only have wrought harm. The Emperor then returned once more to his standing grievance of the disclosure of the treaty to the Swiss, whereby Paul III, sought intentionally to embroil him with the Protestants. He was conscious of having performed his own duty as a Christian prince better than the Pope had done his, and he hoped that the day would yet come when he should be able to tell the Pontiff so to his face. He cherished the certain expectation of bringing the war, from which Paul III. retired, to such a finish that he might perhaps prove a cause of inconvenience to a third party. A rejoinder from the nuncio he cut short by leaving the room upon the pretext that it was time for him to go to Mass. The Emperor had spoken so loud in his passion that those waiting in the antechamber understood his expressions of wrath at the Pope for being on so good a footing with the French.

Even Granvelle, who in other respects was sorry for the violent behaviour towards Verallo, imputed Paul III.'s conduct chiefly to French influence. The nuncio therefore tried in a second audience which he had together with Bertano to defend his master against all these accusations, by adducing the reasons which had been conclusive against a renewal of the treaty. While this parleying on these and other debatable points was going on, Verallo perceived in the Emperor a more approachable frame of mind. Never-theless, Charles could not refrain from saying that if France began to make war upon him and the Pope left him in the lurch he would come to terms with the Protestants. In the same audience Charles declared openly that the revolt of Genoa under Fiesco against the Imperialist Doria, hatched with the help of France, had taken place in understanding with the Pope. This Verallo emphatically challenged. At the close of the audience Charles stated that in future his bearing towards the Pope would depend upon the behaviour of the latter towards him.

The outburst of anger, in which the Emperor had attacked the Pope personally and asserted, in direct contradiction to facts, that the latter had enticed him into war, was not by any means a momentary fit of passion but had a calculated purpose. The threats, mingled with violent complaints, were intended to intimidate his former ally and force him to further compliance, especially in relation to finance.

The claims of Charles in this respect, now of long standing, led to nothing less than a vast scheme of secularization. All the churches and convents throughout his empire and states were to surrender a half of the movable property in gold and silver and a half of their yearly income from the funds for the support of edifices. Even in Madrid such a requisition was regarded with dismay.

The proposal, moreover, was made in a way most likely to offend Paul III. The haughty behaviour of the Imperialists in Rome betrayed clearly their intention of treating the Pope with insolence. Paul III, however, did not lose his presence of mind; he replied firmly that so immoderate a demand, the result of which was beyond conjecture, could not be acceded to; a specified amount somewhat over 400,000 ducats would admit of discussion. The Imperialists, however, would hear nothing of this, taunted the Pope with his partiality towards France, and declared plainly that in case of necessity they would proceed without the Pope's permission with their plan of secularization, which had received the sanction of their theologians. In audience on the 27th of February 1547 they even went so far as to threaten the Pope's person. Paul III, however, was no Clement VII. With much dignity he told them that an old man, whose days in any case could not be long extended, was not one to be frightened by such threats as these, and if he had to die a martyr for the honour of God, this for him would only be glorious—death indeed would bring him freedom from the care and toil which accompanied his position in such an age and among such princes.

That Charles V was determined to go to extremes Paul III must have understood from the unprecedented language which he had indulged in to the nuncio Verallo. The French policy in the meantime aimed unremittingly at widening the breach between the Pope and Emperor and producing an incurable antagonism. Cardinal du Bellay drew the nuncio Dandino's attention to the Emperor's toleration of the Protestant confessions in the Estates which had made their submission, and asked the question if that were not a betrayal of the Holy See.

The Emperor's behaviour was, in fact, favourable to such insinuations. Although southern Germany was tranquillized, the state of religion remained just as it was; indeed it seemed as if the Emperor had abandoned the war against the leaders of the Schmalkaldic League, now retired into northern Germany, and was once more directing his attention to Italy. While the Count Egmont of Buren was ordered to discharge a portion of the troops, new Spanish levies were recruited for purposes upon which Ferrante Gonzaga was called in to deliberate. He was of opinion that they should be sent to Siena in order to hold in check the Pope and the Farnesi, who for a long time had had their eyes fixed on that city. Together with this went Ferrante's design, which was becoming more and more pronounced, of wresting Parma and Piacenza from the Papal family.

In view of this situation it was not surprising if Paul III, sorely menaced in the political as well as the ecclesiastical sphere by the domination of the victorious Hapsburg, should have seen not in the Protestants but in the Emperor the more dangerous enemy of the two, and would have been not altogether displeased if the Schmalkaldic forces in northern Germany had held their own against the Imperial army.

The danger appeared all the greater to Paul III since he could not count with certainty either on France or Venice. Under these circumstances he hit upon a strange plan whereby he hoped to evade giving his consent to the Emperor's ever more urgent demands for the great scheme of secularization: special Cardinal-Legates, Sfondrato and Capodiferro, were to invite Charles V and Francis I to avail themselves of the opportunity offered by the death of Henry VIII. (27th-28th January 1547) to undertake the recovery of England to the Catholic Church.

When Verallo on the 11th of March 1547 communicated this project to the Emperor in Nordlingen, the latter grasped the opportunity of once more giving expression to his anger at the Pope's conduct. To please the Pope, who had treated him so shabbily in the present war, he cried out, he would not go to war against the commonest rascal, let alone the nation of England. As for the plan of secularization, he only refrained from carrying it into execution because he estimated the result at a low figure. Yet even Ferdinand the Catholic, who was much more of a

Catholic than Paul III, had carried out such a scheme. For the future he would reserve his reverence only for St. Peter, but not for the Pontiff Paul. The war against the Protestants, which was in nowise yet settled, would be renewed immediately, and he hoped, even were it unpleasant for the Pope, to bring it to a good end. Since Paul III refused him any other support, let them put the nuncio and the Legates in the forefront of the battle, so as to set a good example to the rest, and let men see what they can do with their exorcisms and blessings.

When things had gone thus far on the same nth of March on which Verallo had had to submit to such outpourings of scorn and jeers on himself and the Pope, an event occurred by which the opposition between Pope and Emperor was sharply accentuated. This was the translation of the Council from Trent to Bologna. This most important measure came unexpectedly, as the Synod during the winter of 1546-7 had displayed much productive activity.

CHAPTER XXII.

PROGRESS OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT. — ITS REMOVAL TO BOLOGNA.—THE SCHMALKALDIC WARS END IN VICTORY FOR THE EMPEROR.—ASSASSINATION OF PIER LUIGI FARNESE

When Cardinal Farnese returned to Trent from his German legation on the 14th of November 1546, he there set to work to bring about an agreement between the opposed Papal and Imperialist interests in the Council. He succeeded, in fact, not merely in winning Cardinal Madruzzo but also Mendoza, the ambassador of Charles V, to agree to a suspension. By this via media the translation might be avoided. After long and repeated conversations an agreement was reached on the following points: first, the postponement of the decree on justification; secondly, as it would not be fitting that a reform decree should be published by the Council without a dogmatic decree, but, on the other hand also, the reproach must be avoided that the Council wished to do nothing, the Pope must be asked to issue a Bull on the question of reform, to be afterwards read aloud and approved at the Council; thirdly, that the Council, on account of the Emperor's objection to a translation and of the danger of a suspension for an indefinite period, should be suspended at first for six months only. To this agreement the consent of the Pope and of the Emperor was to be invited. On the assumption that the Emperor's consent was certain Farnese requested the Pope, in communicating the terms of the arrangement, to declare his consent also, and to intimate the same to the Legates.

The Legates in their report to Santaflora of the 17th of November remarked that since Mendoza had anticipated the Emperor's consent they also had done so in the case of the Pope without saying anything of the powers committed to them to accept this measure. They intended in the meantime to work energetically for the formulation of the decree on justification, and advised that the Pope should, if the Emperor did not consent to a suspension, make known his will concerning the immediate publication of the decree, so that the Council might proceed on its course and soon be ended. The Legates expressed stronger doubts of the possibility of carrying through a suspension in their next letter to Santaflora of the 19th of November. Here they insisted that the favourable opportunity had already gone by, and doubted that the Emperor would confirm the agreement come to with his ambassador; in any case, they asked for the speedy transmission of regulations for the continuance of the work of the Council.

The Pope would have preferred, wrote Santaflora on the 23rd of November to Farnese, on receipt of his report from Trent, and to the Legates on the 29th of November, that the suspension had taken place at once after the arrangement had been come to with Mendoza without waiting any longer for a message from the Emperor. If this should come in the sense hoped for, then the

Pope, according to the letter of the 29th, would like the suspension to take place, not as proceeding from him ; he would much rather in this case send the Legates a brief commanding them to procure the suspension by means of the vote of a majority. This promised brief was sent by Farnese to the Legates on the 13th of December.

The Emperor's answer was long delayed, and when it came contained a refusal. After Mendoza and Toledo in the meantime had left Trent, there appeared on the morning of the 20th, as representatives of the Imperial interests, Cardinals Madruzzo and Pacheco, with the Emperor's decision, which they made known to the Legates. According to this Charles V desired, out of consideration for German affairs, the postponement of the publication of the decree on justification and a further examination of the same. With regard to the duty of episcopal residence, he was in favour of the mode agreed to, namely, that the Pope should issue a Bull on the subject, but begged that the special interests of the Spanish bishops should be considered. The suspension of the Council he rejected entirely on the ground that now, after the success of his campaign, he hoped that Germany would submit to the decisions of the Council; but of that there could be no talk unless the Council remained in session, as otherwise its reputation was gone. Thereupon the Legates at once informed the Emperor's representatives that if under these circumstances the suspension was to be dropped, there was then no necessity to comply with the Emperor on the other points. If the Council was to remain in session the decree on justification must be published, and afterwards the remainder of the work quickly settled. They would therefore now, without delay, propose to the Fathers the discussion of the question of episcopal residence and the fixture of a terminal date for the sitting. This they did notwithstanding the objections of the two Cardinals in the general congregation held on the afternoon of the same day ; the voting was to take place on the following day. This was on December the 29th. In accordance with the Legates' proposal the sitting was fixed for the 13th of January by a majority of more than two-thirds as against the sixteen votes of the Imperialists, led by Pacheco. The date was well chosen, for the decree on justification was ripe for judgment. On the following day the discussion on episcopal residence began.

In accordance with the vote taken the sixth solemn session was held on the 13th of January 1547. It was one of the most important of the whole Council, since in it the publication of the decree on justification took place. The Fathers of the Council had devoted all the more diligence and enthusiasm to this subject as it was in itself one of the most difficult questions of theology, and one in which, as Bishop de' Nobili said at the very beginning, the axe must be laid at the root of the Lutheran errors. From the 22nd to the 28th of June 1546 the questions, often most difficult, appertaining to this subject were discussed first of all by the theologians and then from the 30th of June by the bishops. The debates were very animated. At the close of the general congregation of July the 17th, as the Fathers were taking their departure, a deplorable scene took place between two hot-blooded southerners when the Greek Bishop of Crete, Zanettini, roused Sanfelice, Bishop of La Cava, to such a frenzy of anger that the latter seized his opponent by the beard and plucked out the hair.

The draft of a decree on justification, which had been entrusted to four bishops on the 15th of July, encountered strong opposition. Consequently, Cardinal Cervini held a conference with a number of prominent theologians and committed to them the task of drawing up a fresh scheme. Among them was Girolamo Seripando, the learned General of the Augustinian Hermits. On the 1st of August he presented a first draft, afterwards revised at Cardinal Cervini's request, which formed the basis of the discussions conducted by Cervini together with the presiding Legate, del Monte, and many bishops and theologians.

New propositions thus arose which were distributed on September the 23rd among the members of the general congregation. They differed to such an extent both in form and matter from those of Seripando that he could hardly recognize his original handiwork. On the 27th, 28th, and 29th of September the theologians discussed Cervini's proposals, and on the 1st of October the prelates made them the subject of a special debate which was sustained throughout with the greatest thoroughness. It was in the course of these proceedings that Seripando on the 8th of October introduced the theory of a twofold justice, an inherent and an imputed—a theory already supported by certain learned and distinguished theologians in Italy and Germany. It was not his wish, however, he remarked, to affirm or deny in this question, but only to invoke the decision of the Council; if it were found that the doctrinal opinion of a twofold justice was erroneous, let it be rejected unconditionally; but if the contrary were shown to be the case, let not truth be condemned along with error; the great names of Contarini, Cajetan, Pighius, Pflug, and Gropper, on the Catholic side, ought not to be included in the disavowal of Luther, Bucer, and Calvin. It must have made a great impression when Seripando dwelt upon the necessity of submitting the apparently heterodox opinions of men who had been, and still in part were, the champions of the Church to such a full examination that no one could bring forward the charge that the Council had passed sentence against them without thoughtful consideration.

Seripando's action gave rise to deliberations of the most thoroughgoing character not only on the doctrine of an imputed justice, but also on the difficult question of the assurance of salvation on the part of the justified. The debates lasted from the 15th to the 26th of October, through no less than ten conferences of theologians, almost all of whom submitted their opinions in writing at great length.¹ Upholders of the most different opinions, professors of the Sorbonne and Salamanca and members of the old orders, vied with one another in giving lucidity to a question upon which even the most devoted Catholics were widely at variance. Among the new orders the Jesuits were represented by men of such conspicuous learning as Salmeron and Laynez; both had come as theologians of the Pope, and as such enjoyed a certain precedence, but the importance of their position was due primarily to their deep erudition and brilliant powers of exposition. This was particularly the case with Laynez, whose opinion given at the final sitting was one of the most influential.

As the result of the conference of theologians the doctrine of imputed justice was rejected by thirty-two votes to five, to Seripando's bitter disappointment. Still more unfortunate was the well-intentioned but unsuccessful theory of compromise produced at the special debate of the episcopate, which lasted from the 9th of November to the 1st of December. This proposal was rejected by all the Fathers, led by the unerring conviction that inherent righteousness through God's mercy contains already every-thing necessary to salvation, and that the acceptance of an imputed justice is quite unnecessary in order to venerate in the justifying and redeeming grace of Christ the basis and root of the justification of man. Even Seripando, who still defended his favourite thesis with talent and composure, could not resist the force of this argument. He practically surrendered his position by clothing his opinion in words which did little more than express what was common to both opinions.

In the general congregation of the 17th of December 1546 Cardinal del Monte once more drew the attention of the Fathers to a second central question: the assurance of salvation in the justified. Del Monte wished this topic, which must have caused further delay in the publication of the long-debated decree on justification, to be passed over as not strictly belonging to the subject. Cardinal Pacheco opposed him strongly. Both Cardinals had numerous followers, so that it was for long doubtful which opinion would carry the day. In the end del Monte was victorious;

the article on final assurance was dropped, the Council having to restrict its decisions to publicly pronounced errors only.

After repeated drafts, redrafts, and alterations, after thorough and impartial discussion, the decree on justification, composed with scrupulous care, was at last published on the 13th of January 1547. It contains sixteen chapters and three-and-thirty canons and is a masterpiece of theology, formulating with clearness and precision the standard of Catholic truth as distinguished from Pelagian error on the one hand and Protestant on the other.

Starting from the axiom that neither the heathen by their natural powers nor the Jews by the Mosaic law are capable of participation, *i.e.* of reaching a state of grace and of adoption as children of God, the decree first of all insists that Christ alone is the salvation of the world through the communication of the merits of His sufferings, and that only for those who believe in Him and have been born again in Him by baptism. In adults justification has its beginning in the calling of God through prevenient grace without any supernatural merit on the part of man. The latter can resist grace or co-operate with it. In both cases there is the exercise of free will, but the co-operation is also conditioned by grace.

With justification man receives not merely the forgiveness of sins but is also inwardly sanctified. This renewal also is not merely imputed as something adhering to the man from without but is a deep inward process fundamentally transforming the soul.

Faith, however, is not alone sufficient for justification, it must be accompanied by hope and love, and, as the Scripture says, faith certainly must work by love, since faith without works is dead. Faith working by love in a constant state of grace through the following of the commandments of God and the Church results in a continual advance from virtue to virtue.

In opposition to the Protestant assertion of an absolute assurance of salvation it was laid down as Catholic doctrine that no one in this life can fathom the secret of his predestination by God and, apart from a special revelation, know of a certainty that he is of the number of the elect.

While the decree on justification was unanimously accepted in the session of January the 13th, 1547, the reform decree on episcopal residence met with manifold opposition on points of detail. Consequently, the Legates proposed to consider the objections in a general congregation and decide upon them. The 3rd of March was fixed for the next session, and the Fathers were prohibited from leaving Trent before that date. With this the momentous sixth session closed, at which the Archbishop of Spalato, Andrea Cornaro, had sung the High Mass, and the Bishop of Salpe, Tommaso Stella, preached. There were also present the two Legates, Cardinals Madruzzo and Pacheco, ten archbishops, forty-seven bishops, two procurators, five generals of orders, and two abbots. The Imperial ambassadors were absent, and the French kept themselves aloof.

With the publication of the decree on justification, produced under difficult circumstances and after long and serious labour, the Council, in its sixth session, reached the high-water mark of its endeavours. Among the members there was general satisfaction over the announcement of this important decision. There was reason to believe that the Council might now proceed quickly to a finish, since with the publication of the decree the most important dogmatic decision had been reached, and nothing now remained to be done but to apply to the doctrine of the Sacraments the conclusions drawn from the premises thus established.

The Cardinal-Legate Cervini derived such confidence from the success thus happily achieved that he no longer feared the renewed threats of a German national council and wrote to Rome that these declarations were to be received with perfect composure and answered by the

offer of a Legatine mission to Germany. The Pope also showed great satisfaction at the results of the sixth session. In the answer to his instructions which Mendoza received before his departure from Rome on the 30th of January, the following rejoinder was made to the Imperial policy : As the contumacy of the Protestants had gone so far that Charles V himself had found it necessary to take up arms against them, it also seemed to the Pope superfluous to interrupt the Council on their account, especially as the success of the Imperial forces offered a possibility of re-calling their opponents to obedience to the Holy See. The dogmatic decrees of the Council, which in the meantime had been passed, would only be a support and not a hindrance to such a movement. Nevertheless, the Pope, in accordance with the understanding come to with Diego de Mendoza during Farnese's sojourn in Trent, had been willing to meet the Emperor's wishes in regard to the postponement of the dogmatic decisions by means of a suspension ; but as Charles had not consented to this, it had been necessary to let the Council pursue its course, if it were not to dissolve automatically, which undoubtedly would be the case if the Fathers had been obliged to remain inactive in Trent. As to the Emperor's request that the article on justification should be thoroughly examined before publication, enough had undoubtedly been done, since the Council had been occupied with it for six whole months. The proposal that the decree should be submitted to the Universities before publication, as wished for by Charles V, would not only be superfluous, seeing that the opinion of these bodies was already known, but in opposition to the authority of the Council.

The labours of the Council preparatory to the seventh session were now carried on without interference from without. In the general congregation of the 15th of January, del Monte proposed to the Fathers as the subject of discussion for the seventh session the dogmas of the doctrine of the Sacraments, while in relation to reform further debate would be held on the duty of episcopal residence and the abuses and obstacles connected with it. On the 17th of January Cervini distributed among them a summary of the points to be considered under the dogmatic decree, namely, fourteen errors concerning the Sacraments in general, seventeen concerning baptism, and four concerning confirmation. They were first to be treated by the theologians; after preliminary examination by the latter and division into three classes they were, on the 7th of February, again referred to the Fathers and then came before the general congregation for discussion from the 8th to the 21st of February.

As the doctrine of the Sacraments had been the subject of very detailed disquisition by Peter Lombard, St Thomas Aquinas, and their commentators, it did not appear necessary, as with the decree on justification, to set forth the Catholic doctrine in detail and connectedly; the decree was rather to consist of canons in which the various errors should be condemned. It was the wish of some of the Fathers that the condemnation should include the authors of the false teaching by name, but this was disallowed. Here also, especially in the general debate on the sacrament of the altar, which was taken beforehand, the closest examination was made of all theological questions without curtailment or hurry. The final decree, which passed on the 1st and 2nd of March, after many alterations in the original draft, consisted of a preface, thirteen canons on the Sacraments in general, fourteen on baptism, and three on confirmation.

For the preparation of the questions on reform a deputation of canonists consisting of Fathers of the Council was formed on the 20th of January. They sat, under the presidency of del Monte, from the following day until the 29th of January, when their transactions were transferred to the general congregation from the 31st of January to the 7th of February. These dealt, in part, retrospectively with the votes already given on the reform decree in the sixth session, and how they were to be regarded in conjunction with the various separate votes recorded on that occasion. During these first discussions the question was left open whether the previous decree should be

taken as published or be submitted again for a final revision. It was not until the general congregation of the 24th of February, when the question of reform was resumed, that the Legates brought forward this point for settlement. On the following day it was resolved that the decree, as read at the sixth session, should be taken as accepted and approved by the majority in that assembly.

The new reform decree for the seventh session, consisting of fifteen chapters, was finally settled on the 26th and 28th of February. It dealt with the qualifications of nominees to bishoprics, the visitation of sees, the maintenance and repair of churches, the powers of the Cathedral Chapter during the vacancy of a see, the conferring of orders, the approbation of the presentee, the care of hospitals, and the legal position of ecclesiastics; the combination of bishoprics and benefices in one person was made matter of special prohibition. The express nomination of Cardinals, wished for by many, was prevented from becoming subject of discussion by the Legates, on receipt of instructions from Rome, as the reform of the Sacred College was a matter belonging exclusively to the Pope; the same restriction applied to the question whether the duty of episcopal residence was of Divine law. As a matter of fact Paul III, in a consistorial decree published the 18th of February 1547, issued orders prohibiting Cardinals from holding more than one bishopric, and enjoining on them the duty of residence. Del Monte communicated this to the Fathers on the 25th of February and the 2nd of March.

The seventh solemn session held on the 3rd of March 1547 published the two decrees previously prepared. That on reform again called forth numerous objections from some of the Fathers. The celebrant was the Arch-bishop Jacopo Cauco of Corfu; the sermon was omitted, as the preacher, Bishop Martirano of S. Marco, was disabled, owing to hoarseness. Those present were the Legates and Cardinal Pacheco, nine archbishops, fifty-two bishops, two abbots, and five generals of orders. The next session was fixed for the 21st of April.

After such a successful beginning it was not to be foreseen that the work of the Council, instead of being carried quickly forward to a fortunate end, would before long undergo an interruption of more than a year's duration. For some time complaints of the unhealthiness of Trent had been made by not a few of the Fathers. They were redoubled when, about the date of the seventh session, an infectious and in many cases fatal malady, the spotted fever, entered the city. It was said that, owing to the epidemic, external communication with Trent would be cut off. The fears thus aroused among the Fathers afforded an opportunity for removing the Council which the Legates on this occasion could not overlook. If the intolerable pressure which the Emperor, with his claims against the Council, brought to bear upon the Legates and Fathers, is taken into consideration, it is not difficult to understand that they made use of an opportunity, the weight of which is open to dispute, to restore independence to the Synod by withdrawal to a city removed from the reach of the dominating influence of Charles V.

The Legates certainly lost no time in setting to work. In a letter of the 5th of March to Farnese the presiding Cardinal-Legates asked what they were to do if the sickness continued. They did not, however, await the arrival of instructions from the Pope. As the alarm among the Fathers was further increased on the following day, the 6th of March, by the death of Bishop Loffiedo of Capaccio, they judged that no more time was to be lost, and after receiving a medical certificate of the infectious character of the disease from Balduino Balduini, private physician to del Monte, and from Girolamo Fracastoro, physician to the Council, brought the matter on the 9th of March before the general congregation. Del Monte here announced that since the session twelve prelates had left, some without having received the required permission and some without

having even asked for it; others again had now declared that they would go on account of the danger of infection; it was therefore necessary that the Council should come to some decision.

The Legates, as del Monte had made known, did not wish to influence their decision, but to be guided by the voice of the majority; only they could not give their consent to the dissolution of the Synod. Pacheco raised the objection whether they had any right to discuss the removal of the Council from Trent without previous knowledge on the part of the Pope and Emperor. He asked for a few days' postponement; he had with him the Spanish, Neapolitan, and some other prelates. The great majority, however, were for the quickest possible removal from Trent; opinions only differed as to how this should take place—by suspension, or translation, or free permission to individuals to absent themselves for a certain time. The voting was deferred to the following day. Del Monte then announced that the Legates were opposed to a suspension as well as to a general dispersal, as both courses might lead to dissolution. They thought it best to translate the Council to some more suitable spot at not too great a distance from Trent; for preference they recommended Bologna as pre-eminently the most fitted. Pacheco again spoke in opposition; the Pope alone could undertake to translate the Council; such a step would arouse the displeasure of the Emperor and other princes as well as of all Christendom if taken on insufficient grounds; the prevailing sickness did not constitute such a ground, since in the opinion of local physicians it was not nearly so serious or dangerous as Balduini and Fracastoro had represented. To the opposition of the Legates, Pacheco once more declared that the measure was one solely within the Pope's competency, the Legates could not decide without special powers to do so. Pacheco was supported by the rest of the Imperialist prelates, who presented written statements. They concluded by declaring that if the rest of the Fathers left Trent on inadequate grounds, they would remain there, and with them also the authority of the Council. Many of the majority wished to go at once to the Cathedral and there resolve on the translation, but the Legates, in order to avoid the appearance of tumultuary proceedings, put off any further action to the following day.

In this eighth session¹ held on the nth of March, del Monte once more gave a summary of the previous discussions on the question, made known the ascertained facts concerning the sickness, and then read aloud the draft decree of translation. After Pacheco had once more protested and Archbishop Saraceni of Matera had encountered his objections, the voting took place, which resulted in a majority of two-thirds in favour of the decree for translation to Bologna. Del Monte now informed the Fathers for the first time that the Legates had, all along, been empowered by a Papal Bull to undertake the translation of the Council, a fact which they had hitherto kept secret so as not to prejudice the freedom of decision. They then ordered the Bull of the 22nd of February 1545 to be read aloud, and forthwith announced the translation of the Council to Bologna, where on the previously appointed day, the 21st of April, the next session would be held.

On the same day the Legates informed Farnese of what had occurred, with a request that the Curia would take steps to see that the Council in Bologna was more numerously attended. They also addressed themselves to the nuncio Verallo, in order that he, correspondingly instructed as to the state of affairs, might defend the translation against the Emperor's objections. On the 12th of March the Legates, with the majority of the Fathers, left Trent. On the 22nd Cervini and a certain number of bishops entered Bologna, and on the 26th he was followed by del Monte.

The Imperialist prelates, fourteen in number, remained behind in Trent.

The precipitate removal of the Council to Bologna was for the Papal court as well as for all the rest of the world a surprise. The majority of the curialists rejoiced when the news reached Rome. Not so the far-seeing Pontiff, who with characteristic discernment perceived what

misunderstandings might arise from a measure so hastily taken without his previous consent. While he left the conciliar Legates in no doubt as to his private opinions, he did not think it right, seeing that they had acted from a real regard for his interests, to disavow them officially. The translation, in fact, was to this extent unassailable, that it had been voted for by a majority in the Council. In a consistory held on the 25th of March 1547 the Pope gave the measure his consent, the only opponents being three Cardinals, the Spaniards Juan Alvarez de Toledo and Francisco de Mendoza, to whom must be added Sadoleto.

From the first Paul III, supported by Farnese, made every effort to prevent this unexpected incident from increasing the tension which already existed between him and the Emperor. But the ambassador Vega would hear of no excuses; to the assurance that the Pope had not been a party to the translation he refused to give the slightest credence.

Charles V was of the same opinion. On the 17th of March he had despatched a courier to Rome with instructions for Vega bidding the latter to express his extreme displeasure to the Pope and to demand the immediate recall of the Council to Trent. The ambassador, who received this command on the 24th of March, delivered his message on the same evening. Before the audience Cardinal Farnese adjured him to show moderation and “to throw water rather than fuel on the fire.” “I bring neither water nor fuel,” replied Vega, “but intend to carry out his Majesty’s behests.” As Paul III. was also much excited, the interview would have been a stormy one if the Pope at the last moment had not exercised a wise self-control. He calmly explained to Vega that he had taken no part in the proceedings that had led to the translation of the Council. The measure had been as great a surprise to him as to the Emperor. As the Council had agreed to the measure by a majority of more than two-thirds, he could not recall the Synod to Trent without derogating from its freedom ; moreover, the sickness was still prevalent there. Should the Council resolve spontaneously to return, that would be all the more agreeable to him, as thereby the Emperor’s wishes would be realized. But it was desirable that the Synod should first assemble in its entirety at the place to which it had been legitimately translated. Charles V would therefore do well to permit the bishops who had remained in Trent to proceed to Bologna, as thereby they would have the advantage of being able more easily to induce the other Fathers to return to Trent for the reasons adduced by the Emperor. The sojourn in Bologna could not be looked upon as suspicious since, as a matter of fact, a greater number of Councils had been held even in Rome itself.

Bologna, moreover, was encircled by territories the princes of which were known to be the most loyal adherents of the Emperor. This great city again offered all the necessary requisites for the tenure of such an assembly, just as it was suited for the eventual meeting in person of the Pope and the Emperor. Finally, what concerned the security of the Council, which Charles was bound to guarantee, could only be discussed when necessity demanded, a necessity, however, which at present had not arisen. Paul III. added, in conclusion, that if the Emperor considered himself to be the eldest son of the Church, he at the same time could not forget that as Pope, albeit unworthy, he was the Church’s head.

Verallo repeated the substance of these declarations on the 14th of April 1547 in an audience granted to him in Plauen by Charles V.

The Emperor, who had been suffering all through the winter, had for a long time intended to leave the subjection of the Saxon Elector, John Frederick, to his brother Ferdinand and the Margrave Albert of Culmbach; he thought of going himself to Frankfort-on-Main and from there conducting his operations against Philip of Hesse.

He was moved, however, to change his plans by the news that John Frederick had, on March the 2nd, succeeded in taking prisoner the Margrave Albert in Rochlitz and that Ferdinand was threatened by the Bohemian Utraquists. Against the advice of his physician he resolved to hasten with all possible speed with his whole army to the aid of his brother and Duke Maurice, in order to deliver in person a decisive blow against John Frederick. By the 13th of April he had already crossed the Saxon frontier. His first night encampment was at Adorf, the second at Plauen.

The audience which Verallo had to undergo in the latter place made his position almost untenable. He would never believe, declared Charles, breaking in upon the nuncio's representations, that the translation of the Council took place without the Pope's knowledge, since the latter had never wished the Synod to meet in Trent; as for the outbreak of an epidemic, that was merely a pretext. On Verallo remarking that the Pope would not recall a decree of the Council, the Emperor interposed that he had long known well that the Pope knew how to turn things so as to bring them into accord with his own wishes. He added angrily: "The Pope thinks of nothing but to prolong his days, to aggrandize his family, to heap up liches; in order to attain his own ends he rejects the duties of his high office. We know him. He is an obstinate old man, who is working for the destruction of the Church. Those who promised to submit themselves to the Council of Trent have now a just excuse for rejecting the Council of Bologna. But there will be a council forthcoming which shall correspond to the wishes of all Christendom and remove all abuses. We know the full extent of our authority, and that it belongs to us as Emperor to secure the freedom of the Council whether men wish it or not. If necessary we shall send the bishops not merely to Bologna but to Rome, and lead them thither in person."

Verallo tried to defend the Pope from such immoderate attacks. He remarked, among other observations, that the bishops who were in Bologna had gone there of their own free will, while those in Trent remained there at his Majesty's pleasure. It must therefore be said of the latter that they were deprived of freedom; no one could assert that of the former. This very apposite remark had such an effect on the Emperor that he exclaimed: "Go, nuncio; I am not going to argue with you. When you have any business to transact, take it to Granvelle."

Ten days after this audience the arbitrament was settled on the field of Mühlberg on the Elbe; the Emperor in a few hours broke up the whole Saxon army and took the Elector John Frederick prisoner. It was not a battle, said Melanchthon, but a helter-skelter rout. The Imperialist loss amounted to about fifty men, including those who succumbed later to their wounds. Of the Electoral troops more than 2000 fell. They lost all their banners, 21 guns, and 600 waggons with munitions and stores.

On the 5th of May the Emperor stood before Wittemberg; on the 19th a treaty was there concluded, the terms of which included John Frederick's renunciation of the Electorate and the surrender of all his fortresses. The overthrow of the Elector was followed by the submission of the Lower Saxon Circle and on June the 19th by that of Philip of Hesse. Utterly discouraged and intimidated, the latter prince surrendered at discretion. The Emperor handed him over, like the Elector, to strict custody. The victory was complete, and more brilliant than the cautious Emperor had dared to hope.

The news of the overwhelming success in north Germany made all the deeper impression in Rome as shortly before deceptive reports had been received of the long struggle with his adversaries that still awaited Charles V. Instead of that the monarch, who had indulged in such menacing language to Verallo, had reached a fulness of power which no Roman-Germanic Emperor had possessed for centuries. The Pope's fears of Charles V were increased, for with the death of Francis I on March the 31st the check which he had hoped to find in France became very

insecure. Not only did the Imperialist Montmorency regain his influence with the new King, but Henry II. also showed himself indisposed to favour a Council over which Papal influence prevailed. Consequently, the new ambassador, Diego Mendoza, who had taken Vega's place on the 19th of April, found Paul III. much more accessible. Even when Mendoza brought out his threats of an Imperial protest and a national council Paul III. maintained his composure unruffled.[586] At the same time the Fathers in Bologna carried concession so far as to determine on the 19th of April to put off the publication of the decree until the 2nd of June and in the session fixed for the 21st of April only to announce its prorogation.

The victory of Miihlberg was first announced to Paul III by Mendoza and then in a letter from Ferdinand I of the 25th of April. The Pope answered on the 20th of May; ten days later he wrote a letter of congratulation to the Emperor,⁵ and the event was celebrated by a solemn service in St. Peter's.

Cardinal Farnese was at this time in a fever of anxiety to compose the differences between the Emperor and the Pope. With Mendoza on the one hand, with the Pope and powerful Cardinals such as Morone, Crescenzi, Ardinghello, and Santafiora on the other, he kept up indefatigable negotiations. He was successful in arriving at an arrangement with Charles V on the promised subsidies from the Spanish Church. After Mendoza had agreed that the sum to be raised on the sale of conventual property was not to exceed 400,000 ducats, the Pope gave his consent to the preparation of the necessary Bull, although it seemed to him that, in view of the most recent events, the Emperor's opposition to the translation of the Council and the uselessness of the victory in Germany for the Church, he might well have refused.

Cardinal Farnese held out hopes to the Imperialists of further generous support in money. Even Paul III. expressed himself favourably on this point. Farnese left Mendoza in no doubt as to the leading motive of his busy efforts at mediation; an arrangement, he thought, might be reached on all points if only the Emperor would invest Pier Luigi with Parma and Piacenza or Siena. On the conciliar question Farnese and Mendoza were united on a middle course, the acceptance of which, however, by the Emperor was very doubtful. This was that the Council should again return to Trent or to some neighbouring city in German territory, as soon as the Emperor should have ascertained that the Diet or the individual Estates of Germany had pledged themselves to place the questions of religion under the arbitrament of the reassembled Council or to accept the decrees of that Synod. In the meantime the Fathers who had not left Trent should betake themselves to Bologna and there, while for the present avoiding dogmatic questions, continue to deal exclusively with measures of reform.

Paul III. had refused at first to make any concessions on the question of the Council, having remarked to Mendoza that Christ had addressed to St. Peter and not to the Emperor the words : Upon this rock will I build my church.[589] Nevertheless he at last turned an ear to the new proposals, and on May the 31st Cardinal Sfondrato, who had already started on his journey to the Emperor on the 22nd of April, was given full powers to enter upon the arrangement agreed upon between Mendoza and Farnese.

Before this suggestions had come from Rome to Bologna, where the Emperor's victory also had been celebrated, to await the result of the negotiations with Mendoza and to postpone the next session until the middle of August. The Fathers at Bologna therefore determined to fix a date later than the 2nd of June, the day appointed for the future session, since the Pope wished it; the 15th of September was accordingly the day chosen.

This concession was due mainly to the hope entertained in Bologna as well as in Rome that Cardinal Sfondrato, in his Legatine capacity, would allay the quarrel with Charles V. This noble Milanese seemed to be the right man for the task, as in former days he had once done good service in the cause of Imperial policy. In addition to his previous instructions to obtain Charles's consent to an undertaking against England, he was also to secure from him the recognition of the Council at Bologna or at least a pledge that he would not take any measures detrimental to its success. Then, as an after-thought, he was to introduce the subject of the joint proposal of mediation in the matter of the Council arranged by Mendoza and Farnese.

Cardinal Sfondrato, who entered on his difficult mission in no sanguine mood, travelled very slowly. It was the beginning of July 1547 when he first met the Emperor at Bamberg, where, on the 4th of that month, he had an audience. Charles accorded a friendly reception to the Legate, who first congratulated him on the victorious close of the campaign, but refused curtly and firmly to interfere in English affairs. Germany, where enough still remained to be done, was nearer his thoughts; he had, especially after his recent experiences, no inclination to look after the business of other people as commander-in-chief, and finally declared himself heartily sick of campaigning. Sfondrato, with eulogiums of Mendoza, then introduced the subject of mediation with regard to the Council, but here also the Emperor, determined on the unconditional meeting of the Synod at Trent, met him with a positive refusal. In the proposal that the Diet, before the return of the Council to Trent, should declare its submission to the conciliar decrees, Charles saw only a purposely devised scheme to get rid of the Council altogether. He said this openly, and remarked that methods would not be wanting of counteracting such a decision. The Legate dismissed this suspicion as unfounded, so far as the Pope was concerned, and insisted that it was against the dignity of the Council to be again recalled to Trent out of consideration for the German nation, if no guarantee were given that that very nation would suspend its hostility towards the Synod. When the Legate at last requested the Emperor at least to ratify the acceptance of the decrees as they now stood, while the stamp of victory was fresh upon him, he received a scornful rebuff. As he perceived, said Charles, that the Legate had been well instructed on all points, nothing remained for him to say save that in matters of religion he would do his duty and hoped that others would do the same. The Legate replied that this was also the intention of the Pope, and it followed that the only difference lay in the choice of means towards that end. He begged his Majesty to give the matter more mature consideration, as the proposals of mediation had commended themselves to Mendoza. The Emperor, however, rejoined that it would not be astonishing if Mendoza had made a mistake. It would not be necessary for him now to give the matter further reflection, since he had devoted more thought to this than to the war itself. After this hard refusal of all his proposals, the Legate asked if, in view of the fruitlessness of further discussion, it would not be better that he should withdraw, to which the Emperor replied coldly "that he might do as he chose."

The Emperor's rudeness and inflexibility made such an impression on Sfondrato that together with his official report on the 7th of July he sent a private letter to Farnese in which he implored him to come round on the question of the Council and at least to support a suspension of the Synod at Bologna, as otherwise there was a great danger of the powerful Emperor provoking a schism. The Legate was confirmed in this opinion by the continued discourtesy of Charles, who for a long time refused him any audience on the pretext of indisposition. Alba, Soto, and Madruzzo also begged Sfondrato, in the interests of the Church, to induce the Pope to consent to the return of the Council to Trent.

In a letter to Maffei on the 31st of July, Sfondrato wrote that he would rather incur the blame of the public at large by advising a course of conduct unpopular at Rome than burden his

conscience by silence. The Emperor, he set forth in a memorial sent at the same time, is unchangeable in his demand that the Council should return to Trent. If he is told that this cannot possibly be done without the consent of the Council, he replies that it depends solely and entirely on the Pope. If it is suggested that the Council of Trent has waited already two whole years for the German nation and that the Emperor now has the power in his hands to force that nation to return to the Church, the Imperial rejoinder is, that that is only possible by means of the Council and that the Council must be assembled in Trent. If it is pointed out that Trent cannot offer adequate certainty of freedom to the Council, the Imperial contradiction is ready that numerous decrees on dogma have been passed there in opposition to the express orders of the Emperor. If it is pointed out that in the case of Paul III's death the Council in Trent might introduce some innovation in the mode of Papal election or, *vacante sede*, some reform disadvantageous to the Holy See, the counter-allegation is raised that the very same objections were mooted when Trent was originally proposed as the seat of the Council and yet were at that time rejected. Besides, the same reasons are adducible also in the case of Bologna.

In Rome, Sfondrato's behaviour was subjected to strong criticism. The most important Cardinals, Farnese, Crescenzi, Morone, Ardinghello, and Santafiora, took exception to the nuncio's precipitate declarations on his first audience. The situation was made more complicated by an illness which for eight days incapacitated the Pope from holding audiences. It was only a case of obstinate catarrh; but at Paul III's great age even a slight indisposition might lead to fatal results. In that event it was more than doubtful that a Council would be held on German soil. No one, it was the general opinion, could, under such circumstances, feel perfectly certain of the security of the Papal election.

Paul III took counsel with his confidential advisers on the 17th of July as to what should be done. It was determined that the Council must remain free, and decide for itself whether it would return to Trent or move elsewhere. The Pope, reported the Florentine envoy on July the 18th, was much annoyed at the Emperor for not waiting until the Diet of the Empire met, but simply demanding the recall to Trent. That incited the Pope to equal obstinacy. Moreover, he certainly was counting upon the Emperor's want of money, his preoccupation with German affairs, and the probability that he might have to face difficulties in Italy as well. The last remark referred to the Papal endeavours to prepare the way for an alliance with France and to extend this into a formal anti-imperialist coalition. Mendoza, who was informed of these intrigues, displayed no alarm. There is always talk going on, he said, of alliances against the Emperor, but these are so formed that the treaties have hardly been concluded before they end in a competition of all the allies for reconciliation with the object of their attack.

Although many expressed themselves in favour of a return to Trent, the Pope remained firm in his refusal, and with all the more tenacity as the prospects of the Council at Bologna were improving. It seemed as insupportable as ever that the Emperor, the head of secular dominion, should arrogate to himself the final decision in the spiritual sphere as well.

From this certainly justifiable standpoint the Pope would not budge for some time longer; but at last he recoiled in alarm at the incalculable consequences of a complete breach with the victorious monarch. Cardinals Farnese and Crescenzi supported Mendoza's representations, who, in accordance with his master's instructions, did not omit to utter threats of a solemn protest against the Synod of Bologna. Thus the Pope decided to make a partial surrender. At the beginning of September the following agreement was come to at the Pope's summer residence in Foligno. The sitting of the Council fixed for the 15th of September was postponed until the situation as developed by the Diet of Augsburg should be made known; in the interval no conciliar acts were

to be undertaken; therefore the prorogation, which was to be for an indefinite time, was only settled in a simple congregation. If a session were appointed the Pope was to give fourteen days' notice to the Spanish ambassador. Paul III, Cardinal Farnese, and the Legates at Bologna gave their word that the agreement would be observed.

At this juncture a deed of blood, the assassination of Pier Luigi Farnese, the Pope's son, by the Imperialist Viceroy, Ferrante Gonzaga, cut asunder the threads which had just been reunited and threw all things into confusion.

The Italian policy of Charles V had undergone a decided change since the appointment of Ferrante Gonzaga as Viceroy of Milan. With the zeal of a genuine renegade this man had courted the favour of the Emperor by stirring up his animosity against the Italians. The determination of the Spaniards to strengthen, by annexations, the position which the possession of Milan and Naples gave them became clearer day by day. Besides enterprises in Genoa and Siena, the acquisition of Parma and Piacenza was further aimed at. As early as June 1546 the Emperor had let Ferrante Gonzaga understand that he was only awaiting the death of the aged Pope to destroy Pier Luigi. The latter had formed close connections with the French and was in association with all in Italy by whom the Spanish supremacy was regarded as unbearable. The Imperialists believed that in the conspiracy of Fiesco in Genoa the traces of the Farnese influence were to be discerned.

The plan of Ferrante Gonzaga to overthrow his inconvenient and dangerous neighbour, with whom personal dissensions were constantly breaking out, was favoured by the internal conditions of the Duchy of Parma-Piacenza. Pier Luigi had here made for himself more bitter enemies by the rigour of his administration and the harsh assertion of his territorial authority than by his dissolute life. In general his government was no better and no worse than that of most of the petty Italian princes of that day. Like Cosimo de' Medici he also strove to form a homogeneous state out of the conflicting portions of his domain, but in this attempt he came into collision, before all others, with the insubordinate nobility. Accustomed to the lenient rule of the Church, these small barons chafed impatiently under the strong hand of the new ruler who, in proportion as he improved the condition of the people, set limits to the feudal privileges of their masters.

The dissatisfaction grew when Pier Luigi formed under his own immediate command a territorial militia and, with characteristic disregard for others, began to erect in Parma as well as in Piacenza a huge citadel. By the end of 1546 Ferrante Gonzaga had made proposals to the Emperor that he should employ the discontented nobles to overthrow Farnese. Impressed by Farnese's attitude towards the conspiracy of Fiesco, the Emperor listened to Ferrante's schemes with assent, but only in the case of a vacancy in the Holy See. Ferrante Gonzaga, embittered by personal quarrels and constantly goaded on by Doria against Farnese, was loath to wait so long; he tried hard to obtain the Emperor's permission to hazard an early blow. In the spring of 1547 he set forth in detail how favourable the situation was for securing Parma and Piacenza by a sudden stroke. But Charles V. had fresh scruples; he turned with a shudder from Gonzaga's murderous plot when it lay before him point by point; and he was also struck by the unwisdom of thus directly conjuring up the vengeance of the Pope. But afterwards, when the translation of the Council took place, he gave his consent on May the 31st to the forcible expulsion of Pier Luigi.

Ferrante Gonzaga without delay made all the necessary arrangements with the malcontent nobles. Seeing that the works of the citadel of Piacenza were far advanced, and that there was a danger of the conspirators making an alliance with France, he urged upon the Emperor that the moment to strike had come at last. The latter gave his consent, but on the emphatic condition that the Duke's life should be spared. Gonzaga was at pains to obtain a promise from the conspirators, with the express approval of Charles; but they firmly refused to enter into the conditions laid

down by the Emperor. Gonzaga therefore let it drop and, indeed, assured all the participators in the deed of immunity from punishment for all murders committed in the execution of their design. After all the preparations had been made with scrupulous care a postponement was caused by the presence of Ottavio Farnese with his father.

Ottavio had hardly taken his departure when the conspirators made ready for their crime. While the Duke, for whom his astrologer had predicted length of years, sat at table at midday on the 10th of September 1547 with a brilliant retinue, foreboding no evil, the murderers stole one by one into the citadel of Piacenza, unhindered by the unsuspecting German bodyguard. After the Duke had risen from table Count Giovanni Anguissola and two privy to the plot forced their way into his chamber and struck him down with a dagger. The rest of the band had in the meantime overpowered the guard and taken possession of the citadel. In vain Alessandro Tommasoni, commander of the ducal troops, tried to penetrate within the main building, from the window of which the bleeding corpse of Pier Luigi was flung into the trench.

Among the people the murder met with no response; the city authorities likewise would not hear of any change of government. Nevertheless, the fate of Piacenza was already decided. Ferrante Gonzaga hastened thither and on the 12th of September occupied the city in the Emperor's name, after promising the conspirators on Charles's behalf that the city should never again be delivered to the Pope or a Farnese. It was only the vigilance of the commandant that prevented Parma also from falling into the Imperialists' hands. On the 16th of September, Ottavio, the murdered man's eldest son, had already made his entry.

This terrible blow, which seemed to many contemporaries to be the punishment of heaven for the Pope's inordinate nepotism, struck the Pontiff like a lightning flash from a clear sky. On that very 10th of September Paul III, then staying in Perugia, had an interview with Mendoza in which he talked of the course of his career and extolled his luck. On that same day, and perhaps at the self-same hour, his son fell dead at the hand of the assassin.

Deeply as the Pope must have felt this calamity as a father and as a sovereign, yet the aged man, weak in body and vigorous in mind, never lost his composure for a moment. When Cardinal Farnese brought him the fearful tidings he only lamented that he was too fortunate and therefore open to such a counter-stroke; but this event was indeed too hard a blow. To save Piacenza, whose magistrates had sent him a letter of condolence on the 10th of September with assurances of loyalty, he despatched on the 13th Cardinal Cervini as Legate in order to rescue that city for the States of the Church. By whom the blow had been delivered was not long a mystery to Paul III. By the 15th of September he was firmly convinced that all must have been done with the connivance of the Emperor and his servants, especially Ferrante.

Such then were the circumstances under which the question of the Council and that of the reorganization of religion in Germany awaited a final solution.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE EMPEROR IN OPPOSITION TO THE POPE AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE COUNCIL.

In the German war Charles V had made a brilliant display of his superiority over all his opponents: the Schmalkaldic League was shattered, and its leaders, the Saxon Elector and the Landgrave of Hesse, made prisoners. The Emperor seemed to have reached the summit of his power. The reorganization of the religious condition of Germany, which had been suspended during the war, no longer admitted of any postponement. With the destruction of the political power of the Protestant Estates only one-half of the task assigned to himself by Charles was fulfilled; the other and more difficult half had now to be accomplished: the restoration of religious unity. Deeply convinced of the truth of Catholic doctrine, the Emperor sincerely desired this unity, but only in the sense that he, the temporal head of Christendom, should outweigh in influence the spiritual head, the Pope.

As protector of the Church the Emperor held himself to be justified in claiming not only in the political but also in the ecclesiastical sphere the casting vote on all critical questions. Paul III, who saw clearly through this pretension, was not disposed, however, to sink himself to the level of an Imperial vassal or chaplain. It was by no means his nepotism only, but rather his determination from a sense of duty to preserve his independence and freedom as Pope which drew Paul III into antagonism to the monarch “who wished to have all Italy at his free disposal, to secularize in Spain, to dictate in Trent, and to adjudicate at his own tribunal on the great controversy on religion in Germany.”

The opposition between the two potentates, which had been declared openly during the Schmalkaldic war, appeared to have reached the point of rupture when Pier Luigi fell murdered at Imperial instigation and simultaneously Piacenza was seized without a semblance of legal right by Ferrante Gonzaga, the Emperor’s viceroy in Milan.

The situation was now made worse by the unworthy behaviour of the Imperialists towards the aged Pope and his Legate, Cardinal Sfondrato. At first the most deliberate dissimulation was practised in order to prove that the assassination had taken place without the Emperor’s knowledge. Already on the evening of the 13th of September 1547 Granvelle hastened to Sfondrato and showed him a letter from Ferrante Gonzaga assuring the Emperor’s minister that the first news of the murder had just reached him, after the event. On the 16th Granvelle came once more to announce that Piacenza had surrendered to the Emperor. Sfondrato was not at a loss to declare that the speedy redelivery of the city to Ottavio Farnese, the murdered man’s son and

son-in-law of the Emperor, must be the touchstone of his innocence as regards the catastrophe and of his uprightness of intention towards the Pope.

It was not until two days later that Sfondrato had an opportunity, after a High Mass, of seeing Charles, who had been laid up for some time with gout. The latter remarked on this occasion of his own accord and with every apparent sign of sorrow, that he had heard of the events at Piacenza with no other feelings than those of indignation both on account of the murdered Duke himself and of the Pope, and that he was longing for the arrival of an envoy from Gonzaga with fuller information. The Cardinal-Legate, knowing very well that the occasion did not permit of further discussion, confined himself to requesting the Emperor to take such measures as would be consonant with his lofty station, his justice, and his high reputation.

After the arrival of Ferrante's emissary Granvelle once more gave assurance of the viceroy's innocence. He had found himself compelled to comply with the invitation of the inhabitants of Piacenza themselves, who would otherwise have handed over the city to the French; among the conditions to which he had to agree was one prohibiting the transfer of Piacenza either to the family of Farnese or to the Papal States. The Legate rejoined that he did not intend to investigate the question of Gonzaga's innocence; he was content with the fact that the city was occupied by Imperialist troops while belonging by every title of law to Ottavio Farnese. Granvelle replied vaguely that the Emperor would give orders such as the occasion required, but that astonishment was felt that no instructions had come from the Pope. The Legate was able to reply, with reason, that it was the duty of the Emperor and the person who had taken possession to give explanation to the Pope, who was the injured, and, he might add, the plundered party. Hereupon Granvelle assured him that such had been the Emperor's intention, but that he had awaited the arrival of Gonzaga's envoy and also had been afraid of a summons to the French from Piacenza. Sfondrato met this by saying that if the immediate delivery of the city were refused, the greatest embroilment in political, and ecclesiastical relations would ensue.

The Emperor even brought himself to despatch his court official, Figueroa, to Ottavio Farnese and the Pope with messages of condolence and a denial of all complicity in the deeds committed in Piacenza. On his return from a hunting party on the 2nd of October he received both the Cardinal-Legate and Ottavio's representative, Count Sforza Pallavicini. The Legate, who was given audience first, remarked that although he had not yet received from the Pope any instruction with regard to his attitude towards the events at Piacenza, he could not refrain from saying that the occasion was of the utmost importance and one on which it was imperative that his Majesty should declare his mind. He made no concealment that no credence could be given to Ferrante's plea of justification, and once more urged the immediate restoration of Piacenza to Ottavio Farnese. Charles attempted to defend Gonzaga, and declared that his own affection for Ottavio was that of a father for his son; but he was of opinion that the Duke could not ask more from him than he was receiving from the Pope; the behaviour of Paul III could not conduce to benefits towards Ottavio. Here the Legate thought that he must interpose with the observation that the Emperor had made similar remarks on various occasions; he therefore could not avoid reminding his Majesty that the Pope not only on repeated occasions had refrained from courses injurious to the Imperial interests, but had expended a substantial portion of his income on services rendered to Charles, and that to those very contributions the victory in Germany was for the most part owing.

As the Emperor made no answer to these outspoken utterances, the Cardinal went on to describe the trouble which would arise everywhere, especially in the affairs of the Council, if on the question of Piacenza a miscarriage of justice were to be allowed. Charles replied that private

concerns ought never to exercise an influence on public affairs, whereupon the Cardinal remarked that such influence was sure to be exercised when its source was, in both cases, the same, namely, mutual confidence or mutual distrust. The Emperor now tried to bring the interview to an end by assuring Sfondrato that his dutiful reverence and obedience towards the Holy See would never fail; in the Diet now begun he would do everything that was possible on behalf of the cause of religion and inform the Pope and the Legates on all points; as regarded Piacenza he had come to no decision, but he would not fail to take the measures proper to the occasion. To this concise and general statement the Legate replied: "Since your Majesty has not yet come to any decision on this subject, I beg permission to request that the decision may be come to in such a way that it may be not only salutary but swift."

Immediately after the Legate, Sforza Pallavicini had an audience. Yet even he received the same colourless answers, but with this difference, that the Emperor remarked at the close that he did not wish misunderstandings to arise between him and the Pope over Piacenza, and that he would show his favour towards Ottavio Farnese. The spark of hope which this expression had kindled in the Legate and Pallavicini was very soon extinguished in both by a declaration made by Granvelle.

The same devices which had been employed at Augsburg were also employed at Rome by Mendoza towards the Pope and Cardinal Farnese with the same unsuccessful results. What else could have been expected when it was already known at the Papal court on the 17th of September that Ferrante Gonzaga had threatened Count Santafiora and Sforza Pallavicini with the Emperor's displeasure if they continued to protect Parma?

Even if the Imperialists subsequently abstained from vexing Parma, they yet took no steps to punish the murderers of Pier Luigi and to surrender Piacenza as Paul III demanded. The crime of the 10th of September was to be turned to the fullest account. The surrender of Piacenza on the guarantee of compensation was held out as an enticement by the Imperialists to bend the Pope to submission to their master's policy. Paul III. saw through the scheme, and now at last made plain his unmistakable disinclination to give way on the question of the Council.

The Pope's inordinate love for his own offspring may have given the Imperialists some hope that the agitation and horror caused by the recent occurrences would put an end to a life now numbering eighty years; but the iron disposition of Paul III. was proof even against such a shock as this, and henceforward his conduct gained in dignity. "In his relation to the Emperor he appears as the one who has received injury, and the sympathies of men are turned to him and withdrawn from the cold statecraft of his adversary."

Next to the Pope, Cardinal Farnese was the most cruelly stricken. In his first moment of excitement he exclaimed: "If Piacenza is not given back, then will I help myself, as best I can, even if I have to summon hell to aid me." Later he threatened to deliver over Parma to the French. Such utterances were intended to alarm the Imperialists, but at bottom Farnese hoped against hope that the Emperor would have the sense to give back his booty under certain precautionary measures and place Ottavio, his son-in-law, once more in possession of Piacenza. Mendoza tried to foster these vain hopes by showing a letter from Granvelle. Even after the disappointment caused by Figueroa's silence on the restoration of Piacenza, Farnese was of opinion that the Emperor, in view of the ferment in Germany and Italy and the threatening attitude of France, would not push things to extremities.

The Pope also did not yet wish to bar a way of return to the Emperor. When Paul III. in the middle of October addressed a consistory on the murder of Pier Luigi, he declared that Ferrante

Gonzaga was certainly the murderer, but he hoped that the crime had been committed unknown to Charles V and that his Majesty would restore Piacenza to the Church, with which object Mignanelli had been sent to Augsburg. He cherished a distinct hope that the Emperor would fulfil this just expectation and not make himself a participator in wrongdoing. Even if, the Pope went on to declare, he were willing to forgive the injuries he had suffered as a man, leaving it to God to inflict punishment on the sinner, he could not tolerate and forget the acts of iniquity and robbery perpetrated against the Papacy and the Church, but must visit them with chastisement even if in doing so he should die a martyr's death.

In reality Paul III believed that since the murder of September the 10th everything was to be feared from the Imperialists. The fate of Clement VII, in which he had shared, rose before his eyes in vivid colours; after losing Piacenza, he observed, he had no wish to lose Rome also. Measures of security were ordered to be taken without delay. While in Rome troops were collected together under pretext of danger from the side of the Colonna, secret negotiations were entered into with the ambassadors of Venice and France. Henry II, on hearing the news of Pier Luigi's murder, had at once held out hopes of assistance to the Pope. Du Mortier, hitherto French ambassador in Rome, was recalled and replaced by Francois de Rohan. In the last week of October came also Charles de Guise, appointed Cardinal on the 27th of July, ostensibly to receive the red hat, but really in order to negotiate about an alliance by means of which Paul III hoped to be backed up by France.

Guise, an ardent French partisan, once more set before the Pope in glowing colours the shamelessness of the Emperor's conduct: the murder of Pier Luigi by hired bravos, the forcible occupation of a city which Charles himself had bestowed on the Holy See in requital for the help given to him by Papal forces to conquer the Duchy of Milan, and finally, the refusal to restore it to the legitimate successor of the murdered prince and his own son-in-law, who had served him in the war with the happiest success. All the pent-up anger of the Pope, which in Mendoza's presence he had wisely curbed, now broke out afresh. All that he had done for the Emperor, especially by his participation in the Schmalkaldic war, he now rued bitterly. He could forgive his predecessors Leo X and Clement VII for the favours shown to them by Charles V, but not himself. From henceforth he was determined to renew in perpetuity the alliance with France which, as the course of history proved, had always been advantageous to the Holy See. He hoped that he might live long enough to see his friendship with the French King set upon a firm basis, his own family bound to him by indissoluble ties, and he himself an agent in raising Henry II. to be one of the most powerful princes in the world.

The danger from the Emperor's side seemed so great to Paul III that he forgot everything else. The warlike preparations which Charles V was making in Germany and Italy caused alarm in Rome lest he should carry out the advice so often given him by his statesmen and the enemies of the Farnesi and invade the Papal States, already wedged in on the north and south, and confine the Pope within the limits of his ecclesiastical office. Rumours were already afloat of an armed expedition against Rome like that led in 1527 by Frundsberg and Bourbon. No proof was forthcoming that Charles had formed any such plan, but, on the other hand, it is certain that Ferrante Gonzaga, in anticipation of a conjunction between France and the Pope, had made proposals of a similar kind. Gonzaga himself wished to seize Parma, Cosimo de' Medici, with the help of Rodolfo Baglioni, was to operate against Perugia, while Ascanio Colonna attacked Rome on the south.

Against such a danger Paul III thought of securing himself by a defensive alliance with France, Venice, Urbino, and Switzerland. This combination was to form I the door for offensive

operations,” and to free Italy from the Spanish yoke. The Pope in his alarm looked on all sides for support: he even appealed to his mortal enemy Cosimo de’ Medici, and naturally appealed in vain. Far-reaching schemes were concocted. In Italy, Milan, Genoa, and Naples were to be wrested from the Emperor; for the undertaking against Naples the assistance of the numerous refugees was counted upon before all else, and even the services of the ruler of Algiers and of the Sultan were taken into calculation.

With regard to Genoa, Spinola negotiated with Cardinals du Bellay and Guise; Giulio Cibò, who had been already implicated in the Fiesco conspiracy, came at this time to Rome. As the secret of both plots was divulged, it may well be surmised that they were only intended to intimidate the Emperor. Besides, the Pope, despite his great indignation, was far from intending to fling himself there and then into the arms of the French King. Only when Venice also entered into the compact would Paul III. bind himself to the league with France. Henry II, on his side, had many considerations to bring forward against the draft of the Franco-Papal treaty, which Cardinal Guise had transmitted to him on the 10th of November 1547. On neither side was a conclusion arrived at; for the time being everything was in suspense.

In the meantime Charles V, surrounded by Spanish and Italian troops, had opened at Augsburg on the 1st of September 1547 the Diet to which the epithet “armed” was given. All the seven Electors and almost all the temporal and ecclesiastical princes were present, and the Venetian envoy observed with astonishment the “unbounded reverence” displayed towards the Emperor.

To those who looked only on the surface, Charles certainly appeared to stand on the pinnacle of his authority, but he did not fail to perceive that a complete subjection of the Protestant Estates as a whole was out of the question. The northern portions of the Empire were as good as untouched by the events which had just come to pass; but in the rest of Germany also the situation seemed so difficult that the Emperor felt that he had not the means in his possession to carry out his wishes by force. The circumstance that the Emperor had already been confronted by a confederation of numerous Protestant Estates was charged with weighty consequences.

In securing the neutrality of Duke Maurice of Saxony, concessions, on matters of religion, contrary to the stipulations of the treaty concluded with the Pope, had been made which flung over the authority of the Tridentine Council. In renewed violation of the above-mentioned agreement, Charles, in his treaties with the conquered Estates, had not made recognition of the Council one of his conditions, but only submission to the ordinances of the Diet. To the Estates he had given the express assurance that they would be permitted to continue in their religion as before, and that no compulsory change would be forced upon them. If, therefore, there were expectations among many that the victor in the Schmalkaldic war would take vigorous measures for the restoration of the Catholic Church in Germany, the fact was overlooked that the victor himself had already barred the way to any decisive policy of this sort.

The situation was still further complicated by the quarrel with the Pope over the Council, in regard to which the Emperor remained stubborn in his autocratic demand that the Fathers at Bologna should return without delay to Trent. Paul III. was ready to accede to this if the Emperor would give him assurances of the submission of the Protestants of Germany to the decrees of the Synod. Amid the great difficulties with which he was confronted, Charles V, looking upon the Council as if it were an Imperial Diet, seems to have contemplated the possibility of a re-discussion and re-statement of the dogmatic decisions already registered. He completely failed to see that this was beyond the power of any Pope to allow; in theological matters Charles was

somewhat at sea, and was also strongly biased by his political advisers, who from the religious point of view were to some extent in favour of very questionable opinions.

The critical nature of the situation explains the very moderate attitude taken by Charles at the beginning of the Diet of Augsburg. The proposition which he laid before the Estates on the 1st of September 1547 reaffirmed, "as if there had been neither war nor victory," in relation to ecclesiastical as well as secular affairs, the utterances of previous Diets. The affairs of religion were handled with striking brevity. Since the disruption in Germany, so ran the message, has been the root and chief cause of all the disturbance in the Empire, and without its removal no restoration of peace was possible and to attain this object the Council in Trent had been summoned, the first and principal subject of deliberation must be how to effect an agreement and, pending the success of such efforts, how to deal with questions of religion; it would be the business of the Estates to submit proposals on this subject.

No doubt could exist as to the object Charles V had in view. He was as determined as ever to carry out his wishes in the matter of the Council, in spite of the Pope and the Fathers in Bologna. He was bent on exercising pressure on the latter to transfer the Synod once more to Trent through the initiative of the Diet, and in the case of this form of intimidation failing, to cover his retreat by an arbitrary interim regulation of religion carried by the unanimous vote of the Diet. He had taken steps preparatory to such an interim in August, before the opening of the assembly. This finely devised plan was frustrated by the refusal of the ecclesiastical princes to give an expression of opinion before Charles had expounded his intentions more clearly. The secular Electors also of the Palatinate, Saxony and Brandenburg, while disclaiming any intention of anticipating his Majesty, begged, all the same, that a "general, free Christian council should be held at Trent or elsewhere in Germany" for the removal of erroneous doctrines and abuses, to the decisions of which Paul III. must submit. At this "free" council all bishops would have to abjure their oath to the Pope, a decisive vote be given to the Protestants, and the decrees already formulated at Trent be "reassumed," *i.e.* re-opened for discussion! Even the College of princes, prelates, and counts, in which there was a Catholic majority, demanded this "reassumption," a proceeding in direct contradiction to the principles of the Church. The Estates of the Empire declared that the best way to remove the religious dissensions would be to summon a new religious conference or a national council in which God-fearing persons of all stations in life should have a voice in the decisions ! Regarding the Council of Trent, the Estates expressed their conviction that the Emperor would not take any steps towards its continuance, since that Synod "prematurely, without impartial hearing of the cause, had drawn up a medley of confessions and anathemas of doctrine on the most important articles under dispute, and from it nothing was to be looked for but trouble and injustice."

Opinions being thus divided, the Emperor interposed with a resolution of a very peculiar kind. In this document, dated the 18th of October, he declared, with a strange ignoring of contrary opinions, that he understood from the answer of the Estates, "in which he graciously acquiesced, that the discussion on disputed points of religion by the General Christian Council appointed to be held and duly opened at Trent, should there be continued," and he "undertook that they would submit themselves to such a General Council and obediently await and accept its determinations for themselves and their successors, and thus in that place follow the footsteps of the Holy Fathers and ancients who in matters of religion had ever had recourse to holy councils of the Church." The Emperor went on to invite the co-operation of his subjects, especially those of the lower orders, to help as far as possible in supporting the Council in its continuance at Trent so that the deliberations might run their course the sooner and with greater dignity. He also called upon all Christian potentates and nationalities, and especially the German archbishops, bishops, and

prelates, to be present personally or by representatives, giving also an assurance that the upholders of the Augsburg Confession might appear also, with safe-conducts there and back and the right to be heard if necessary. All the transactions and decrees of the Synod should be godly and Christian, all party spirit set aside, all discussions and decisions regulated by Holy Scripture and patristic teaching, and also a serviceable and Christian reform established in matters ecclesiastical and secular and all erroneous teaching and abuses duly abolished. The prayer of the Estates that means should be contrived whereby, until the General Council gave its decisions, they might live on good terms one with another, the Emperor was willing to consider.

Regardless of the objection of Sfrondato, the representative of the Pope, of whom not a single mention had been made in the Emperor's document, the latter endeavoured to induce the Estates, by acceptance of this vague resolution, to entrust to him "the sole management of the affairs of the Council." He succeeded with the Electors and princes, although they only pledged themselves thereby to a council which was to be held at once. The representatives of the towns withstood stubbornly all the endeavours of the Emperor's counsellors. Called before Charles V, they declared that it was not their province to overrule and improve on the opinion of the princes. At the same time they presented a declaration, which had been prepared some time before, demanding a free general Christian council not subject to Papal authority or a national council. The Emperor conveyed to them in reply that it was most acceptable to him that, following the example set by the higher Estates, they placed themselves entirely in his hands and were of the same mind as the rest!

In this way an entirely different meaning was given to the declaration of the towns, for in reality they were not in agreement with the higher Estates at all. They only did not like to animadvert openly on their opinions of the latter in the presence of the Emperor. In order that this ambiguous behaviour might not be used against them in the future, they had set forth their true sentiments in the declaration before mentioned to which afterwards under all circumstances they could appeal.

If the Emperor was satisfied with a "personal management" of the Council fenced about with provisions in this way, he was deceiving himself; for it was clear that the Protestants had never intended really to submit to the conciliar decrees, and that the towns made downright demands for a Council without the Pope, and such an one as should not be a continuation of the Synod of Trent. In no case was he justified in allowing Cardinal Madruzzo to declare to the Pope that the Electors, the ecclesiastical and temporal princes, as well as the towns, had submitted themselves unconditionally to the Council assigned to Trent and there opened, and that on these grounds the Fathers assembled at Bologna ought to return to the former place. In order to give more force to a statement founded on an untruth the Emperor had already, without letting the Legates know, induced the German bishops, in a letter to the Pope, to describe in the most glowing colours the dangers and disadvantages arising to the Church from the translation of the Council to Bologna, and to demand the return of the Fathers of Bologna to Trent.

Every means was to be used to browbeat the Pope into subjection to the Emperor's will. The despatch of the letter from the German episcopate, as well as Madruzzo's mission, was a continuation of the policy of terrorism which the murder of Pier Luigi had introduced.

Cardinal Madruzzo at a critical moment in the year 1546 had played the part of go-between for the Emperor with the Pope. At the same time it was difficult to understand how, on this occasion, he could allow himself to be made use of for services which were doomed before-hand to hopeless failure. The instructions given him were contrary to fact when they spoke of unconditional sub-mission on the part of all the Estates to the Tridentine Council, and made this

a reason that the Emperor should demand a speedy return of the Council to Trent, and that too under threats of a protest if the Pope were to refuse his consent.

Sfondrato was right in his immediate surmise that by the demand for a retranslation of the Council nothing else was intended than to put the Pope in the wrong in case of his refusal, and thereby to lead up to an independent course of action in religious affairs. The Legate, on hearing of Madruzzo's mission, insisted that the latter should also have the fullest instructions with regard to the incident of Piacenza. The Imperialists would not at first consent to this, and only with difficulty was permission obtained that Madruzzo might bring the matter up for general discussion in Rome.

Madruzzo left Augsburg on the 6th of November 1547. His instructions were sent after him a few days later by special courier. In this document the Emperor begged that, besides complying with his principal request, the reopening of the Council in Trent, the Pope would send officials with full powers to set in order temporarily the religious affairs of Germany; concerning the Papal election, the tranquillizing assurance was given that this, even during the assembly of the Council, would be vested in the Sacred College alone.

On November the 23rd Madruzzo entered Rome, having been met by Mendoza, who had gone forward to accompany him and in accordance with the Emperor's wishes was to take part in the negotiations. Madruzzo alighted at the Vatican, and on the following day was received in private audience. He knew well how deeply offended Paul III, had been by the Emperor's behaviour in the matter of Piacenza, and therefore dealt first of all with this subject only, on which certainly he was not able to bring forward much of importance. In an audience in which Farnese and Mendoza took part, on the 25th of November, Madruzzo stated his case as regards the Council, and presented a copy of his instructions. Their phraseology deceived no one, and it was at once recognized that they only dealt with the submission of the Protestants to the first Council that should be held. Nevertheless, no hurried steps were taken; the Pope deferred his answer, as the opinion of the Cardinals had first to be taken.

Paul III. had already, on the 6th of November, called Cardinal Cervini to Rome. Opinions were also asked from Sfondrato, del Monte, and the deputation of Cardinals for the Council. Sfondrato drew a vivid picture of the dangers, but dared not offer any advice. Cardinal del Monte was of opinion that the Emperor was trying to find a means of inculpating the Pope and Cardinals for waste of time, and of then assembling a Council himself. As the Tridentine Synod had removed its seat of its own accord to another place, it was not within the Emperor's competency to transfer it again at his fancy to another city without the approval of the Pope and the rest of the Christian princes. It was impossible, only to please the Protestants, because they demanded a Council in Trent, to do such a thing against the wish of the Fathers and against the wishes of a great number of Catholic princes. In addition Trent had at an earlier period been thought dangerous as a seat for the Council, and this was now still more the case since the events at Piacenza. From dislike of a suspension del Monte advised that the Council should carry out its work in Bologna. Still stronger, he thought, would the Pope's position be against the Emperor if the sittings were removed to Rome. The deputation of Cardinals, in consequence of the deaths of Sadoletto and Badia and the absence of Sfondrato and Morone, now consisted only of Guidiccioni, Crescenzi, and Pole, and were at first unable to agree. The strict Guidiccioni was in favour of the continuance of the Council in Bologna, while his two colleagues preferred a suspension. At last they drew up together a memorial recommending, with regard to the despatch of a plenipotentiary to the Pope, that the opinion of the Fathers at Bologna should be taken on the question of the Council and afterwards a final decision given.

The Pope approved of this compromise. On the 9th of December 1547 he let Madruzzo be informed of it in consistory, but at his request no resolution was come to until Mendoza had been heard. The latter allowed it to transpire that he would deliver a protest against the continuance of the Council in Bologna. In reality, however, he confined himself to a demand made in consistory on the 14th of December, in forcible but very courteous tones, that the Synod should forthwith without delay return to Trent. He was informed that in the next consistory a reply would be communicated to him. After Mendoza and the other envoys had left the consistory it was decided that the matter should be laid before the Fathers of Bologna, which was done in a brief of the 16th of December. Madruzzo now despaired of any success for his mission, and avoided the conflict between his position as Cardinal and that as representative of the Emperor by a hurried departure from Rome.

In consequence the answer of the Council, to which Paul III. had left the decision, bearing date of the 20th of December, was presented to Mendoza in consistory on the 27th of the same month. In this document, drawn up in accordance with del Monte's proposals, the Fathers at Bologna expressed their readiness to return to Trent if this could be done without general prejudice to the interests of Christendom. As a preliminary step to this it would first be necessary for those who had remained behind in disobedience in Trent to attend the legitimately constituted Council as a mark of their recognition, as was due, other-wise an evil precedent would be created. In the second place, since the submission of the German nation was promised only to a Council which was still to be held in Trent, it must previously be established beyond possibility of mistake that the decrees on doctrine hitherto published in accordance with Catholic teaching shall be recognized as immutable and not under any pretext whatever liable to fresh examination. In the third place, since a Council has been spoken of consisting of members drawn from all conditions of men, an assurance must be given that no new form of conciliar discussion is intended. Not less necessary is it, in the fourth place, that on the return of the Council to Trent both the whole assembly in general and each individual member thereof in particular shall have perfect freedom to remain at or to depart from that place. Fifthly and finally, the right of the majority of the Fathers to decide upon the translation and termination of the Council must be recognized.

The conditions laid down by the Council touched the core of the matter and made the situation clear. Even the Emperor could not fail to see that the "personal management" of conciliar affairs did not signify that unconditional submission to the Tridentine Council, so successfully begun, which he had ordered Madruzzo to offer; on the contrary, no one knew better than he that the Protestants had only been driven by the superiority of his armed power to consent to the "personal management" of this matter, and that under the general term of a free Christian Council the Protestants meant nothing else than what they had always declared before. In the same way he must also have been well aware that they had not the slightest intention of recognizing the conciliar decrees already published on the Holy Scriptures, original sin, justification, and the Sacraments, whence it was that in their declarations they always spoke of a council to be held at Trent but not of the Council which had been in session there already. The removal of all these dangerous ambiguities was the more unpleasant to the Emperor since thereby the whole artificial fabric of his "personal management" of the Council by means of all Estates of the Empire fell tumbling to the ground; but on this his demand for the retranslation of the Synod to Trent had been based; since, moreover, the answer of the Council made it clear that, in the case of their suspicions not being removed within a suitable lapse of time, they would proceed with their deliberations, Charles V felt that he must no longer delay the adoption of counter-measures. The dread of a schism would deter Pope and Council from proceedings such as would, he feared, prove the destruction of all his plans.

Not for a moment did Charles accept the first of the conditions laid down by the Fathers at Bologna: that the Spanish prelates who had stayed behind in Trent must again unite with those in Bologna before the Council transferred its seat. In everything must the Pope and Council bend before his will. The protestation, that appeal to terror, which hitherto he had only used as a threat, he now brought into immediate execution. For this purpose he chose the most solemn form which he could find. Two of his officials, the attorney, Francesco Vargas, and the doctor of canon law, Velasco, who since the beginning of November 1547 had secretly held themselves in readiness in Bologna for any emergency, appeared on the 16th of January 1548 in the general congregation of the Council, then engaged in discussing abuses of the Sacrament of penance, and demanded a hearing. This was granted, as was also the attendance of the notary and witnesses of the two Imperial procurators. In the plenary instructions which were shown to the notary of the Council it said that the Emperor, in the service of religion and in the interests of the Church, found himself under the necessity of protesting against certain persons who usurped the title of Apostolic Legates and against a convention in Bologna styling itself a Council. The Council met this attack by a declaration read aloud by the notary Claudio della Casa and repeated later on. In this counter-protestation the Council affirmed : Although the congregation sitting under the presidency of the Cardinal-Legate del Monte was under no obligation to hear procurators who had been sent to the Council as to an illegal convention, yet they would grant a hearing in order that it might not be said that it was not open to every man to present his case; against all consequences of this permission granted to the procurators the Council would protect itself. By this declaration the audience of the Emperor's agents " was reduced to an almost insignificant act of courtesy and etiquette due to the Imperial Majesty."

Vargas in a distinct and audible voice then delivered an address in which, with avoidance of the prescribed titles of the conciliar Fathers, he admonished the assembled bishops to take heed to that which he was about to announce in exact conformity with his Majesty's orders, and by their return to Trent to escape the inevitable ruin. As Vargas had begun with the words, "We are here as legally appointed plenipotentiaries of our Lord the Roman Emperor," so del Monte opened his reply by saying: " I also am here as Legate of the true and undoubted Pope Paul, the successor of St. Peter and Vicar of our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ. Here also are the Fathers of the General Council legally translated from Trent. We all beg the Emperor to change his mind, for on the troublers of a General Assembly of the Church, whatever position they may occupy, fall the heaviest penalties. Come what may, we shall not surrender the dignity of the Church and of the Council."

Vargas hereupon presented the original Imperial mandate, dated Augsburg, August the 22nd, 1547, in protest to the secretary of the Council, Angelo Massarelli, who read the document aloud, whereat the promotor of the Council, Ercole Severoli, and Cardinal del Monte repeated their protest already mentioned. Vargas then recited the Emperor's long-winded protest. The incidents of an earlier date were enumerated in a very one-sided manner; the translation to Bologna was attacked as having taken place illegally at the instigation of a few prelates without leave being asked of Pope, Emperor, or princes, and the return to Trent demanded, the latter on the false ground that all Estates of the Empire had promised unconditional submission to the Council summoned to Trent. The answer made by the Fathers of Bologna to the Pope was described as ambiguous and treacherous and the right of their assembly to prescribe laws for Christian people on matters of faith and of reform disputed: still, most of the bishops present in Bologna were dependent upon the Pope's nod. This document, the tone of which towards the close increased in harshness, wound up with the significant declaration: "We declare aloud that our Emperor is ready to encounter the storm and tempest which he has feared and which he sees are

about to break through your guilt and negligence and that of the Pope. The Church he will take zealously under his protection and do all he can that befits his right and office, his dignity and duty as Emperor and King, so far as the law permits and it has been established and observed by the laws, the doctrine of the Fathers, and the general consent of men.”

Foreseeing that the Imperial procurators would not appear again to receive a written answer to their protest, the President of the Council, Cardinal-Legate del Monte, determined to reply at once. The violent attacks of the Emperor had exasperated even him, yet his rejoinder, although severe, was dignified. He solemnly called God to witness that all the allegations of the procurators against the honour of himself and of his colleagues and against the validity and legality of the translation were untrue, wherefore he refrained from producing the authentic proofs. He as well as his colleagues were true and legitimate Legates of the Holy See. The Emperor was the son, and not the lord and master of the Church. He as well as the Fathers of the Synod would rather suffer death than allow the temporal power to oppress the Church and rob her of her freedom.

The agitating proceedings which the Imperial procurators had brought about in this theatrical manner lasted from a quarter past two to a quarter past eight in the evening. The unruffled composure and firmness displayed by Cardinal del Monte on this occasion received the highest tribute of recognition even from his enemies. The same determination, however, was not shown by the majority of the Fathers. They inferred that the Emperor had been ill-informed because no mention had been made of the conditions on which the return to Trent depended. The written reply therefore finally took the form of a very mild protest. When it was taken for delivery to the procurators they had already left. Morone expressed his horror at the consequences which a breach between the Emperor and Pope must entail. Yet he had confidence that the Emperor was too wise and too high-minded to conjure up a strife the end of which no man could foresee. Cardinal Cervini, who had returned to Bologna on the 23rd of January 1548, spoke in favour of a suspension, as Morone did on the 26th of January. In agreement with him was del Monte, who considered suspension to be the lesser evil. At the same time they sent proposals as to the answer to be made to the protest which Mendoza had lodged at Rome.

In vain did well-intentioned Cardinals in Rome try to prevent a repetition of the scene enacted in Bologna; in vain the Pope attempted to put off Mendoza's audience, but the latter would not draw back. On the 23rd of January 1548, in a consistory before the Pope, Cardinals, and envoys, he declared ecclesiastical war in terms similar to those of the protest made at Bologna, subject to some necessary alterations. Notwithstanding all the accusations here raised against him, the sagacious Pope had sufficient self-mastery to abstain from an immediate reply. He wished to give an answer which should be the outcome of mature consideration, and invited Mendoza to attend a consistory on the 1st of February to receive his message.

In the meantime, the proposals of the Legates at Bologna arrived. They advised, together with the suspension of the Council, the assumption by the Pope of the function of judge in the matter of the removal to Trent. In private consultation with Mendoza the proposal was also made that, instead of the transference of the Council, three Cardinal-Legates should be sent to Germany to arrange a temporary settlement of religious affairs. The Emperor's ambassador, in an audience of the Pope on the 25th of January, in which he made most violent reproaches, rejected this plan with the remark, “The Council first, the Legates afterwards.”

The answer given to Mendoza in consistory on the 1st of February 1548 to the protest of the 23rd of January was drawn up by Cardinal Pole with the utmost caution, tact, and wisdom, in order to avoid, as far as possible, the ultimate evil, a full and open rupture. With this object, the offensive protestation was treated as an act of Mendoza's in which he had exceeded his master's

instructions. Accordingly, the responsibility for the document was laid upon the ambassador, but even this in part in a very mitigated form. The latter, the reply began, could have no difficulty in forming an idea of the great grief felt by the Pope on receiving the protestation, as Mendoza himself apparently was not altogether a stranger to the same sentiments. The Pope, besides, could not believe that the Emperor intended to protest against the Pontiff's own person; his protest was lodged against the Legates as the authors of the transference of the Council. If it was said of the Fathers at Bologna that they were under special obligations to the Pope, his Holiness could only say that, apart from the relations in which he stood as Chief Shepherd towards his flock, he acknowledged no particular party, nor had he, during the negotiations hitherto carried on, yet found the necessity of having any such party to rely upon; on the contrary, he had urged upon the Legates as an express duty the maintenance of the freedom of the Council. As regards the complaint made of the answer sent in compliance with Madruzzo's proposal, the only rejoinder possible, until these general objections were more particularized, was that the strictest endeavour was made to adhere to the primitive usage of the Church, and also to the ordinances of the Emperor himself, provided the following premisses were observed, that the dogmas already-established could not be submitted to further examination, that private persons could not be accepted as judges, and that freedom of place and persons should be guaranteed.

The answer then went on to make an important concession whereby Paul III abandoned his previous standpoint that the Council at Bologna should decide on the matter of translation. Since in the protestation many reasons had been adduced to prove the invalidity and illegality of the transfer of the Council, reasons which equitably demanded examination, the Pope, out of love of unity in the Church, consented to arbitrate on this question. For this purpose four Cardinals from different nations, namely, du Bellay, Alvarez de Toledo, Crescenzi, and Pole, would have full powers to make inquiry into the legality of translation; if their verdict was adverse, then the Pope would bring all his authority into play in order to bring about the return to Trent. In order that in the interval Germany might not suffer any disadvantage, his Holiness offered to send Legates or nuncios thither who should, for the time being, try to meet the most pressing necessities.

This temperate as well as dignified reply of Paul III shows plainly he wished to keep a way of escape open to Charles V. As an alliance with France and Venice was not to be reckoned upon as a certainty, it seemed necessary to temporize, however bitter the Pope's feelings were, especially at the behaviour of Charles in the affairs of Piacenza.

The endeavours to come to an understanding with Mendoza were fruitless, and he left Rome on the 15th of February. It was of greater importance that Paul III, in accordance with the opinion of the Cardinal-Legates, resolved, in order to prevent a schism, to order a suspension of the Council so that all synodal transactions hitherto carried on in the congregations came to an end. At the same time the preliminaries to a decision on the validity of the transfer of the Council were set on foot. On the 16th of February the Fathers at Bologna, and on the 25th those at Trent, were each directed to send at least three from their number in order that the Pope might give his decision after hearing the arguments on both sides.

The Emperor in a Privy Council held on February the 13th, 1548, had confirmed Mendoza's protest. To the Pope's conciliatory and temperate reply of the 1st of February he ordered an answer to be prepared. Nevertheless, he still shrank from the extreme step. For the present he was satisfied with the success of his policy of threats. The point of capital importance was that the Pope did not reject absolutely the scheme of organizing religious conditions in Germany on a temporary basis. On this object the Emperor's whole mind was bent.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE INTERIM.—LAST DAYS OF PAUL III.—HIS DEATH.

Cardinal Madruzzo had reported to the Diet of Augsburg on the 14th of January 1548 the unsuccessful results of his negotiations in Rome. In conjunction with this the Emperor brought forward his long-cherished plan of establishing, in virtue of his supreme authority in the Empire, with the co-operation of the Estates, a readjustment of ecclesiastical conditions in Germany which, pending the full reconciliation hoped for from the Council, and as a preparation for the same, should prove satisfactory to Protestants and Catholics alike.

The idea of such an agreement finds its earliest expression incidentally in a letter of Charles V of the 9th of January 1547, in which he asked his brother Ferdinand I to give him advice concerning the measures to be employed in Germany. In his reply of the 19th of February the King of the Romans took up his brother's suggestion, and recommended in the first place the usual method of a Council, to be constituted, however, in such a way as to leave no door open for Protestant complaint; since it was very doubtful, if the Pope continued to act as he had hitherto done, that this object would be obtained, although a great deal of time would be spent on the negotiations, but in order to avoid further secessions, a temporary reorganization of religion or Christian reformation, which afterwards could be confirmed by the Pope and Council, must be established, on the basis of the earlier religious conferences, by theologians of mature experience. When Charles V. accepted this proposal he certainly was not thinking of founding a Germanic Church on the pattern of the Gallican. He only wished, by means of a religious compromise and the removal of abuses in the Church, to put an end to the internal dissensions which were crippling his Imperial authority. In a certain sense Charles was falling back on the earlier attempts at reunion, but with this difference, that on this occasion the formula of agreement was not to be drawn up by a conference, and was to be of a temporary character. The Emperor still recognized as clearly as ever that the religious controversy turned upon two entirely contradictory systems which could not be harmonized by a "more" or "less." Charles hoped that his new expedient would create a state of things by which the gradual return of the Protestants to the Catholic Church would be rendered possible.

Even if the Emperor's idea of restoring, in the flush of victory, the sorely needed religious peace to the Empire in such a way as this, sprang from the best intentions, yet the whole undertaking was already from the outset foredoomed to failure from the lack of ecclesiastical authority. Charles had indeed declared in October 1547, when he appointed four theologians to discuss with his confessor Soto the management of religious affairs in Germany until the conciliar

decision should have been pronounced, that the work of this commission was to be laid before the Pope, but this step was not taken. Even the request made through Madruzzo and Mendoza that the Pope should co-operate through plenipotentiaries in the Emperor's scheme of religious reorganization in Germany was not meant quite seriously. The Pope certainly could not altogether be left out of the question, since through him only was it possible to get the German bishops to take a part in carrying out the "Provisorium"; but Paul III. was never permitted to exercise the decisive influence which as Head of the Church it was his prerogative to wield. The constant slights offered to Cardinal Sfondrato in the Diet, treatment of which he complains repeatedly in his letters, above all, his total exclusion from any knowledge of the negotiations over the establishment of the Interim, show clearly that even a new plenipotentiary, to whose mission Paul III. was willing to consent, would have done no more than occupy a merely formal position. The Cardinal-Legate, Sfondrato, it is true, at once expressed his astonishment when Charles V. communicated his plan to the Estates that no representative of the Pope should have been consulted on the establishment of a new system of religious organization.

Charles V himself was conscious of the risks he was running in setting up his "Imperial Interim religion." He therefore tried to acquit himself by throwing the responsibility of its inception on the Diet. The consideration had also certainly great weight with him that success would only then be possible when he had with him the active participation of the Estates in the scheme. It was therefore extremely displeasing to the Emperor when the ecclesiastical Electors refused to pronounce sentence on dogmatic questions which belonged to the Papal and conciliar tribunal. But many Protestants also had great objections to the scheme from distrust of the Emperor's Spanish theologians. Charles V found himself in consequence obliged at last to form a committee of sixteen persons to deliberate on the means of securing Christian unity. Their consultations brought a fresh disappointment to the head of the Empire; careful as he had been to choose the members so as to represent as nearly as possible all classes in the Estates, the upshot of the commission was that they were able to agree only on one point: that a removal of the religious dissensions was necessary!

The Emperor's attempt to shift the responsibility on to other men's shoulders having failed, no other course remained open to him save that of an arbitrary exercise of power. The formula which was to be the instrument for realizing his schemes was fashioned with such secrecy that up to this day the most various opinions prevail as to the origin of the Interim. The first draft was from the pen of Julius Pflug, the follower of Erasmus, who hoped by yet further concessions to win over the Protestants. Other hands taking part in the work were those, on the Catholic side, of Michael Helding, Suffragan-Bishop of Mainz, the Carmelite, Eberhard Billick, and the Spanish theologians Soto and Malvenda; while on the Protestant side John Agricola, the conceited court preacher of Joachim of Brandenburg, took part in the composition of the formula which was to work the miracle of healing the religious breach which for a generation had been rending the Empire in twain. Many as the alterations were in the original draft, the main outlines of the ground-plan remained plainly visible.

The Interim, or "Declaration of his Roman Imperial Majesty on the observance of religion within the Holy Empire until the decision of the General Council," consists of six-and-twenty chapters, the dogmatic statements of which are drawn up almost entirely in the Catholic sense but always in the mildest and often vaguest terms. Where it could be done without detriment to dogma the form and statements approach very near to the Protestant standard, but fundamentally the definitions are mostly Catholic. On the seven Sacraments, the worship of Mary and the saints, monastic vows, fasts, and finally on the Pope and the episcopate, the Catholic doctrine is advanced. The doctrine of purgatory was passed over, and the definition of justification was

wanting in the requisite precision; this was all the more suspicious as the Tridentine Council had already formulated the Catholic teaching on this crucial question. Although Charles had acknowledged in February 1547 this definition to be “most Catholic and holy,” he now, in his zeal for the removal of the religious troubles, accepted in the “Interim,” without regard for the authority of the Council, the discrepant formula of the mediatizing theologians.

Even the doctrine of the Mass, out of consideration for Protestant opinion, was represented in terms wanting in definiteness and precision. Still more unfortunate was the employment of expressions of such ambiguity on many articles that both parties were able to claim the statement of doctrine as favourable to their own particular view. The ceremonial of the Sacraments was left untouched. In every town and church possessing its own priests two Masses at least were to be said daily, and in the villages one was to be said on high festivals. The altars, vestments, vessels, banners, crosses, pictures, and images were to remain in the churches. Also the principal feasts, including Corpus Christi, the days of the Holy Virgin, of the Apostles and Saints, All Saints, and the patronal festivals of individual churches were to be more widely celebrated, Fridays and Saturdays kept as fasts, and the customary fast-days observed.

In order to facilitate for the Protestants entrance into the old Church, which the Interim was to bring about, two important concessions were made : the marriage of the clergy and communion under both kinds, but only provisionally until the Council made known its decision. Tacit assent was given to the possession of appropriated Church property.

Introductory to the official acceptance of the Interim, which was finished in its entirety on the 12th of March 1548, the Emperor entered into private negotiations with each Estate. The Electors Palatine and of Brandenburg were easily won, the latter having attempted for some time to take up a middle position between the old doctrine and the new. Maurice of Saxony was more difficult to handle, although he was at last invested on the 24th of February with the Electorate taken away from John Frederick. Personally, Maurice declared that he was indeed ready to accept a clearly expressed resolution of the Diet, but refused to bind himself to obligations without previous consultation with his theologians and his Estates. He could on this point call attention to the fact that previous to the Schmalkaldic wars he had, with the Emperor’s knowledge and at his wish, given his subjects assurances regarding the maintenance of their religion. In spite of all his persuasions Charles only succeeded in coming to a feeble compromise which secured to the crafty Maurice his freedom from obligations. The other Pro-testant confederates of the Emperor, the Margrave Hans of Brandenburg-Custrin, as well as the representative of Strasburg, resolutely opposed, in the face of all expostulations, the acceptance of the Interim. On the other hand, Nuremberg, Ulm, and Augsburg gave in their adhesion.

The strongest opposition to the Interim came from the Catholic Estates. Ecclesiastics as well as laymen were not willing that the Emperor, although only temporarily, should arrogate to himself the position of religious arbitrator for Catholics and attribute to the temporal power instead of to the infallible Church the determination of matters of faith. The Catholic Estates were so far perfectly independent in their action that no Roman instigation could be proved. On the contrary, Bavaria had fanned and led this opposition far less from motives of Catholic zeal than from those of political rivalry. None save the Pope and the Council, declared the ecclesiastical Electors, had the right to consent to or to dispense and tolerate changes in respect of clerical marriage and com-munion under both kinds.

Still more pointed was the protest of the Catholic princes and Estates, in the composition of which the Bavarian chancellor Eck had an important share. The Emperor was here made to understand in unmistakable terms that he was overstepping his authority when he presumed to

handle definitions of doctrine which had been committed already to the Council; it was to be feared that general confusion, if not obstruction, to the Council would result. Let Charles use his influence with the Protestant Estates to make them repudiate their doctrines, those even of the Augsburg Confession, according to which they never lived. The concessions with regard to marriage and communion under both kinds were not permissible; both might be tolerated at the utmost in Protestant Estates until the Council gave its decision, but neither could be expressly permitted—no, not even by the Pope! Finally, there must be restitution of Church property, free exercise of religion for those who had remained Catholic in a Protestant district, and absolute prohibition of innovations in districts that were already Catholic. The Emperor refused to accept the protest of the princes, and used language of unprecedented harshness towards Eck, the Bavarian chancellor, whom he spoke of as “Judas,” just as at a later date he simply expelled the Jesuit Bobadilla for having preached against the Interim in Augsburg.

A remarkable concession on the part of Charles broke down the opposition of the Catholic princes. The latter finally determined, through their Council, to associate themselves with the milder remonstrance of the ecclesiastical Electors after having received the assurance that the Interim did not apply to Catholics, but had been arranged by the Emperor with no other intention than to draw the Protestant Estates once more to the Catholic religion with a view to their final submission.

The motive for this important surrender was probably the fear felt by the Imperialists that the Pope might form an alliance with the Catholic princes of Germany in order to make common cause against the Interim. This explains the startling fact that Charles, with all his Catholic orthodoxy, obstinately debarred the spiritual head of Christendom from taking a part in negotiations which vitally affected the highest interests of religion. He evidently thought that when his great effort was crowned with success the Pope and the Council, for good or for evil, would be compelled to give their consent.

The Emperor’s love of arbitrary procedure in matters of religion was exemplified afresh by his behaviour in the question of the Council. At an earlier date he had pressed the Pope to come to a decision on the subject of the transference of the Council; now, when Paul III seemed prepared to comply, and had summoned witnesses from Trent, the Emperor forbade the latter to obey the injunctions of their highest ecclesiastical ruler. Nothing could be more characteristic of the Imperialist pretensions than the experience of Giuliano Ardinghello, who was sent by Cardinal Farnese, in agreement with the Pope, to Germany on matters connected with the Council. On reaching Augsburg on the 13th of March 1548 he found that the Emperor’s representative claimed to lay down for the Papal plenipotentiaries the limits of their ecclesiastical faculties.

It was therefore no matter for surprise when, at the end of April, on the receipt of the text of the Interim, for presentation to the Pope, Cardinal Sfondrato was apprised that this did not mean that the Pontiff’s opinion thereon was invited, but simply that he was put in cognizance of its contents. Sfondrato on this occasion certainly did not delay in representing to the Emperor that although the Interim formed no binding rule of faith, the promulgation of which was not within his Majesty’s competence, but only a provisional permissive enactment, yet it must be taken into consideration that the draft in many places was so badly and ambiguously worded as to give the impression that what was aimed at was uniformity of words rather than unity of faith. Thus in the Interim the marriage of the clergy was conceded which, although forbidden by ecclesiastical and not by Divine law, could not be sanctioned by the temporal power, all the less so since the prohibition of marriage to those who have received priests’ orders rests on an unbroken Apostolic tradition; further, the permission in the Interim to communicate the laity with the chalice was

contrary to the decisions of many Councils. However that might be, he, Sfondrato, did not hold himself justified in pronouncing a verdict on matters of such grave importance. He would much rather await the sentence of the Pope and his special plenipotentiaries. .

Charles had not the remotest intention of so doing. Urged by his political counsellors, and full of impatience to bring the religious reconciliation into being without delay, he believed that he would satisfy his conscience and the Catholic party if he made some alterations in the objectionable clauses of the Interim; provided, indeed, that such alterations would find favour with the Protestants.

From the Pope, Charles only looked with fear for hindrances to his intentions. His distrust was deepened by the prevalent belief in Augsburg that Paul III was in alliance with France. It was also characteristic of the temper then reigning in the Emperor's court that Savonarola's sermons were largely read. Suspicion and aversion increased on the journey of Prospero Santa Croce, appointed nuncio to King Ferdinand, which was long protracted. The worst surmises were indulged in as to the Pope's dependence upon France. The fear of interference on the part of the French Government seemed not unfounded, since that body was as determined as ever to prevent Paul III. from coming to terms with the Emperor. A breach between the two would at once drive the Pope into the arms of Henry II. No means came amiss that could forward this end. The mission of Ardinghello gave France a pretext for threatening to recall her bishops and prelates from Bologna, while in Rome Cardinal du Bellay was hard at work to prevent the despatch of plenipotentiaries to the Emperor. If unsuccessful in this attempt, he was at least to manage so that they should not be present at the Diet, but betake themselves to some place agreed upon with the Estates of Germany. Du Bellay found supporters in Cardinals Cupis and Carafa, who were anti-Spanish; the interests of Charles V were safe in the loyal keeping of Cardinals Juan Alvarez de Toledo, Francesco Mendoza, and Cueva.

Paul III weighed the matter without coming to any immediate resolution. He invited provisional opinions from the conciliar deputies in Rome and from the Legates in Bologna in order to be fully armed in case a decision should become imperative without longer delay. At last Santa Croce received instructions to represent to Charles V that, in spite of several consultations, the difficulties of the Interim still appeared too great to admit of a final decision within the short space of time at the Pope's disposal. In order, however, to relieve the Emperor from suspense and uncertainty Santa Croce had been sent to announce that, within ten or twelve days at the latest, plenipotentiaries would be despatched with the most comprehensive faculties. For this proceeding a leading motive was also the knowledge that the Emperor intended the plenipotentiaries to have only a superficial and formal share in the new organization of religion. Charles V was all the more surprised at the fresh postponement of a decision, as he had expected, from a letter of the 27th of April of Farnese, that Santa Croce would certainly bring with him satisfactory instructions not only on the matter of the Council, but concerning the mission of the plenipotentiaries.

As soon as Charles saw clearly that he had been deceived he determined to show no further consideration for the Pope, and to go on with his religious policy on his own initiative entirely. In order to cut off the possibility of any protest he refused on one pretext and another to give Santa Croce an audience until the decisive step had been taken. Not until he had read aloud the Interim to the Estates in a solemn session of the Diet did he receive the nuncio together with Sfondrato. When both arrived punctually at the hour of audience they were obliged to wait for a short time, as the Emperor was still detained by the Diet. Santa Croce declared drily that his instructions, which concerned both the mission of the plenipotentiaries and the restitution of Piacenza, had been rendered nugatory by the announcement just made of the Interim; but, in spite of that, he

produced them. Charles V tried to justify his conduct on the ground that the Diet could no longer be kept in any suspense. When the nuncio attempted to broach the subject of Piacenza he was interrupted by the remark that that was a private matter which was essentially one of domestic interest to the Farnese family and must be subordinate to affairs of public importance. The nuncio then tried to add something in reference to the Interim; but the Emperor rejoined haughtily and seriously that in this matter he had acted only as a legitimate and Catholic prince.

Santa Croce had informed the King of the Romans openly, before his audience with Charles V, that the Pope did not see what object there could be in sending Legates if they were not to possess full powers in dealing with the matter of the Interim. Santa Croce also reminded Ferdinand that Charles had allowed it to be said that it would suffice if the Legates' share in the undertaking were restricted to maintaining the prestige of the Holy See, while in other respects they were simply to register his wishes and do nothing to destroy a plan which he had brought into existence with much trouble and anxiety. Paul III. was of opinion that if he were to send Legates to Augsburg only to execute the commands of Charles V, he would virtually be abandoning his office, and the Emperor would then become the Pope.

In order to make the Interim acceptable to the Catholic princes and also perhaps to allay some personal scruples of conscience, Charles allowed at the eleventh hour some changes to be made in the formula. The proposal to the Diet was based on the understanding that the Interim should be "personally arranged" by Charles. In the deliberations in the Diet which immediately followed an opposition already made itself conspicuous, resting in part on the objection that the formula ought not to apply to all the Estates but only to the Protestant. Regardless of this, the Elector of Mainz declared in the name of the Estates that since they had entrusted to the Emperor personally the provisional settlement of the religious dissensions until such time as a decision was delivered by a General Council, it was right that they should pay obedience to the Imperial decree. As this declaration was received without contradiction, the Emperor drew the conclusion that his ordinances met with general acceptance. He was soon to learn a very different lesson.

Although the further proceedings were kept as private as possible, Sfondrato very soon became aware that the Elector Maurice was by no means enamoured of the Interim, and that in the towns the dislike of the scheme was still more intense. From conversations with Charles's confessor, Soto, and others he gathered that the Emperor in-tended in any case to push his new settlement of religious affairs in Germany to a finish without the Pope. In an audience given to Sfondrato on the 21st of May, Charles made no disguise of his distrust of Paul III, and declared that he would carry out his undertaking without Papal assistance; the Legates must appear with adequate faculties, otherwise their mission would be useless. In the matter of Piacenza he was determined to do nothing as long as his demands were unfulfilled.

With regard to the Interim, Sfondrato was able to report that the difficulties were steadily increasing. Santa Croce said the same with fuller detail in his despatch of May the 22nd. In his attempts to control opinion in the towns, Charles reminded them that he had promised to make no changes in matters of religion without the consent of the Council. Santa Croce thought that the Interim was only a threat by which Charles was endeavouring to browbeat the Pope.

Undeterred by the strong opposition to the Imperial decree on religion manifested by the Protestants, Charles V in the middle of June indulged in another act of aggression on the purely ecclesiastical regime by proposing to the Diet as supplementary to the Interim a long- considered scheme of reform for the Catholic clergy. Here also he was acting once more from good intentions: by sweeping away abuses in her government the nearer approach of Protestants to the Church would be facilitated. But excellent as many of the provisions in the new ordinance of reform were,

they were incapable from the first of being effectually enforced owing to the absence of any legitimate authority, the life-giving principle of all legislation, ecclesiastical or other. Ordinances dealing with the choice and ordination of the clergy, with the administration of the Sacraments, with Church discipline, with excommunication and the like, lay outside the province of the temporal ruler. Even Sfondrato, who hitherto had suffered with an excess of patience the arbitrary proceedings of the Emperor, found this too much. The policy of the Emperor, he complained, was dictated by an unscrupulous selfishness; whoever dared to oppose him was suspected and calumniated. The Emperor, Santa Croce reported at the same time, was puffed up with success and the knowledge that behind him was an army of four-and-twenty thousand men.

This consciousness of armed power explains the attempt on the part of Charles not merely to reorganize the Protestant religion but also to reform the Catholic clergy without seeking the participation of the Pope. Had he succeeded in imposing his influence on the internal affairs of the Church so as to carry out both these schemes, he would inevitably have held a place as the head of the reunited and pacified Empire such as no Emperor had held for centuries, a place from which he could have dictated his commands concerning the questions of religion as well as the affairs of Italy to Pope and Council alike.

The declaration of the Elector of Mainz that the Estates would acquiesce in the Interim was much too pre-mature. The Elector Maurice of Saxony, the Margrave Hans of Brandenburg-Cüstrin, and the Count Palatine Wolfgang of Zweibrücken put in protests almost at once. The towns of the Empire took up the position that they must first report home. Charles did all he could to prevent a combination of these discontented spirits with the rest of the Protestant opposition. He succeeded, and Maurice was prevailed upon to make a “roundabout” declaration and was then dismissed. Hans of Cüstrin, whose opposition was stubborn, was promptly ordered by the Emperor to quit the Diet. From the Count Palatine Wolfgang, Charles was content to receive the assurance that he would do all that his conscience allowed. The weaker towns were cowed by threats, and in the course of June the submission of the majority to the Imperial ordinance was received. It was a greater success for Charles V that not merely the Electors Palatine and of Brandenburg but also the captive Landgrave of Hesse took the same course. Thereupon Charles took steps to close the Diet, and with the pro-nouncement of the Recess on the 30th of June, amid no dissentient voices, the Interim became the law of the Empire. After the archbishops, bishops, and prelates present in Augsburg had declared their agreement on the 23rd of June with the formula of reformation, the latter was also published.

To all outward appearance the Emperor had almost reached his goal. All that now remained to do was to carry the decrees into execution. For this the state of affairs in south Germany afforded the most favourable prospect, where Charles could make a strong impression by the weight of personality and the fear of his dreaded Spanish soldiery.

Even if all the South German States tried to save as much as was possible of their Protestant profession of religion by means of delays, excuses, and petitions, yet to all outward appearance they more or less submitted to the Interim. Where serious opposition was shown the Emperor took decisive measures of reprisal. The hostile preachers had now to yield and submit to the same fate which they had so often brought down on their opponents. In Augsburg and Ulm the opposition was broken down by a change of constitution. Even Constance had to accept the Interim and permit the restoration of Catholic worship. The city had indeed repelled successfully an onslaught of the Spaniards, but in view of the threatening attitude maintained by Charles V deemed it advisable to place itself under the protection of his brother Ferdinand's suzerainty. Other places, on the contrary, with the powerful Nuremberg at their head, observed with success

a course of conduct calculated simply to keep up the semblance of obedience. Duke Ulrich of Württemberg also published the Interim only to the effect that no hindrances would be put in the way of its observance. Here the Catholic Church gained nothing by the ordinance, but on the contrary suffered much disadvantage.

The Landgrave Philip of Hesse was ready to purchase his freedom at any price. His standpoint was certainly at first “to accept everything in order afterwards to observe nothing.” After making closer acquaintance with the Interim, he formed the opinion, however, that the formula might be accepted without scruple, since it contained nothing contrary to Christian teaching. He afterwards tried to bring his preachers round to this opinion, but with a very scanty measure of success. In the Palatinate and Julier-Cleves things turned out well for the Emperor, and the new ordinance was there most thoroughly carried out. Even the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg-Kulmbach showed himself amenable, despite the opposition among his preachers. On the other hand, it was in the highest degree disconcerting that the Prince Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg, who was often looked upon as the author of the new enactment, showed no enthusiasm for its execution, and tried to deceive the Emperor by a mere show of obedience. The wily Maurice of Saxony did his best to steer his course between the Emperor on the one hand and the Catholic Estates on the other. The Interim of Leipzig published by him contained, with the exception of some concessions, more semblance than reality. Generally speaking, this ambiguously worded document remained a thing of ink and parchment; practically the religious conditions of the Electorate remained precisely where they were. An unconditional negative was offered to the Interim by the captive John Frederick, whose son had not much more to lose. Magdeburg and the Hanseatic towns followed suit, their remoteness from the centre of Imperial power rendering them immune from danger.

The ill will of the majority of the upper ranks of society was combined in many quarters with the bitterest opposition from the mass of the people; the opinions and interests of countless numbers had already become deeply rooted in the Church system. It now became apparent with what success, in the course of a single generation, the reforming theologians had worked as preachers and writers to bring odium on all that was Catholic. Charles V had not put an end, as, after his victory, he had the power to do, to this movement. The permission which he had granted, in the hour of success, was now turned against him. The Protestant zealots were successful in augmenting, by means of a cleverly conducted agitation, the hostile feeling of the people towards the “papistical” Interim. Public opinion was worked upon by means of libels, ballads, caricatures, satirical woodcuts of the coarsest kind. In glaring colours the new organization was displayed to the common people as an anti-Christian monstrosity: as a three-headed dragon with a serpent’s tail, a scorpion’s sting, and claw feet. “In Latin the name of this worm is Interim.” “The devil himself,” it was announced, “was author of the Interim,” and the Pope, his viceroy, wished to force it upon Germany.

“The Pope would drive the German land
To bend, a slave, at his command,
And for God’s Word receive from him
That Devil’s creed, the Interim.”

As soon as Paul III received news of the Interim he ordered the new formula of religion to be laid before the expert theologians in Rome and Bologna. The latter found fault not merely with various points of detail contained in the Interim, but also laid stress on the principal sides of the question in the decision of which the Emperor, a layman, had overstepped the legitimate compass

of his activity and directly infringed on the province of Papal and conciliar authority. The Legates of the Council called in the Dominican, Ambrogio Catarino, and the Augustinian Hermit, Seripando, to examine the draft. They wrote on the 2nd of May 1548 to Cardinal Farnese that, in the exposition of the doctrines of original sin and of justification, the decisions of the Tridentine Council must not be departed from. With regard to the treatment of doctrines not yet decided upon by the Council, they presented a series of strictures on the formulae contained in the Interim, into which they went in fuller detail in May in another declaration.

Mendoza saw in the Papal consultations over the Interim only the intention of protracting the decision on the affairs of Germany. Paul III. represented to him in vain that the Diet had no authority to deal independently with ecclesiastical matters; in vain he indicated objectionable passages in the Interim. An assertion of such objections was cut short by the action of the Emperor, which was as sudden as it was arbitrary. When the news reached Rome on the 24th of May it naturally made the worst impression on the Curia. It seemed unprecedented that the Emperor should arrogate to himself the right of decision in matters of faith and attempt to exercise this authority by confirming erroneous teaching against the mind of the Church and the decrees of the Council. A consistory had been summoned for the 25th of May to draw up the faculties of the Legates about to be sent to Germany, but this was now abandoned. A more fitting subject of deliberation was the arbitrary conduct of the Emperor, which had aroused indignation in the whole College of Cardinals. The French were jubilant, for they now felt certain that a breach was inevitable between the Emperor and the Pope and that the latter would give his unconditional adhesion to their own King.

Paul III at first shared the feelings of the Cardinals; indeed, he said to the Florentine envoy, "The die is cast." It seems as if the Pope wished at once to give judgment on the validity of the translation of the Council, and immediately after the consistory he sent for the four Cardinals entrusted with this question. Yet it is doubtful whether he really intended to take such a step; with cautious wisdom, he took no hurried action, but first invited the opinion of experienced advisers. The latter were greatly at variance. Del Monte, in the first burst of anger, had proposed a removal of the Council to Rome, but came round afterwards to the view of the French ambassadors at Bologna. The latter, on hearing of the publication of the Interim, declared immediately that the Pope should now pronounce in favour of the validity and then suspend the Council until a more convenient season should arrive. Cardinal Cervini, on the contrary, preferred that the Council should resume its work at Bologna, but that no session should be held until every effort had been made to try and arrive at an understanding with the Emperor.

The Pope had entertained the idea, for a moment, of removing the Council to a Venetian city and so making an end to the controversy; but the Republic would not consent to this on account of the Turks and the Protestants. As no decision on the validity of the translation was given, the Council remained for more than a year longer in Bologna without taking any action as regarded the Interimistic suspension. On the 4th of June Girolamo Dandino, Bishop of Imola, was sent to France, where he had represented Paul III already from 1546 to 1547. The ostensible pretext for his mission was the marriage of Orazio Farnese with Diana of Poitiers, the natural daughter of King Henry II, while the real purpose was the consideration of the conciliar question and the contemplated alliance.

On the day before Dandino's departure Mendoza had an audience of the Pope. His attempt to excuse the Emperor was waved aside by Paul III, who said that it was to be deplored that Charles should allow himself to be led by bad advisers; apart from that, the Interim contained objectionable provisos, and was an infringement on the spiritual sphere. Mendoza tried, but in

vain, to get a hearing on the question of the mission of the Legates, and of the decision on the validity of the translation. Paul III. also withheld any decision regarding the despatch of Pietro Bertano to Germany, which had been spoken of for some time. While on the affairs of Piacenza, the Pope insisted that the matter was not one only of private concern, but that it affected public interests, and could only be satisfactorily settled when good relations with the Emperor were restored.

Soon after this audience orders were given for the recall of Cardinal Sfondrato and the despatch of Pietro Bertano, Bishop of Fano, in his place as nuncio to Germany. The situation then became still worse owing to the Emperor's arbitrary behaviour with regard to the reform of the German clergy. In the first moment of excitement in Rome, it was believed that Charles only intended to represent the Pope as a defaulter to duty, wherefore the temporal head of Christendom was forced to take the questions of reform and of the Council into his own hands. The aged Pope was furious. The French drew such vivid pictures of the dangers to which his person was exposed that he took special measures of security. The watches were strengthened, and Ottavio Farnese had to sleep in the ante-chamber. It was at this time that Paul III told one of the Cardinals that he hoped to survive the Emperor, but that in any case, before he died, he would yet do something which would set the whole world talking. Cardinal Farnese spread a report that Bertano had instructions to address to Charles the first admonition which precedes the greater censures of the Church. That, however, was not by any means the object of his mission; as a matter of fact, the first outbreak of temper in the Curia at the attack of Charles on the privileges of the Church very soon gave place to a calmer estimate of circumstances. Seeing how uncertain French support was, and how determined the Venetians were to remain neutral, it seemed imperative to make use even of the situation created by the Emperor, and of the difficulties that situation involved ; all the more so as Charles V, at the same time, was inclined to come round, having declared by word of mouth to the ecclesiastical Estates that he did not wish, by his reform ordinances, to limit episcopal authority, and even kept in view the restoration of ecclesiastical property.

The choice of Bertano seemed excellent. This prelate, indeed, a member of the Dominican Order, possessed not only the entire confidence of the Pope, but that also of the Emperor from the time of his previous mission. With Cardinal Madruzzo he was on terms of close friendship. In order to give no occasion for suspicion he did not pay a visit, on his journey through Bologna, to Cardinal del Monte, hated by the Imperialist party. He apologized for this want of courtesy on the score of his rapid journey.

Bertano reached Trent on the 23rd of June, where Madruzzo instructed him frankly on the condition of Germany. On the 30th of June he reached Augsburg, and with Sfondrato was received in audience on the 2nd of July by Charles V. In this long interview it was made clear how much importance Charles attached to the mission of a Legate with full faculties, as without them his Interim must remain a dead letter. Santa Croce, as well as Sfondrato, advised the Pope to make the experiment by sending the Legates, a step which would also be of advantage in the matter of Piacenza. The negotiations between the Emperor and Bertano seemed to give satisfaction to both parties. The nuncio, in his letter, said very confidently that Charles V. would be willing to accommodate the Pope in private matters if Rome would only show a spirit of concession in public affairs. Bertano's proposal, that the reform of the Church should be undertaken in Rome by all or a portion of the Fathers of the Council, aimed at making a clean sweep of the old controversy over the validity of Trent or Bologna. Charles could not decline this proposal, as he had made it himself through Mendoza in February, but he wished that all this should be without prejudice to the Synod of Trent. Farnese shrank from giving a written promise to this effect to Fernando Montesa, who, as secretary to Mendoza, was at that time officially occupied in Rome.

If, in spite of these difficulties, an agreement was reached afterwards, its terms were partly of a very general description.

This was the source of new dissensions between Emperor and Pope. Each of the two parties in Rome described the contents of the agreement as being something different from what it was. Paul III sought, by threats of an alliance with France, to force the Imperialists to give way. The negotiations on this subject were again more actively carried on. Not in consequence of these, but in order to carry out his own designs in northern Italy, King Henry II suddenly appeared in Piedmont in the beginning of August, avowedly to inspect the fortresses there, but really with another aim in view: Ottavio Farnese was at the head of a conspiracy against Ferrante Gonzaga, the murderer of his father, and the French King hoped, in case of its success, to derive some advantage. Henry sent his secretary Aubespine to Rome to restrain the Pope from making concessions to Charles and to gain his consent to the alliance in the form which the King desired. When Aubespine arrived in Rome on the 23rd of August the situation had already undergone a complete alteration. The conspiracy against Ferrante had been discovered, and disturbances in France had called Henry back again. The King still insisted on the immediate surrender of Parma to his vassal Orazio Farnese as the necessary condition preliminary to an active league and the recapture of Piacenza. Paul III. refused to enter into this compact; Aubespine therefore left Rome on the 26th of August without having settled anything.

Five days later the Imperial diplomacy experienced a triumph. Paul III. showed an inclination to meet the Emperor's wish that Legates should be sent to Germany. In a consistory on the 31st of August three bishops, not Cardinals, probably out of consideration for Madruzzo, were appointed. Besides Bertano there were also Luigi Lippomano, coadjutor of Verona, and Sebastiano Pighini, who shortly before had been nominated to Ferentino. In the same consistory the Pope approved the Bull prescribing the Legatine faculties to be used in Germany; the document was read out without any further discussion or voting, as the French Cardinals wished. Long consultations had taken place beforehand which presented great difficulties, as the Pope was anxious to avoid any appearance that his Legates were instrumental in carrying out Imperial ordinances which he had himself regarded as encroachments on his authority. Experienced theologians, Cardinals Cervini and del Monte as conciliar Legates, a deputation of the Segnatura, finally the commission of Cardinals appointed for the affairs of the Council, were asked their opinion. The opinions of the last named guided the decisions of Paul III. on the most important points.

The faculties were drawn up in such a way that they gave an opportunity to the Legates in employing them to remind Charles of the incident of Piacenza. Even in other respects everything was so arranged that on the development of this question very much depended. The two Legates prolonged their journey purposely, and did not join Bertano in Brussels, where the Emperor in the meantime had come, until the 23rd of December. Pighini's experiences on the road were more than depressing. He found an outward show of religion, occasioned by the Emperor's victory and his ordinances, but the temper of the people was more than ever in sympathy with the movement of innovation. Mass was said almost everywhere, but in empty churches; nobody asked the nuncios to exercise their functions, and not once were the customary observances of courtesy and respect shown to them. Pighini concluded, from all that he had seen, that the religious troubles in Germany would find no settlement by means of the Interim; nothing could be done in that direction except by measures of extreme severity.

Charles V was no stranger to the adverse turn of affairs in the Empire. In October 1548 he expressed to his brother Ferdinand his anxiety lest all his efforts for the pacification of Germany

might be in vain. How completely the policy of the Diet of Augsburg had failed he certainly did not yet realize; on the contrary, to the astonishment of clear-sighted observers, he clung with characteristic tenacity for some time longer to the execution of his religious decrees, even after their total futility had been established beyond contradiction. All these well-intentioned efforts were doomed to misfortune. Years before, the strict Catholic party had insisted on the radical defect that the management of ecclesiastical affairs by the laity without permission from the highest authority in the Church was inadmissible. It caused profound grief that a monarch of such high reputation and of such sincere devotion to the Catholic faith should, at the cost of bodily suffering and sore anxiety of mind, have been led astray by erroneous judgments on matters of religious belief and by the unscrupulous counsels of politicians.

The decrees of the Diet on reform were not less ineffectual than those on the Interim. Here too the penalty had to be paid for issuing a whole series of reforming decrees on the duties of bishops, the visitation of dioceses, the foundation of chairs of theology, without consulting the authority of Church, Pope, or Council. Moreover, the Imperial ordinances only stated what reforms were to take place, but not how they were to be carried out, or how the difficulties, which certainly were to be expected, were to be overcome. All recognition is due to those German bishops who, in their provincial synods, not merely tried to give effect to the Augsburg decrees, but also to supplement them in such a way that they should be brought into line with the doctrinal decisions already pronounced by the Council of Trent. Even if this enthusiasm soon slackened, yet these Synods did effective work as pioneers of subsequent reformation. Still the religious affairs of Germany remained at first in a deplorable condition.

The reception given to Lippomano and Pighini, the Papal Legates, was far from promising. In the audience of presentation on the 3rd of January 1549 the Emperor complained of the Pope's dilatoriness and of the protracted journey of his representatives. In their conversations with the ministers the greatest difficulties arose, as the Legates had not brought a general permission for the marriage of priests, but only a dispensation for particular cases where, unfortunately, no other course was possible. With regard to the permission in the Interim that priests who had entered into wedlock should not only preach, but also administer the Sacraments, the Emperor himself had at that time serious scruples. But Ferdinand I and the Emperor's council were of opinion that this enactment must hold good, otherwise the Interim would be made impracticable owing to the want of priests. The Legates reported the matter to Rome; their opinion was that such a concession was not permissible.

When the Imperialists, whose claims were always being pushed forward, advanced with yet a further demand that full powers should be transferred to the bishops and other suitable persons, the Legates interposed with clearly defined counter-demands: the expulsion of the Protestant preachers and authors, the prohibition to print or sell their books, the restitution of illegally appropriated Church property, and the reform of the Church in Germany under the direction of the Pope. Charles V declared with some excitement that such measures could not be considered until the salutary effects of the concessions of the Interim had been tested; he would not give permission to the prelates of Trent to go to Rome to discuss the question of reform until the faculties had first been put into operation. Paul III, who attached great importance to an early assemblage in Rome of the reforming episcopate, thereupon gave orders that no difficulties should be raised to the transfer of plenary powers to persons designated by the Emperor.

Fresh delays were now caused by the further demand of the Imperialists for the issue of a Bull declaring that the dispensations at the bestowal of the Legates should be valid until such time as a Council pronounced a decision upon them. Cardinal Farnese, acting on a Papal order, sent

instructions to Bertano on the 26th of April 1549 which removed this difficulty. It was to be left to the Legates' discretion to fix the time for which the dispensations to communicate under both kinds, or concessions of a similar kind, were to be granted, upon the condition however, that such period of time should not extend beyond the duration of the Council. As soon as a satisfactory agreement had been reached in May concerning the transference of the faculties, the necessary Bulls were printed and sent by the Emperor to the bishops of Germany with the injunction that they were to proceed in compliance with them.

If the Pope had entertained the hope that Charles V would now show himself more conciliatory on questions still awaiting settlement, he was completely out of his reckoning. The despatch of the German bishops to Trent and the restoration of Piacenza were both matters on which the Emperor was as unwilling as ever to meet the demands of Paul III.

As a mediator in the affairs of Piacenza, Count Giulio Orsini had been employed by the Pope. Deceived by the compliments and general promises of the Imperialist minister, Orsini looked upon the surrender of Piacenza as a certainty. On Christmas Eve 1548 he arrived in Rome, where his presence was awaited with all the greater expectation as Bertano's diplomacy was causing great dissatisfaction. He brought no written, only oral, communications from Charles and Granvelle. These went so far that, as Cattaneo reported to Cardinal Madruzzo, it would have been a miracle if they were ever carried out. Long consultations followed, and Giulio Orsini, to the great disgust of the French party, was again sent to the Emperor in January 1549. From this second mission he returned to Rome on the 27th of March with renewed hopes of the most sanguine kind; but Paul III was now proof against deception. When Cardinal du Bellay congratulated him on the settlement of the dispute about Piacenza, he remarked that nothing was yet known for certain, Orsini had only brought back instructions for Mendoza empowering the latter to negotiate further. There was afterwards some talk of sending Cardinal Farnese to the Emperor. In the end Orsini was again appointed in April, in order to push on the execution of the promises and to furnish documentary proof of the Papal rights over Piacenza. At the same time the nuncio Bertano was ordered to use his influence, in the same sense, with the Emperor.

On the 8th of April 1549 the long-expected nomination of new Cardinals took place. Applications had been made from all quarters. Morone in December 1548 had advanced the claims of Paul de Varda, Archbishop of Gran, in the name of Ferdinand I, and at the same time Cardinal du Bellay had pestered Paul III with importunate demands. The Pope had given no heed to any of these solicitations. Only four Italians, who were in his intimacy and through whom he hoped to traverse the schemes of Cardinal Gonzaga with regard to the choice of his successor, were appointed on the 8th of April 1549. They were Girolamo Verallo, Gian Angelo de' Medici, Filiberto Ferreri, and Bernardino Maffei.

The Emperor's answer to the demand for Piacenza was anxiously awaited in the Curia. At first there were hopes which even Mendoza encouraged, but the disillusionment came quickly. The answer which both representatives of the Pope received simultaneously on the 12th of June was as follows: From a minute examination of the documents submitted to Mendoza the conclusion had been come to that neither the Holy See nor the feudatories thereof had any rights to Piacenza or Parma. Nevertheless, the Emperor was willing to send his court official, Martin Alfonso da Rio, with a proposal of agreement. This envoy, who also presented a written statement of the claims of the Empire on both cities, once more set before the Pope the necessity of his relinquishing his pretensions. He also announced that Charles, "not as a compensation but as a free mark of favour," would bestow on his son-in-law Ottavio Farnese a domain in the kingdom of Naples of the value of 40,000 ducats per annum in return for his surrender of Parma.

Instead of restoring Piacenza Charles was now demanding the acquisition of Parma as well ! The nuncio Bertano, who hitherto had been as hopeful as Orsini[686] and whose reports had been written in a corresponding tone, was quite dumbfounded by the turn which the Emperor had given to the incident of Piacenza. He now tried to raise difficulties for the Emperor in the matter of the dispensation.

Rome was given over to astonishment, confusion, and alarm. The agitation was all the greater since Cardinal del Monte early in the autumn had announced that he had come on traces of a conspiracy in Bologna to hand over that city to the Emperor. The irritability of Paul III was stimulated by incitements on the part of France, and the provoking behaviour of Mendoza, who, on presenting the tributes from the kingdom of Naples to the Pope, made a public display of his contempt. Although the spoken language of the Pontiff at this time was not kept under much restraint, yet his written reply, sent on June the 25th, to the Emperor's declaration on the subject of Piacenza was full of moderation. He would gladly have abstained from replying, if he could have done so without injury to the Holy See and himself; being forced to take the opposite course, he would not revert to the shameful proceedings in Piacenza or to the Emperor's promises, but confine himself to the instructions given to Martin Alfonso da Rio. According to the representations of Bertano and Orsini the Emperor wished, for the pacifying of his own conscience, to be made acquainted with the legal claims of the Holy See ; the Pope therefore had been willing to enter into negotiations, but only on the condition of previous restitution; finally, however, in order not to appear suspicious or harsh, he had given way and laid before Mendoza the original documents. Mendoza had not been able to make any objections to them. The Emperor, on the contrary, now asserts that the Holy See has no legitimate title to possession, and offers Ottavio a compensation of 40,000 ducats, on condition that he, the Emperor, is also made master of Parma. Whether such conditions are acceptable, or whether they are hurtful to the Holy See and even Christendom itself, may be left to the judgment of God and of mankind. He only prays that the Emperor will consult the will of God and his own conscience afresh, in order that he may perceive that Piacenza belongs to the Holy See and that his Majesty, for many reasons, has no right to stay its redelivery; the same reasons hold good in respect of Parma.

The relations between the Pope and the Emperor having become disturbed once more, it was only natural that France should make every attempt to secure the upper hand in Rome. The policy of that kingdom was directed to the formation in the Pope's mind of a favourable opinion of the Catholic sentiments of Henry II and the prevention of any concessions to the Emperor on questions of religion. On the 13th of July 1549 Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, brother of the Duke of Ferrara, appeared in Rome on a mission from the French King and was received with the highest marks of respect. He was to replace du Bellay, whose performance of his duties had not given satisfaction in Paris. Once more the project of a Franco- Papal alliance was ardently discussed.

Olivier, the chancellor of Henry II, soon discerned, however, that the policy of Paul III. did not go beyond the acquisition of some amount of importance in the eyes of the Emperor through the negotiations with France. Mendoza also was not deceived. He was firmly convinced that the Pope did not trust the French, and would not break with Charles V. At first, certainly, it seemed as if a rupture over the Council was imminent between the Emperor and the Pope. Paul III wished to remove the existing antagonism by summoning the universal episcopate to Rome to discuss the reform of the Church. As the Emperor could not openly oppose a proposal originally put forward by himself, he now tried to nullify it by suggesting impossible conditions. He demanded, firstly, that the system of reform to be proceeded with at Rome must not collide with the ordinances of the Interim and the recommendations for the improvement of the clergy made to the German princes at the Diet of Augsburg; secondly, that a Papal declaration should be made that the

Tridentine prelates came to Rome simply as ordinary bishops and not as fathers of a General Council; this latter demand contained in it the tacit acknowledgment that the translation of the Council had been invalid. The Pope hoped to find a way out in the fact that he had not invited the Tridentine bishops to Rome expressly for the consideration of Church reform, and further that not all but only some had been summoned for that purpose. Such invitations were sent on the 18th of July to Cardinal Pacheco, Bishop of Jaen, Pietro Tagliavia, Archbishop of Palermo, Francesco Navarro, Bishop of Badajoz, and Giambernardo Diaz, Bishop of Calahorra. In order that it might be more clearly understood that the prelates were bidden only as individuals, summonses were sent also to four of the bishops at Bologna.

The briefs, which were sent to each bishop by a special messenger, declared that the urgent needs of the Church called for special consultations and measures which could not be adequately provided for by the Pope and the Sacred College alone. His Holiness had therefore determined to take the opinion of a portion of the episcopate and commanded them, in virtue of their pledges of holy obedience, to present themselves before him within forty days.

The bishops at Bologna at once declared their readiness to answer the call of their supreme head. Not so those of Trent. The reply in which they tendered their excuses for remaining where they were was dictated by Charles V, who thought that by inviting four bishops from Trent Paul III. intended to put a stop to the assembly in that city. As the Pope expressed himself satisfied with their apologies, the Emperor threatened Bertano that he would address an appeal to a council and bring on a schism.

In order to steer clear of this extremity Paul III yielded so far to the Emperor's objections to the Council of Bologna as to communicate to Cardinal del Monte on the 13th of September his orders to dismiss the bishops there assembled, which were carried out on the 17th. On the 26th of September briefs were sent to the bishops who had left Bologna in which the Pope exhorted them to keep in readiness to resume the work of reform at the first call from him.

The disobedience of the Tridentine prelates had not been taken calmly by Paul III. On the 18th of September they received a "Monitorium" rejecting their excuses. The Bishops of Badajoz and Calahorra, on the receipt of this brief, declared that they would obey the Pope. This was excessively disagreeable to the Imperialists. Granvelle ordered Mendoza to influence his Holiness "to pacify the consciences of the two prelates"; if this attempt was unsuccessful, he must raise a protest. Paul III. warded off this danger by declaring by word of mouth that the bishops who did not appear would incur no censures.

To all the cares and excitements of these last months others undreamed of by the Pope were added about this time.

While the negotiations for an alliance with France were under consideration, a vital condition had been laid down, that Parma must be abandoned by Ottavio Farnese, son-in-law of the Emperor, in order that this city, so important on account of its situation, might be given to Orazio Farnese, the betrothed husband of Diana of Poitiers, natural daughter of Henry II. In March 1548 it was thought in Rome that Ottavio, just made Gonfaloniere of the Church, would hand over Parma to his brother. But herein popular surmise was entirely mistaken. Subsequently the most varied schemes were considered as to what was to be done should such an occurrence take place, especially as to the manner of compensating Ottavio. Paul III. at last decided on a plan which put the Emperor in the dilemma of also refusing to the Holy See what he had stubbornly refused to his own son-in-law: Parma and Piacenza were to be given back to the Church, and Ottavio compensated by Camerino and a sum of money. The Imperialists, Margaret, Ottavio, and

Cardinal Farnese sought in vain to dissuade the Pope. The orders were issued to Camillo Orsini to take possession of Parma in the name of the Holy See.

Ottavio, whose temper was as fiery as his father's, was not, however, inclined to make place for his brother. Parma seemed to him too precious a possession—precious, moreover, on this account, that he believed himself to be held in great affection by the citizens. Ever since the beginning of 1549 he had stood in intimate relationship with the viceroy, Ferrante Gonzaga, as he wished by all the means in his power to retain possession of his principality. Goaded on by Mendoza, Ottavio determined at last upon an act of desperation. On the 20th of October 1549 he left Rome secretly and hastened to Parma. There he attempted to obtain admission, first as lord of the place, and, when that plea failed, as vicegerent in the name of the Holy See. This Camillo Orsini refused before receiving direct authorization from the Pope.

Paul III was beside himself on hearing of Ottavio's departure. His anger was intensified by the general belief that at bottom he was in sympathy with Ottavio's proceeding, who had always been his special favourite.

Such a sympathy, however, was imaginary. On the contrary, the Pope wrote to Camillo Orsini forbidding him to countenance Ottavio's conduct. To the latter he sent by special messenger sometimes verbal, sometimes written, commands to return to Rome there and then. The Duke, far from obeying, had no scruple in appealing to Ferrante Gonzaga, the mortal enemy of his house, for aid. Gonzaga declared his willingness to furnish him with support upon condition that Ottavio would satisfy himself with a compensation for Parma or at least hold the duchy as a fief from the Emperor. Ottavio thereupon wrote to Cardinal Farnese that he would consent to Ferrante's conditions if the Pope did not immediately surrender to him the city.

On the 5th of November, two days after he had kept the anniversary of his coronation, Paul III received authentic tidings of the disobedience and ungrateful conduct of his pampered grandson. On the following day he went, regardless of the intense cold, to the villa on the Quirinal which once had belonged to Cardinal Oliviero Carafa, where Cardinal Farnese read to him the letter from Ottavio. The Pope's indignation knew no bounds, and waxed greater when he perceived that the Cardinal was on the side of the rebel. He was attacked by a violent fever accompanied by a chill; together with the agitation of the preceding days, this illness broke down the old man of eighty-two, who up to that time had enjoyed an enviable vitality. Cardinal Farnese on the 7th of November ordered the castle of St. Angelo to be occupied by Astorre Baglioni and the gates of Rome to be closed. On the 9th the Pope's condition was hopeless. His mind was unclouded, and he once more summoned the Cardinals round his bed. It was expected that he would appoint two Cardinals reserved in petto, but he did not. Paul III. only commended the affairs of the Church, and the interests of his beloved family, in a few words to the Cardinals. If his inordinate family affection is taken into consideration, there is nothing incredible in the report that, at his last hour, on the 8th of November, during a brief rally, he dictated a brief ordering Camillo Orsini to deliver Parma to Ottavio as soon as the tidings of his death arrived. This order to a certainty was given by Cardinal Farnese to Camillo Orsini on November the 8th, 1549.

On the 9th of November Paul III made his confession and received the viaticum devoutly; towards evening there was a decided change for the worse, and in the early morning of the 10th he expired.

No one doubted that the ungrateful conduct of Ottavio was the immediate cause of death. The Venetian ambassador, dwelling on this circumstance, remarked: "Pope Paul was good-hearted, obliging, intelligent, thoughtful. No man was ever more worthy to be called

magnanimous.” Nepotism, his besetting fault, he acknowledged himself, and in his last hours he repeated to himself the words of the Psalm, “My sin is ever before me.” “If they had not had the mastery over me, then should I have been without great offence.”

The Pope’s body was brought without delay to the Vatican,⁶ and placed in a temporary tomb in St. Peter’s, behind the organ. Out of regard for the merits of the deceased Pontiff, the College of Cardinals, on the 13th of November, voted out of the treasure in St. Angelo a sum of 10,000 ducats, to be deposited with a bank, in order to erect a worthy monument in St. Peter’s under the supervision of the Farnesi. Cardinal Farnese committed the task to the Milanese sculptor Guglielmo della Porta. Although begun in 1550, the monument was not finished until 1576. The artist originally had intended that the principal decoration should consist of figures of the four seasons, but, on the advice of Annibale Caro, for these were substituted statues of Justice, Wisdom, Prosperity, and Peace. The monument was erected near the altar of St. Longinus; thence it was removed in 1628 by Urban VIII. and placed in the left niche of the principal tribune.

Above a white marble sarcophagus rises the bronze effigy of the Pope, seated on a throne. He is represented as a venerable old man bent beneath the burden of years. He is clothed in mantle and pallium. Absorbed in meditation, the intellectual head, with its deep-set eyes, hollow cheeks, and ample beard, is bowed with calm dignity. With his right hand, as if slowly raised, he gives the Papal blessing. The sides of the sarcophagus are adorned with two masks and two amoretti in bronze. On the black tablet of inscription run the words in classic conciseness: “Paulo III. Farnesio Pont. Opt. Max.” The Farnese lilies and other adornments have been introduced, but not a single religious symbol is visible. The base is of dark, coloured marble; above it, on volutes, lie the allegorical marble figures of Wisdom and Justice. The former, a matron, with serious even virile features, holds in the right hand a mirror, in the left a book. While this form recalls a Sibyl by Michael Angelo, the traits of Justice resemble rather the sensuous beauty of some figure by Titian; originally this statue was nude, but in 1595 was covered with bronze drapery by order of Cardinal Edoardo Farnese, who wished to avoid the offence which might be caused by the exhibition of an unclothed figure in a Christian temple. The two corresponding images of Peace and Prosperity, for which no room could be found in the niche, are now preserved in the Farnese palace.

This monument, like the character of the Pope whom it commemorates, has had to run the gauntlet of opposing criticism, as the representative of two epochs. If not certainly one of the most beautiful of the Papal monuments in St. Peter’s, this work of Guglielmo della Porta, despite the baroque, taste in its architectural details and a certain affectation in the allegorical figures, is yet a remarkable composition, distinguished by largeness and beauty of design. It is the first instance in Rome of the type created by Michael Angelo in the monuments of the Medici. The great bronze statue of Paul III. is full of dignity and majesty.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE COMPLETION OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND AND SCANDINAVIA.—THE PROTESTANT PROPAGANDA IN FRANCE.

ALTHOUGH the diplomatic relations between Henry VIII and Clement VII had been broken off in August 1533 and in the beginning of the following year the English schism had taken place under Parliamentary sanction, the King nevertheless maintained an unofficial agent in Rome. The latter, immediately after the election of Paul III., tried to arouse hopes in the Curia that the King might not be indisposed to come to terms with the new Pontiff. The Imperialists saw in this only a manoeuvre to gain time by deceiving the Pope for the consolidation of the organized English schism.

The immediate sequence of events showed that the Imperialists were right. The Parliament, which was opened on the 3rd of November 1534, enacted that the King and his successors should be recognized as the sole supreme head of the English Church and enjoy all the spiritual power and authority involved in that title, even in matters of dogma. This statute, which handed over the whole life of the Church to the secular authority, was supplemented by another declaring that not only all who conspired against the King's person or called him heretical and schismatical, but also all who disallowed him any one of the titles belonging to him, were liable to the penalty of high treason. Since to his previous titles was now also added that of "Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England immediately under God," the "English Pope" was henceforth to hand over every loyal Catholic to the public executioner.

The new Act of Supremacy dropped the clause which had been introduced in 1531 in order to tranquillize Catholic scruples, "that the King was head of the English Church so far as the law of Christ permitted." It was clear that England was to be torn asunder from the centre of Christian unity. The English clergy and laity were so steeped in confusion of ideas, pusillanimity, human respect, and servility that many did not recognize, or refused to admit that they recognized, this fact. They clung to the ambiguity of the figurative expression Supreme Head, and by means of fanciful explanations shut their eyes to the fact that the ecclesiastical supremacy claimed by Henry VIII was something entirely new and incompatible with a sincere profession of Catholic faith. Under the terrors of the new statutes the majority of the English clergy acknowledged the King's supremacy and the Vicar-General appointed by him, a layman without the slightest link with the priesthood, the arbitrary and irreligious Thomas Cromwell.

Widespread as was the dissatisfaction at the innovations, yet only a few had the spirit to withstand them openly from the sense of duty. On these few fell the whole weight of the penal laws, the execution of which inaugurated in England a reign of terror bloodier than any which had yet been known within the pale of Christendom. Everyone suspected of denying the royal supremacy could be forced to accept an oath the refusal of which meant for the unhappy victim of tyranny the gibbet or the block.

The first to lay down their lives, on the 4th of May 1535, were the Priors of the three Carthusian houses in London, a Brigittine monk, and a secular priest. They were hanged, cut down while yet alive, and then disembowelled and quartered. They all died with an intrepidity of soul worthy of the martyrs of the first persecutions. The same Christian heroism was evinced by two other victims of the King's supremacy. They were John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and his friend, Thomas More, who, since April the 17th, 1534, had been held prisoners in the Tower. Paul III. attempted to save the Bishop's life by naming him a Cardinal, but thereby only hastened his end. On the 22nd of June 1535 the grey-headed old man, then in his sixty-seventh year, was brought out dressed only in sorry rags to the scaffold on Tower Hill and there beheaded, his naked body being afterwards exposed to the populace. On the 6th of July he was followed to the same place by Thomas More, once Chancellor of England, and renowned throughout Europe for his learning. Both Fisher and More declared before execution that they died in the Catholic faith and as loyal subjects of the King. The heads of both of these heroes were set up on London Bridge.

Europe rang with grief and indignation on hearing of these judicial murders. Nowhere was the excitement greater than in Rome; Paul III, with characteristic caution, despite the pressure on the part of the Imperialists, had acted hitherto with restraint towards Henry VIII, especially as the French diplomatists had dazzled him with the prospect of a near reaction in that monarch's views and promised to do all that lay in their power in that direction. So strong was his confidence in the influence of Francis I. that he cherished hopes of Fisher's deliverance through French intervention until it was too late. When the tidings of his execution came instead on the very morrow, as it were, of his elevation to the purple, the perhaps excessive forbearance of the Pope gave way at last. It was on the 26th of July, when a letter from the French nuncio announced in Rome the death of "the martyrs of the supremacy." The Pope's anger knew no bounds. He at once conveyed the tidings to the Cardinals, and invoked by briefs on the same day the help of the Christian princes. In these letters he was able with justice to point out that for three long years the Holy See had, with the gentleness of the Good Shepherd, borne with the behaviour of Henry VIII, patiently hoping from day to day that the King would change for the better. As this latest act of wickedness had shown, all such hopes were futile, and the Pope now recognized the necessity of "using the branding iron" and declaring as worthy of deposition the King who for more than two years already had been living under excommunication, as a heretic schismatic, notorious adulterer, open murderer, sacrilegious despoiler, destroyer and transgressor against the majesty of God.

The Pope was strengthened in this intention still further by the announcement, at the end of July, of the execution of Thomas More. A month later a solemn Bull was issued in which Henry was urgently implored, after the enumeration of his misdeeds, to repent within three months, but in the case of contumacy the Pope as supreme judge of the faithful would apply to him the severest penalties to which, in accordance with the then existing law, those remaining obdurately under the ban of the Church were exposed. He would accordingly be declared deposed, his country laid under interdict, his subjects absolved from their oath of obedience and called upon to make war

against the rebel; foreign nations would be forbidden intercourse with the supporters of the schism and be vested with the right to make themselves masters of their persons and their property.

The mere threat of these penalties made such an impression in the Low Countries that English trade suffered heavy loss. It is therefore probable that if Charles V and Francis I had made a show of putting the Bull into execution, Henry VIII would have been compelled, by an insurrection of his subjects, to draw back from the schism he had initiated. But it soon became evident that the Pope's appeal for help would die away upon the air. Francis I. expressed the utmost indignation at Henry's deeds of violence, but declared that the first steps must come from Charles, as the person most closely interested; the latter, on the contrary, could not see his way to interfere unless certain of support from King Francis.

Paul III would have willingly proceeded⁵ without delay, but the attitude both of the French and the Imperialists forced him to hold back the Bull from day to day. Thus precious time was lost, which Henry made use of to consolidate the schism with all the energy, resolution, and ruthlessness of his character.

In addition to this the Sacred College was divided over the form of procedure and the composition of the document. When in a consistory held on the 26th of November 1535 the Bull was at last put to the vote, so many objections to it were made that yet another revision was ordered. Paul III hoped to arrive at a final decision on the 10th of December. He sent in minutes of his own, but neither of the two drafts, which he presented, met with the approval of the Cardinals. Although the Pope displayed much self-confidence and declared that he wished to surpass the great deeds of Julius II, no one but Schonberg shared his opinion that the publication of the Bull must be proceeded with at once. Unwillingly the Pope dismissed the consistory without a decision having been come to. It was now thought that the Bull would appear without the Cardinals' consent; but Paul III. shrank from such an unusual step.

In the beginning of 1536 the document was once more submitted privately to the Cardinals. According to the report of Pedro Ortiz, the Imperialist agent in Rome, it was afterwards produced in consistory on the nth of January. On the 23rd Ortiz was able to announce that the Bull had now received the leaden seals and only awaited printing and fixture in public places. Then at the last moment all was altered by the announcement of the death on the 7th of January of the innocent and defenceless Queen Catherine. Charles V. had no longer any interest in the fate of his unfortunate aunt, and the outbreak of war with France did the rest. Charles and Francis were soon suitors for the support of the powerful King of England. Under such circumstances Paul III had no other course to follow than to withdraw the Bull.

Queen Catherine's death was soon followed by that of her rival Anne Boleyn. Accused of the worst unchastity, she was executed on the 19th of May 1536 by order of the uxorious King, who, eleven days later, married Jane Seymour.

The fall of Anne Boleyn seemed like a divine judgment. It rekindled in Rome the never extinguished hope that the King, designated by Leo X. as "Defender of the Faith," would, on the removal of the *origo mali*, return and be reconciled to the Church. Paul III had also himself yielded to this fateful delusion, and declared himself ready to smooth the way for the King's return.

While the fulfilment of his desire seemed as easy as possible to the Pope, he failed to see that in place of Henry's fleeting passion another motive had stepped in, and this a financial one, which raised a permanent obstacle to the King's return to the Church. Since February 1535 the dissolution of the English monasteries had been going on with almost unexampled unscrupulousness and barbarity, a measure which reduced the most powerful adherents of the

Pope to beggary and brought into the Crown an annual revenue of 32,000 pounds and a sum in hard cash of 100,000 pounds, amounts representing, at the present value of money, 175,000 and 600,000 pounds respectively.

The King had all the less intention of refraining from this robbery as the Parliament and the higher clergy dared not show any resistance, and the continuance of the war between the Emperor and France left Henry in safety from any attack from without. But at the beginning of October 1536 he was surprised by an uprising in the county of Lincoln. This had scarcely been put down when the much more dangerous revolt known as the “Pilgrimage of Grace” ensued. From the Scottish border to the Humber and the Lune the people rose in anger against the brutal closure of the monasteries as well as against evil social conditions. They demanded the dismissal of the King’s bad counsellors and the restoration to the Church of her rights. The “Pilgrims,” whose numbers amounted to 40,000, used all their forces of influence to restore the banished religious to their monasteries.

In Rome, where the hopes of Henry’s return were now seen to be groundless, the news of the Catholic rising in Northern England was hailed with great joy. It seemed a happy coincidence that at that very moment, the beginning of November 1536, the news was circulated that James V of Scotland, whom Paul III had withheld from any alliance with Henry VIII, intended to marry a daughter of Francis I. The Pope recommended this match most warmly, while at the same time warning Francis against any support of Henry VIII. After the conclusion of the wedding, on the 19th of January 1537, he sent the Scottish king the consecrated hat and sword as encouragement to him to help the English Catholics. Already, on November the 17th, 1536, a letter had been sent to the English people to strengthen them in their attachment to the ancient faith and in their resistance to the tyranny of Henry VIII.

A short time afterwards Paul III contemplated a mission which might have been very dangerous to the English King. Reginald Pole was to go as legate to France and the Netherlands in order to enter into communication therefrom with the defenders of Catholicism in England, and thus force Henry to give up the schism. Charles V agreed to the scheme, and so also did the French ambassador. Thus on the 15th of February Pole was appointed legate to Francis Land to the Regent of the Netherlands “for the settlement of the English concerns.” As a companion and adviser he was accompanied by an old politician, Gian Matteo Giberti.

Paul III set great hopes on Pole’s mission. His appointment seemed, in fact, a move in the right direction. The Cardinal had old relations with Henry VIII, who, on receiving his outspoken work on the “Unity of the Church,” had invited him to return to England, where he hoped to come to an understanding with him. Although Pole rightly thought this too dangerous a request to comply with, yet no one seemed more fitted than he to influence the King in the direction of peace. On the other hand, Pole as a scion of the house of York might well cause Henry some alarm and be a stimulus to the spirits of the English Catholics. It was believed in Rome that two-thirds of the people of England were against Henry VIII. As the French nuncio announced that James V. of Scotland was ready to cross the English border, the most favourable prospect seemed to open of forcing Henry to recant. The latter therefore viewed Pole’s mission with the most anxious apprehension, and determined to use all means, even murder if necessary, to put the Cardinal out of the way.

There were various causes of the failure of Pole’s mission. In the first place, it came too late, for he did not receive the Legatine Bull until the 31st of March. This delay, and still more the indecision and blind assurance of the “Pilgrims,” gave Henry VIII the time to subdue the northern districts. The whole movement was a demonstration rather than an actual phase of war,

and this Rome did not understand. It was precisely their moderation, the trust that their leaders displayed towards the English Government, which led to the victory of the latter. On the certainty of a general amnesty the insurrectionists laid down their arms, whereupon the King broke his promise and executed cruel vengeance. Another reason for the failure of Pole's mission was the shameful conduct of Francis I, who gave the Legate notice to quit his territories as soon as possible because the King of England desired his surrender as a traitor. Pole had to withdraw to Cambrai, an Imperial city; but even then, in the neighbourhood of Calais, he was not safe, as the English King had set a price of 50,000 crowns upon his head and had demanded his extradition from the Regent of the Netherlands. The town council of Cambrai, alarmed on the score of the trade with England, had the Cardinal conveyed to Liege. There he remained, with Giberti, in spite of all dangers, until the month of August, in the hope that he might still be able to do something for his unhappy country. The illusions by which he was still possessed had long since ceased to deceive his colleague Contarini and another observer, whose insight was clearer than his own, Pope Paul III.

Although the Pope was now determined to bring the full force of ecclesiastical punishment to bear upon Henry, he yet did nothing precipitately. It was not until, at Nice, he had arranged an armistice between Francis and Charles and had pledged these princes to break off all relations with Henry VIII after the publication of the Bull, that he revived that document, which had lain dormant for three years, and set about its publication with certain supplementary details. But even then the Pope took no measures until he had laid the matter before a commission of four Cardinals and had obtained their consent.

In the Bull dated the 17th of December 1538 the Pope referred to the proofs of his previous long-suffering, which had now been brought to an end by the King's latest acts of iniquity, foremost among which were the cruel executions of prelates and priests and the robbery and desecration of some of the most sacred places in England. It was especially pointed out that Henry, in his infatuated rage, was now wreaking ruin even on the resting-places of the dead, hallowed by the veneration of centuries. As special instances the Pope cited how the convent of St. Augustine, the founder of English Christianity, in Canterbury had been turned by the King into a receptacle for wild beasts and how, not satisfied with that, he had allowed the shrine, blazing with gold and jewels, of Thomas a Becket, Archbishop of the see, to be plundered and utterly destroyed, and even the bones of the saint, venerated for ages by countless pilgrims, to be burned and the ashes scattered to the four winds of heaven.

Notwithstanding the assurances given by Charles V and Francis I regarding the Bull, no one in Rome placed reliance on either prince. All the more recognition is due to the self-sacrifice of Cardinal Pole, who even now undertook the difficult task of exhorting them both to be true to their word, heedless of the risks not only to his own life but also to that of his associate, which a mission of this kind involved. At the end of December 1538 he left Rome secretly, as his person was threatened by a plot of English assassins. He hastened to the Emperor at Toledo, but Charles was unwilling to take any definite steps against Henry, and in France, where he stayed for some time with his friend Sadoletto, Pole was quite as unsuccessful. The publication of the Bull was proved to be impossible. Owing to the policy of Charles and Francis, Scotland, where Cardinal Beaton was to have promulgated the Bull, had to remain inactive.

Thus Henry's good luck tided him once more over a very serious danger. If the Emperor and the King had determined to put an embargo on trade, then Henry, as Paul III calculated correctly, under the pressure of this coalition, which would have been greatly strengthened by a

Scottish invasion and the attitude of the disaffected Catholics in England, would have been driven to have made his peace with the Church.

Pole's grief at the failure of his mission was intensified by the news of the execution of his relations and the imprisonment of his mother, who, without the evidence of one single witness having been heard against her, was put to death in the Tower on the 27th of May 1541, in the eightieth year of her age, for no other reason than that she was a sincere Catholic and the mother of the Cardinal.

Thanks to the huge sums which in ten years were gathered in from the confiscated monastic property—nearly sixteen million pounds at present-day value—Henry VIII. was able to make the military preparations which were necessary to meet that coalition of Catholic princes of which he stood in constant dread. As time went on, however, it became evident that Rome could hardly expect any more assistance of that sort. The Pope had to satisfy himself with a policy of observation; nevertheless, he did not abandon all hope that some fortunate turn of affairs might bring about a reaction on the part of Henry. Such an opportunity seemed to present itself in the downfall of Cromwell. On the 28th of July 1540 the Vicar-General, to whom every weapon had come handy in the contest with Rome, met the same fate which he had meted out so often to others: death without legal trial. The Legate Cervini was now instructed at once to negotiate with the Emperor concerning Henry's conversion and the restoration of England to Catholicism. Such a change then seemed possible for this reason, that it was reported that Henry had explained the Six Articles of June 1539 in a Catholic sense. Obstacles to the King's reconciliation, however, were not merely his rapacity, love of absolute power, and constant matrimonial entanglements, but also the fact that the higher nobility were interested, as against the Holy See, in participating in the plunder of the monasteries. All prospect of receiving help from the Emperor against England vanished when, on the 9th of February 1543, Charles concluded an alliance against France with Henry VIII.

This turn of affairs was bound up with the situation in Scotland. King James V had resisted all the enticements of Henry VIII to follow him on the way of schism, and, in conjunction with Cardinal David Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, had followed a policy which was summed up in the phrases: maintenance of the ancient Church, subjection of the insubordinate nobles, and alliance with France. The opposition thus caused was rendered still more acute when the Irish, exasperated at Henry's attempts to separate their country from Rome, offered the Irish crown to James V. In August 1542 the long-impending war broke out; it ended in disastrous defeat for the Scots, whose nobles played the part of traitors. This catastrophe broke down the King's strength, who soon afterwards died, on the 13th of December 1542, at the age of thirty-one.

Bad times were now in store for Scotland. The nobles, divided into a French and English party, snatched at the supreme power and the Protestant party turned to account the religious troubles of the day. The latter favoured the Earl of Arran, chosen Regent of the kingdom, while Cardinal Beaton was put in prison by his opponents. Under these circumstances Henry VIII considered the opportunity favourable for annexing Scotland to the House of Tudor by a marriage between his son Edward and Mary daughter of James V.

Paul III. had already, on the 9th of January 1543, addressed a brief to James V. by which he granted him a tax on the incomes of the Scottish Church for the furtherance of the war against Henry, the "Son of Perdition." He now received the news of James's death, Beaton's imprisonment, and Henry's dangerous schemes, and therefore decided to send to France and Scotland without delay Marco Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia. Grimani was to obtain Beaton's release, to confirm the Scots in their Catholic loyalty, to help in collecting the tenths levied for

the war, and to make provision for further help against Henry VIII. He was first of all to consult Francis I on these plans and to make his appearance in Scotland dependent on the King's judgment, but when there to place himself in communication with Beaton as the first thing and to allay the strife of parties.

When Grimani entered Scotland in October 1543 he found Cardinal Beaton at liberty and busily engaged in organizing the national and Church party. The Legate, who remained in Scotland till March 1544, was able to present to the Pope the most favourable report of the state of things there prevailing.

Paul III, who had been represented as the devil on a medal scurrilously struck by the English King, supported the Scots in April of the following year in the war against England by sending them 20,000 scudi. Cardinal Beaton, who, since the 30th of January 1544 had enjoyed the rank of a Legate, displayed as the champion of a policy of national independence and of loyalty to the ancient faith an activity to which the Pope gave his warm support. Great then was the latter's sorrow when, on the 29th of May 1546, this eminent man, who had checkmated so adroitly all the schemes of Henry VIII, fell victim to a murderous plot to which the English King was privy. Naturally the opposing party, which with the help of England was preparing the downfall of Catholicism, lifted up its head. Victory seemed to smile upon them when, on the 10th of September 1547, the English inflicted a heavy defeat on the Scots. Still, they had not yet carried their whole policy to a successful issue. The Princess Mary was betrothed to the Dauphin, and in August 1548 conveyed to France. From that country such important succour came to Scotland that the English plans of conquest had to be abandoned.

Henry VIII, whose last days had been spent under the influence of fear and terror, was by this time no longer among the living. His death, on the 28th of January 1547, once more rekindled the hope in Rome that England might be won back to the Church. Paul III determined to act at once and address an exhortation to the English Parliament with the request that by reconciliation with the Church they would remove any occasion for attack on England from a foreign enemy. On the 25th of February 1547 he appointed Cardinal Sfondrato Legate to the Emperor and Capodiferro to Francis I, in order to interest these princes in the recovery of England to Catholic unity. The nomination of a third Legate—men's thoughts turned to Pole—was held in reserve.

The Pope left it to the French ambassador in London to feel the way as to the reception of such an envoy in England. The answer of Somerset, Protector during the minority of Edward VI, was unconditionally negative. Charles V declined to interfere in any way in English affairs, which were now going from bad to worse. Henry VIII, in his attack on the Church had aimed solely at the Pope; ancient doctrines and ceremonies, on the other hand, he wished to preserve, and protected them from the assaults of the reformers by the penalty of death. Nevertheless, the Catholic faith in England was doomed since the bond of Catholic unity had been severed. The Reformation articles of 1536 showed therefore quite consistently an approximation to the Protestant view. At a later date, certainly influenced by the Catholic rising in the north, Henry reverted to his old standpoint of guarding dogma from any material alteration. In 1539 the Six Articles were published. They enjoined, on pain of death, the doctrine of transubstantiation, Masses for the dead, auricular confession, and clerical celibacy. While loyal Catholics were still as liable as before to be hanged and quartered as guilty of high treason, not merely Anabaptists but Lutherans as well were now numbered among the offenders whom the scaffold could claim. The further inroads, however, of Protestant opinions were not to be prevented by measures such as these. It was shown to be impossible, as Marillac had urged in 1540, to fill a whole people with

hatred of the Pope without at the same time giving them permission to adopt some of the Lutheran teaching.

This see-saw of opinions, which could not possibly go on for ever, was brought to an end under Edward VI; the logical consequences were drawn from the new system which his deceased father had set up. The Protector Somerset and Cranmer had all the less difficulty in so doing as the supreme head of the Anglican Church was now a boy who had just entered his tenth year and was an irresponsible tool in the hands of the Regent and the Primate. A visitation of all dioceses and the removal of all images was at once ordered. To some of the bishops who had even approved of the breach with Rome, this was going too far. Their opposition, however, was overcome by force. Cranmer, the soul of all innovation, wrought successfully at widening the breach between Rome and England by introducing communion under both kinds, repealing the Six Articles, and constructing a new liturgy. The liturgy of Rome, bound up for more than a thousand years with the national life, secular as well as spiritual, ceased. It was replaced by Cranmer's "Book of Common Prayer," an invention of undeniable skill but untested by any Synod and carried through Parliament by intrigue and force. In spite of the threat of severe penalties, which in the case of repeated disobedience amounted to lifelong imprisonment, serious opposition was shown. In the summer of 1549 a series of popular risings occurred marked, however, by a social rather than a religious character. They were repressed with bloodshed; nevertheless, it was the opinion of the Venetian ambassador (1551) that the Catholics would again reassert themselves if they were to have at their head a competent leader.

As in England so in the kingdoms of Northern Europe it was the exercise of monarchical power which carried Protestantism to victory and wrenched powerful nations from the Church to which they owed their culture and civilization.

In Sweden the crisis had been reached under Clement VII. By a *coup d'état* King Gustavus Wasa at the Diet of Vesteras in 1527 tore Sweden from the old religion. This absolute monarch was also dissatisfied with the new clergy, whom he intended to make use of simply as subservient instruments of his will. The originators of the new movement, Olaf Petersson and Lorenz Andersson, fell into disgrace with Gustavus on account of their opposition to his intended changes in the constitution of the Church, were condemned to death, and only escaped the extreme penalty by paying a large ransom. The Catholic populace saw in this a judgment of God. For long there was a widespread aversion to the new doctrines and order, and the excitement rose when the King robbed the treasure which their forefathers had amassed for the uses of the Church and introduced a new liturgy. In 1542 the discontent came to a head in the insurrection of Smaland. It soon spread through West and East Gothland as far as Siidermania. The peasants declared they would have Christianity re-established, do away with the Mass in Swedish, and bring back again the old order of things. The attention of the rest of Europe, imperfectly informed as to the condition of those northern regions, was now aroused. The Swedes expelled from their country the Count Palatine Frederick, son-in-law of the old King Christian; even Charles V himself entered into negotiations with the insurgent peasantry. Gustavus Wasa succeeded, however, in the following year in quelling the revolt, whereupon fresh spoliation of the Church at once began. But even then the Catholic remnant was so numerous that the King, at the Diet of Vesteras in 1544, complained of the sympathy shown by the Estates for the old dogma and worship and ordered new changes to be made in the "papistical" residuum.

In Denmark a situation ruinous to the Catholic cause was introduced when, on the death of King Frederick I, the throne was ascended, on the 10th of April 1533, not by his youthful son John, whom the bishops desired, but by Christian III, a prince of Lutheran belief. Scarcely had

the question of this succession been settled, after much bloodshed, than the final blow was struck. In August 1536 all the bishops of Denmark were arrested. At the end of October a Diet met at Copenhagen attended only by the nobles, burghers, and peasants; no clergy were present. After a gravamen had been read in which the bishops were represented as the chief instigators of the previous dissensions in the kingdom, the assembly proceeded to pass the resolutions of the King; the imprisoned bishops were deposed; in their place superintendents were appointed as teachers of the new "Evangelium"; the episcopal property passed to the Crown as a source of strength to the latter and for the better defence of the country. A foreigner, John Bugenhagen, who had been called in July 1537 from Wittenberg to Copenhagen, worked with Danish preachers at the construction of a new Church system which abolished low Masses and celibacy but cleverly retained so much of the outward ceremonial that the common people at first hardly perceived that things were not still going on without alteration.

On the 2nd of September 1537 the new ordinance was made known on the sole authority of the King and under appeal to the sword which God had committed to his charge, and of which he would make use against the disobedient and rebellious. On the same day the superintendents were consecrated in order that the people to whom the ancient system was still dear should look upon them as genuine bishops. The imprisoned bishops were set at liberty only on giving a promise to do nothing in opposition to the new ordinance, in exchange for which apostate compliance they were each rewarded with their personal property and a convent. This inglorious end of the Catholic episcopate can be understood when it is borne in mind that all seven bishops as well as the Bishop-coadjutor of Ribe were of noble birth and that four of them had been simoniacally intruded into the episcopal office by the King without consecration or Papal confirmation.

The people accepted the Lutheran Church constitution with a repugnance which in particular places lasted for more than a century but yet was ineffectual in preventing the gradual extirpation of the Catholic faith. The most tenacious resistance was shown by the inmates of the religious houses, especially by the Mendicants, of whom many were banished and some even hanged. The evil results of the new Church system among the people had to be acknowledged by one of the new superintendents himself, Peter Palladius. The Diet of Copenhagen of 1546 declared all Catholics disqualified for office of any kind, and even deprived of the rights of inheritance. Catholic priests were forbidden, on pain of death, to enter the kingdom. Draconian legislation was also carried out in Norway, which in 1536 had been declared a province of Denmark. Yet here, in spite of measures of repression, a century elapsed before the Catholic religion became extinct.

The unworthy Archbishop of Drontheim, who leaned to the Lutheran doctrine, having espoused the party of Christian II., was forced to fly in 1537; of the two Bishops of Norway the one resigned his office voluntarily, the other was removed into captivity. Although robbed in this way of their chief pastors, the people, proudly independent from days of yore, offered a stubborn and protracted resistance in combination with some of the clergy. At last they had to succumb to force. Royal commissioners took possession of the dioceses and plundered and laid bare the churches. Even the stately cathedral of Drontheim was desecrated and turned into a stable for horses. In the noble octagon choir of this edifice was the burial-place of St. Olaf the king (f, 1030), the founder of the national independence and political unity of Norway. For centuries pilgrims from all parts of Scandinavia had fared to this sacred spot until Drontheim became the Rome of Northern Europe. Now even this royal tomb was not spared. The shrine of the saint, a precious

work of art, enriched the coffers of the avaricious King of Denmark with upwards of 6500 ounces of silver.

Distant Iceland showed an even sterner opposition than Norway. The Catholic population had there a strong bulwark in Jon Aresson, Bishop of Holar, staunchly true to the Church. To all attempts to introduce the Danish ecclesiastical system he presented a determined resistance. By his side stood Ogmund Paalsson, Bishop of Skalholt, who in his eightieth year was carried away captive to Denmark. His successor, Gisfur Einarsson, was an adherent of the new system. After his death (1548) the Catholics, led by Jon Aresson, made every effort to throw off by force the fetters of the new religion. Paul III. exhorted them to courageous resistance and sent Aresson a magnificent cope which is preserved to this day in the cathedral of Reykjavik. In the struggle now about to begin Aresson was at first the victor, but in 1550 he fell into the hands of a petty chief on the west coast of the island who was of the party of Christian III. He delivered his captive to the Danes, who beheaded him in the sixty-eighth year of his age. Iceland now gradually became a Protestant country, and the treasures of the bishoprics and monasteries were diverted to the Danish exchequer.

Together with the sorrow and anxiety felt by Paul III. as he saw the Catholic religion crumbling away in Scandinavia came the apprehension of dangers hanging over a country whose boast it had been for ages to be considered “the eldest daughter of the Church.”

The Farnese Pope had only reigned a few months when news reached Rome that the Lutheran heresy was making dangerous inroads in France, and calling for active measures of opposition from Francis I. To this course he had been challenged by the adherents of Luther themselves, as they had distributed pamphlets on the Mass offensive to Catholics even within the precincts of the palace. It was in keeping with the ostentatious manner in which Francis I then prosecuted the heretical teachers in his kingdom that his ambassador, in a consistory held on the 29th of January 1535, solemnly declared that the King wished all the world to know that he was a sincere Catholic. It ought not to have escaped Paul III. that some strong political motive underlay the religious zeal of a monarch who, during the pontificate of Clement VII, had played a very ambiguous part in questions of religion. What had then been a matter of surmise was becoming every day more apparent; the King wished to employ the persecution of the Lutherans as a lever wherewith to move the Pope for purely political objects.

Francis tried to quiet his Protestant friends in Germany with the assurance that he was punishing only people of bad character and instigators of disorder; at the same time he begged them to consider means of arriving at a peace-able settlement of religious affairs. Since the spring of 1535 the King had actually taken in hand negotiations directed towards the reconciliation of the Protestants with the Church, and Melanchthon on this account had been invited to visit France. The whole proceeding, however, was nothing more than a political manoeuvre. The efforts after concord, which harmonized so ill with the persecuting laws just enacted, were only part of the double game in which Francis was engaged: the strengthening of his political connection with the Protestant princes of Germany and the withdrawal of the Pope from his political neutrality. The latter seems at that time to have had a momentary belief that by means of irenic negotiations the religious conflict might be quelled and Melanchthon won back to the Church. It was soon to appear how visionary all this was. The ecclesiastical policy of the French King was of such a kind that already in April 1535 the gravest fears had been awakened in the Pope and Cardinals that the enthusiastic zeal displayed by Francis would cool down to the opposite extreme. As a matter of fact, an edict of July 1535 inaugurated the persecution of the Protestants.

After the war with Charles V had broken out in 1536 Francis I was again busy with overtures to the Protestant princes of Germany, but now they stood aloof from him. In France itself, in the meantime, the legislation of 1535 was having a terrorizing effect. The Protestants kept silence or fled the country ; many conformed outwardly to Catholicism and were attacked by the thorough-going of the sect as “Facing both ways,” or “Nicodemites.” Even the highly cultivated Margaret of Navarre wore her Catholic mask so well that no less a personage than Paul III congratulated her on the 9th of January 1537 on her religious zeal and exhorted her to urge her brother to emulate her in this respect.

The Catholics always found consistent support from the Sorbonne. This was all the more important since the attitude of Francis towards the religious questions of his kingdom was entirely conditioned by political considerations. It was only to draw the Pope closer to him that he published the Edict of Fontainebleau on the 1st of June 1540, the effect of which was to renew the persecution of the Protestants.

Political aims were again the leading motive when, a few weeks after the declaration of war against the Emperor, Francis I insisted on the Parliaments taking immediate measures against all who showed themselves disobedient to the Church. This, indeed, did not prevent the King from offering, two months later, to enter into alliance with the Schmalkaldic princes. The next year (1542) shows the King again as the persecutor of French heretics and at the same time the friend of the Protestant chiefs of Germany. Even when the peace of Crespy forced Francis, certainly for a short time only, to make common cause openly with Charles V against the German Lutherans, he was still keeping up in secret his old alliance with the Emperor’s opponents. In glaring contrast to the latter policy was the sanguinary persecution in 1545 of the Waldensians of Provence, who, by their provocative behaviour, had done much to draw down their punishment. Even Sadoletto, otherwise the advocate of clemency, thought their chastisement just.

The severity dealt out to the French Protestants, everywhere indeed, but with especial rigour by the Parliament of Rouen, failed to check the spread of error, for the source of the apostasy from Rome, ecclesiastical corruption, had not been removed—nay, had only been strengthened by the King by means of the concordat. The Venetian ambassador Marino Cavalli remarks in his report of 1546 that all the burnings of heretics throughout France had done nothing to check Protestantism : whole towns such as Caen, Poitiers, La Rochelle and many in Provence were silently united in living after the Protestant fashion.

This development made wide advances under the successor of Francis, Henry II (1547-1559), although the persecution of the Protestants continued. An entirely new and stronger stamp of character was impressed on French Protestantism by an erudite scholar of Picardy, John Calvin, who had fled to Basel at the end of 1534 and had dedicated to Francis I, two years later, his Handbook of Christian Doctrine. This work, which was at the same time a defence of his oppressed co-religionists in France, contained the programme of his life—a life devoted to unrelenting warfare with the Catholic Church and the Papacy. Since the autumn of 1541 Calvin had laboured with iron consistency and grim strength of purpose to put this programme into execution in the city of Geneva. From this centre the influence of this extraordinary man radiated not merely over men of Latin or German race but over the Slavonic populations. France, the Netherlands, Hungary and Poland became the soil from which the Calvinistic propaganda reaped fertile harvests.

CHAPTER VXL.

THE PROTESTANT PROPAGANDA IN POLAND AND ITALY. FOUNDATION OF THE ROMAN INQUISITION.—THE POPE'S SUPPORT OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS OUTSIDE EUROPE; AND HIS ACTIVITY IN OTHER SPHERES OF WORK.

In the kingdom of Poland Lutheran teaching had expanded in ever-widening circles, although King Sigismund I and many Polish bishops as well had, since 1520, been taking energetic measures to check the advance. The proximity of the apostate Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Albert of Brandenburg, and the active intercourse with Germany had exercised a strong influence in the direction of Protestantism. In order to grapple with the evil at its roots the King in 1534 forbade his subjects to study at the University of Wittenberg. Paul III repeatedly commended Sigismund's firmness of action; he seems indeed to have flattered himself that the suppression of heresy in Poland was an accomplished fact. But this was far from being the case. The prohibition to visit Wittenberg was disregarded by the Polish nobles, while the ordinances of 1535 and the edict of 1541, which threatened with loss of nobility anyone who harboured a heretical priest, remained dead letters. There were, moreover, encroachments of the temporal power upon the Church which called forth repeated admonitions from the Pope both to the King and to the bishops.

A principal cause of the failure of all the efforts to expel heresy from Poland was to be found in the condition of the clergy. In that kingdom just as in Germany the higher ecclesiastical posts had become the appanage of the nobility without the moral obligations attaching to their possession being taken into consideration. Another factor was the influence of the ambitious Queen Bona, who for years had insisted on inspecting the letters despatched from the Royal chancery to Rome in the fear lest the vice-chancellor Maciejowski might obtain from the King nominations to bishoprics of which she did not approve. No wonder that nominees thus appointed showed them-selves feeble supporters of the Church and exhibited a laxity towards the fanatics of Protestantism which filled serious Catholics with deep anxiety. Such was the situation when Sigismund died on the 8th of April 1548 and was succeeded by his son, Sigismund Augustus.

Already in November 1536 a Roman envoy sent to influence the heir-apparent in feelings of persistent loyalty to Catholicism had reported that the prince was showing an inclination towards Lutheranism. In order to steady him Paul III sent him in 1539 the consecrated hat and sword through Girolamo Rorario. Regardless of this mark of distinction, Sigismund Augustus, who since 1544 had, as Prince of Lithuania, attained a very independent position, manifested a growing sympathy with the new teaching. In 1547 he appointed as court preachers two men who were at that time publicly expounding the Lutheran doctrine of justification. It is not surprising, therefore, that on his accession to the throne the Protestant party looked forward with certainty to his complete separation from Rome. They were, however, deceived; the new King solemnly

promised obedience to the Pope, and the Protestant preachers disappeared. This change of position was not due to the exhortations of the nuncio Martinengo but to the political situation which compelled Sigismund Augustus to turn to the bishops for support. The character of the King, however, was so irresolute and unstable that the fate of the Church in Poland would have become almost hopeless had not at this very juncture a man been sent in the person of Stanislaus Hosius, just appointed Bishop of Ermeland, who, defying all the storms of hostility, played the part of saviour with a force which seemed almost more than human.

Nothing shows more forcibly the strength of the movement of secession, which shook the Catholic Church to the foundations, than the fact that the impact was felt in Italy itself. The Protestant propaganda certainly encountered here, late and early, its greatest obstacles; but so woeful in many ways was the condition of the Church that in numerous quarters only too favourable a reception was given to the missionaries of error. This was specially the case in northern Italy, where intercourse with Germany and Switzerland was incessant. Not merely in Venice, where the staple trade in books was carried on with Germany, but in various towns in the territory of the Republic, Protestantism found a conspicuous foothold in the days of Paul III. as well as in those of his predecessor. While the Venetian Government, from mercantile considerations, allowed a considerable amount of latitude to prevail in the capital, they were much stricter in other towns.

Thus in 1535 in Vicenza a German named Sigismund was handed over, with the Doge's consent, to the Bishop's vicar for punishment on a charge of Lutheran heresy. Paul III without delay expressed his acknowledgment of this proceeding in a special letter. The Pope in like manner was active in taking measures against certain heretical teachers, many of whom came from religious orders, who had made their appearance at that time not merely in Piedmont and Lombardy but also in Ferrara and Siena. In Ferrara the Duchess Rende, a woman of high culture and daughter of Louis XII of France, gave for a while some support and protection to Protestant refugees such as Clement Marot and Calvin, but concealed her real opinions so cleverly that even Paul III was deceived.

If Paul III showed himself severe towards the contumacious, he was lenient towards those whose recantation of error was sincere. He often showed greater clemency than the Inquisitors, as in the pardon of a Benedictine who sought reconciliation in 1538. But neither clemency nor severity availed much; the religious ferment went on. In the towns of northern Italy especially the difficult questions of grace and free will were expounded from the pulpit and elsewhere in a manner which only left the hearers in a whirl of doubt and uncertainty. This happened oftener as the Council had not as yet made any pronouncement of doctrine. Generally speaking, however, only particular tenets of Protestantism were adopted in Italy, and for the most part without thought of the logical conclusions which were deducible from them.

As the governments of Italy had no intention of giving countenance to a religious revolution and the great bulk of the population held fast to the faith of their fathers, the dissentients from the teaching of the Church were obliged to take refuge in subterfuges and disguises. The surreptitious character of the Protestant propaganda made it a difficult object of attack, while the faith ran all the greater danger of contamination. The Order of the Augustinian Hermits, from which Luther had emerged, contained many dangerous elements. The manner in which members of that body handled in the pulpit the topics of justification, free will, and predestination gave widespread offence. Paul III addressed on the 6th of April 1539 an exhortation to the General Chapter to extirpate "the Lutheran malady" which was bringing the Order into disrepute. In June 1539 the Pope was also obliged to proceed against a member of the young Order of Capuchins for

preaching heresy in Lucca. At the same time Cardinal Grimani was given full powers against heretics who had been discovered in Aquileia, Ceneda, and Concordia. In July 1540 the Bishop of Venosa was instructed to take steps against a Minorite for attacking the indulgence bestowed on contributors to the building fund of St. Peter's.

The principal danger seemed as before to emanate from Venetian territory, especially from Vicenza, where the Pope, in November 1540, forbade all disputations on predestination and free will; but disquieting reports came also from Milan, and even from Bologna and Florence. The danger was further magnified by rumour; the German Protestants made frequent boasts of their successes in Italy, and Wauchope reported on the 19th of November 1540 from Worms to the Pope that the German reformers bragged of having 30,000 adherents in Italy. This was a gross exaggeration: only in a few places did their errors penetrate wide circles of the people; in general the votaries of innovation were persons of education and humanistic culture, and members of the religious orders who had broken their vows. It was not until the beginning of the fortieth year of the century that, in Lucca and Modena, and to a certain extent, in Siena, any considerable number of the population were infected.

It is always a most serious danger for the Church when erroneous opinions, under the guise of strivings after a higher level of piety, are secretly disseminated without the knowledge of the ecclesiastical authorities. This was pre-eminently the case in Naples. The central figure in the movement was a stranger, who drew round him a large circle of friends who became the recipients of teaching the dangers of which did not cross their minds. This was the Castilian, Juan Valdes, a twin brother of the humanist Alfonso Valdes, who in September 1526 had composed the Imperial state documents directed against Clement VII in language generally associated with the disciples of Luther. Juan had also in his dialogue, *Mercury and Charon*, which appeared simultaneously with his brother's anti-Papal diatribe *Lactantius*, taken part in polemics which were essentially political. Nevertheless, when Clement VII and Charles V were at peace again Juan was made a Papal chamberlain. At the end of 1532 or the beginning of 1533 he betook himself to Naples where, with the exception of a visit to Rome, he remained up to his death in 1541, in outward communion with the Church.

In Naples Juan Valdes who, like his brother, was an enthusiastic admirer of Erasmus, devoted himself to aesthetic and theological studies, as well as to social intercourse with his friends. A spiritual address, a Spanish translation of the Psalter and portions of the New Testament, and lastly some edifying meditations were the fruits of his pen. In these writings echoes of Lutheran teaching were already recognizable. They became more distinct in a treatise, *On the Benefit of Christ*, first circulated in manuscript and afterwards put through the press in 1542 and 1543, which had been composed by one of his pupils, Benedetto da Mantua, an Augustinian of the convent of S. Severino, and revised for purposes of style by Marcantonio Flaminio.

Like so many others, Valdes does not seem to have realized that the doctrine here unfolded came very close to the Lutheran thesis of justification by faith. A lay theologian, wanting in clearness of thought, he inclined to a vague emotional religion compounded of intellectuality and a false mysticism. He, like the majority of his adherents, who were known in Naples as the "Spirituali," had no deliberate intention of abandoning the Church. Their number was very considerable. The emotional religion of Valdes, which had for its background the smiling shores of the Bay of Naples, attracted, by the very nature of things, many sentimental women, some of whom were persons of genuine piety. His circle included some of the noblest and most distinguished women in Naples. Vittoria Colonna was one of them, so also the Duchess of Amalfi, Isabella Manriquez, the sister of the Spanish Grand Inquisitor, and, most noticeable of all, Giulia

Gonzaga, reputed to be the most beautiful woman in Italy. While the latter as well as Isabella Manriquez fell under the spell of the new doctrine, Vittoria Colonna soon retraced her steps to the right way.

How dangerous the opinions of Valdes were—their erroneous character having first been perceived by the Theatines—is shown by the circumstance that his two most gifted disciples, Pietro Martire Vermigli and Bernardino Ochino, were precisely those whose careers ended in total rupture with the Church. Ochino's disastrous fall has been already described. It remains to be said that this event formed the critical turning-point in the movement of Catholic reform in Italy at which the minds of men decided finally for one side or the other.

Pietro Martire Vermigli, born in Florence in 1500, entered, while he was yet but sixteen, against the will of his parents, the Augustinian convent at Fiesole. He was sent to the University of Padua as a promising youth, and from 1525 onwards he was employed as a Lenten preacher. As such Vermigli worked earnestly and with profit to his hearers. He addressed large congregations in Brescia, Mantua, Bergamo, Pisa, Venice, and also Rome. Afterwards Abbot at Spoleto, he finally became Prior of the convent of S. Pietro "ad aram" in Naples. Vermigli was here fated to enter the circle of Valdes, become the friend of Ochino, and make acquaintance with the writings of the Germans. This resulted in the adoption of dangerous opinions which were soon introduced into his sermons. At first this was done only tentatively, in conformity with his cautious character; but the vigilant Theatines were on the watch, and induced the viceroy to prohibit him from preaching. Vermigli, however, succeeded, through Cardinal Contarini, who had been won over to his side by Marcantonio Flaminio, in destroying all suspicion and having the prohibition removed.

In 1541 Vermigli was visitor of his Order in Italy. As such he came to Lucca, where he was chosen Prior of S. Frediano in the middle of the same year. In a surprisingly short space of time he had gained the affection of all the community; the Lucchesi came in swarms to hear him preach, and the great basilica of S. Frediano could hardly hold them. Then a band of enthusiastic disciples soon rallied round the Prior, whose learning equalled his eloquence. The closer Vermigli came to know Lucca the clearer it became to him that here was a favourable soil on which to sow his new seed. The mercantile traffic with Germany had brought Luther-anism within the ken of many of the citizens, and there were not a few of the clergy, especially in the religious Orders, who had become infected with Protestant opinions. The Archbishop, moreover, was absent, and the authorities, when not more or less secretly inclined to favour the new doctrines, were lax and inattentive; already, indeed, the strict laws with regard to Lent and the observance of saints' days had been abolished, and the participation of the magistrates in public worship suspended. All this encouraged Vermigli, in his sermons and in other ways, to push his erroneous opinions more and more to the front, to imbue his novices with the same spirit, and even in S. Frediano to exhort the communicants to look upon the Blessed Sacrament as merely a memorial of the Passion of Christ. In spite of all Vermigli's caution it was impossible to conceal such conduct from his superiors and the Curia. By April 1542 he was already in fear of official measures against him; these he tried to circumvent by obtaining from the Senate a letter of commendation to his superior. What the effect of his Lenten sermons had been it was hardly possible to say, but it was hoped that so excellent a man would be permitted to deliver them for yet a long time to come.

In the meantime Cardinal Guidiccioni in Rome had been informed by the Vicar-General of the true state of things. The Cardinal thereupon wrote on June the 28th, 1542, to the authorities of his native city reproving them for their negligence and exhorting them to take proceedings.

The Lucchesi did all they could to appease the Pope and the Cardinal. They sent a special embassy with the assurance of their constant fidelity to the ancient faith and to the Holy See, while to one of Vermigli's chief followers, Celio Secondo Curione, they counselled flight, an intimation which was followed. In July 1542 measures were taken with regard to forbidden books, and the Church festivals, which had been abolished, were restored. Vermigli was invited to appear before the Chapter of the Order in Genoa, but, never a man of particular courage, he resolved to fly at once, and on the 12th of August he went to Florence, where he met Ochino, whom he prevailed upon to leave Italy without delay. Vermigli found an appointment as professor of Hebrew in Strasburg, while Ochino turned to Geneva, where the cautious Calvin had a long and searching colloquy with the refugee before he gave him permission to preach to the colony of Italians in the city.

Ochino immediately threw himself into literary work on behalf of a Protestant propaganda in Italy, against which the combative Dominican, Ambrogio Catarino, took up arms conspicuously. Ochino left Geneva by 1543, having there married his maidservant, and then began his years of restless wandering which brought him in 1547 to England. There he wrote his Latin *Tragedia*, soon afterwards translated into English, in which he sought to prove that the Pope was anti-Christ and introduced the devil as one of the dramatis personae

The flight of two of the most gifted Protestants, Vermigli and Ochino, in search of personal safety, was a loss to the cause in Italy which was felt all the more sensibly as at the same time the Holy See was taking strong measures of defence. For this there were weighty reasons, as Modena as well as Lucca threatened to fall away. It was a circumstance of fateful importance that at this time the Bishop of Modena, Morone, was kept away on the duties of his nunciature. His representative does not seem to have been equal to the task imposed upon him by the seething difficulties of the time.

The spread of Lutheran opinions was no new thing in Modena. When in the Advent of 1537 an Augustinian monk publicly advertised the sale of a heretical work, his conduct only gave rise to a protest. The new opinions gained ground increasingly. Men and women, relates a chronicler, held arguments everywhere on questions of faith and appealed to teachers of the Church whom they had never read and quoted wrongly. Preventive measures were not wanting. The work in question, the *Sommario della Sacra Scrittura*, was confuted by Ambrogio Catarino and consigned to the flames. A Franciscan conventual, who had attacked the Holy See under a pseudonym, was arrested and taken to Ferrara, but all this produced little result, and when Morone at last, in the spring of 1542, returned to his diocese, he heard with amazement of the state of things there prevailing. The focus of religious rebellion was a society of learned men, formed sometime about 1536 and known as the "Accademia." Morone had undoubtedly the best will in the world to check the new teaching in his diocese, but his position was a very delicate one, since, like Contarini, he had no very definite stand-point on the question of justification. It was certainly with the best intention that he allowed the work on the Benefit of Christ to be published in his diocese and circulated, little knowing that it contained the starting-point of the very errors which he was now called upon to assail. Morone also hoped to restore order by lenient measures. In agreement with Contarini he resolved to place before the suspects a confession of faith drawn up by Contarini in the simplest form. If it should be thus established that the accused—most of whom were members of the "Accademia"—adhered to the faith of the Church, then, so Morone thought, he could confidently receive them. If the contrary were the case, it was his intention to try and bring them back from their error by gentle measures.

In the meantime attention had also been drawn in Rome to the affairs of Modena. Although the gentle Cardinal Sadoletto did all he could to protect his fellow-countrymen, Paul III. on the 23rd of June 1542 directed that a brief should be sent to Morone in which he commanded him, taking into consideration the secret and gradual advance of error in Modena, to search out the suspected and bring the guilty to punishment. Morone did not consider it opportune to make use of this document to the letter; it was more congenial to his kind-hearted and tolerant disposition to try to influence the “Academicians” through private negotiations and representations and thus persuade them to renounce their innovations.

Contarini’s inexhaustible patience was also shown in his treatment of the heterodox in Bologna, with whom he dealt gently and in a spirit of friendly advice. Morone, who had the support of Sadoletto, succeeded at last in getting forty-one noted citizens and men of learning to sign the declaration composed by Contarini; but this only allayed for a while the religious troubles in Modena.

The danger which threatened in 1542 of important cities like Lucca and Modena gradually lapsing from the Church, determined Paul III. to take a decisive step by appointing, on the 4th of July 1542, six Cardinals to act as Inquisitors-General. He did this on the advice of the more rigid party, above all, of Cardinal Carafa and of the Dominican, Juan Alvarez de Toledo, Cardinal of Burgos, and, moreover, of Ignatius of Loyola. After having on the 14th of January cancelled all indulgences which withdrew clergy and laity from the authority of the Inquisition, Paul III., on July the 21st, issued a Bull by which the whole office of the Inquisition was reconstituted and a central authority for all countries erected in Rome whose energies were to be directed first of all to the suppression of heresy in Lucca.

In the preamble of this document Paul III insisted on the desire which he had cherished from the beginning of his pontificate, to preserve the purity of the Christian faith by preventing the approach of error, to bring back to the acknowledgment of the truths of the Church those led astray by the deceit of the devil, and so to deal with the obstinate and perverse that their punishment might serve as an example and deterrent to others. Hitherto he had put off any definite measures in these directions as he had hoped that, through the Divine compassion and the efficiency of learned preachers, those in heresy would be brought to see their errors, recant, and return to the Holy Catholic Church; and if they should still hesitate, would, at least, in awe of the authority of the approaching Council, embrace the true faith and return to the path of justice. The Council, however, owing to various reasons, chief among them the war between Christian princes having been unable to make a beginning and the inroads of error in the meanwhile being daily on the increase so that the unity of the Church was more and more impaired by religious discord, he found himself compelled to take measures prohibitive of yet greater evils. Considering that he was beset by claims of the gravest importance and could not therefore give his undivided attention to the matter, the Pope had resolved upon a commission of six Cardinals of approved faith, learning, and virtue.

At the head of the number thus appointed to be “general and most general Inquisitors” were Carafa and Juan Alvarez de Toledo; with them were afterwards associated Cardinals Pier Paolo Parisio, Bartolommeo Guidiccioni, Dionisio Laurerio, and Tommaso Badia.

The sphere of action assigned to this commission included all Cisalpine and Transalpine Christendom, the whole of Italy, and the Roman Curia itself. The Inquisitors were expressly authorized to delegate in any place their full powers to clerics versed in theology and canon law or to other ecclesiastical dignitaries, and to decide in their own court on any appeals from the ruling of the latter tribunals.

The commission was further empowered to examine, try, and pronounce sentence upon all who had lapsed from the Catholic Faith or were suspected of heresy, with like jurisdiction over the open or secret adherents, patrons, advocates, and advisers. Against all such, in any station in life, the Inquisitors were ordered to proceed, even without the consent of the bishops, and that too in cases where the latter had the right to act.

In the Bull the punishments to be meted out were specified: imprisonment, execution, and confiscation of goods in the case of those condemned to death. In order to carry out these injunctions the commission had the power to appoint the necessary temporal and ecclesiastical authorities, to regulate everything connected with the degradation and surrender to the secular arm of the guilty, even of those possessing the higher orders, and to inflict censures on the contumacious, whereby all appeal to a court of higher instance would be excluded.

Extensive as the powers of the commission of Cardinals were, when directed against obstinate heretics, they yet lacked any jurisdiction over those who sincerely repented of their errors. The Pope reserved to himself expressly the right to confer pardon in such cases.

The essential feature of the new organization thus created by the Bull was its centralization in Rome, whence all appointments by the new authorities now came, and in the plenary powers of taking measures immediately and promptly in all countries and against all persons of what-ever rank, independently of the existing ecclesiastical courts. Cardinal Carafa, the chief originator of the new institution, proceeded to put it into working order with fiery enthusiasm. It was reported that, without waiting for a financial grant from the Camera Apostolica, he fitted up a house at his own expense as a place where the Inquisition might hold its sessions.

Any description or estimate of the work of the reorganized Inquisition as it proceeded under Paul III. is impossible to an historian, as no records are at his disposal. The archives of the Holy Office in Rome must certainly have documentary evidence to some extent, but inspection is absolutely refused. If the present congregation of the Holy Office still persists in maintaining a system of absolute secrecy, which has almost universally been abandoned elsewhere, with regard to historical documents now more than three centuries old, it inflicts an injury not merely on the work of the historian but still more upon itself, since it thus perpetuates belief in all and in the worst of all the innumerable charges levelled at the Inquisition.

The want of authentic sources of information is not compensated for by the information of individuals. We know, for example, that Carnesecchi, in 1546, was cited before the Inquisition and acquitted for want of evidence, while other relapsed or obstinate heretics, such as the Spaniard Jayme Enzinas, were handed over for execution to the secular arm. Of importance is the severe edict issued on the 12th of July 1543 by the Inquisitors-General against the diffusion of heretical books in Rome, Ferrara, and Bologna.

Without access to the archives of the Holy Office it is impossible to substantiate how far this edict attained its purpose, nor, deprived of the same means of information, can it be known for certain to what extent Cardinal Seripando's judgment was well founded when he said: "At first this Institution was a temperate and lenient tribunal corresponding to the personal character of Paul III, but at a later period, when the Cardinals presiding had increased in number and the jurisdiction of the courts in strength, but above all when the superhuman rigour of Carafa held sway, the Inquisition acquired such a reputation that from no other judgment-seat on earth were more horrible and fearful sentences to be expected, sentences the justice of which cannot be called in question, if they are seasoned with that charity which Jesus Christ, appointed by God the Father to be judge of all men, both taught and practised."

From the scattered notices that survive we cannot give even a comparatively faithful sketch of the Inquisition in its working under Paul III. In the same way it is impossible to gauge accurately the attitude of the minor Italian States towards the Roman Inquisition. All that is known is that the majority either obeyed or by individual legislation succeeded in warding off excessive interference on the part of the Roman institution. By an arrangement with the Spanish viceroy, Pedro de Toledo, the Inquisition was reorganized in Naples and was made to depend on that of Rome. The Neapolitans were under the impression that the hated Spanish Inquisition was to be thrust upon them, and therefore showed a violent opposition; they gained nothing, however, thereby, for Cardinal Carafa, the founder of the Roman institution, was appointed their Archbishop in 1549. In Milan a tribunal was appointed on the Roman model, and from it measures were directed against the Protestants in Locarno.

The Venetian government was the most difficult to deal with, although Paul III. pointed out that a revolution against the Faith meant a revolution against the State. It was not until the whole Venetian territory had become affected by the enterprises of the Protestant party, among whom the Anabaptists had made themselves, from time to time, conspicuous, that the Signoria, upon whom the defeat of the Schmalkaldic League had also made a deep impression, took steps, but not indeed so as to derogate from their functions as a government, to support the Inquisition. A decree of the Doge of the 22nd of April 1547 insisted on the three "Savii sull'eresia" co-operating with the proceedings of the Inquisition. The Council of Ten in the autumn of 1548 ordered the Rectors of Padua, Treviso, Udine, Feltre, Cividale, Capo d'Istria, Adria, Chioggia, Vicenza, Bergamo, and Brescia to take part in the detection and punishment of heresy. On the 8th of June 1549 Paul III was able to express his satisfaction that the government had given assistance to the Papal commissary in Istria towards the suppression of heresy. A few days later, on the 3rd of July, the Pope announced in consistory the deposition of Pietro Paolo Vergerio, Bishop of Capo d'Istria, who had already in May fled from Italy, as the outcome of his trial in Venice for apostasy to Lutheranism. Formerly nuncio in Germany, and there the antagonist of Luther, this ambitious and restless man, with no competent training in theology, had been led by the reading of Lutheran writings to an open rupture with the Church. The keen wit and glowing hate of an apostate were now devoted to the warfare against the Papacy.

Paul III continued to be harassed by preachers who, under a semblance of Catholic doctrine, conveyed teaching which was in reality that of Protestants. In 1541 he had already tried to lay an embargo on this mischief by confining the Lenten preaching, in Bologna and Modena, to one church. On the 30th of March 1543 he sent letters to the Augustinian Hermits, the Franciscan Conventuals, the Canons Regular of the Lateran, and the Dominicans of the Lombardic and Roman provinces to take measures in their chapters-general to extirpate Lutheran errors, the spread of which in Italy was daily on the increase. In the following year the Benedictines of Monte Cassino were specially exhorted to be very vigilant, lest any taint of error should creep into their sermons or confessionals; the former permission to read Lutheran writings was withdrawn from the whole Congregation.

All these measures of precaution could not spare the Pope the experience that all over the States of the Church, in Rome as well as elsewhere, the Lutheran heresy was showing signs of existence. When the danger was so great it is not surprising that in many places steps were taken from precipitate zeal. That these were little to the liking of Paul III is evident from an injunction of the 26th of March 1547 to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, as Protector of the Canons of the Lateran, to the effect that he must check any excess of zeal in the detection of errors whereby dissension between members of the community might arise.

Probably with the Pope's consent, the Venetian nuncio Giovanni della Casa published in 1549 an Index of forbidden books. The Italian Protestants revenged themselves on Paul III by "an open letter" filled with the most violent personal abuse and ending with a summons to the princes to destroy the "unworthy one." This libel, which in parts was not free from obscenity, was ascribed, but without grounds, by contemporaries to Vergerio or Ochino.

It is a magnificent feature of the Papal history' that the occupants of the Holy See, amid the engrossing claims of the ecclesiastical troubles in Europe, never relaxed their efforts to extend the borders of Christendom in other quarters of the globe. Paul III, like his predecessor, honourably fulfilled his duty in this respect, and the missions in Africa, America, and Asia felt his pastoral care.

The Mendicant Orders, who had made mission work a special province of activity, found in the lands thrown open by the new discoveries a widened sphere in which to devote themselves with indefatigable zeal and self-sacrifice, and in this they were firmly supported by Paul III. To their labours were added, under this Pontiff, those of the Jesuits, a source of inestimable strength.

Paul III helped on missionary work in three ways. He supported the missionaries themselves, he extended the hierarchy, and he threw into the scales all the weight of his influence with the rulers of the countries to which Christianity was to be brought. What a wide sphere of communication was therein opened up is shown by the fact that he applied personally to the Kings of the Congo and of Ethiopia.

In Western Central Africa the kingdom of Congo, on the river of that name, had accepted Christianity even to the reigning house. With the then ruler, King Alfonso, the Pope had at once put himself in communication. The conversion of those born within the diocese of San Thome, founded on the 3rd of November 1534, was the special object of the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians. In 1548 they were joined by the Jesuits, who at once displayed a far-reaching activity. It was a special source of pleasure to the negroes that the fathers never asked for a farthing in return for their toil. The fairest prospects seemed to lie before them; the relations between the King and Paul III. were also friendly. Unfortunately, a reaction set in destructive of their work when the missionaries began to denounce open vices.

The principal burden of the vast work of christianizing America was borne under Paul III as in previous days by the sons of St. Dominic and St. Francis, aided also by Augustinians and those of other Orders. No danger held back these devoted men; a Franciscan, Juan de Padilla, head of the Kansas mission, met his death in 1542 at the hands of savages; he was the first martyr of the faith in North America.

The successes obtained by the old orders in Central and South America were so great that Paul III undertook to extend the hierarchy and thereby make possible an organization to meet the needs of the new converts. The consistorial minutes register the creation of many new bishoprics. According to these authentic documents the following sees were founded:—Guatemala on December the 18th, 1534; Antequera, June the 21st, 1535, and Michoacan, August the 18th, 1536, both in Mexico; Cuzco in Peru, January the 8th, 1537; Ciudad Real (Chiapa de los Espanoles) in Guatemala on March the 19th, 1539 ; Ciudad de los Reyes in Peru on May the 13th, 1541; Quito, January the 8th, 1546; Papayan in New Granada, at the foot of the Andes, on August the 22nd, 1546; Rio de la Plata on July the 1st, 1547? The Metropolitan of the American bishoprics had hitherto been the Archbishop of Seville. With his consent and that of the Emperor this connection was dissolved on the nth of February 1546 and a new arrangement made suitable to the altered circumstances. The sees of Mexico and Lima were raised to the rank of archbishoprics and

metropolitan churches as well as that of San Domingo. The first Bishop and Archbishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumarraga, a Franciscan, could boast of belonging to an Order which had converted a million heathens. On the death of Cardinal Gabriel Merino on the 8th of October 1546 Ferdinand Nimo, Archbishop of Granada in Spain, received the title of Patriarch of the West Indies.

In the same year the Jesuits were invited by an old friend of their founder, who lived in Mexico, to come to America. Their numbers did not at that time admit of such a mission, and it was not until 1549 that the first Jesuits landed on American soil, where so great a career awaited them. Six fathers accompanied the Portuguese fleet bound for Brazil; in the neighbourhood of Villa Vieja arose a new city which afterwards was called San Salvador or Bahia. While soldiers and settlers were occupied on building work, the missionaries erected a church, learned the native language, opened schools for the Indians, and expended untold labour in trying to turn the savage inhabitants from a life of wandering and from cannibalism. By Whitsunday 1549 the first hundred converts were ready to receive baptism, and from 600 to 700 others were under instruction.

In the East Indies also Christianity had been introduced by the Portuguese colonists. Here the Gospel was preached by the Dominicans and Franciscans; the seaport town of Goa, on the western coast of Lower India, was the centre of Christian teaching as of the Portuguese possessions. Paul III carried into effect what Clement VII had already planned, and on the 3rd of November 1534 he raised Goa into a bishopric which should embrace the vast area from the Cape of Good Hope to the borders of China. On this occasion the Pope confirmed to the Portuguese crown the rights of patronage conferred by his predecessors over this gigantic diocese also, which on the 8th of July 1539 was placed under the jurisdiction of the newly created Archbishopric of Funchal. In return for the rights of patron the King of Portugal undertook to maintain the cathedral of Goa and the ecclesiastical institutions of the diocese, to erect and furnish churches and chapels as necessity arose, and finally to provide in every place a cure of souls.

Ecclesiastical conditions in Goa as well as the extension of Christianity throughout the Portuguese possessions suffered to an extraordinary degree from the deep moral corruption into which the greater number of Portuguese officials had sunk. These nominal Christians had as much need as the heathen of a thorough conversion, but only a man of exceptional gifts could bring the needed aid. In the spring of 1540 he came in the person of Francis Xavier, sent by Paul III, and with him began a new epoch in the Christian civilization of the East. In the short space of six years he succeeded, by means of an apostolate fired with divine inspiration, in so reorganizing the mission field in India and wherever Portuguese rule extended, that it became the starting-point for a yet wider activity embracing the whole of eastern Asia.

Paul III conferred not merely great services on missionary work but also on civilization by openly protecting the freedom of the American Indians. The Dominicans, with the enthusiastic Bartolome de las Casas at their head (nominated on the 19th of December 1543 Bishop of Chiapa), for long waged war with intrepidity and self-devotion against the harsh and cruel tyranny by which the Spanish conquerors bent the American aborigines to their yoke. The Bishop of Tlascala brought their complaints to the ears of Paul III., who resolved to make a decisive attack on the system. Two justly celebrated Papal edicts come under consideration. The first, of May the 29th, 1537, was addressed to the Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Juan de Tavera. The Pope here acknowledges that Charles V, by a general law, had forbidden slavery among West or East Indians; he had therefore taken their freedom and their property under his protection even if they were outside the Church. "They must never be extirpated by slavery, but on the contrary by instruction and example be prepared for life eternal." Paul III. finally gave full powers to the Cardinal to

protect the Indians to the utmost; everyone was to be forbidden specifically to inflict any kind of slavery on an Indian or to rob him of his goods; the transgressor was to be subject to excommunication irremovable save by the Pope only, except in danger of death and after previous restitution made. The Cardinal, in conclusion, had absolute power given him to take any other measures against the recalcitrant which might seem to him necessary and expedient in accordance with the claims of wisdom, justice, and religion.

The second document, of the 2nd of June of the same year, was a Bull addressed to Christendom at large, forbidding absolutely the slavery of all Indians, even of those in regions as yet undiscovered. Here the Pope laid the axe to the root of the tree by combating the asserted incapacity of the Indian to receive Christianity which served as the pretext for their subjection. In noble words he based his condemnation of slavery on the mission of the Church to carry the Christian faith to all the world. From the sentence of the Gospel, "Go and teach all nations," he deduced the right and the duty to make Christian truth accessible to Indians as well as others. Let them be free even if unconverted, and let no one dare bring them into slavery. If this decision put an end to uncertainty of opinion by the declaration of a fixed rule of action, a long time had yet to elapse before any substantial success was secured. Even in Rome the Pope was unable at once to carry out effectually his efforts against slavery, and the position of captive unbelievers in Italy still continued to be one of bondage.

There remain to be mentioned some other instances of the Pope's activity in the service of the Church. His interest in the Armenians, his communications with the Maronites, whom he sought in every way to strengthen in the Christian faith, and his conciliatory intervention in the dispute between Latins and Greeks in Venetian territory. No canonization took place under Paul III, although several processes were commenced and the public cultus of the Sicilian hermit Guglielmo sanctioned. The Pope, who had so often to come forward in defence of the liberty of the Church, refused steadfastly to comply with the demands of Henry II of France for an extension of the concordat to Brittany and Provence.

The necessary preparations for the General Jubilee occupied the attention of Paul III, but when the time of celebration came the Pope had already passed away.

CHAPTER XXVII.

PAUL III AS THE PATRON OF LEARNING AND ART.

I.

Alessandro Farnese, whose career fell in an epoch of intense activity in literature and art, had shown himself, during the long course of his Cardinalate, a warm friend to humanists, men of learning, and artists. The greatest poet of the Cinquecento, Ariosto, extolled in celebrated verses the circle of literary celebrities who gathered round the Cardinal.

The fine humanistic education of Alessandro, who had for a teacher, among others, Pomponio Leto, who spoke even Greek with fluency, whose orations were interwoven with classical quotations, and who was widely versed in other departments of learning, enabled this prince of the Church to appreciate with thorough understanding the manifold outcome of the Renaissance. Had he become Pope on the death of Julius II he would have promoted literature and learning in a very different way from Leo X, who only too often betrayed the spirit of the mere dilettante. When at last it came to be Farnese's lot to ascend the Papal throne a fundamental change had taken place in all conditions of Church and State.

The Renaissance had passed its zenith. In Rome the fatal year 1527 had wrought irreparable damage to learning and all had to be created anew. There had been yet another change: the ecclesiastical atmosphere was going through an elemental transformation. The sack of the city had left so deep an impression that a complete resuscitation of the former days of aesthetic enjoyment was impossible even in thought. The great and still continued apostasy from Rome, the full momentum of which had never been realized by Leo X or Clement VII, was pushing more and more imperiously tasks of ecclesiastical policy into the foreground, so that purely literary movements were not only obliged to recede but were themselves perforce turning into different channels. Little as men might think of denying the great achievements of the Renaissance, they were yet becoming conscious, face to face with the serious aspect of the times, of the necessity of breaking away from tendencies which were alien to the Church and from a patronage of culture which ministered only to a purely atheistic taste. The transition—from the century of Leo X always dallying with the refinements of literature and art to an age agitated by political and theological questions—could only proceed by gradual steps under the reign of a Pope whose mind had been matured and whose reputation formed within the humanistic camp.

The whole pontificate of Paul III. was marked by a duality of character which is also discernible in his position as a patron of letters, art, and learning. A searching light is thrown upon the contrasts by which human life was traversed by the fact that high ecclesiastical positions were held at the same time by men representing such divergent tendencies as Giovanni della Casa and

Filippo Archinto: the first frivolous and immoral in his life and in many of his writings; the other serious, respected, and author of a treatise on the Sacraments dedicated to Paul III.

The scope of Paul III's patronage was restricted not merely by the circumstance that, during the whole of his reign, ecclesiastical and political affairs had paramount claims on his attention, but by the not less hampering dis-advantages of financial difficulties, the pinch of which were as severely felt at the close as at the beginning of his pontificate. Besides this the Pope was also a strict economist; consequently, the assistance given to men of learning and humanists, however good Paul III's original intentions may have been, continued to be much more limited than the expectations in such circles had been.

One of Paul III's first undertakings, of a characteristically practical kind, was the restoration of the Roman University reduced to complete ruin by the sack. The buildings were first of all reconstructed, revenues provided, and steps taken to obtain the services of good professors.⁶ Only a few weeks after his elevation the Pope invited the celebrated doctor of medicine, Girolamo Accoramboni, to come to Rome to give university lectures; since, so the Pontiff stated, "his duty no less than his love for his native city urged him to bear in view the restoration of this institution." Agostino Nifo, the distinguished philosopher who had already lectured in Rome under Leo X, was another who was invited. This summons was unsuccessful, as at a later date was that of Guglielmo Sirleto to be a professor of Greek. Nevertheless, Paul III had already succeeded in the autumn of 1536 in making the Sapienza an active centre of instruction. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese was Protector of the University and the protonotary Camillo Peruschi rector. The grammar schools which the Roman Senate had instituted in each quarter of the city were also dependent on the University.

The amount of success which attended the Pope's efforts to reanimate the Roman University is made clear from the lecture lists of the professors for the years 1535, 1539, 1542, and 1548 which have been preserved. They give 18, 24, 20, and 29 professors for the four years respectively. The theologians and philosophers, who were only seven in 1539, were double that number in 1548. There is little difference in the number of teachers in other faculties, but on the other hand the names vary remarkably. There was an extraordinary discrepancy in the annual salaries, which fluctuated between 30 and 850 gold gulden. The best off were, generally speaking, the teachers of medicine and rhetoric; the smallest stipends were those of the professors of theology and philosophy. This is explained by the majority being taken from the religious orders. Dominicans, Carmelites, Augustinian Hermits, and Servites were all doing professorial duty, and from November 1537 to May 1539 the celebrated Jesuits, Diego Laynez and Peter Faber, delivered lectures in theology at the Sapienza in Rome.

Among the professors of medicine the most celebrated was the Neapolitan surgeon, Alfonso Ferri, who had been appointed as early as 1535 and who also delivered a course of lectures on anatomy at the request of Paul III. Paolo Belmesseri, a lecturer in medicine, made ventures into Latin poetry and dedicated one of his works to the Pope. Among medical practitioners mention is also made in 1539 of a Jew named Giacobbe; this was probably Paul III's Spanish physician, Diego Mantino, celebrated for his skill in his profession.

The teachers of rhetoric included, among others, the humanists Battista Pio and Leonardo da Barletta; the former, who enjoyed a high reputation, lived to the age of eighty-four. In his place Paul III obtained the services of Romolo Amaseo, a not less renowned scholar; his contemporaries called him the second Cicero, and his salary reached the remarkably unusual figure of 1413 gold gulden. Together with his professorship Amaseo also held the post of tutor to the young Cardinals Alessandro Farnese and Guido Ascanio Sforza in the department of *belles lettres*. He became

permanently attached to the household of Alessandro Farnese and accompanied him even on his Legatine mission of 1546 to Germany during the Schmalkaldic war. Paul III also appointed as colleagues with Amaseo in attendance on Cardinal Alessandro two other men of learning: the philosopher Antonio Bernardi and the Roman, Bernardino Maffei.

The value Paul III. attached to learning is shown by the care which he bestowed on the education of others of his family. One of the results of this was that even the dissolute Pier Luigi, whose instruction had been conducted by the poet Baldassare Molossi, busied himself with the patronage of letters. The education of Ranuccio was entrusted by the Pope in 1540 to the humanist Francesco Florido Sabino, who was summoned to Rome for the purpose; this great scholar and truth-loving man was later placed in the same relation to Orazio Farnese. Ranuccio was accompanied to the University of Padua by Lodovico Beccadelli, who was later made secretary to the conciliar Legates, and after Ranuccio's elevation to the Cardinalate represented the latter in the Legation of the March.

Alessandro, as well as Ranuccio Farnese, corresponded brilliantly to the hopes entertained by the Pope of their interest in things of the intellect. They were both so assiduous in supporting the claims of literary men that the praise lavished upon them in this respect by their contemporaries seems fully justified. Ranuccio Farnese's patronage of the arts belonged to a later date, that of Alessandro in part to the pontificate of Paul III. The apartments in the Cancelleria, which Alessandro occupied at that time as Vice-Chancellor, were the daily resort of men of letters. Here Vasari was urged to begin without delay his work on celebrated painters. The most varied pursuits of learning met with sympathy from the young Farnesi and were supported by their liberality. They opened their hands to the wanton poet Francesco Maria Molza as well as to the devout Marcantonio Flaminio. When it is remembered that the latter received property in land as well as a magnificent villa from the Cardinal, his verses extolling his patron to the skies are not unin-telligible.⁴ Not merely Italian but foreign scholars as well dedicated their works to these generous patrons; thus the Augustinian Johann Hofifmeister his commentary on the Epistles to the Corinthians. Giovio, Bembo, Fracastoro, Claudio Tolomei, Pier Vettori, Carlo Gualteruzzi were on confidential terms with Alessandro, and two of his secretaries, Bernardino Maffei and Marcello Cervini, attained to the purple. Later on Annibale Caro also entered Alessandro's service after having been secretary to Pier Luigi from 1543 to 1547. With Alessandro he then remained up to his death on the 21st of November 1566. The innumerable letters which he wrote in Farnese's service were with justice lavishly rewarded. These documents, which also form a source of historical information, show that their writer was a master of the Tuscan idiom ; they are always appropriate to their subject, always composed in a finished style, filled with true Italian grace, and, with all their charm, simple and clear.

Paul III was even more versatile than Alessandro in his patronage of letters of various sorts. The Pope, who in his leisure hours delighted in Greek and Latin poetry, was certainly not in a position to support all the horde of scholars, literati, poets, and poetasters who were wandering about without bread to eat after the irruption of so many catastrophes on Italy, but he had nevertheless opened havens of refuge to many of these unfortunates. During his reign the poets were, on the whole, more in the background than during the epoch of Leo X. Men of a practical turn of thought were the most popular. Theologians and canonists were in favour, for in view of the harassed state of the Church the support of such writers made a stronger appeal than the support of poets; many of the latter therefore tried to attract the Pope's favour by applying the Muse to theological subjects. What a complete change the age had undergone is shown in the relations of Paul III with Marco Girolamo Vida, at one time the delight of Leo X. Vida had at one

time belonged to Farnese's literary group, but now the two corresponded on the suppression of the religious innovations which had been attracting notice also in Vida's bishopric of Alba.

The poets who are associated with the reign of Paul III may be named. They were : Angelo Colocci, the successor in 1537 of Favorino as Bishop of Nocera; Fabio Vigili, an official of the chancery and Bishop of Spoleto, his birth-place, since 1540; Eurialo Morani of Ascoli; the Perugian, Francesco Coppetta; Rodolfo Aracintio; Vincenzo Astemio of Venafro; Astorre Baglioni, who was also a Roman Senator and a valiant warrior; Novidio Fracco; Marcantonio Flaminio; Angelo Perotti of Camerino; Giangiorgio Trissino, the author of the heroic epic "Italia liberata"; lastly, Girolamo Borgia. The latter in exuberant language thanked the Pope for the many marks of his favour, praised his liberality, magnanimity, and architectural energy; nor were the young Farnesi, especially Cardinal Alessandro, forgotten in this poet's enthusiastic verse. Borgia, since 1544 Bishop of Massalubrese, also made essays in history and dedicated to Paul III his work on the wars of Italy, which showed more patriotism than critical insight. The crown of poet laureate was bestowed by Paul III on the gifted Polish poet Clement Janitius.

Characteristics of the literary life of Rome at this time were the academies and the unflagging popularity of satire. Few families of that day suffered so much from Pasquino's biting tongue as the Farnesi, for Paul III and his house certainly gave his mockery rich opportunities. Immediately after his election Paul III was attacked by Pietro Aretino in a very envenomed poem entitled "Pasquino in colera"—"Pasquino in a rage." This did not prevent the talented but covetous satirist, whose pen, like an engine of war, was turned against every famous reputation in Italy, from sending flattering letters to Paul III, whom he had so grossly outraged, on the occasion of his journey to Nice, or even from despatching to that congress a confidential messenger who was honourably received by the Pope, the Emperor, and Francis I. As he was afterwards insufficiently honoured by the powers at Rome, he affected a profound contempt for the whole Curia. In 1540 he composed again a sonnet against Paul III. but did not publish it, and in 1543 he wrote anonymously a violent libel on the high society of Rome. Later he offered to dedicate his tragedy Orazia to Pier Luigi Farnese for 150 scudi. When he got the money he made a similar proposal to the Pope in a letter of fulsome adulation, and afterwards abused him in the coarsest language in a letter to Cosimo de' Medici. How Aretino, in spite of these proceedings, flattered himself that he would be made a Cardinal, is inconceivable. In January 1547 he wrote again to the Pope, but did not receive from him the anticipated reward.

Niccolò Franco was Aretino's rival in scurrilous and indecent verse-making. First the friend and then the furious enemy of Aretino, Franco had to leave Venice in 1539. On his wanderings he came to Rome, where he disguised himself as a religious and thus managed to gain the confidence of Cardinal Morone. When it was established that Franco, in a collection of satirical sonnets, had indulged to an incredible degree in obscenity and profanity, the Pope gave orders for his expulsion from Rome.

As Paul III. was interested in history it is remarkable that he should have disregarded Paolo Giovio, who played a great part in the Roman literary world. In his Histories Giovio had expressed a hope, which was the outcome of a faulty judgment on present affairs, that the accession of the Farnese Pope would mean a return to the golden age of Leo X. All the greater was his disappointment when he saw this hope disappear. Nevertheless, Giovio remained in Rome for some years as the centre of an intellectual circle, but finally, in 1548, when the vacant bishopric of Como was not offered to him, he left Rome in disgust.

To the humanists also belonged the celebrated Veronese physician and astronomer Girolamo Fracastoro. He dedicated to the Pope a work on medicine and one on astronomy, and

was appointed, as a mark of gratitude, physician to the Council of Trent. As such he played an important part in March 1547 in the removal of the Synod to Bologna, thereby incurring severe censure in many quarters, while Paul III. and Cardinal Farnese remained, as before, his constant patrons.

The astrologer Pomponio Gaurico has been already mentioned. With him the learned philosopher Ubaldini Bandinelli and the mathematician Alfano Alfani shared the Pope's favour; the former became Bishop of Montefiascone and Corneto in 1548, the latter for seven-and-thirty years was at the head of the treasury in his native town, Perugia. In the autumn of 1537 Paul III summoned Gasparo Insoni to Rome for the reform of the calendar.

The most eminent representative of ancient classical learning in Rome under Paul III. was Latino Giovenale Manetti, who had already, under Leo X, given proofs of his diplomatic ability. Paul III also entrusted him with several missions. Thus in December 1534 he was sent to Venice; between 1535 and 1540 he went no less than five times as nuncio to the court of France, and in 1538 he had also to visit Scotland.

Manetti, who was Papal private secretary, had already been appointed in 1534 to the lucrative post of a treasurer in Piacenza; on the 8th of November of the same year he was appointed commissary of Roman Antiquities, and somewhat later the Papal Mint was also entrusted to him. In 1536 he had the honour to conduct the Emperor to see the monuments of ancient Rome. With Sadoletto and Bembo he was on intimate terms. History owes a great debt to Manetti, for it was he who induced Bembo to publish the briefs which he had composed as secretary to Leo X, a work dedicated to Paul III as an exhortation that the Roman Chancery should maintain the tradition of a good Latin style. The confidence in which Manetti was held by the Pope is clearly set forth in passages in the autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini.

Diplomatic commissions were also entrusted to Bartolommeo Cavalcanti and the highly cultivated Giovanni Guidiccioni of Lucca, made Bishop of Fossombrone in 1534. The latter in the beginning of 1535 had the difficult task of representing Paul III. at the Emperor's court in Spain. Arriving in that country in March, he accompanied Charles V. on the expedition to Tunis, returned with him to Italy, and remained with him as nuncio up to August 1537.

Guidiccioni now became President of the Romagna, with Annibale Caro as his secretary; he was afterwards commissary of the Papal troops in the campaign against the Colonna, and finally governor of the March of Ancona. His fidelity to duty in all the positions to which he was called was celebrated by his contemporaries; he was, it was believed, destined for the Cardinalate if he had not been snatched away by an early death in 1541. The letters of Guidiccioni, whose poetical work also is still highly prized at the present day, are not merely important sources of information for the historian, but possess excellence of style; they lose nothing in comparison with those of Guicciardini.

A not less attractive figure was that of Blosius Palladius, whose name, according to the usage of the Roman Academy, was thus latinized from Biagio Pallai. He had already distinguished himself as a poet and composer of classical briefs under Leo X and Clement VII. The important and lucrative office of secretary of Latin briefs was entrusted permanently during the reign of Paul III to this master of classical phraseology. The Pope, who set the highest value on the learning and integrity of Palladius, rewarded his faithful services in 1540 by conferring upon him the bishopric of Foligno, which he resigned in 1547 in favour of Isidoro Clario. Palladius did not long survive his patron. The visitor to the Church of S. Maria in Aquiro in Rome will see there, close to the first pillar on the left hand of the nave, the simple tomb of this renowned Latinist; a marble

bust exhibits the noble and serious features of this remarkable man, to whom this memorial was raised by the hospital and orphanage adjoining the church upon which he had bestowed all his substance.

Great is the number of canonists and theologians who stood in relations with Paul III. and received support from him. First to claim mention are the professors of the Roman University, especially the Dominicans Fra Cipriano, Alberto Duisnio, and Teofilo di Tropea, the Carmelites Fra Egidio and Antonio Marinari, the Augustinian Hermit Ambrogio Quistelli, the Minorite Bonaventura Pio, Jacopo Giacomelli, who sprang from a Roman family famous for learning, and, last and most remarkable of all, Diego Laynez, who succeeded St. Ignatius in the generalship of the Society of Jesus.

Andreas Camutius dedicated to Paul III. a work against Luther and other Protestant assailants of the Church. The Minorite, Petrus Galatinus, also dedicated two theological works to the Pope, as did Joannes Baptista Albinianus Tretius his edition of the three writings of his father against the Lutheran heresy. Among canonists, Paolo Borghasio and Giovanni Girolamo Albani deserve mention, but the pre-eminence belongs to Tommaso Campeggio, a younger brother of Cardinal Lorenzo, who was frequently employed in the chancery, the German nuntiature, and politico - ecclesiastical negotiations. Sadoletto esteemed Tommaso so highly that he considered him worthy of the Cardinalate. He would indeed have been suited for the Sacred College, as its ranks at that time contained a whole series of famous scholars, whose elevation gave a brilliant testimony to the Pope's love of learning.

Of the celebrated Cardinals created by Paul III, so much has been said in accounts of this pontificate that it is sufficient to reproduce their names : Gasparo Contarini, John Fisher, Cristoforo Jacobazzi, Jacopo Sadoletto, Rodolfo Pio of Carpi, Hieronymus Aleander, Reginald Pole, Pietro Bembo, Federigo Fregoso, Marcello Cervini, Bartolommeo Guidiccioni, Gregorio Cortese, Giovanni Morone, Tommaso Badia, Jacopo Savelli, Niccold Ardinghello, Federigo Cesi, and Bernardino Maffei. Even if many of the above owed their promotion to reasons, in the first instance, of an ecclesiastical character, the claims of literature were by no means held in secondary consideration. Of this Bembo is the most illustrious example. His elevation to the Cardinalate was an act of homage to the spirit of humanism, and the same in a certain sense may be said of Sadoletto. It was besides very characteristic of Paul III that he should have associated this distinguished man with the studies and tasks which the situation of the Church demanded. Sadoletto had congratulated him on his election to the Papacy, and on the 3rd of January 1535 he received a brief from Paul III thanking him, assuring him of his intention to withstand the onslaught of Protestantism, and expressing a hope that Sadoletto would give him the assistance of his learning.

In the same way Erasmus was urgently exhorted to devote the rich gifts he had received from God to the defence of the Catholic faith; such services would be of special value at the moment when the Council was about to begin its labours. Paul III. set great store by the participation of Erasmus in the theological controversy, as he was of opinion that the success of the Catholic disputants would to a great extent depend upon their possession of a classical style.

The protection of the Catholic faith was the primary motive which led Paul III. to favour the University of Ingolstadt and the institute founded in Dillingen by Cardinal Truchsess. On the other hand, the pursuit of learning was the principal object with which the University of Macerata was founded in 1540.

In July 1536 a considerable number of theologians were called to Rome by Paul III. in view of the approaching Council. Among them were Fregoso, Cortese, Carafa, Giberti, Pole, Sadoletto, and Bartolommeo Guidiccioni; with the exception of the latter all accepted the invitation. In the spring of the following year the Pope asked the University of Salamanca to afford him the assistance in the matter of the Council of two of its most famous members: Pedro Ortiz and Francisco a Vittoria. The former re-mained in Rome till 1540 and then took part in the religious conferences at Worms and Ratisbon. Francisco a Vittoria, a Dominican, was deserving of the high praise which Paul III bestowed upon him in the brief above mentioned when he spoke of him as the most famous theologian of the University of Salamanca; he was certainly the founder of the newer scholasticism. Unfortunately the health of this teacher, worn out by indefatigable exertions in the University since 1526, did not permit him, now in his fifty-seventh year, to undertake the arduous journey to Italy. In 1544 he had to resign his professorship, and on the 12th of August 1546 he died. Although not present personally at Trent he exercised a great influence there, as the period of his activity as a teacher corresponded with the flourishing time of that theology which gave the Spanish divines so great an influence in the Council.

It was the Council again which brought Sadoletto and other Cardinals to Rome in 1545, and in March 1546 the learned jurist Andrea Alciati, afterwards appointed protonotary. About the same time Girolamo Seripando, the General of the Augustinian Hermits, was permitted to appoint, during his detention at Trent, a substitute to preside at the chapter of the congregation of the Order. The Dominican, P. Domenico Soto, who had taken a prominent part in formulating the dogmatic decrees of the Council, was permitted by a special grace of the Holy See to reckon the time spent by him in Trent as involving no suspension of his professorial duties at Salamanca. The learned Isidoro Clario, who had sat on the Council as an Abbot and given brilliant evidence of his gifts, was made Bishop of Foligno on January the 14th, 1547. In connection with the Council, Paul III in April 1547 commissioned Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, as Protector of the Congregation of the Lateran, to take steps for reanimating the spirit of study in that body.

Modern investigation has established the claim of Paul III to rank as one of the benefactors of the Vatican library. Practical in all his undertakings, he here took special care for the compilation of new catalogues and the preservation of damaged manuscripts. The office of librarian lay at first in the experienced hands of Aleander. On his becoming Cardinal, a very suitable successor was found in Agostino Steuco, who had been custodian of the famous library of Cardinal Grimani. This versatile scholar, who had also written against Luther, had already been appointed Bishop of Kisamo in Candia. Steuco dedicated to his patron, together with a great philosophical work, a treatise also on the navigation of the Tiber, but as a librarian he did not come up to expectation. It was fortunate that in 1548 he was replaced by the learned Cardinal Marcello Cervini, under whom the library made great strides. To his initiative and the co-operation of Sadoletto the Vatican library was indebted for new catalogues of the Greek and Latin MSS.; the latter numbered 3096 codices. An important feature of this work of cataloguing was the assignment of consecutive numeration. The Pope took pains to increase the collection by recovering documents lost during the sack and ordering others to be transferred from Avignon to Rome. There are unprinted "acta" of this reign showing that Paul III, like his predecessors Leo X and Clement VII, made search abroad for rare Latin and Greek manuscripts; for instance, among the Maronites of Lebanon in 15421 and in southern Italy in 1548. By the nomination of a Cardinal as librarian, the position of custodian of the Vatican library had been greatly raised in importance; under Paul III this post was held by Fausto Sabeo and Niccolò da Maggiorano; they were now reinforced by scriptors who attended to the restoration and illumination of manuscripts. If among them two Greeks also appear, this is explained by Paul I II.'s keen interest in the language of

Homer. Among his familiars was Nicolas Sophianos, who, like others of his countrymen, dedicated works to the Pope. The celebrated Giano Lascaris had been recalled in 1534 to Rome, but unfortunately died in the following year. In agreement with Paul III, Marcello Cervini conceived in 1539 the magnificent scheme of making the most valuable Greek manuscripts accessible to the world of learning by means of the printing-press. The famous Antonius Bladus was chosen as printer, and went to Venice where, through the services of Aldus Manutius, he acquired the type in which from 1542 onwards the commentaries of Eustathios on Homer began to appear in Rome. In the years 1548-1549 an Ethiopic translation of the New Testament was also printed in Rome.

Generous in all things, the Pope also lent repeatedly to scholars precious works from his own private library or employed his influence to obtain for them from foreign collections the use of rare manuscripts. In this connection mention ought also to be made of the very many privileges of printing by which Paul III advanced the labours of literati and scholars of every description.

The number of works not only in Italian but also in German and French dedicated, in print or manuscript, to the Farnese Pope is exceptionally large. Many have been already cited; to go through the list of all would overpass the limits of this history. Suffice it to observe that the theological works preponderate over those of a purely literary character. The golden age of the Renaissance was over, and the theological works dedicated to Paul III. are almost all part of the great armoury used against the Protestant reformers.¹ Even where this is not the case the authors, for the most part, are indirectly interested in the events of the time, principally in the Council, the centre on which so many hopes turned.

Among the dedications of works of another sort that of Nicolas Copernicus, in his treatise *On the Revolution of the Heavens*, cannot be passed over. The fame of the remarkable investigations of the founder of the new astronomy had reached Rome early. In 1533 Albrecht Widmanstetter had already expounded to Clement VII in the gardens of the Vatican the new system of the universe. If not at that time, Paul III was certainly later on informed on the subject by Cardinal Schonberg, who in 1536 asked Copernicus for a copy of his life's work. The latter was advised by Tiedemann Giese, Bishop of Culm, to dedicate his epoch-making treatise to Paul III. In his dedication he observes that even in the remote corner of the earth in which he lived the Pope stood high in men's estimation, and that his authority and judgment would easily put to silence the tongue of calumny. "If I am not altogether deceived," Copernicus wrote further, "it appears to me that this work of mine may even be of use to the general well-being of the Church, the supreme government of which is in thy hands."

While many Protestant theologians, with Luther, who called Copernicus a fool, and even the highly cultivated Melanchthon, at their head, strenuously opposed the new system as at variance with the Bible, the epoch-making treatise of the Dean of Frauenburg was able to make its appearance in print in 1543 with the dedication to Paul III at its commencement.

II.

The importance of Paul III as a patron of literature was on a different plane from that which he occupied as a patron of art. Here he has been spoken of as the last great Pope of the Renaissance. This, perhaps, is an ex-aggeration. He cannot be compared with the great patrons of art and literature of the golden age, although in energy and breadth of view he recalls, in many respects, Julius II. However this may be, in spite of the great difficulties of the situation, he put forth all his energies to preserve for the Holy See the intellectual primacy of former days in the

domain of art. It is only when we call to mind that, at the time of his accession, the palmy days had passed away, and cast into the scales the profound after-effects of the sack, that we can reach a right point of view from which to appreciate the richness of the after-summer ushered in for Italian art through the influence of this energetic and cultivated man. The character of transition with which his whole pontificate was stamped is here also plainly visible. He stands on the borderland of greatness and decline. Even in the best art of his reign the downward steps can be traced; simplicity and originality were vanishing with the rays of the golden age. Nevertheless, the determined and indefatigable Pope, who knew how to reassemble in Rome the artists of the Medicean era and to give in the most varied ways an impulse to their hands, shed on art itself a lustre which radiated far and wide. For Raphael, the unique, Paul III. could indeed find no substitute, but on the greatest of all the surviving masters, Michael Angelo, he bestowed a higher appreciation and finer opportunities for the exercise of his genius than either of the two preceding Popes had done.

The Pope found it no easy matter to capture the Titans. Shortly after the death of Clement VII, Michael Angelo had returned to Rome, and wished now, as his biographer Condivi relates, to devote himself to the completion of the monument to Julius II. To undertake other engagements, to entangle himself in a fresh position of dependency, lay so far from his thoughts—he was now on the verge of old age—that, when the news reached him that the new Pope wished to give him an appointment in his household, he was terror-struck. He held himself therefore aloof from the court. But Paul III found out the way to reach him, to allay his scruples, and to enlist him in his service. “For thirty years,” he is reported to have said, “I have longed to employ you, and now that I am Pope shall I deny myself the fulfilment of my wish?” When Michael Angelo appealed to his obligations in the matter of the Julian monument, the Pope rejoined: “Where is the deed of agreement? I will tear it up.” These words fit in well with the visit which Paul III, with a brilliant retinue of Cardinals and prelates, paid the artist in his modest house at Macel de’ Corvi, near the column of Trajan. In the studio the Pope inspected works for the tomb of the Rovere Pope and the sketch for the Last Judgment which Clement VII had already ordered for the Sistine Chapel. Michael Angelo was unable to withstand the strong will of Paul III and his unwonted marks of distinction. He yielded, and entered Farnese’s service. The latter, with his statesmanlike perception, knew well that great work is best done by those who are equipped with full authority and responsibility. He therefore created for the master a position second to none in dignity, influence, and advantages. By a brief of the 1st of September 1535 he took Michael Angelo into his household, appointed him chief architect, sculptor, and painter of the Vatican Palace, and assigned to him for the execution of the Last Judgment a lifelong salary of 1200 ducats. No other engagement was henceforward to hinder his services to the Head of the Church, who in his brief described him as not only equalling but surpassing in the range of his ability and understanding the ancient masters of his crafts. A *motu proprio* of the 17th of November 1536 declared Michael Angelo to be immune from all prosecution, loss, or damage on the part of the heirs of Julius II., since he had been compelled to work, as before for Clement VII. so now for Paul III., and to finish the Last Judgment.

Together with these important works he was soon entrusted with other tasks. Paul III. deserves all recognition in that he also restrained in this respect his pronounced family feeling. The construction of the Farnese palace certainly went on, but became a secondary consideration in the presence of great undertakings of service to the city and the Church. The new commissions with which Michael Angelo was entrusted gave him a brilliant pre-eminence over not only the painters but the architects of his day.

Among the numerous masters of construction employed by Paul III there were two only who could compete with Michael Angelo: Antonio da Sangallo and Baldassare Peruzzi. The latter, who already had acted as architect on the reconstruction of St. Peter's under Leo X and Clement VII, was confirmed in that honourable post as early as the 1st of December 1534 and his yearly stipend of 150 gold gulden doubled. The chief oversight of the works on the Basilica of St. Peter's remained in the hands of Antonio da Sangallo, who had been entrusted with this commission by Leo X on the death of Raphael. To Clement VII Sangallo was also indebted for his appointment as chief architect of Ancona and of Loreto. Paul III, who as Cardinal had often already employed and conferred marks of distinction on Sangallo, confirmed him on the 28th of May 1536 in these appointments and named him at the same time to be architect of all buildings in the Papal States, with an annual salary to a total of 720 ducats. From these hitherto unknown stipendial arrangements it is clear that Michael Angelo took from the beginning the first place among the artists employed by Paul III. Friction certainly was not always absent. Peruzzi died in the beginning of January 1537, but Sangallo lived on and worked indefatigably up to the autumn of 1546. He was repeatedly in collision with Michael Angelo, and this was specially the case over the vast plans for the fortification of Rome, which the Pope had projected for the security of the city.

It had long been believed that the motive of the Pope's defensive enterprise was a dread of the recurrence of the appalling disaster which had befallen his predecessor: the capital of the Church should in future be protected against such assaults as those delivered by Colonna and Bourbon. Paul III, who had lived through those terrible experiences, was certainly not uninfluenced by such con-siderations, but his chief reason was another. Since the year 1537 the peril of a Turkish invasion had become ever more menacing. All Italy trembled, and Rome seemed insufficiently secured against a sudden descent of Turkish pirates. Fichard, the jurist of Frankfort, visited Rome in the autumn of 1537 and remarked that the towers of the old walls of Aurelian had in many places fallen in alto-gether or were threatening to come down. Here repairs were to be made, and that in the most thorough manner.

The earlier Popes of the Renaissance had, as their armorial shields and inscriptions show to this day, been satisfied with the partial restoration of some of the most badly damaged portions of the vast circuit of the walls. With such repairs Paul III. was not satisfied. A huge system of new fortifications, based on all the resources at the disposal of the modern art of military engineering, was to secure once and for all the entire city on both sides of the Tiber. Long and minute deliberations, in which the Pope and Pier Luigi Farnese took part in person, were held with the most competent architects, engineers, and generals of experience. The result was the acceptance of the plans which Antonio da Sangallo, the heir of a great name and a long tradition, had produced. If this project were fully carried out, Rome was bound to become the best fortified city in the world. Sangallo, to whom under Clement VII the erection of defences had been entrusted in Florence, Ancona, and many other parts of the Papal States, was appointed director of works. Paul III had had previous experience of his excellency as a military architect before his own election to the Papacy and afterwards in 1534 when the works at Ancona were being strengthened.

How seriously Sangallo undertook his task can be seen from the drawings and plans preserved in the Uffizi in Florence. The most recent investigation has, in a manner deserving of gratitude, made these precious sheets acces-sible to all by means of copies.

According to Sangallo's thoughtfully considered plan a strong continuous wall with no less than eighteen powerful bastions was to encompass the whole city. Further, on the meadows north of St. Angelo and on the opposite end near the Lateran two citadels of great size were to be placed.

The walls of Aurelian were, it was intended, to be retained on the whole. Only in two places was a narrowing, of the area of the city, otherwise far too much spread out, projected; on the Aventine the course of the Servian walls was to be followed, and also the district of Testaccio excluded. From the Pincian, which Sangallo intended to supply with two bastions, one on the site of the later Villa Medici and another towards the Piazza del Popolo, a new exterior wall was to be drawn from the present Via della Croce to the mausoleum of Augustus, inclosing the latter in the line of defence. At St. Angelo Sangallo wished to give fresh supports to the outworks of Alexander VI.

Romolo Amaseo, in his funeral oration, said that the old Pope could not have hoped to see so vast an undertaking completed during his pontificate, but he had entered upon it with a stout heart and left a good example to his successors. From the accounts in the Roman archives, unfortunately in incomplete preservation, it can be inferred what a great number of architects and engineers were employed to carry out this mighty plan. Among them were Antonio's brother Giovan Battista, nicknamed "Il Gobbo," and Giovanni Mangone, the builder of the palace of Cardinal Armellini in Perugia. The office of commissary-general of the fortifications was given to Prospero Mochi, who supplied Pier Luigi Farnese during his frequent absences from Rome with continuous information by letter as to the progress of the works. The celebrated military architect Francesco de' Marchi was also employed in marking out the sites.

The works, in the course of which numerous and important fragments of antiquity were brought to light, had, according to the evidence of the accounts, been begun in the autumn of 1537. Commencements were made simultaneously at S. Saba and at the Porta Ardeatina. On the south-western slope of the Aventine is still to be seen, on the bastion of Paul III., looking down on the Via della Marmorata which leads to the Porto S. Paolo, a white marble shield, unfortunately very much damaged, bearing the arms of the Farnese Pope, the work of a Florentine sculptor named Lorenzo. This bastion is well known to every visitor to Rome by the name of La Colonnella: the whole, crowned by a summer-house of later construction, had formerly a more picturesque character, when the new building of S. Anselmo had not yet arisen in the background.

Contemporaneously with the works on the Aventine the process of safeguarding the line of wall between the Porta S. Paolo and the Porta S. Sebastiano was taken in hand. The walls of Aurelian were here in ruins along an extent of 400 metres. Four colossal bastions were to render this spot impregnable in the future. The complete construction of one only occupied the interval between 1537 and 1542; it arose about midway between the above-named gates, near the ancient Porta Ardeatina; this bastion, called "Antoniana," from the Baths of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caracalla lying to the rear, is still standing. It stands out in very clear relief against the old walls on which it abuts. The lofty masonry is divided by a course of stonework into two portions, the lesser one above and the larger one below. In the wide embrasures, from which the guns could discharge their fire from the front and laterally, thick bushes now grow. High up on the southernmost projection the armorial lilies of the Farnesi, crowned by the tiara and keys, are introduced. On the left side of this richly decorated remnant of 16th-century sculpture, the gleaming white marble of which shines far across the Campagna, a place has been found for the arms, on a smaller scale, of the Roman Senate and people.

The buildings aforesaid cost not less than 44,000 ducats, raised partly by an impost on grain. It can easily be calculated that if the works were to proceed at this rate neither the reign of the aged Pope nor the money at his disposal would suffice to complete the fortification of the vast mural circuit of the city on the left bank of the Tiber. A practical head such as that of Paul III. could not fail to perceive that the gigantic scheme of Sangallo far exceeded the capacities of the State exchequer. He therefore decided to fall back upon the idea of Nicolas V. and to confine the

fortifications to the Leonine city ; there, in case of necessity, the inhabitants of the left bank also could find a refuge.

The works on the Aventine and at the Porta Ardeatina were therefore suspended. Although unfinished they form a remarkable specimen of Italian military architecture of the 16th century, which, unfortunately, is now being left to fall in part into a disgraceful state of decay.

The fortification of the Leonine city, decided upon in November 1542, was begun on April the 18th, 1543, and carried on without interruption up to the Pope's death. The two citadels which were to have risen on the "Prati" in the neighbourhood of the present Palace of Justice were not begun immediately, as on this side the fortress of St. Angelo appeared to give sufficient protection. Sangallo therefore concentrated his energies between 1543 and 1545 principally on the weak side of the Borgo where, between the Vatican and the Janiculum, the Monte di S. Spirito rises. Three bastions (del Fiume, di Santo Spirito, and degli Incoronati) were here erected, since at this point the danger of a Turkish attack had again to be taken into consideration. The Pope wished the works to proceed with the utmost possible expedition. It was therefore all the more vexatious for him that, during the consultations about the fortifications held under the presidency of Alessandro Vitelli, Michael Angelo in February 1545 had violent altercations, first with Giovanni Francesco Montemellino, and at the end of the same year with Sangallo. Michael Angelo thought that he was justified in asserting himself all the more positively since his measures for protecting the bastions on the hill of San Miniato during the siege of Florence in 1529 had conferred upon him great reputation. As Sangallo was not less obstinate in maintaining his position, the Pope was at last compelled to impose silence on both the disputants. This squabble protracted the works, and in all probability was the cause of the monumental Porta di S. Spirito, an arch of triumph rather than the gate of a fortress, remaining in an unfinished state. The bastions, however, near S. Spirito, which now bear Sangallo's name, reflect high honour on their architect both from their size and their admirable position. Sangallo continued up to his death [the 29th of September 1546] at the head of the works. He was followed by Jacopo Meleghino, who, as long as Paul III lived, enjoyed the title and salary of a chief architect of fortifications, although he was not equal to his situation. The Pope was aware of this; he therefore recommended his favoured servant to follow in all questions of importance the opinion of Michael Angelo, who, although by right subordinate to Meleghino, now became practically the leading architect, and under his direction the Belvedere bastion was completed between 1547 and 1548. This construction, still in good repair, would be more imposing if the Vatican and St. Peter's did not absorb the attention of the spectator. Here, as on the other bastions, a gigantic coat of arms proclaims the glory of Farnese.

After the completion of the Belvedere, which protects what is perhaps the most precious possession of the Popes, their collection of antiquities, Michael Angelo retired and the leadership fell once more to the constructor of the fortifications of Sermoneta, Jacopo Fusti Castriotto of Urbino. Up to the death of Paul III. his labours for the security of the Leonine city were unremitting. There was indeed need for despatch, for since the murder of Pier Luigi and the occupation of Piacenza by the Imperialists the political situation had assumed a menacing aspect. Nothing therefore could have been worse than a renewal of dissensions. Castriotto wished to carry the bastions along the ridge of the hill, but this aroused the opposition of the Perugian, Francesco Montemellino, who proposed to construct the works at its foot. At the consultation held under the presidency of Ottavio Farnese, Castriotto at last carried the day and now began to throw a huge line of defences round the Vatican hill. The site of the bastions was already mapped out, and the line of walls marked by fascines and earth-works, when the Pope died. The plan of fortification for the Janiculum now also came to a standstill.

The protection of his native city was not the only pre-occupation of the Pope. He was deeply concerned for its beauty, comfort, and healthiness. One of the first acts of his reign was the appointment of a commissary to take charge of the antiquities of Rome; the first to exercise this function was Latino Giovenale Manetti, whose ordinances were supported by ecclesiastical penalties. In the brief of nomination of the 28th of November 1534 it says : “Not without deep sorrow are we aware that not merely Goths, Vandals, and other barbarians, not merely Greeks and the ravages of time, but our own indifference and guilt, our greed and cunning have torn down, destroyed, and squandered the venerable adornments of the city of the Quirites. We are burdened with the thought that briars, ivy, and other plants have taken root in the ancient buildings and split asunder the masonry, that small dwellings and shops cluster round the monuments and mar their beauty, and, last and worst of all, that statues, pictures, brazen and marble tables, objects of porphyry, Numidian and other marbles have been carried out of the city and dispersed among strangers.” Manetti is then extolled for his love of Rome and enthusiasm in exploring for ancient remains. To him is entrusted the 'care of the monuments of the city and its environs, so that all statues, inscriptions, and marbles shall be, as far as possible, preserved, stripped of briars and ivy, and kept clear of contact with new buildings, nothing broken to pieces or burned to make lime or removed from the city.

Manetti unfortunately was often absent from Rome on political missions. This, and still more the circumstance that the deeper appreciation of the remains of antiquity was a thing of slow development, were the causes why the ruins of the city continued just as before to be convenient quarries from which to extract marble and travertine, notwithstanding the ordinance of Paul III. As the science of antiquity was then in its infancy, more harm was done than anyone dreamed of. The laying down of the triumphal way for Charles V had already damaged many monuments in the Forum, where in 1539, and especially in 1540, at the very moment when Manetti was absent on two missions to France, the search for materials for the rebuilding of St. Peter's was carried on with barbarism. Nor in the following years was the monstrous practice discontinued here or in other places. Paul III was an accomplice in these acts of destruction, since on the 22nd of July 1540 he gave permission to the deputies of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's to dig everywhere inside and outside the city for blocks of marble and travertine as well as for pillars. Here again is an example of the contradictory elements at work in this transitional period of the Papacy. The brief of 1534 announced a new epoch, that of 1540 denoted a relapse into the groove of a bad old custom—a custom which henceforward would grow stronger in proportion to the growth in building activity. Even if many inscriptions and architectural pieces have been preserved as the ornaments of palace courts and gardens, yet the great majority of the finds were wantonly made use of as building material or flung into the limekiln. It was an exception to the rule when, in 1546, the Consular and Triumphal Fasti found near the Regia in the Forum escaped this fate; it was Cardinal Farnese who rescued this important discovery from destruction. The Fasti were discovered by Bartolommeo Marliano and a worthy and secure resting-place was found for them in the Palace of the Conservatori.

Besides being commissary of antiquities Manetti, together with Angelo del Bufalo de' Cancellieri, and afterwards with Girolamo Maffei, held the post of overseer of streets. Under them was the famous architect Bartolommeo Baronino, who in 1554 fell a victim to a murderous assault. The first task imposed on these officials was the formation of the triumphal way commanded by the Pope on the occasion of the visit of Charles V. The route lay from the Porta S. Sebastiano through the Via S. Gregorio over the Forum, and thence by the Salita di Marforio to the Piazza di San Marco and the Via Papale. In the course of this swiftly executed work many

dwelling-houses were pulled down, several churches, and a mass of antique ruins. The debris was used to fill up the depression in the ground between the Arches of Titus and Severus.

The works of the year 1536 were the prelude to many others of the same kind. Rome, that under the rule of Paul III gradually underwent renewal, was, with regard to the condition of the streets, far behind the rest of the great cities of Italy. How little they became a great capital was shown by this very visit of the Emperor just mentioned. Paul III, by his numerous street regulations and remedial measures, introduced a new epoch in which Rome divested herself more and more of her mediaeval traits and assumed an appearance more in keeping with the artistic creations of the Renaissance, her own dignity as chief city of the world, and the requirements of her multifarious traffic.

Paul III left no stone unturned to better the condition of the Roman streets, in which respect he was a forerunner of Sixtus V. Demolitions thus became necessary to such an extent that at last house-rents rose considerably. As early as 1538 he had begun to improve and beautify the Via Lata and the Corso : first of all the length of way between the Piazza di S. Marco and the so-called Arco di Portogallo, which at that time still spanned the street near to the Palazzo Fiano; afterwards he proceeded with the last portion, on which there were as yet few buildings as far as the Piazza del Popolo. As these schemes involved a large expenditure of money, he raised a special tax upon the owners of such houses as rose in value in consequence of the improvements. The accounts also show the amounts given in compensation for the necessary expropriations, which were carried out on a strictly regulated system.

The street already constructed under the Medicean Popes from the Piazza del Popolo to the piazza lying below the Trinita de' Monti, the later Via del Babuino, was improved and renamed after the reigning Pontiff, Via Paolina. In 1541 the Piazza Navona was connected with the Piazza Apollinare. In the following year two new arteries of traffic, starting from the bridge of St. Angelo, were opened; the Via di Panico and the Via Paola. In the Borgo the Via Alessandrina was widened and paved. In the city on the left bank of the Tiber the open spaces in front of the Farnese palace and of the palaces of S. Marco and SS. Apostoli were laid out, an alteration of the highest importance for the healthiness of this narrow and winding quarter; the draining of the swampy ground about the Vatican served the same sanitary purpose. Numerous other streets date back to the days of Paul III: the Via di S. Maria in Monticelli, di Torre Argentina, de' Baulari, dei Cestari, della Palombella, della Trinita (now Via Fontanella di Borghese and Condotti), and del Foro Trajano; the clearance of the ground round the column of Trajan and the erection of the colossal figures of Castor and Pollux on the Quirinal are also due to the solicitude of this Pontiff.

The inscription on the noble marble statue placed in his honour in 1543 in the great hall of the Senatorial Palace justly celebrates his zealous endeavours to beautify, by the improvement and construction of streets and piazzas, the thoroughfares of Rome, hitherto disfigured by narrow alleys and projecting buildings.

The reconstruction of the Capitol, as well as the regularization of the streets, was connected with the visit of Charles V. The approach to this eminently historic site was at that time of such a description that the Emperor on his entry was obliged to make a circuit of the hill. From the Forum only one street, from the Arch of Septimius Severus, led up to the Capitol. To the city access was only to be attained by a footpath. That Paul III should have fixed precisely on the Capitol as the spot to undergo a splendid architectural transformation marks him out as a true-born Roman and also indicates the excellent relations which existed between him and his fellow-citizens. By shedding new lustre on the spot associated with so many recollections of the city's freedom he nipped in the bud, with a dexterous hand, all republican aspirations.

The sketches of a contemporary painter clearly depict the irregular, although picturesque, appearance of the Capitol at the time of Paul III's accession. In the back-ground, on the ruins of the ancient Tabularium, rose the fortress-like Palace of the Senators, from the midst of which the crenellated central tower, rising high above the corner turrets, soared aloft. On the right side of the façade, ornamented with the many-coloured coats of arms of the Senators, was the entrance, over which rose a pillared loggia built by Nicolas V. On the steps leading up to it stood a fragment of an ancient marble group, a lion mangling a horse, since 1903 placed in the garden court of the Palace of the Conservatori. Before this image of retributive vengeance sentences of death were pronounced, to be immediately carried out on the south-western ridge of the hill, then entirely unbuilt upon. This spot, called Monte Caprino from the number of goats which here clambered about, still exhibited remains in Pentelican marble of the famous temple of Jupiter. Many of these blocks were employed on the building of the palace begun in 1545 by Gian Pietro Cafarelli and now the seat of the German embassy. Others, in large quantities, found their way to the new St. Peter's.

On the left side of the piazza, where the Capitoline Museum now stands, just as on the side towards the city, there was a lack of all architectural finish. The view from this point comprised the picturesque southern side of the Franciscan Church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, a small obelisk, and a palm tree the seeds of which had been brought from Palestine by the faithful guardians of the Holy Sepulchre. On the right side lay the Palace of the Conservatori, before the lower pillared arcade of which two colossal marble figures of the river gods Nile and Tigris had been placed. In the arcade itself were also to be seen remains of ancient days: a gigantic bronze head of Domitian and a terrestrial sphere. Above the central arch of the facade, supported on brackets, the famous symbol of Rome, the brazen she-wolf, was displayed, a gift from Sixtus IV, who had also in other ways enriched the Palace of the Conservatori with precious relics of the past.

In all its special features the Capitol as it then existed was not a match for the chief places of other cities, such as Florence and Siena. In the first place, it received a more artistic centre point, one without an equal in the world. In January 1538 the equestrian bronze statue of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, once entirely gilded over and associated with many a legend, was transferred from the Lateran and set directly in the middle of the piazza in the most effective manner on a block of marble the height of which is admirably proportioned. An inscription on the left side of the base recounts the story of its removal, undertaken by the command of Paul III, notwithstanding the opposition of the Lateran Chapter, in order, as is stated, to perpetuate the memory of the Emperor and to restore the adornment of the city of their fathers. The face of the pedestal bears the beautiful coat of arms of the Farnesi, the back that of the city of Rome, which bore a portion of the cost.

The removal of this famous statue was a starting-point for the complete transformation of the foreground of the Capitol. The plans of Michael Angelo corresponded in the highest degree to the dignity and reputation of the spot. A wide, easy flight of steps (cordonata) leading up from the Piazza Araceli, and flanked at the top by the great statues of the Dioscuri with their chargers, was to form a new approach and bring the Capitol, which hitherto had been reckoned inferior to the heathen Forum, into direct communication with the Christian city. One ascending this staircase would see before him, according to the plan of the great architect, the splendidly restored Palace of the Senators, and on either side, in a correspond-ing style of architecture, stately buildings with pillared colonnades, and above them the chief palace crowned with statues. The diagonal position of these lateral palaces was conditioned by the position of the older Palace of the Conservatori. These magnificent buildings led the eye up to the towering mass of the Palace of the Senators which, with its colossal pilasters reaching up through the height of two stories,

formed an imposing termination to the composition. This construction, the facade of which concealed the conglomerate style of the older buildings, re-tained no trace of its earlier fortress-like character save in the battlemented belfry-tower. A wide double staircase merged at the height of the first story into an uncovered balcony adorned with statues, upon which the entrance to the great Senate Hall opened. The monumental character of this noble staircase was enhanced by the fountain extending in front of it. Below the balcony Michael Angelo had intended to place a colossal statue of Jupiter in a niche. At his feet the fountain was to gush forth into a broad basin, and on each side places were to be found for the great statues of the river gods, which hitherto had stood before the Palace of the Conservatori.

If this great scheme had been completely carried out Rome would have possessed a public place of incomparable beauty and harmony of style. But the misfortune which seemed to haunt so many of the enterprises of Michael Angelo awaited him here also. Financial difficulties, combined with the narrowness of view of the city fathers, stood in the way of the accomplishment of this great project, the features of which are now only known to us through a copper-plate by Etienne du Perac. After the erection of the statue of Marcus Aurelius, Michael Angelo only survived to see the completion of the stately double staircase in front of the Palace of the Senators. All the rest of the plan was carried out later, on the basis certainly of his drawings but with many important alterations in detail. For the defects then introduced he was in no way responsible; nevertheless, the new Capitol in its entirety, when, after a long period of time, it assumed its present form, displayed the spirit and the genius of its original creator. Despite all the alterations which Giacomo del Duca and Girolamo Rainaldi allowed themselves to indulge in, the whole produces an impression of monumental grandeur which stamps itself ineffaceably on the memory of the beholder.

Paul III introduced into the Vatican extensive and costly restorations and embellishments, especially in Bramante's corridor, leading to the Belvedere, begun under Julius II. and now improved and finished. This formed the aged Pope's customary walk when, with the assistance of two companions, he took his morning exercise. Two most important additions to the Vatican, where, as already mentioned, Jacopo Melegghino had acted since 1537 as commissary-general, are inseparably associated with the memory of Paul III: these are the Cappella Paolina and the Sala Regia, which were enthusiastically praised by contemporaries.

The Sala Regia, intended for the reception of ambassa-dors of kings and princes, forms a vast antechamber to the Sixtine Chapel. The apartment was constructed on the plans of Sangallo, and this involved the destruction of ancient chambers and unfortunately of the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, painted by Fra Angelico for Nicolas V. For the walls and floorings, the ancient ruins of the city, especially those on the Coelian Hill, supplied a lavish quantity of material. The Sala Regia, certainly the finest chamber in the Papal Palace, begun in 1540, was not finished until 1573. To a later date also belong the historical wall frescoes, one of which, the "Conquest of Tunis," by Zuccherò, refers to the pontificate of Paul III., under whom, also, between 1542 and 1543, Perino del Vaga, Daniele da Volterra, and Jacopo Sansovino executed the exuberant stucco-work of the vast barrel-vaulting of the ceiling, with its noble coffers, winged genii, and gilded escutcheons of the Farnesi in the midst, producing an effect of extreme magnificence. Here, as in other buildings of this Pope, Greek inscriptions are to be found. The painted glass windows of Pastorino da Siena admitted only a subdued light to play upon these decorations in white and gold. The expenses from 1542 to 1549 amounted to not less than 8672 ducats.

A great scheme of decoration was also undertaken in the Castle of St. Angelo.[899] Paul III. gave orders in the first place for enlargement and adornment of the first story of the extremely cramped Appartamento Papale immediately above the ancient rotunda; his name and escutcheon are repeatedly to be met with in the rooms of this portion of the fortress.

As a counterpart to the Loggia of Julius II looking towards the city, a second, the Loggia of Paul III, was now built, with decorations in stucco by Girolamo Sermoneta, Pier Antonio Casale, and Rafifaello Montelupo. Sangallo afterwards added yet another story to the Appartamento Papale containing a series of roomy chambers, the splendid decoration of which fills every visitor with astonishment. The principal apartment, entered from the Loggia of Julius II through a tasteful doorway, was named, after its builder, the Sala Paolina or Salone del Consiglio. A whole host of artists, many of them pupils of Raphael, were engaged in decorating these and other rooms in the most magnificent manner. In the accounts the names appear, together with those of Perino del Vaga and Giovanni da Udine, those of Luzzio Luzzi, Marco da Siena, and Girolamo Sermoneta. The part assigned to each is difficult of ascertainment. A remarkable feature of the decoration in the Sala Paolina is the rich white and gold stucco-work of the ceiling. It is divided into six rectangles displaying brightly coloured pictures from biblical history, and also adorned with a great variety of groups of amoretto, satyrs, naiads, and garlands of fruit, with Latin and Greek inscriptions; in the centre is displayed in gleaming gold the coat of arms of the Pope. The walls are divided into painted panels, and a cornice with caryatides and bronze-coloured paintings of a mythological and satyric character supports a row of Ionic pillars; in the smaller spaces between the latter are seen the allegorical figures of justice, fortitude, strength, and wisdom; in the larger, monochrome subjects, surrounded by garlands of fruit, from the history of Alexander the Great. These pictures, under which the forms of genii repose in the bloom of youthful manhood, are the work of Marco da Siena. On the north wall Perino del Vaga has portrayed a full-sized figure of the Archangel St. Michael; on the south wall the Emperor Hadrian, the founder of the castle, while above the doors are allegorical representations of the cardinal virtues.

From the Sala Paolina a passage with walls decorated with grotesques in Raphael's charming manner led to a chamber called—on what grounds is not known—the “Bibliotheca.” The roof, with the arms of Paul III, in the centre, and the frieze are magnificent specimens of stucco-work, executed by Girolamo Sermoneta from drawings by Perino del Vaga. The paintings representing sea-gods were attributed to Giulio Romano. If not so gorgeous as the ceiling of the Sala Paolina, it is richer and more delicate; especially beautiful are the reliefs in stucco on a gold ground on the frieze.

Finally, there is much ornamentation in two rooms connected with the Sala Paolina, and called after the paintings contained in them. The Chamber of Perseus, which was the dwelling-chamber of Paul III., displays on its frieze, in four frescoes remarkable for their colour-tone, the history of the demi-god. Below are garlands of fruit with symbolical groups of women, with the unicorn, an allusion to the emblems of the Farnesi and of Cardinal Tiberio Crispi. In the centre of the timber roof, decorated with lilies, appears the figure of the Archangel St. Michael. Even in the objectionable Chamber of Cupid and Psyche, called the Bed-Chamber, the artistically carved and gilded ceiling, with its designs recalling the Pope and the same Cardinal Crispi, draws the eyes of the beholder to it. The painted frieze vies in beauty with the ceiling; on this Perino del Vaga has painted the tale of Cupid and Psyche as told by Apuleius. Some of these pictures are very free, and supplement in an astonishing way the unfinished composition of Raphael on the ceiling of the summer-house of the Farnesina; they breathe the very spirit of the pagan Renaissance, and are wholly unfitted for the apartments of a Pope. It is to be wished that Paul III. had not allowed the

very mundane Cardinal Crispi, who since 1542 had been installed as castellan of St. Angelo, so entirely free a hand.

The decoration of these two stately chambers, which rivalled the most beautiful in the Vatican itself, was enhanced by the tapestries with which the walls were to be hung.

The completion of the family palace of the Farnesi, which arose between the Campo de' Fiori and the Via Giulia, was permanently entrusted to Antonio da Sangallo. The mighty structure advanced without interruption, since after Paul III's elevation the necessary means flowed freely in. Pasquino's jest when he hung out a bush with the inscription, "Alms are requested for the building", struck Rome dumb. According to Vasari the plans underwent extension, and the appointments were also on a more splendid scale. This was specially the case with the noble ceiling, of which Sangallo himself made the sketch. Nothing was spared to make the building the most magnificent among the many magnificent palaces of Rome. The story long believed, that the Colosseum provided the quarry for the works, is a fable; later research has shown that the blocks of travertine were brought from Tivoli. Marble was procured from the ruins of Ostia, and in Rome, principally from the Baths of Caracalla and from the huge ruins in the Colonna gardens, supposed to be those of Aurelian's Temple of the Sun.

The characteristic of grandeur which is peculiar to all genuine Roman work attaches to the Farnese palace in an overwhelming degree. The populace called it, from its shape, the "dice cube." In spite of the too close proximity of the narrow windows, the façade is one of the most imposing creations of the new architecture. The lily of the Farnesi has here the same decorative role assigned to it as that given to the rose in the ornaments of the Cancelleria. The magnitude of the facade is reproduced in the inner chambers, the massive spacious stairs, the vast halls and corridors. It is this ample and unequalled spaciousness, combined with the strength and harmony of the exterior, which makes the building the type of a Roman palace, and the worthy depository of the treasures of antiquity collected by this Roman house.

By the beginning of 1546 the exterior facade had been pushed as far as the cornice. How much depended on the correct formation of this feature for the general effect of the whole edifice did not escape the attention of Paul III. He invited a competition in which Perino del Vaga, Sebastiano del Piombo, and Vasari took part, but the Pope's choice fell on the designs of Michael Angelo.

With what caution the latter proceeded to work is shown by the circumstance that he had a wooden model of the cornice, more than three metres high, affixed to a corner of the palace. The effect produced gave the Pope the highest satisfaction. Vasari is of opinion that neither ancient nor modern architecture can show anything more beautiful and rich. The work has justly received the highest praise, and has been called "the cornice of all cornices."

On the death of Sangallo on the 29th of September 1546 Michael Angelo became sole director of the building works. In addition to the cornice, to him is certainly due the Loggia over the chief doorway, the escutcheon of the Pope there introduced, and the uppermost story, with its course of pilasters, of the truly regal courtyard. The two lower stories were the work of Sangallo, Michael Angelo, whose interference with the projected scheme of Sangallo was not always happy, had yet another bold plan in view. Through Sangallo's beautiful entrance-hall, with its richly coffered vaulted ceiling and its twelve antique Doric granite pillars, and through the nobly arcaded court, a view was to be obtained in a hall in the background of the striking Dirce group, the so-called Farnese bull, forming the adornment of a fountain; beyond this a bridge over the Tiber was

here to connect the Farnese “Vigna” with the main building of the palace. Unfortunately, this junction of the two banks of the river was not carried out. Only the great antique group was successfully placed in the court of which it remained the ornament until its removal in 1786 to Naples.

The Farnese palace, the Vatican, and St. Angelo were not sufficient for a Pope who loved frequently to change his Roman residence. During the hot months it had been his custom since 1535 to seek regularly the palace of S. Marco on account of the healthier air. From this time forward this palace again came into use as a Papal summer residence. Although the Church of S. Maria in Aracoeli was not at a very great distance, in order to hear Mass there more easily he had, in April 1535, a wooden bridge constructed from the so-called Palazetto to the church above mentioned, which afterwards was replaced by one of stone and formed a counterpart to the corridor which unites the Palazzo Vecchio with the Palazzo Pitti. His frequent visits to the Franciscan convent adjoining S. Maria in Araceli ripened in Paul III the intention of building a palace on that airy height, from which one of the widest and fairest views of Rome lay open. As a site he chose the garden of the Franciscans facing the Corso. A brief of February 1546 ordained that this palace, erected at great expense and adorned with paintings and stucco-work, should pass neither to the Minorites of Araceli nor to the holder of the cardinal’s title of S. Marco, but be a permanent possession of the Popes. Those of an older generation can remember the picturesque grounds and the stern tower of Paul III, with its wide survey. To the grief of all friends of art, it fell a victim in 1886 to the great memorial to Victor Emmanuel, which now conceals the Holy of Holies of the Capitol.

In certain respects also the beginnings of the Papal palace on the Quirinal are linked with the name of Paul III. In the last years of his life he found pleasure in visiting this salubrious hill, the approach to which was made still better in June 1549.

Among the most famous restorations of Roman churches undertaken during the reign of Paul III., and approved by his contemporaries, was especially that of S. Maria in Sassia, which then was named after the adjoining Hospital of S. Spirito in Sassia. From plans of Sangallo an entirely new church was erected, a creation of the later Renaissance full of simplicity and dignity. The works also which Cardinal Federigo Cesi had undertaken since 1544 on the Church of Our Lady, not far from the Palazzo Mattei, led to a reconstruction of the former edifice, near which St. Ignatius had set up a home for poor and unprotected girls. The church received the name of S. Caterina de’ Funari from the ropemakers who worked in that neighbourhood in the ruins of the Flaminian Circus. The rebuilding of the national church of the French, S. Luigi, was still far from complete. No new feature was added by these churches to the aspect of the city.

The buildings erected under Paul III in the States of the Church, on all of which, almost without exception, Sangallo was actively employed, consisted principally of defensive constructions, the necessity of which, from the point of view of a Turkish invasion, could not escape the Pope’s strong practical sense. For the most part the works were in the nature of restorations or the furtherance of projects already begun. In this respect very comprehensive operations were carried out in the two chief sea-ports, Ancona and Civita Vecchia, extending over several years. Together with these, restorations were set on foot on the castles and fortifications of Tivoli, Civita Castelliana, Montefiascone, Ostia, Assisi, Anagni, Tolentino, Camerino, Fano, Ascoli, Loreto, Rimini, Ravenna, Parma, and Piacenza.

An entirely new work was the fortress of Perugia, erected after the insurrection. This was begun as early as September 1540, but the progress was so slow that the impatient Pope appointed a new commissary-general on January the 14th, 1542. It was not until 1543 that the Rocca Paolina, as the mighty stronghold was called, was finished in its essential features. The situation of Perugia at the point of junction of two ranges of hills offered great difficulties in the construction of a fortress; but they were overcome by the genius of Sangallo, who produced a remarkable specimen of engineering. The whole consisted of two parts. Above was the so-called citadel, commanding a large portion of the city; somewhat lower down came a second fort, named Tanaglia, connected with the former by a long and steep approach. The citadel, which must have taken up almost the whole suburb of S. Giuliana, occupied the ground on which the prefecture now stands, with a portion of the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele, part of the hotel Brufani, of the bank of Italy and of the Palazzo Calderini. Above the entrance was a statue of Paul III in terracotta, with his name and coat-of-arms. In planning the fortifications, Sangallo had spared not merely the ancient Porta Marzia, but also the palace of the Baglioni; these were still visible in 1860, but in the same year were, together with the fortress and its system of works, razed to the ground. The statue of Paul III. also was barbarously destroyed, and, with the exception of one, all the fine coats-of-arms and interesting inscriptions.

Orvieto, a town greatly loved by the Pope and to him a second home, was in many ways embellished.¹ He gave orders for the restoration and rebuilding of the Papal Palace begun by Boniface VIII. and named Palazzo Soliano. The famous fountain of Clement VII., the well of S. Patrizio, was completed by Simone Mosca. In commemoration of this work, which was to supplement the scanty water-supply of the town, Clement VII had commissioned Benvenuto Cellini to strike a medal showing Moses with his uplifted staff, and the thirsty multitude lying at his feet. Paul III. caused the design of this medal to be appropriated for another bearing his own image.

At Viterbo, which he first visited in 1536 and often afterwards, his generosity was amply displayed. On his first visit he at once took over the cost of finishing the fine roof with which Sangallo was decorating the much-frequented pilgrims' shrine of the Benedictine abbey of the Madonna della Quercia. He also ordered a new road to be made to this sanctuary, for which he had a great veneration, and supplied it with a fountain. He also restored the palace of the Governors and the castle.

To the little town of Frascati in the Alban Hills he devoted much attention. This delightful spot, famed for its pure air and enchanting views, had become part of the States of the Church in May 1537, and during his frequent visits to the Villa Rufina—afterwards widely celebrated as the Villa Falconieri—had captivated the Pope's fancy. In 1538 he revived the ancient bishopric of Tusculum and transferred its seat to Frascati, thus raised to the rank of a city. A wall of defence was flung round the spot and the interior so beautified that the town might have been said to have been rebuilt. Situated amid vineyards and olive trees, it became henceforth a chosen holiday place for Roman society. A medal perpetuated the restoration of the spot so near the ancient Tusculum, and the residence of the Pope within its walls.

Buildings and other works of general utility were forwarded in many other cities of the Papal States by the support of Paul III: in Otricoli, Spoleto, Foligno, Spello, Perugia, Loreto, Cesena, Macerata and Ascoli. At the Villa Magliana, where the Pope often stayed, restorations were begun from the year 1535. The Pope's latter years were signalized by a work of exceptional utility, which he also had commemorated by a medal; this was a canal, the "Cava Paolina," for regulating the overflow of the Velino and putting a stop to inundations in the valleys of Rieti and

Terni. Unfortunately, Sangallo, while laying out the works, contracted a deadly fever, which cut him off in the midst of his labours at Terni on the 29th of September 1546. In other parts of the Papal States also Paul III. directed his attention to the drainage of the marshes.

The Pope also co-operated with and supported his family in extensive building operations, especially in the domain where the possessions of the house originally lay. Pier Luigi Farnese restored and enlarged the castle at Nepi built by Alexander VI, had a castle built by Peruzzi at Caprarola, and at a distance of six kilometres from Castel Farnese founded in the valley of Olpeta, the new town of Castro, with defences by Sangallo. This architect also at Pier Luigi's orders drew up plans for the ducal palace erected in Castro, for the church and convent of the Franciscans, for the mint and the arcades of the principal square. Thus, as Annibalo Caro remarked, out of a den of gipsies rose a new Carthage. The comparison was destined to be fulfilled to the letter: for a hundred years later Castro, having risen in rebellion against Innocent X, was utterly destroyed.

A series of constructions in the Duchy of Castro were about 1546 entrusted to Vignola, afterwards so famous. At the beginning of Paul III.'s reign Vignola had been employed at the Vatican, when he also carried out pictorial decorations. From 1541 to 1543 he resided in France; after that he was a candidate for the difficult task of executing the facade of S. Petronio in Bologna, a work followed with deep interest by Paul III. In spite of Cardinal Farnese's warm recommendations Vignola's sketches were rejected; he then found in the Farnese family more enlightened patrons of the architect's art.

III.

The highly prized tranquillity and prosperity which Rome enjoyed under the rule of Paul III, the keen interest of the Pope, his family, and the rich cardinals in all branches of art, could not fail to exercise a stimulating influence of the most useful kind. Very often, however, the quality of artistic creativeness is not commensurate with its quantity. This is specially the case with sculpture, which held an even more subordinate place than it had done under Clement VII. With the exception of the Lombard, Guglielmo della Porta, who was repeatedly employed, especially as a restorer of antiques, by Paul III, almost all the others engaged in the Papal service were Tuscan sculptors. Among them are found Lorenzetto, Bandinelli, Ammanati, Raffaello da Montelupo, Perino da Vinci, Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Nanni di Baccio Bigio, Simone Mosca, Montorsoli, and Zacchia.

Michael Angelo was the authoritative name in sculpture even among his personal enemies. This great master, upheld by the Papal favour, was a constant source of wonderment to his contemporaries on account of his works and of the individuality of his character. On the 10th of December 1537 he received the rights of Roman citizenship, the highest honour which the Eternal City could bestow. His fellow-artists, who were entirely under the spell of his original and sovereign style, looked up to him as a patriarch and paid homage to every judgment that he expressed. There is clear evidence of this in the description of the antique statues of Rome written in 1550 by Ulysses Aldrovandi. Notwithstanding the brevity of his narration, he never omits to note the praise lavished by Michael Angelo on those pieces by which the latter had been specially attracted, as, for example, the Torso of Hercules or the Amazon in the collection of Cardinal Cesi. Even the monument of Julius II, so great and powerful in its first design, so poor in its final achievement, could not impair his firmly grounded reputation. The statue of Moses by itself compensated for all other deficiencies, and raised the mausoleum of the Rovere to a solitary pre-eminence over the long series of Papal tombs. It might seem almost an act of historic justice that

the statue of Moses should have been reserved for the burial-place of Julius II, while Leo X, who was so extravagantly belauded in his lifetime, should have, like his cousin Clement VII, to rest satisfied with a monument displaying the marks of a sculpture already on the wane. On the other hand, the representations of Paul III belong to the best works of this period : his fine marble statue in the Capitol and his magnificent bust now preserved in the Naples Museum.

If the domain of sculpture left much to be desired, there was rich compensation in the full blossoming of minor arts and handicrafts. Medallists, jewellers, gold and silversmiths, as well as artistic cabinet makers, produced works of high perfection; the period was also one in which the manufacture of textile fabrics and of pottery flourished. The account books of Paul III abound in payments made for a long succession of works of art of the above kind. Special mention is made of a new and magnificent tiara. The Pope would have ordered yet more if his coffers had not so often been drained by Turkish war expenses and other imperative claims. The wealth of Papal property in work of this kind is clearly set forth in the inventories drawn up during the reign of Paul III.

Unfortunately, only a very few relics of this period are now preserved in Rome. At the time of the French Revolution many objects of the highest interest and value were seized as plunder. This was the heavy price which had to be paid for the absence in Rome of a dynasty such as existed in Florence, the hereditary owners of costly works of art. Today the swords of honour belonging to the days of Paul III must be sought for in Cracow and Madrid. The Cluny Museum in Paris contains a precious collection of faience. Among the treasures of the Naples museum is the Cassettina Farnese in silver-gilt made for Cardinal Alessandro by Giovanni Bernardi da Castel Bolognese. This casket is surmounted by an admirable statue of Hercules; at the four corners are Minerva, Mars, Venus and Bacchus; while the panels of rock-crystal divided by caryatides are cut into representations of ancient myths and stories. The magnificent candlesticks and crucifix for long attributed to Cellini, and presented by Cardinal Farnese to the treasury of S. Peter's, were made in 1582 by Antonino Gentile da Faenza.

More fortunately, the coins and medals of Paul III, who endeavoured to regulate the coinage of his states with great exactitude, have been almost completely preserved. Among them are some fine pieces; all reproduce admirably the characteristic features of the Pope. The representations on the obverse, and the surrounding inscriptions, present to the beholder the entire history of his papacy. The Papal mint then employed artificers of the first rank. Benvenuto Cellini made for Paul III a gold piece with the Farnese arms on one side, and a stately, richly draped figure of St. Paul on the other. Other names worthy of mention here are Giacomo Balducci, Lodovico de Capitaneis, Alessandro Cesati, called "il Grechetto," Giovanni Giacomo Bonzagni, Pietro Paolo Galeotto, and Leone Leoni. The last named was a man quite of the stamp of Benvenuto Cellini, who began well under Paul III., but later on had serious trouble through his coming into conflict with Pier Luigi Farnese. Cellini's imprisonment in St. Angelo in October 1538, on a charge of having embezzled Papal jewels to the value of 80,000 ducats in the reign of Clement VII, his bold attempt at flight at the last moment and its miscarriage, his terrible detention in the lowest dungeon of the fortress, and his final deliverance in November 1539, through the intercession of Cardinal Ippolito d' Este and Francis I, are all so well known from his autobiography as to call for no further description here.

Like Cellini, his enemy Leone Leoni, who is said, against his will, to have saved the former's life, was also forced to leave Rome. On account of a murderous assault on the Papal jeweller, Pellegrino di Leuti, he was condemned to lose his right hand, but was saved from this punishment through the influence of powerful patrons. He was sent to the galleys instead, from

which at the end of a year he was released on the entreaty of Andrea Doria. Leoni thereupon entered the service of the mint of Milan

Alessandro Cesati, who was also famous as a carver of gems, was introduced into the family and service of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese by Annibale Caro, and obtained through the former the post of a “maestro delle stampe” in the Roman mint. He was also employed by Pier Luigi and Ottavio Farnese on the coinage of Castro and Camerino. Cesati designed a medal with a portrait of Paul III and a representation of Alexander the Great in the Temple at Jerusalem, of which no less a judge than Michael Angelo remarked that “the art must be near its downfall, since it could reach no greater perfection than this.” Cesati’s fellow-countrymen, Lorenzo Marmitta and the famous Valerio Belli, were rivals in the art of working intaglios on crystal. Belli received, in 1545, 1200 scudi for a cross together with two candlesticks and paxes. The clock-maker Cherubino had acquired so great a reputation in his business that even Cellini was forced to acknowledge it.

In the studios of the painters there was great activity, for in this domain Paul III.’s patronage was exercised in the most various directions. His first step was to gather together again the school of Raphael scattered after the sack. He gave special commissions to Perino del Vaga, as well as to his pupils the Romans, Luzio and Girolamo Sermoneta. Giovanni da Udine also returned to Rome.

Perino del Vaga enjoyed special favour with the Farnese family, and from 1544 onwards the Pope gave him a monthly allowance of 25 scudi. Vaga took an important part in the decoration of the Sala Regia as well as in that of the Castle of St. Angelo. He also executed the pictures on the entablature under the frescoes of the Stanza della Segnatura, and in 1546-1547 decorated with paintings a Loggia in the Vatican. Like other eminent painters, he did not disdain work of a less pretentious kind, such as the painting of banners; he drew designs for carpets, church vestments, and all sorts of minor departments of art. The ceaseless labours of his hand were cut short by death in 1547, while he was still in the prime of manhood. Vaga was laid to rest in the Pantheon near to his master Raphael.

Near this church, in 1542, a corporate guild of artists had been founded after the manner of the Association of St. Luke.⁸ The founder of this “Congregazione Ponteficia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon” was Desiderio d’ Adjutorio, an official in the Papal Chancery and canon of the aforesaid church, of which the second chapel on the left was dedicated to St. Joseph and appropriated to the uses of the new corporation. Their aim was defined as the increase of God’s glory and the elevation of the Holy Church. Their patron was St. Joseph; their motto was “Florent in Domino.” In the pillared hall of the Pantheon their works were exhibited yearly on St. Joseph’s Day. The worthy canon made it his avowed object to win over his artist friends, whose course of life was often far from serious, to better things, and to induce them to introduce into their work a Christian rather than a pagan spirit. Besides Perino del Vaga, among the first members were Antonio and Giovan Battista da Sangallo, Jacopo Meleghino, the great architect and sculptor Giovanni Mangone, the engineer Clementi Dentocambi, and the wood-carver Antonio della Banda. After the founder’s death he was probably followed in the presidency by Antonio da San-gallo, while the secretary was Mario Antonio Labacco.

Sebastiano del Piombo painted at the beginning of the reign a portrait of Paul III, which has, however, disappeared; the only other known work of this period by Sebastiano, who up to his death on the 21st of June 1547 was one of the Piombatori of the Papal leaden bulls, is the noble portrait of Cardinal Pole. In 1540 Francesco Primaticcio came to Rome to make copies of antique sculpture for Francis I. and to purchase works of art.

An event in the artistic world of Rome was the appearance of Titian in April 1543, when he painted a portrait of the Pope. In the autumn of 1545 he paid a second visit; when Paul III appointed him a residence in the Belvedere the jealousy of the other painters was at once aroused. Neither then, however, nor two years later was there any employment of the greatest colourist of his time. Consequently, to painters of the second and third rank, mostly Tuscans, the chief tasks were allotted. The most important among them was Daniele da Volterra. A pupil of Sodoma and Peruzzi, he worked with them on the decoration of the Sala Regia; in 1547 he succeeded Vaga, with a monthly salary of 20 scudi. Volterra at this time had already completely passed under the influence of Michael Angelo, as is clearly shown in the Descent from the Cross painted by him for the chapel in the Trinita de' Monti founded by Elena Orsini. This picture, now unfortunately much damaged, was justly celebrated in its day; it is a composition remarkable for dramatic movement and certainty of drawing.

Like Daniele da Volterra, Giulio Vasari of Arezzo was also under the enchantment of Michael Angelo. Paolo Giovio and Bindo Altoviti had in January 1543 called Cardinal Alessandro Farnese's attention to this painter, who owes his reputation less to his compositions as an artist than to his Lives of the Painters, a work which appeared a year after the death of Paul III.

A representation of Justice executed in oils for the Cardinal by this painter pleased his patron so much that he also commissioned him to decorate with frescoes the great court-room of the Palace of the Cancelleria. This work was intended to be carried out as a surprise for the Cardinal on his return from his German mission, which was to be celebrated as a great triumph. Vasari worked at full speed: only a hundred days had been spent in bringing the task to completion on the 23rd of November 1546. "You can see that by looking at them," was Michael Angelo's opinion of the frescoes. Giovio himself, who was Vasari's personal friend, had to admit that the portraiture which had been freely introduced left much to be desired. Nevertheless, these paintings illustrative of the age of Paul III. are not by any means without interest, and are at the same time the forerunners of those in the castle of Caprarola.

On the left side wall is represented the Apostolic Court of Chancery as it was under Paul III, the founder, as the inscription states, of the Golden Age. The Pope, clad in pluviale and camauro, sits on a throne and presents to a figure kneeling at his feet bulls and rescripts. By his side are the presidents of the Chancery and Dataria, Cardinals Alessandro Farnese and Guidiccioni. In the foreground are figures in the act of making petitions or offering gifts—among the latter strange animals even are introduced, such as a giraffe, an elephant, and two camels; in the immediate front of the picture an allegorical figure of the Tiber lies stretched, who is crowned by Romulus and Remus. On each side of the fresco two allegorical figures are painted. The inscriptions declare them to be Justice and Eloquence. On the corresponding left wall, where the entrance door is placed, Paul's reconciliation of Charles V and Francis I at Nice is celebrated. The Pope appears on the Sedia Gestatoria and blesses the monarchs, who are surrounded by their retinues, as they make their pact of peace. The two allegorical figures are repeated on both sides of this fresco, and represent Love and Concord.

Of the two great frescoes on the principal wall one commemorates the nominations to the Cardinalate in which Paul III. rewarded true merit. The scene is a church, with pillars copied from those in St. Peter's, and reputed to have once been in the Temple of Jerusalem. Portraits of the great men who are receiving the purple fill the composition—Contarini, Sadoleto, Bembo, Pole. Many other likenesses are introduced, among others that of Giovio, who composed the inscription, and of Michael Angelo, as the greatest painter in the Pope's employment. In the foreground is the figure of disappointed Envy, who is devouring snakes. The whole is crowned

by the arms of the Farnese upheld by Fame and Virtue.[946] At the sides of this fresco the figure of Goodness is introduced.

The other fresco of the principal wall is certainly the most interesting of the whole group. Paul III. here appears as the patron of art. Vasari has given expression to this idea by representing the Pope in the act of issuing commands with a gesture of great earnestness to the kneeling females, who are the allegorical figures of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture. Paul III. is strangely clad as the high priest of the Old Testament Scriptures. Vasari chose this unusual garb in order to celebrate the Pope's great work of the reconstruction of St. Peter's. The plan of this Temple of the New Covenant, destined to cast the sanctuary of Jerusalem into the shade, is spread before the Pope. Sangallo's sketch is plainly recognizable. In the background the new buildings of the Basilica are prominent, thronged with busy workers, while beasts of burden drag forward the building materials. This representation is very interesting, as it shows how far Sangallo had advanced with the building of the new St. Peter's up to the time of his death. It shows the area of the south cross, afterwards removed by Michael Angelo, the provisional choir of Bramante, the barrel roof of the south cross only just finished and still covered with scaffolding, and on the left an octagonal cupola. In the foreground is placed an aged man supporting himself with his left hand on the Holy Scriptures, while with one foot he tramples on two volumes which evidently contain false teaching. This allegorical figure of Papal Rome as the shepherd of true doctrine holds in one hand the keys, in the other the triple tiara, while a genius crowns the head with laurel. At the sides of this fresco two symbolical figures again appear: Superstition and Religion with the keys and the threefold crown. Under the last figure runs an inscription relating how Vasari executed his great task in the space of a hundred days.

In accordance with the stricter spirit of the times, the female figures in these frescoes are clad in drapery. The decorations also in the apartments of the Cancelleria reserved by Cardinal Farnese for his own use show no heathen emblems, hitherto the choice of princes of the Church, but are taken from subjects in sacred history. Much has been altered or destroyed at a later period, but the roof and frieze of the study still remain undisturbed. This apartment was called the "camera della Genesi," from the pictures of the Creation with which it was adorned.

Here Perino del Vaga has displayed a Raphaellesque grace in pictures of a "genre" character. The ceilings of the study and the chapel are both masterpieces. The chapel decoration came from the pencil of Francesco de' Rossi named Salviati. According to an entry in the accounts, he also painted the chamber before the "guardaroba" in the Vatican, and a representation of King Pepin.

Among the many other artists then at work in Rome special mention should be made of the illuminators Vincenzo Raimondi and Giulio Clovio, as well as of the painter on glass, Pastorino, who was also distinguished as engraver of coins and medals; unfortunately, the windows with which this talented Sieneese adorned the Sala Regia have not been preserved.

The names enumerated above do not, however, exhaust the artistic chronicle of the Papal Court. The masterpiece of painting which owed its existence to Paul III. remains to be considered, the Last Judgment of Michael Angelo.

Clement VII, the second Pope of the house of Medici, can claim the merit of having first suggested this subject to the great painter. But the glory of its achievement belongs to the reign of Paul III., at whose instigation this work of incomparable majesty and dramatic power was executed, forming the keystone to the monumental fabric of the art of the Italian Renaissance.

Very few accounts, unfortunately, exist of the genesis of this gigantic fresco, which displays the consummation of the Divine Creation upon earth. It is certain that the work in the Chapel could not have begun earlier than the period between April the 10th and May the 18th, 1536, since not only had the huge scaffolding to be erected, but the altar wall also to be prepared. All the frescoes here existing, the Assumption, the Nativity, and the Finding of Moses, as well as two lunettes painted by the master under the Jonas, had to make room for the new creation with its titanic proportions. According to Vasari, the wall was also covered with a thin layer of burnt brick projecting slightly at the top, so that dust and soil might be prevented from injuring the surface of the picture.

In the Papal brief of the 1st of September 1535 the cartoons are spoken of as begun. The proposal of Sebastiano del Piombo that the picture should be executed in oil was rejected by Michael Angelo, as were all other offers of help ; he was determined to work in fresco and to work single-handed. With the exception of the faithful Francesco Amatori, named Urbino, who mixed his colours, he had no one by his side.

The devotion with which the old man flung himself into his work is shown from the number of drawings and sketches still in existence; the original cartoon, on the other hand, has disappeared.

Paul III watched the progress of the work with impatience. In January 1537 he was already urging on its completion, and on the 4th of February 1537 he appeared at its inspection in the Sistine Chapel. In other parts of Italy as well the greatest interest had been aroused. Pietro Aretino, the trifler, had the audacity to try and impose a sort of programme on the painter in a letter of the 15th of September 1537, filled with exuberant praise. The reply was polite but cold. Michael Angelo declined to allow his work to be influenced by fantastic conceptions of the Last Judgment; besides, his painting was by this time almost finished. This was unquestionably an exaggeration ; four full years had yet to pass before the fresco could be uncovered.

Ecclesiastical functions in the Chapel were not impeded for any great length of time by the work of Michael Angelo. As far as can be established, there was only one actual interruption, in November 1538; during the interval Paul III. made use of the Hall of the Popes as a domestic chapel, as Sixtus IV had done formerly.

In December 1540 the upper portion of the colossal picture was at last finished, and admitted of the removal of the scaffolding. Then undoubtedly the work was inspected by the Pope. On this occasion also the incident related in Vasari's well-known anecdote must surely have taken place. The Papal master of the ceremonies, Blasius de Martinellis, objected to the number of nude figures in the composition, and the painter took his revenge by portraying Blasius under the form of Minos. When the personage thus caricatured complained to the Pope, the latter replied that he could give no redress as his authority did not extend over hell. As Condivi says nothing of this episode, and the head of Minos is not a portrait at all, the authenticity of the story is not to be depended upon.

The completion of the lower portion occupied Michael Angelo for a whole year. With what fiery energy he flung his whole strength into the work, heedless of the heat of the Roman summer, is shown indirectly by his letter of the 25th of August 1541. Not until the autumn, when the scaffolding would be taken down, could he draw a breath of relief. The solemn uncovering of the fresco took place on the eve of All Saints, October the 31st, 1541. Paul III, who had returned from Bologna only the day before, celebrated Mass on this occasion.

Just as nine-and-twenty years before, when the ceiling was exposed to view, all Rome had streamed into the Chapel, so now a vast concourse came together to gaze on the marvel on the walls. If the impression made on the former occasion was powerful, that impression was now surpassed. The work deceived and exceeded all expectations. They were deceived in so far as this new representation of the Doom was essentially different from all that had been painted before; they were exceeded, for even the most vivid phantasy could not have conjured up anything bolder or more powerful. The feeling was general that this majestic effort represented in more than one aspect an epoch in the development of art. Hence-forward the fresco became an object of study. It was drawn, it was copied, it became the centre of an active interest which Michael Angelo observed with peculiar feelings; he is said to have exclaimed, "What a crop of fools this work of mine will produce!"

In spite of the strangeness of the style, the general attitude of the public towards the fresco was one of unqualified admiration. The Florentine, Niccolò Martelli, wrote, full of enthusiasm, to the painter on the 4th of December 1541: "What can I say? Has not God through you given to us a perfect picture of the dreadful judgment of mankind in that fresco which you have just unveiled? He who has only seen it once is amazed, and he who has heard it spoken of rests not until he has seen it. And when at last the longed-for vision meets his eye, he finds that the renown of it is indeed great and undying, but the work itself still greater and divine." "He who has not seen it," says another Florentine, "cannot imagine it." The poets who, according to the custom of the time, wrote encomiums on the works of the famous artist could hardly find language adequate to express their appreciation of this latest achievement of his old age. "O sacred Rome!" cried Gandolfo Porrino in a sonnet, "never did Caesar or Emperor renowned of old ever make thee glad with such a triumph as this."

Hostile criticism, however, was not wanting. It has hitherto been supposed that this was started by Aretino in the year 1545. but an unpublished letter from Nino Sermini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga of the 19th of November 1541 shows that immediately after the uncovering of the fresco a strong opposition was aroused. This came from the Cardinals of the strict party of reform, who declared that entirely naked figures were unfitted for the decoration of the house of God. Sermini considered this censure un-justified, as among the many hundred figures represented only ten could be pointed out the nudity of which was objectionable. He also mentions other strictures: that Christ was beardless, had too youthful an appearance, and lacked majesty. The fault-finders were, however, in the minority. Cardinal Cornaro was spoken of as specially friendly to the fresco, and as having said that if Michael Angelo would only paint for him one single figure out of the many, he would give him any price he chose to ask. Cornaro at once commissioned a painter to make for him a faithful copy of the work, and Cardinal Gonzaga also took immediate steps to procure a replica. Sermini drew his master's attention to a young painter from Mantua, who stood in need of help, Marcello Venusti; among the many copyists of the fresco he is the best. Venusti was also afterwards ordered by Cardinal Farnese, who had a keen artistic sense, to make a copy for him. This work, now in Naples, is the original from which most of the reduced reproductions of the Last Judgment have been taken. By means of copper plates the fresco soon became popularized. These plates and Venusti's copy have a special interest, inasmuch as they render faithfully the original composition of the fresco prior to the touching up and destruction which, at a later period, it underwent.

No one certainly ventured to take liberties with the work during the lifetime of Paul III. How little the Pope shared the objections thus brought forward is shown by the circumstance that in October 1543 he appointed a special superintendent for the preservation of the paintings in the Sistine, the Sala Regia, and the Cappella Paolina. This post was bestowed upon Francesco

Amatori, a competent person, at a monthly salary of six ducats. It would be his duty, so ran the deed of appointment, to protect all the fine frescoes, put up at a great cost by the Apostolic See, from dust and every kind of damage and from the fumes of smoke from the candles which had to be burned during divine service in both chapels. The opposition, however, was not silenced; it must have gathered considerable strength, since in November 1545 Aretino, whose ear was quick to catch the dominant note in public opinion, ventured to give expression to its voice in the harshest and most injurious way. There was certainly no one in Italy who was more unfitted to be the custodian of morality than this man, whose scandalous life corresponded to his shameless writings. In April 1544 Aretino had already assured Michael Angelo, in a letter asking for drawings, that the sight of a copy of the Last Judgment had affected him to tears.³ When the painter refused to comply with further requests of the importunate writer the latter, whose vanity had been sorely wounded by the incident of 1537, began to think of revenge. This he took by means of a disgraceful invective in which, while feigning moral indignation at the outrage on decency inflicted by the fresco, he accused the master of impiety and irreligion. Michael Angelo met the attack with the silent contempt which in such cases is the best weapon.

Paul III. had not the slightest intention of complying with Aretino's demand that he should take measures similar to those employed by Gregory the Great against heathen statues. But in other quarters, on the contrary, Aretino's invectives fell on willing ears. In the "open letter" composed by an Italian Protestant, Paul III. was reproached for having placed in a chapel a picture which would have found a worthier destination in a wayside drink-ing-house.[968] The same reproach recurs in a satirical Italian sonnet which corresponds to this letter in the grossness of its contents. The enemies of the Pope knew what they were about when they sought to attack him on this point: public opinion was beginning to be much more strict with regard to the use of nude human forms in painting and sculpture.

In the spring of 1549 an opposition arose in Florence directed against Bandinelli's statues of Adam and Eve, works certainly entirely unfitted for a church, in which Michael Angelo was sharply attacked as the originator of objectionable subjects for art. References were made to painters and sculptors who had Lutheran sympathies, to works of art which undermined faith and piety.

In the oration on Art composed under Aretino's influence by Lodovico Dolce in honour of Titian in 1557, the Last Judgment in the Sixtine Chapel was severely censured on account of the indelicate treatment of the female form, the complete disregard of drapery, and the uniformity of tone therein exhibited.

According to the statement of Vasari, hitherto accepted by all students, the austere Paul IV. was the first who gave orders that the offensive nudities in the Last Judgment should be painted over. Evidence for this, however, has not yet been adduced. As a matter of fact, a very considerable space of time elapsed before the stage of painting-over was reached. It was not until the reign of Pius IV. that the demands of the strict reform party were put into execution.

On the 6th of September 1561, Scipione Saurolo transmitted to Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, a memorial intended for the Pope, inveighing against the Last Judgment. The fresco, so ran this document, must be an object of holy hatred, since it offends the Divine Majesty, for the nudities in it so predominate that even many admirers deplore this feature. Where on earth, asks Saurolo, in colour or in stone, has anyone seen such representations of the Lord God? Who ever looked upon a painting of that last dread judgment in which the bark of Acheron was depicted ?

There is no doubt that representations of this kind influenced the strong regulations which the Council of Trent, in the twenty-fifth and final session of the 3rd of December 1563, passed concerning pictures unfitted for exhibition in churches. The work of Michael Angelo was now spared only a little time longer from the brush of the improver. The master, who died on the 18th of February 1564, was probably not aware of the decision of the Congregation of the Council on January the 21st, that the objectionable naked figures in the pictures of the Sixtine Chapel should be painted over, and in other churches unseemly or evi-dently false representations destroyed. As it was desirable that this decision should be executed as sparingly as possible, the work was entrusted to a pupil of Michael Angelo, Daniele da Volterra, of whom it was expected that he would limit himself to alterations that were absolutely necessary. Daniele, who earned for himself from this commission the nickname of the breeches painter," died in 1566, and Girolamo da Fano carried on the work of emendation.

As it was the good fortune of Michael Angelo to pass away before hands were laid upon his work, so also was he spared the knowledge of the, in part, totally unfounded attack on the Last Judgment delivered by Giovanni Andrea Gilio in his Two Dialogues, published at Camerino in 1564. " For the sake of his art," says Gilio, "Michael Angelo disregarded reverence and even historical truth itself, and despised the awe which attaches by right to this stupendous mystery."

If Gilio went too far in his strictures, the Venetian Inquisition at a later date went to the opposite extreme in their defence of Michael Angelo. When in 1573 Paolo Veronese was cited before this tribunal on account of his picture of the banquet in the house of Levi, he appealed to that serious master Michael Angelo. The Inquisition retorted on him, "Do you not know that in a painting of the Last Judgment, where all must be unclothed, no clothes need be introduced? What is there, then, in these figures that has not been inspired by the Holy Ghost?"

In Rome other opinions prevailed. Under Sixtus V further effacements were made of objectionable portions of the Last Judgment. The last work of this sort was under-taken under Clement XIII.

These repeated repaintings were carried out for the most part on the upper part of the fresco. The two lunettes, with hovering figures of angels bearing the instruments of the Passion, underwent stringent handling. By the alteration of the colouring of the background this portion seems now entirely separated from the central group, with which it was in close combination. In the figures sur-rounding Adam individual parts of the body have been broadened in an arbitrary manner. Still worse is the disappearance of the bank of cloud which, also on the left-hand side of the spectator, separated the upper from the lower section of the picture, whereby the figures of the saints there introduced have lost their foothold. In the lower part candle-smoke and incense have done much damage. Single heads which are still visible in the plates are now no longer recognizable in the fresco.

In consequence of all these disfigurements and alterations a judgment on the pictorial qualities of the fresco is no longer possible. The distribution of light and shade, which, calculated by the antemeridian light, brought all the masses of figures into a clearly organized membership, can now only be guessed at. Notwithstanding all these drawbacks the fresco overpowers the spectator, chains him by its enchantment, so that, like one spellbound, he becomes absorbed in the stupendous creation. The first impression made by this picture, sixty feet in height by thirty broad, on which Michael Angelo with unprecedented audacity has riveted his conceptions, is one of sheer bewilderment. It is only gradually that the eye at last finds its focus and sees clearly.

The central point of the whole composition is Christ, the Judge of all men, who appears in a golden blaze of glory. He had Himself declared that when He came again He would come in His Divine Majesty (Matt. xvi. 27 ; xxiv. 30; xxv. 31). His form is youthful and of herculean build. He is scantily draped, beardless, and with flowing hair. With His left hand He points reproachfully to the wound in His side. His right hand is uplifted high to reject and punish. He is the *Rex tremendae majestatis*—the *Juste judex ultionis* as He is called by the Franciscan Thomas of Celano in his *Dies Irae*. He is the Almighty in the act of springing from His throne of clouds to pronounce the sentence of eternal justice: “Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire” (Matt. xxv. 41). The day of wrath, of the avenging judgment, already foretold in the prophecies of the Old Testament (Isa. lxvi. 15 seq.; Joel ii. 29 seq., iii. 2), and described in all its terrors in the *Dies Irae* of the Church’s Office for the Dead, has come at last. Like a lightning flash the appearing of the Judge thrills through the hundreds of forms portrayed in immeasurable and unspeakable fear. It is this emotion which dominates the whole composition. Every face is filled with anguish, dread, and horror. Even Mary, the ever-blessed Virgin and Mother of God, trembles. She turns away her head from the rejected souls to seek the glance of her Divine Son whose awful verdict fills with emotion the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and saints standing by His side. Two colossal figures here appear as the representatives of the Old and New Covenant; on the spectator’s left hand is Adam, on whose shoulders hangs the fell of some animal; on the right is Peter displaying the keys of the Church, entrusted to him as the faithful steward of the Lord. Around Adam are grouped the saints of the Old Testament: Abel, Moses, John the Baptist; with Peter are Paul and John. At the feet of Christ on the clouds St. Lawrence is seated, carrying his trophy of victory, the gridiron, and with him St. Bartholomew holding the implement of his martyrdom, the knife, in his right hand and in the left his skin as it had been flayed.

Above, into the further perspective, other forms of saints are soaring and complete the circle of figures which surround Christ like a garland. On both sides of this incomparable centrepiece appeared hosts of the blessed massed together, and all alike in deep emotion. On the left, women chiefly are represented in all stages of life, from childhood to hoary age. The foremost group is particularly striking. To a woman of massive form, absorbed in the contemplation of Christ, a young maiden clings for help. In like manner on the right a young man of herculean build advances with a cross, probably the good thief Dismas, as the representative of penitent sinners. Further upon this side, corresponding to St. Lawrence and St. Bartholomew, are witnesses unto blood, sufferers exceedingly for the name of Christ, all with the symbols of their victory whereby they were made worthy of the Kingdom of Heaven. There are the Apostle Simon with his saw, St. Catherine with her wheel, St. Blaise with his hackle, St. Sebastian with his darts. These are the souls of those who, in the language of the Apocalypse, were slain for the word of God and His testimony, to which they held fast, and who cry with a loud voice, “How long, O Lord (holy and true), dost Thou not judge and revenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?” (Apoc. vi. 10).

In order to soften the shattering impression made by this group of martyrs the painter has introduced into the background touching pictures of the reunion of those who, closely linked together in this life, are now, after the lapse of ages, brought face to face in recognition; but here again also forms reappear quaking as they gaze upon their Judge in that hour, when the “just themselves shall tremble.” Others in deep abasement accept their salvation as an unmerited grace, or express their thankfulness with up-lifted arms; others again, filled with hope, stretch out their hands to Christ in supplication. While in pictures of the Judgment, as hitherto known to Christendom, the saints and martyrs were represented as calm spectators of the scene, all here to

the further ranks appear under the influence of the most powerful emotion; with spellbound gaze all are drawn to the central figure of the Judge as He passes the sentence of eternal condemnation.

High above, in the two terminal half circles of the wall, bands of angels are borne along as if impelled by tempestuous winds. They are depicted as youths with powerful frames, unclothed and without wings. They carry the implements of the Passion: the crown of thorns, the scourge, the hyssop and the sponge, the ladder, the pillar of scourging and the cross, “the sign of the Son of man.” On the right hand is the heavy column of stone, on the left the wood of the cross ; each one a dumb yet eloquent indictment of those who, while on earth, neglected the fruits of Christ’s Passion and on whom now the sentence of final damnation is passed.

The upper half of the picture, which represents the Judge in heaven re-echoing the sentence of condemnation, and the lower half where earth and hell appear, are bound together by a group of angels who are again represented as muscular youths. They are the angels of the Apocalypse, blowing their trumpets, eight in number, terrible in aspect, summoning with their blasts the dead from all the corners of the earth, in the words of the *Dies Irae*:—

Per sepulchra regionum

Coget omnes ante thronum.

With these awakeners of the dead three other figures are joined, with the books from which, according to the Apocalypse of St. John (xx. 12), the departed are to be judged by their works. Accordingly on one side is the great and weighty Book of Death, requiring two to uphold it, while on the other is the Book of Life, with the good works inscribed within it, held by one. The latter turns to the left. Here the just soar up to heaven aided by friends or are actually drawn on high by means of the chaplet of the rosary. This representation of the power of prayer to Mary, the help of Christians, points directly to Michael Angelo’s Catholic feeling, which has been so strangely and so groundlessly impugned in connection with this very portrayal of the Last Judgment.

Underneath the resurrection of the blessed who, in the words of Holy Scripture, “shall be taken up together with them”—the living—“in the clouds to meet Christ, into the air” (1 Thess. iv. 16), is seen the earth moving in the endless infinity of space, in which the painter has laid the whole great drama. In faithful consistency with the vision of Ezechiel (xxxvii. 1-11) and with reminiscences of Dante the resurrection of the flesh is accomplished on this little spot of earth. On the field full of bones there is murmuring and movement, bone draws near to bone and flesh and sinews cover them, the skin closes over them, and at last the Spirit also breathes through the great army which lives again.

The picture is one of shuddersome fidelity. The dead arise at the sound of the trumpets, lift the stones from their graves, shake off the dust from their bones and the sleep from their eyes, revive and slowly raise themselves to hear the irrevocable sentence. Single figures such as the skeleton, still hampered with the winding-sheet and staring into space from eyeless sockets, make an indelible impression.

But on the other side things yet more, terrible are displayed. Not without a meaning is the range of clouds there represented as a fortress wall, not without a meaning do the martyrs there exhibit the instruments of their deaths with gestures of menace: for among the accursed whom the eternal Judge must shut out from heaven because they would not serve Him on earth are some who, like giants of the ancient mythology, would scale the regions of the blessed by force. A fearful battle is here engaged of which the issue cannot be doubtful. The eternal Judge has uttered His decree and its execution will be immediate. The angels separate the wicked from the good

(Matt. xiii. 49) and hell can claim as prizes of victory those who have lived as servants of Satan and as such have died. One figure is filled with the consciousness of this and never has painter limned so horrible an image of despair. One of the damned close to the angelic trumpeters is snatched away by two grinning devils, a serpent is twined round him and bites him in the thigh. He does not defend himself. Gnawed to the core by the feeling of his rejection, he stares blankly before him, half covering his face with one hand. *Lasciate ogni speranza!*

The rest who have perished through their mortal sins, struggle as they will, are cast off by angels or dragged down by devils and the leaden weight of guilt, just as on the opposite side the just move irresistibly heavenward. This contrast enhances the effect in the highest degree. In the host of the damned Michael Angelo's whole genius finds expression. These Titans in all the exuberance of flesh and blood, which shall offer a rich prey to their tormentors, suffer, as in Dante's *Inferno*, punishments congruous with their vices.

Underneath the headlong descent of the damned, Charon's boat unloads its burden on the strand of hell. The vessel is heavily freighted; but the passengers, wailing and cursing, are loath to disembark, so that the grue-some ferryman has to beat the reluctant with his oar and to tilt the wherry over with his foot in order to empty it of its cargo. Thus no other egress is left to the lost but the furnace of fire where are wailing and gnashing of teeth (Matt. viii. 12; xxii. 13). The inhabitants of hell, greedy of booty, their fires burning brightly, with grimaces of Satanic glee draw their victims to land with rakes. There in demoniac calm stands erect a naked man, his body embraced in the twofold coil of a serpent: this is the Minos of Dante's hell, who apportions to each soul the place appointed—and also a personage on the ecclesiastical stage well known to his contemporaries.

The obvious borrowings from Dante's immortal poem, in which Michael Angelo, in the lower right-hand quarter of his fresco, has stereotyped in a magnificent way some of the features of his own day, very soon excited attention.

But modern investigation has shown that in many other portions as well he has drawn upon the kindred genius of the great poet for his representations. Besides, a more general influence of Dante's creation on the imagination of the painter is worthy of remark: the descent of the lost into Hell corresponds in a certain degree to the *Inferno*, while the groups of the blessed rising on high to life eternal corresponds to the *Purgatorio*. As further elements of inspiration, along with earlier pictures of the same subject, a foremost place of consideration must be given to Holy Scripture and the *Dies Irae*.

In accordance with the serious tendency of Michael Angelo's genius is the one-sided, but, in view of the conditions of the time, perfectly intelligible conception of the Last Judgment as a wholly punitive manifestation.

While the author of this conception, the expression of which was intended to terrify a corrupt age into conversion and repentance, was leading up with all his powers to the contemplation of Christ and the saints, he brought a work into existence which, by the strangeness and novelty of its style, appeared quite erroneously to many to be the product of caprice and fancy. The final close of human history and the beatification of the just were not, as in the paintings of Fra Angelico, the themes that attracted Michael Angelo, but solely the reprobation of the lost. The words of terror, "Depart from me, ye cursed," dominate the whole picture. Everything is so powerfully and violently concentrated on this one motive of the Last Judgment that even the blessed quail with fear and the martyrs cry out for vengeance, not for their own sakes, but in order that the justice of God may be glorified. That this justice is equally manifested at the Last Day in

the rewards of the just is consequently almost disregarded. The fresco, therefore, has been called by something of a misnomer. It would better be entitled, "The Condemnation of the Lost."

If it is taken into consideration that Michael Angelo, following the bent of his powerful and gloomy temperament, wished to depict this one side of his subject only, then one of the chief objections to his representation is already removed. Another, that he broke away from tradition, cannot also be admitted without modification. The references to Holy Scripture, to the Dies Irae and to Dante show how little Michael Angelo intended to desert Catholic teaching, even if in its interpretation he went entirely on a way of his own. A modern investigator has come to the conclusion that in this gigantic picture no feature is to be found which is not in harmony with the canons of literary or artistic traditions, leaving out of the question, naturally, the new expression of form. This is correct; but the indiscriminate application of these expressions of form not only to the angels and saints, but to Christ the Lord, cannot altogether be brought into harmony with tradition. Theological tradition certainly might be appealed to in support of the nakedness of the saints, of those risen from the dead, and even for the scanty drapery of the Judge, but the objectionable element is to be found much more in the portrayal of the figures—above all, in that of Christ, who is made to look half like a Hercules and half like an Apollo, and displays no stamp of super-human majesty. And in another respect also Michael Angelo has indulged in a remarkable deviation from conventional usage: in placing the picture on the altar wall, to which it does not properly belong, and where it is little in harmony with the Holy Sacrifice. A much better position would have been on the inner entrance wall, where it would have been seen by the faithful as they went out at the close of divine service, and have given them food for reflection. Had it been placed there, in accordance with a hitherto very general custom, many of the objections which even at the present still find expression would have been silenced.

Finally, as regards the nude figures, to which so much exception has been taken from the strongly religious point of view, it would seem that Michael Angelo intended by his thoroughgoing display of nakedness to symbolize the freedom from all earthly conditions of the soul, which had to stand bare and without disguise before the judgment-seat of God. These herculean figures, with their knotted muscles and intense seriousness of countenance, are, besides, so conceived that they could not in any instance become to the beholder a source of sensual temptation. How far the painter with his undraped athletic figures has overstepped the limits which ought to be observed within the domain of the beautiful and of religious arts is a question on which probably there will always be a mixture of feelings and a diversity of opinions.

The Last Judgment was hardly finished when, in the middle of November 1541, Paul III. commissioned Michael Angelo to undertake a second great task. This time he was not called upon to enlarge the dwelling of the Farnesi but to decorate the palace of the Popes. Close to the Sistine Chapel, separated from it only by the Sala Regia, Paul III had built a new chapel from plans by Sangallo, the vaulted ceiling of which had been ornamented in stucco by Raphael's pupil Perino del Vaga. The walls of this chapel, dedicated to St. Paul and known as the Cappella Paolina, were to be adorned with frescoes by Michael Angelo. The latter undertook the task unwillingly; the painting of fresco, he complained, was a toilsome undertaking for an old man of sixty-seven; moreover, his obligations connected with the monument of Julius II pressed heavily upon him. Duke Guidobaldo had indeed given him a respite for such a period only as the work on the Last Judgment lasted in the full expectation that, when the latter was finished, he would devote himself without delay to the completion of the mausoleum on which his labours had been interrupted so often. After Paul III had removed this difficulty also Michael Angelo bent himself to this new burden for the sake of a Pope to whom, as he himself declared, he could refuse nothing.

The Pope certainly had a share in the choice of subjects for the frescoes in the Cappella Paolina. The glorification of the two princes of the Apostles who had sanctified Rome with their blood was in full accord with the associations of a house of worship destined to be the private chapel of the Papal Palace. It is remarkable that the companion picture to the crucifixion of St. Peter should be not the beheading of St. Paul but his conversion. That a scene from St. Paul's life should be chosen arose certainly from the fact that he was the patronal saint of the Farnese Pope. That the conversion rather than the martyrdom was chosen can be explained from the Pope's annual custom of keeping that feast, the 25th of January, with great solemnity in S. Paolo fuori le mura. It is more probable, however, that the painter, on artistic grounds, avoided a duplicate representation of martyrdom with its necessary similarity of grouping and treatment.

Paul III took the greatest interest in the frescoes. As early as the 12th of July 1545 he made an inspection of the work. On the 13th of October 1549 the veteran of eighty-two mounted the ladder to the platform in order to examine minutely the details of the paintings. Unfortunately, a fire, the effects of time and later restorations have done great injury to both these rich compositions. The lighting is also so unfavourable that without the assistance of copper plates it is impossible to become acquainted with the details. This last work from Michael Angelo's brush, begun at the end of 1542 and finished in 1549 or 1550, foretells by its unrestrained movement and flight of imagination the approach of the baroque. Dramatic force, delight in athletic bodily forms in every posture of violent exertion, here bear witness, as in other works, to the characteristic of the master, who alone could treat as child's play the delineation of the most difficult positions and boldest fore-shortenings.

While Michael Angelo was still engaged on the frescoes of the Cappella Paolina, the monument of Julius II. was brought at last to an indifferent termination. It was erected, not in the new St. Peter's as intended, but on the wall of the right transept of S. Pietro ad Vincula, the former Pope's cardinalial church and none too large an edifice. This took place in May 1545. Instead of the forty statues planned by Michael Angelo it displays only three from his hand. Among them indeed is the Moses, certainly one of the most consummate specimens of the sculptor's handicraft. So overpowering is the effect of this marvellous creation that a peculiar feature of the monument is easily over-looked : it was originally intended to use the modernized heathen symbols of victory, and to introduce two figures of captives. This design was abandoned, as Michael Angelo, on whom the strictures pronounced on the nude figures of the Last Judgment had not been wholly thrown away, no longer considered it suitable for a church. In the place of the captives were substituted religious statues: Leah and Rachel as types of the active and contemplative life. Both these tranquil, gentle forms, as well as the statues executed by the assistant sculptors, are tempered by Christian feeling. The Madonna with the Infant Jesus, surmounting the sarcophagus with the recumbent figure of the Pope, embodies deep religious sentiment. In a word, the mausoleum, designed and begun in a totally different spirit, has been remoulded in a Christian and ecclesiastical spirit. It reveals the powerful Catholic reaction which, under the influence of Vittoria Colonna and the revival of ecclesiastical feeling, had begun to tell increasingly on Michael Angelo. This reaction reached its climax in the undertaking of his last great work, the final stage of his un-equalled career as an artist, the rebuilding of St. Peter's.

During the last days of Clement VII this work was completely at a standstill. Grass and undergrowth was rank on the lofty arches of Bramante. Paul III, shocked at such a state of things, immediately after his election took into consideration the resumption of the works, over which Antonio da Sangallo and Baldassare Peruzzi were appointed.

In order to raise the necessary funds Paul III had recourse to the same methods as his predecessor. In a Bull of the 16th of September 1535, graces and indulgences were offered to all supporters of the work. A special confraternity of St. Peter was founded, of which the Pope and Cardinals were members. The most eminent princes were requested to give admission to and to propagate the new association in their countries. Francis I. was appealed to on the 7th of September 1536, and the Emperor on the 20th of November of the same year. The money for the *Fabbrica* or building fund was deposited with the banking-house of Bindo Altoviti.

The commissioners of the fabric of St. Peter's, whose privileges were confirmed by Paul III. by a special Bull and protected under threat of penalties, were encouraged in their labours by the Pope to the utmost of his ability, but the conditions of the time were in the highest degree unfavourable for the reception of exhortations to support this great work. Together with the renewal of the war between the Emperor and King Francis the menacing attitude of the Turk was prejudicial. In August 1537 the Pope found himself compelled, in presence of this permanent source of danger, to give up all sums of money, coming from Spain to the building fund in return for indulgences and graces, to the Emperor, who had need of them for the protection of Christendom against the infidel. As the expenses for the fortification of Rome and for the Turkish war had exhausted the resources of the Apostolic Chamber, an attempt was made to cover the deficit by the distribution of fresh indulgences. To the application of a portion of the Spanish *cruzada* money to the fabric of St. Peter's, Charles V in 1539 raised difficulties. In 1544 he claimed a portion of the sums raised in Spain, and the Pope referred the question to the deputies of the *Fabbrica*. The King of Portugal at the same time made similar demands. Nevertheless, the receipts were considerable, especially the proceeds of indulgences, for which commissioners were despatched to the most different countries, even to the Netherlands, penetrated as they were with Lutheran teaching. After the reform of the Penitentiaria, a general limitation of these indulgences was carried out, as they had given rise to many abuses.

In accordance with the Pope's wishes, a greater building activity began in 1539, at which time also the staff of commissioners was renewed. From 1540 to the end of 1546 no less than 162,624 ducats were paid out on the construction.⁵ In February 1544, during the works in the chapel of S. Petronilla, the sarcophagus containing the remains of the first wife of the Emperor Honorius, Maria the daughter of Stilicho, was discovered. Most of the precious things buried with the body of the youthful Empress were unfortunately scattered, and some of the jewels were used in the ornamentation of a new tiara. In the spring of 1544 the rebuilding was making rapid progress. At that time great quantities of pinewood were brought from the woods of Camaldoli. For the easier carriage of building materials, especially of travertine, Paul III. in 1538 bestowed on the fabric of St. Peter's the riparian rights of the river Anio, from the Ponte Lucano to its junction with the Tiber, in order that the navigation might be restored to the condition it was in under Julius II., and made use of accordingly.

Sangallo, who, as chief architect, had superintended the works alone since 1537, drew out an entirely new plan, from which his pupil Antonio Labacco began to construct a large wooden model in 1539. It cost more than 5000 ducats, and is at present preserved in the octagon room over the Clementine chapel known as the Octagon of S. Gregorio.

Although Sangallo's plan presents many beauties in detail, such as the double tier in the drum of the cupola, yet as a whole it lies open to many objections. The some-what pedantic repetition of certain features bestows on it a monotonous character. The great cupola, the vault of which rises on two tiers of arcades, gives an impression of heaviness. The huge vestibule, with which the church would have attained nearly the length of the present Basilica, was intended on

the one hand to preserve the shape of the Greek cross and on the other to bring under cover the entire space occupied by old St. Peter's. The form of this vestibule would, however, have impaired many parts of the Vatican Palace. Michael Angelo was of opinion that the Cappella Paolina and other portions of the Vatican would have been destroyed and that even the Sistine would not have escaped ; this latter inference certainly was not altogether conclusive. He was quite correct, however, in detecting a not less serious defect in Sangallo's transformation of Bramante's entrance to the choir. The latter, he points out, in his unsparing criticism of Sangallo's model, would not only deprive Bramante's design of all light, but would bring with it yet other inconveniences. In the recesses above and beneath the choir bad characters could hide themselves and coin false money, so that at night, after the church was closed, at least five-and-twenty men would be required to search whether anyone were concealed within, a quest which it would be no easy matter to carry out.

A fatal misconception of Sangallo's was the elevation, for reasons not explained, of the level of the church to a height of more than three metres, whereby the niches and semicircular chapels placed by Bramante in the pillars of the cupola and in the upper part of the building obtained a width disproportionate to their height. Besides these expensive and lengthy operations he ordered the forearm of the cross and the equally long left transept to be raised higher and both vaulted over. In August 1538 a partition wall had already been erected to cut off the still remaining portion of the original nave. The condition of the building in the autumn of 1546 is shown in the fresco in the Cancelleria.

After Sangallo's decease about this time negotiations were at once begun with Giulio Romano with a view to his succession to the superintendency. They came, however, to nothing owing to Romano's death on the 1st of November 1546. Naturally attention was now fixed on Michael Angelo. As he was now seventy-two years of age and had had a severe illness in the summer of 1544 and again at the end of 1545, he did not meet the fresh task with joy. To the enfeebling effects of old age there was added the certainty that he would be hindered at every step by jealous and envious workpeople and by pedantic and self-opinionated commissioners—and then, lastly, the difficulties of the undertaking itself! Before his vision passed the architects who for forty years before him had attempted the enterprise: Bramante, Giuliano da Sangallo, Fra Giocondo, Raphael, Peruzzi, Antonio da Sangallo. The successors of Bramante, with their partially contradictory plans, had introduced a confusion into the conception of the building which can hardly be exaggerated. To find the right way through seemed a task of extraordinary difficulty.

Paul III was convinced that the practical genius of Michael Angelo alone could advance the work rapidly and profitably. To the entreaties of his patron Michael Angelo yielded at last, but he made his own conditions. They were in the highest degree characteristic of the man and of his Catholic feeling: he refused all salary. On purely religious grounds, for the love of God and veneration for the Prince of the Apostles, he undertook the vast undertaking for the good of his soul, just as he had also promised to plan a church for St. Ignatius of Loyola in the same ideal sense. But, foreseeing the difficulties that lay before him, he sought from the Pope, in the interest of the great work, full powers and freedom to work and create as his own genius directed him. Paul III generously conceded all he desired, and gave him authority to alter at his pleasure the model, shape, and construction, and to dismiss or replace the workmen and supervisors of the building. Relying on his absolute disinterestedness, he absolved the master from all rendering of and responsibility for accounts. The latter thereupon, at the beginning of 1547, set himself to work on the rebuilding of St. Peter's.

The unrestricted powers bestowed upon Michael Angelo by Paul III. caused his fellow-craftsmen, envious of the distinctions heaped upon him from year to year by the chief ruler of the Church, to blaze up in an outburst of jealousy. The irritable nature of the man and his inexorable uprightness made the tension sharper. The greatest resentment was felt by the numerous partisans of Sangallo, who were named by Vasari the “Setta Sangallescica” or “Sangallescica faction.” They gave open vent to their bitterness one day when Michael Angelo appeared at the building works. To the scornful remark that they were glad that he had consented to assume the directorship, since Sangallo’s plan would be a rich meadow for him to find pasture in, he curtly replied, “You say well.” His meaning, however, was not perceived. Michael Angelo told another that what he intended to convey was, Sangallo’s adherents were quite right in describing his plan as a meadow, for they expressed their opinions like oxen.

Michael Angelo’s contempt for these attacks is shown in his treatment of Nanni di Baccio Bigio. The latter had spread reports which were downright calumnies: Michael Angelo knew nothing of architecture and wasted money; his model was a crazy and puerile affair; he only worked at night in order to prevent his plans from being seen ; he himself, Nanni, however, would construct a fresh model, and, besides, enjoyed the full confidence of the Pope. In order to make his assertions more credible, he also gave currency to the report that the wooden model for the Farnese palace was so heavy that when it was set up on approval the palace had to be propped up. As this tittle-tattle came to the ears even of the deputies of the *Fabbrica* and was listened to, Michael Angelo communicated to one of them the letter of Giovanni Francesco Ughi of May the 14th, 1547, by which he was made acquainted with the above intrigues, and added that nothing else could be expected from such a set of common rascals. To all appearance this silenced his calumniators for a time, and Michael Angelo, with the Pope’s unre-served confidence, was able to devote himself in peace to his great work. Yet it was unfortunate for himself and useful to his numerous enemies that his appointment as director of the building works, and the full powers thereto belonging, had proceeded only orally from the Pope. In order to put an end to all uncertainty and all hostile behaviour, the Pope on the nth of October 1549 issued a motu proprio to the following effect: All that Michael Angelo, at the Pope’s command, had done hitherto on the building of St. Peter’s, in accordance with his own model, was approved ; this model was for all time to be strictly adhered to, and Michael Angelo to continue, during life, to be the architect of the Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles.

How entirely Paul III was justified in giving the master plenary powers was shown by the immense impetus given to the work of construction on St. Peter’s, from the beginning of 1547 onwards. It was soon possible to predict that the new Basilica would surpass all other churches and rank as one of the wonders of the world. The yearly expenditure amounted to upwards of 30,000 ducats. That it was Paul III. alone to whom this reaction was due can be proved from the lethargy which fell upon the works after his death. Justly did Michael Angelo deplore the loss of his best personal supporter when he uttered the testimony in his honour: “He never showed me anything but kindness, and I had the right to hope that he would show yet more in days to come.”

Paul III had given him a free hand in artistic as well as administrative affairs. The rejection of Sangallo’s plan and the substitution of the new model had been fully approved. Of the freedom guaranteed to him Michael Angelo made the fullest use. At the beginning he called himself modestly only the accomplisher of Bramante’s plans; this referred principally to the retention of the Greek cross formation and the essential points of the interior design as a whole; as regards all the rest, however, Michael Angelo went his own way. Although in his severe criticism of Sangallo he had maintained that to depart from the arrangement of Bramante was to deviate from truth, he himself did not avoid the same error, and stamped on many portions of the new building the

impress of his own restless genius, ever in search of new effects, whereby the marvellous harmony which distinguished Bramante's plan could not but be impaired.

A model, finished within fourteen days, at a cost of only fifty scudi, gave Paul III. an idea of the new plan. While Michael Angelo retained the central dome, the great quadrate surrounding it, the arms of the cross, equal in length and terminated by apses, as given in the matchless design of Bramante, he resolved to give up his galleries, his lateral porches, and the great corner towers which still appeared in Sangallo's plan, although with important alterations. It is probable that this narrowing of the space around the dome, to the advantage of the dominating centre, was also conditioned by financial circumstances, for it was by such a material simplification only that the completion of the building could have been looked for within a calculable distance of time.

A fresco in the Vatican Library shows the porch adorned with ten huge columns. In front of it, in the middle, is a gable supported by four equally massive pillars, the whole of this being in complete subordination to the central dome, the colossal size of which is thrown into high relief by four smaller domes rising from the angles of the arms of the cross. Outside, at those places in the great quadrate where, according to Bramante and Sangallo, the galleries were to begin, Michael Angelo made use of slanting truncated walls to connect the apses with the quadrate. As the effect of this, in combination with the attic and its cumbersome arrangement of massive pilasters, is far from beautiful, so in the interior the apsidal architecture is throughout infelicitous in conception. The baroque windows and the semi-cupolas, which fit in somewhat inharmoniously with the vaulting, have been severely objected to by an eminent architectural critic, but can, at the same time, be explained from the difficulties of Michael Angelo's mission as an impetuous seeker after new forms and processes of art, with all the dangers attendant upon one who ventures on those thorny heights.

As the creator of the dome of St. Peter's Michael Angelo produced an incomparable work. Without and within the composition of the whole has been marvellously conceived. Classical beauty is everywhere apparent in its noblest and purest form, with monumental proportions, logical articulation, and certainty of execution. Even the keenest critics admit that seldom or never has the principle of ascending continuity of construction, borrowed from the Gothic style, been expressed on antique lines more beautifully than here, with equal success in the interior from the base of the drum to the aperture of the lantern, and on the exterior from the cupola to the foot of the cross.

In consequence of the abandonment of Bramante's towers Michael Angelo found himself obliged to carry the exterior line of the dome somewhat higher than his great predecessor had intended in his plan. Bramante had laid the chief weight of the dome on the magnificent circle of statued pillars to be carried round the drum, Michael Angelo transferred the incidence of the weight to the heightened line of the dome itself. This accentuation of the vaulting deepens the impression of majestic repose. From without the dome certainly presents the most beautiful and most elevated contour which has ever yet been reached in the domain of architecture.

Even if the details of this crown, which is suspended in beauty and majesty over the grave of St. Peter, were not settled until later, on the construction of an accurate model, yet the ground design of the whole was firmly grasped by the spiritual eye of Michael Angelo while Paul III was yet alive.

To that sagacious Pontiff, who dealt so tactfully with the sensitive artist and knew how to enlist his genius for the highest services, an important share must be allotted in the construction of the imperial dome of St. Peter's.

With this great work of Michael Angelo, Rome the eternal received her finest adornment, and a peerless symbol of that supreme spiritual authority transmitted by Christ to the Apostle Peter and his successors.



EL VENCEDOR EDICIONES