



THE  
HISTORY OF THE POPES

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

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

FROM THE GERMAN OF  
LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY  
DOM ERNEST GRAF, O.S.B.  
MONK OF BUCKFAST

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## COLLECTIONS OF ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS REFERRED TO IN VOLUMES XXV. AND XXVI.

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| <p>AIX (Provence)—Méjanes Library.</p> <p>AQUILA—Dragonetti Archives.</p> <p>AREZZO—Library of the <i>Fraternità di S. Maria</i>.</p> <p>BERLIN—State Library.</p> <p>BERNBURG—Archives.</p> <p>BOLOGNA—Communal Library.<br/>—— University Library.</p> <p>BRUSSELS—Burgundian Library.</p> <p>CHUR—Episcopal Archives.</p> <p>DIEBURG (Hesse)—Library of the Capuchins.</p> <p>FERRARA—Bentivoglio Archives.</p> <p>FLORENCE—State Archives.<br/>—— National Library.</p> <p>FOLIGNO—Library of Mgr. Faloci Pulignani.</p> <p>FRANKFURT A. M.—City Library.</p> <p>FREIBURG I. BR.—University Library.</p> <p>GENOA—Municipal Library.</p> <p>INNSBRUCK—Provincial Archives.</p> <p>KÖNIGSBERG—Library.</p> <p>LEMBERG—Ossoliniana Library.</p> | <p>MANTUA—Gonzaga Archives.</p> <p>MASSA CARRARA—State Archives.</p> <p>METZ—City Library.</p> <p>MILAN—Gonzaga Archives.</p> <p>MODENA—State Archives.</p> <p>MUNICH—Government Archives.<br/>—— State Archives.<br/>—— State Library.</p> <p>NAPLES—Library of the <i>Società di Storia Patria</i>.</p> <p>PADUA—Library of St. Antonio.</p> <p>PARIS—National Archives.<br/>—— National Library.</p> <p>RAVENNA—Archiepiscopal Archives.</p> <p>RIMINI—Gambalunga Library.</p> <p>ROME—<br/><i>Archives :</i><br/>Boncompagni.<br/>Costaguti.<br/>St. Maria Maggiore.<br/>Orsini.<br/>Papal Secret.<br/>St. Peter's.<br/>Propaganda.<br/>Ruspoli.<br/>Spanish Embassy.<br/>State Archives.<br/>Theatines.</p> |
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X ARCHIVES & MANUSCRIPTS IN VOLS. XXV. & XXVI.

*Libraries :*

Altieri.  
 Angelica.  
 Barberini (now at the  
 Vatican).  
 Borghese.  
 Casanatense.  
 Chigi (now at the  
 Vatican).  
 Corsini.  
 Corvisieri.  
 S. Croce in Geru-  
 salemme.  
 Manzoni.  
 S. Paolo fuori le Mira.  
 Pastor.  
 Vallicelliana.  
 Vatican.  
 Vittorio Emanuele.

SALERNO—Archiepiscopal Ar-  
 chives.  
 SIENA—State Archives.  
 ——— Library.  
 SIMANCAS—Archives.  
 SPOLETO—Archiepiscopal Ar-  
 chives.  
 STUTTGART—Library.  
 TRENTO—City Library.  
 UPSALA—Library.  
 VENICE—Archives of the Capu-  
 chins.  
 ——— State Archives.  
 ——— St. Mark's Library.  
 VICENZA—Bertoliana Library.  
 VIENNA—State Archives.  
 ——— State Library.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE CONCLAVES IN THE SPRING OF 1605—LEO XI. AND PAUL V.

"THE French Cardinals could not have appeared at a better moment," reported Henry IV.'s ambassador Béthune, to his king, overjoyed when the necessity for a conclave arose on March 4th, 1605.<sup>1</sup> The instructions given by the French king, with this eventuality in view, five months before, to Cardinal Joyeuse on his return to Rome, were then opened. They were drafted with his usual clearness and precision. The French Cardinals Joyeuse, Givry, Sourdis, Olivier and Du Perron were instructed to remain united and always to remember their duty as good priests and good Frenchmen. Henry gave them to understand that no one must be elected Pope whose views were very strong or partial, that is to say, no partisan of the Spaniards. From this point of view the king indicated Cardinals Galli, Montelparo, Bianchetti and Bernerio as unacceptable to him. Provided that they were kept well out of the pontificate, they were not to be formally excluded, since the king did not wish to make any enemies. He also considered uncongenial Zacchia and the able but independent Blandrata. As regards the others, such as Camillo Borghese, who modestly kept in the background, Henry IV. was indifferent; they were neither to favour nor oppose them. Among the Cardinals whom he would like to see raised to the See of Peter, there stood in the front rank his friend and kinsman Alessandro Medici and the famous Church historian Cesare Baronius, both of whom had proved faithful friends of France.<sup>2</sup>

In a later instruction of March 7th, 1605, to Joyeuse the desirability of the adherence of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini

<sup>1</sup> See COUZARD, *Ambassade*, 347.

<sup>2</sup> Instruction of October 28, 1604. *Lettres Missives*, VI., 315 seq.

was especially taken into consideration. "If we can win him over with money," Henry IV. decided, "it will be well invested, and I do not think he will despise it; because though he has more abundant wealth than any other Cardinal before him, nevertheless I imagine that he will gladly increase it. For all that he will not refrain from favouring the cause of Spain, but he will do so less openly and will be on our side in one matter or another."<sup>1</sup>

The Spanish Government was even more keenly concerned than Henry IV. in the possibility of a pontifical election. It has been calculated that during the thirteen years of the reign of Clement VIII. the Spanish Cabinet had considered this possibility and formed opinions about it at least twenty-six times.<sup>2</sup> At Clement's death there were still in force the proposals, confirmed by Philip III., of a consultation in August, 1601, which had been concerned with the next conclave.<sup>3</sup> According to these, three members of the Sacred College, Valiero, Medici and Arigoni, ought to be absolutely excluded by the Spanish Cardinals. Although the learning and piety of Valiero were generally recognized, his Venetian origin and sentiments constituted, in the eyes of the Spaniards, an insurmountable obstacle to his obtaining the tiara. Medici's French sympathies and his close connection with the Grand Duke of Tuscany were enough to decide his exclusion; as regards Arigoni, whose learning and ability were unquestioned, the obstacle was his age, fifty-three, since, in the opinion of the Spanish statesmen, a weak, aged man, easy to influence,<sup>4</sup> was the best Pope.

Altogether unwelcome to the Spaniards was the choice of either Cardinals Baronius or Bellarmine, both were distinguished by their learning and strict conscientiousness.

<sup>1</sup> See *Lettres Miss.*, VI., 363 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See GINDELY in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, XXXVIII., 265.

<sup>3</sup> \*La Junta en materia de Pontificado, Valladolid, August, 1601; the date is missing though the document has its complement of signatures. Original in the Archives, Simancas, 1870-23.

<sup>4</sup> See GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 266, 269 *seq.*

If, in 1601, they had not been among those excluded by name, it was solely because it was thought that they stood no chance if being elected. A remarkable instance of the lack of comprehension on the part of Spanish diplomacy<sup>1</sup> when confronted with the moral greatness of these shining lights of the Church is the summing up of their character. "Baronius is a man," it was drily said, "who is only good at writing history."<sup>2</sup>

Like Baronius, Bellarmine also was distinguished by piety and unselfishness as well as by learning, and was content to possess nothing beyond the allowance granted to him by the Pope. Such was the extreme simplicity of his life that he did not require this annual income, amounting to the comparatively small sum of eight thousand ducats, but distributed almost all of it among the poor. Bellarmine undoubtedly possessed all the virtues to recommend him for the highest position in the Church.<sup>3</sup> The Spanish and other diplomats<sup>4</sup> questioned, rightly or wrongly, his capacity to govern. They were also of the opinion that his belonging to the Order of the Jesuits would not help him.<sup>5</sup>

Of what sort then were the Cardinals for one of whom the Spanish Government intended to secure the tiara? The memorandum of 1601 mentions six names. In order to realize the strong preference for old men, it is worthy of note that three of them, Santori, Rusticucci and Salviati, were already dead in 1605. The extreme age of Rusticucci had reached such a stage in 1601 that the Spanish memorandum spoke

<sup>1</sup> It was admittedly not alone in this; see the \*Discurso on the Cardinals, November, 1603, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

<sup>2</sup> \*"Baronio es reputado por hombre que no vale mas que para escribir historias." La Junta en materia de Pontificado, Archives, Simancas, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> See GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 270 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the \*Discurso on the Cardinals, 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

<sup>5</sup> "Bellarmino en quanto a la suficiencia para el gobierno esta en la misma opinion [as Baronius] y no tiene ninguna platica de aquella corte y no le ayude aver sido de la compania de Jesus." La Junta en materia de Pontificado, Archives, Simancas, *loc. cit.*

of him as if he were already considered a complete dotard.<sup>1</sup> Yet this was the man whom the king of Spain and his advisers thought suitable to rule the Church in such difficult and stern times! Of the other candidates favoured by the Spaniards, Tolomeo Galli, besides his pro-Spanish sentiments, had what was in their eyes the supreme advantage of being seventy-nine years old; Sauli was considered irresolute and though Piatti was indeed a good scholar he seemed to be, in other respects, a person of little importance.<sup>2</sup>

In these circumstances it must be considered fortunate for the Church that the influence of Spain had much decreased in Rome, and that the management of Philip III.'s policy in the Curia was in the hands of a man as incompetent as the Duke of Escalona. It was also fortunate that national and political differences had abated in the College of Cardinals to such a degree that few of them could be called wholeheartedly Spanish or French in sympathy.<sup>3</sup>

The Sacred College at the death of Clement VIII. was composed of sixty-nine members (fifty-six Italians, six French, four Spaniards, two Germans and one Pole). Nine of them were absent: Ascanio Colonna, Fernando de Guevara, Bernardo de Sandoval, Antonio Zappata and the nuncio Domenico Ginnasio were in Spain; Pietro Gondi and Charles of Lorraine were in France, Bernard Maciejowski in Poland, and Francis von Dietrichstein in Austria.<sup>4</sup> Only the last named could possibly arrive before the end of the conclave.

<sup>1</sup> \*" Rusticucci le reputan totalmente per ydiota." Archives, Simancas, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> See the \*Discorso of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

<sup>3</sup> See the \*Discorso of November, 1603, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> See CIACONIUS, IV., 270 *seq.* The controversy as to whether Cardinal Conti, for whom the ceremony of "opening the mouth" had not yet been performed, could take part in the election, was decided in the affirmative; see \*Relatione della morte di P. Clemente VIII., Boncompagni Archives, Rome, C. 20; *cf. ibid.* \*Parere di Tarquinio Pinaoro sopra la difficoltà che il card. Conti si dice havere nel prossimo conclave per il voto suo nel elettione del pontefice diretto al card. Farnese.



Of the Cardinals present in Rome only one, Tolomeo Galli, owed his creation to Pius IV. ; six : Medici, Pinelli, Joyeuse, Bernerio, Sforza and Valiero, had been created by Gregory XIII. ; nine : Antonio Maria Galli, Sauli, Pallotta, Pierbenedetti, Montelparo, Giustiniani, Monte, Borromeo and Montalto by Sixtus V. ; five : Sfondrato, Aquaviva, Piatti, Paravicini and Farnese by Gregory XIV. ; one, Facchinetti, by Innocent IX. ; thirty-eight : Pietro Aldobrandini, Tarugi, Bandini, Givry, Blandrata, Borghese, Bianchetti, Baronius, Ávila, Mantica, Arigoni, Bevilacqua, Visconti, Tosco, Zacchia, Bellarmine, Sourdis, Olivier, Spinelli, Conti, Madruzzo, Du Perron, Bufalo, Delfino, Sannesio, Valenti, Agucchio, Pamfili, Taverna, Marzato, Cinzio Aldobrandini, Cesi, Peretti, Este, Deti, Silvestro Aldobrandini, Doria and Pio owed their elevation to Clement VIII.

The state of the parties was substantially the same as in 1603.<sup>1</sup> The Cardinals of longer standing, viz. those created by Pius IV. and Gregory XIII., formed one group, the four chosen by Gregory XIV., led by Sfondrato, another. In direct opposition were the adherents of Montalto and those of Aldobrandini.

Several men of saintly life, who had always kept aloof from outside influence and who were firmly determined to consider no interests other than religious ones in the election of the Pope, formed a distinct group. None of them thought of his own elevation. This group of whom contemporaries said that they would follow nothing but their own conscience<sup>2</sup> in the election, was composed of four men who were generally regarded as ornaments of the Sacred College. They were the Oratorians Baronius and Tarugi, the Jesuit Bellarmine and Federico Borromeo, the nephew and spiritual heir of St. Charles.

The strongest party was that of Pietro Aldobrandini ; of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the treatise by A. RATTI,\* *Opuscolo ined. di C. Baronio*, 36.

\*Achille Ratti = Pope Pius XI. (Translator's note.)

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*



the thirty-eight Cardinals of Clement VIII. twenty-two followed him,<sup>1</sup> and according to some authorities, as many as twenty-eight.<sup>2</sup> Aldobrandini had assembled the Cardinals created by his uncle, on the eve of Clement VIII.'s death, and exhorted them to unity. It was an unusual meeting, which the other Cardinals viewed with displeasure.<sup>3</sup> Montalto had only eight votes at his disposal, the Spaniards thirteen at the most.<sup>4</sup> But since Montalto and the Spaniards stuck together, they too had a sufficient number of votes to secure an exclusion. Neither of the other parties had the required two-thirds majority. Thus there was no change even when Aldobrandini, forgetful of his previous promises to the Spaniards,<sup>5</sup> when he saw that his opponents Montalto, Sfondrato, Aquaviva, Sforza and Facchinetti had joined them, even before the conclave went over to the French

<sup>1</sup> See the names in a \*"Relatione" entitled "Discorso nella sede vacante". Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

<sup>2</sup> See the full \*Report of G. C. Foresto, March 19, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The \*report of a Mantuan agent, March, 1605, (*ibid.*) enumerates 24 adherents of Aldobrandini, and of them only 19 as certain.

<sup>3</sup> See the \*"Relatione della morte di P. Clemente VIII." in Cod. C. 20, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Cf. also \*Avviso of March 5, 1605, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See the \*"Relatione" *supra*, n. 18. When G. C. Foresto gives the number of Spanish votes as 20 (\*report of March 19, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), he includes Montalto's party. The \*report of a Mantuan agent (see *supra*, n. 2) gives 15 Spanish adherents, including Dietrichstein.

<sup>5</sup> See COUZARD, 349. In the \*Discorso al card. Aldobrandino, come si debba governare nel conclave di attendere alla creazione del nuovo Papa, (dated) di casa li 6 di marzo 1605, the following were named as the principal opponents of the nephew: Sforza, Montalto, Colonna, Sfondrato, Farnese and Este. The writer counts as belonging to the Spanish party: "la fattione di Sfondrato, parte delle creature di Montalto et parte della nostra, se bene voi, che sete capo di quella, siate tenuto per Francese, come è stato vostro zio." Cod. 6750, 211 *seq.*, State Library, Vienna.

side.<sup>1</sup> This party was eight strong, since besides the French Cardinals they could also count on Medici, Valiero and Monte.<sup>2</sup> Such being the situation, it is easy to understand the popular opinion that a long and animated conclave might be expected.<sup>3</sup>

According to the agreement with the French initiated by Joyeuse, Aldobrandini had to make the concession of abandoning Galli, whom he had previously supported as being an opponent of Montalto, and also Bianchetti; but in return the nephew of Clement VIII. demanded from the French that they should drop the candidature of Bernerio and Montelparo. But this hardly driven bargain was in danger of being immediately wrecked, because the Spaniards were spreading the rumour that the French had decided to exclude not only Blandrata but also Zacchia, Aldobrandini's chief but secret candidate. There ensued a weighty discussion between Aldobrandini and Joyeuse, but they ended by agreeing that the French would accept Blandrata and Zacchia, on condition that Aldobrandini would support Cardinal Medici.<sup>4</sup>

Not only the divisions among the Cardinals, but also the great number of eligible candidates (*papabili*) promised a long conclave. A contemporary account gives no less than twenty-one names: Galli, Medici, Valiero, Bernerio, Sauli, Pallotta, Pierbenedetti, Montelparo, Piatti, Tarugi, Blandrata, Baronius, Bianchetti, Mantica, Arigoni, Tosco, Zacchia, Olivier, Ginnasio, Pamfilii and Pinelli.<sup>5</sup> There was no serious

<sup>1</sup> See GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 262 *seq.* and COUZARD, 349 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See also the \*"Relatione", p. 6, n. 1. A Mantuan agent (see p. 6, n. 2) also counted Delfino on the French side.

<sup>3</sup> See the \*Discorso, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, the \*Avviso of March 2, 1605, Vatican Library, and the \*report of Girolamo Giglioli, March 9, 1605, State Archives, Modena.

<sup>4</sup> See the description by COUZARD (*Ambassade*, 350 *seq.*) based on French information, and the \*report of a Mantuan agent, March, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>5</sup> See both the \*reports in *Cod. C. 20*, Boncompagni Archives, Rome (the first bears the title "Discorso nella sede vacante di

discussion in the conclave about any of the above mentioned except Baronius and Medici, who, being both favoured by France, were not at all desired by the Spaniards. Medici was one of those already excluded in 1601. But the long standing aversion of the Spaniards to Baronius had developed into real hatred ever since, in the eleventh volume of his great historical work, the *Ecclesiastical Annals*,<sup>1</sup> which appeared in 1605, he had submitted to severe criticism the alleged privilege of the legates of Urban II., on which the Spanish Government based its exorbitant pretensions in ecclesiastical matters, collected in the so-called *Monarchia Sicula*. To discredit the important grounds on which the Cardinal based his attack on the integrity, and thus, indirectly, on the authenticity of this pontifical document, the Government of Madrid not only set its learned men to work, but prohibited that particular volume of the *Annals* in all the dominions subject to the Spanish rule. Booksellers who sold the work were severely punished, at Naples even by condemnation to the galleys.<sup>2</sup> The Spanish Government thenceforward

P. Clemente VIII." ; the other, without title, begins with the words : " Quattro sono le fattioni "). Cf. also the \*Avviso, March 2, 1605, Vatican Library. In 1602 the number of *papabili* was not more than 12 ; see RATTI, *loc. cit.*, 50. The author of the \*Discorso al card. Aldobrandini, referred to *supra*, p. 6, n. 5, says with regard to them : " Li sogetti dunque al mio parere sono otto : Como, Fiorenza, Verona, Sauli, Montelparo Pallotta, Tosco et Bianchetti, se bene Francesi vorrano Serafino [Olivier], quale già era stato publicato Papa, ma scoperta la trama dell'ambasciatore di Spagna è stato troncata questa prattica." (Cod. 6750, p. 211 seq., State Library, Vienna. PIETRO CAIMO, *Lettere inedite, Nozze* Publication, Venice, 1863, mentions in a letter to his brother Eusebio, March 19, 1605 (p. 8) only Baronius, Olivier and Medici as *papabili*).

<sup>1</sup> BARONIUS, *Annales eccl.* XI., an. 1097, n. 18 seq. In this connection see SENTIS, *Monarchia Sicula*, 25 seq., 33 seq., 37 seq., 53 seq. ; E. CASPAR, *Die Legatengewalt der normannisch. sizilischen Herrscher im 12. Jahrhundert*, in *Quellen und Forsch. aus ital. Archiven und Bibl.* VII. (1904), p. 189 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See COUZARD, 351.

decided that a man like Baronius was not to become Pope, as it considered even the slightest questioning of the ecclesiastical claims of the Catholic king as impious treason.<sup>1</sup> However, not all the Cardinals of the Spanish party in Rome approved of the exclusion of one of the most learned, respected and devout members of the Sacred College. Spinelli openly showed his contempt for this policy, and Sforza and Borromeo were also thought to be of the same opinion.<sup>2</sup> Baronius knew very well what hostility and persecution he would draw upon himself from the Spaniards when he treated of the document of Urban II. in his great historical work. But his contempt of human favour and his love of truth regardless of consequences did not allow any scruples to arise in him. He was well aware of the discussions which had taken place under Pius V. and Gregory XIII. about the *Monarchia Sicula* and also of their inconclusiveness.<sup>3</sup> As the question had to be treated in his historical work, and as it was also of great importance for the Church, he applied himself to it with all the enthusiasm of a conscientious student. When he repeatedly used expressions of great severity, he did so on purpose, because he was of the opinion that a Cardinal above all ought not to show weakness in a matter of such importance for the Church; nevertheless, on the advice of some friends, he modified several passages, so as not to be lacking in the respect due to the King of Spain. When the work was finished, he presented it to Clement VIII., who read it attentively and decided that Baronius ought to have it printed without alteration. Several other Cardinals whom the Pope consulted were of the same opinion. Baronius in

<sup>1</sup> Opinion of GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 271. Gindely's supposition, adopted by WAHRMUND, that "Baronius had expressed doubts as to the legality of the Spanish possessions in South Italy", is erroneous; see RUFFINI, *Perchè C. Baronio non fu Papa*, Perugia, 1910 (also in collection: *Per Ces. Baronio*, Rome, 1910, 355 seq.), with which FALCO agrees in *Arch. Rom.*, XXXIV., 547.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of February 23, 1605, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> This is apparent from the manuscripts in the Vallicella Library, Rome. Cf. SENTIS, 33.



a private letter expressed his joy at the result, as he hoped that it would be no small assistance towards his remaining in his present condition, for the treatise would give the Spaniards the opportunity of showing themselves his opponents during the election of a Pope.<sup>1</sup> Such being his sentiments Baronius bore with equal patience the fact that even two Cardinals, Anselmo Marzato and Ascanio Colonna censured his work.<sup>2</sup>

An incident which took place before the conclave showed to what kind of means the Spanish Government had recourse in order to oppose the candidature of Baronius. On March 9th, 1605, Cardinal Ávila laid before the Cardinals assembled in Congregation two letters from the Viceroy of Naples, one addressed to the dead Pope, the other to Sacred College. The contents of both constituted a violent attack on Baronius, who was accused of having drawn up his treatise on the *Monarchia Sicula* from French sources. The Viceroy asked for the prohibition of Baronius' work! Cinzio Aldobrandini at once raised doubts as to the authenticity of the letters. Baronius thought he ought not to keep silent about their contents, since the *Monarchia Sicula* was not a personal matter but one that concerned the Church. Calmly but firmly he made it clear that he had used sources from the Vatican Library alone, and that none had come from France. Moreover he had submitted his work to the censorship of the Pope, who had read it and consigned it for examination to three Cardinals, who in turn had entirely approved of it before it was printed. He was not taking part *against* the King of Spain, but acting in his real interests. In addition, he had used no expressions beyond what the subject demanded. His speech created a profound impression. On the proposal of Medici it was resolved to leave the decision to the new Pope. The confusion of the Spanish party was further

<sup>1</sup> See the letter to Talpa, November 7, 1604, BARONII, *Epist.*, 3, 133. Cf. BARNABEO, *Vita Baronii*, lib. 2, c. 5; ALBERICI, III., 133 *seqq.*; CALENZIO, *Baronio*, 651 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of February 12, 1605, Vatican Library.

increased when it transpired that the letters were a forgery. If the election had taken place at once, Baronius would probably have been raised to the Chair of Peter.<sup>1</sup>

The days which elapsed before the opening of the conclave were diligently used by the diplomats. The French ambassador Béthune was hopeful enough of the issue. "Now we are sure," he wrote to Villeroy on March 11th, "that none of our enemies will be elected, and not without hope that one of our friends will be promoted." With even more certainty he wrote the same day to Henry IV. : "The Spaniards are driven on to the defensive, but we have not yet reached the goal."<sup>2</sup> When the conclave was closed late at night on March 14th, the activity of Béthune, like that of the other diplomats, came to an end. Then came the Cardinals' turn. Those favouring the Spaniards still<sup>3</sup> directed all their energies to obtaining by every possible means the exclusion of Baronius, whose humility was thereby delighted.<sup>4</sup> Cardinal Ávila acted in

<sup>1</sup> See CALENZIO, 664 *seq.*, COUZARD, 352 *seq.* Cf. the \*report of Cardinal Paravicini to Rudolph II., March 12, 1605, State Archives, Vienna, 39-238.

<sup>2</sup> COUZARD, 353. Cf. also the pessimistic report of the opposite party, from the pen of the Belgian agent, Pedro de Toledo, *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXI., 96.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of February 23, 1605, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> The reports of the Italian diplomats on the conclave of LEO XI., in a French translation, often inaccurate, in PETRUCCELLI DELLA GATTINA, II., 413 *seq.* It does not, however, include the very detailed and interesting \*reports of G. C. Foresto (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), which are utilized for the first time in the present work. The descriptions of GINDELY in *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad.*, XXXVIII., 274 *seq.* and *Rudolf II.*, vol. I., 104 *seq.*, are based on the Spanish reports. The French reports in DU PERRON, *Ambassades, Lettres* 292 *seq.*, and COUZARD, 355 *seq.*; the report of Joyeuse, Du Perron and Béthune, published by COUZARD (410 *seq.*), with some variants in *Fonds franç.*, 3848, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the \*report of Cardinal Paravicini to Rudolph II., Rome, April 2, 1605, State Archives, Vienna, 39-248; the report of Baronius in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 359 *seq.* Valuable also is the frequently used report of

the matter with more zeal than discretion. He loaded Aldobrandini with reproaches for deserting the Spanish cause, and declared that he would prefer to remain in conclave for a year rather than allow anything to be done to the detriment of his king. Aldobrandini replied that he would not mind remaining two years, since he was determined to endure anything rather than confer the tiara on anyone not among the number of his own favoured Cardinals.<sup>1</sup>

On March 19th it was rumoured that Baronius had obtained thirty-nine votes. The news proved false. In fact the well-informed thenceforward doubted whether Aldobrandini really desired the elevation of the great historian to the pontificate, since he had hindered his being elected by *adoration*. It was thought that Aldobrandini favoured rather the election of Tosco, who, besides Baronius, had received a number of votes at the beginning.<sup>2</sup> In reality the candidate secretly favoured by the late Pope's nephew was still Zacchia, of whom, however, Joyeuse would not hear.<sup>3</sup> A decision was hoped for when the absent Cardinals would have arrived.

a member of the conclave in *Conclavi*, I., 305 *seq.*, obviously coming from an opponent of P. Aldobrandini, and no longer reliable in many details. The number of votes given there corresponds to the statements of DU PERRON; see SÄGMÜLLER, *Papstwahlbulen*, 237. The most accurate description of outside events is given by Mucanzio, whose communications are for the most part printed in GATTICUS, 343 *seq.* and part also in MEYER, *Nuntiaturreichte*, 326 *seq.* Ruffini has recently made use of some new matter, including Savoyard reports, in his work mentioned *supra*, p. 9, n. 1. Names of members of the conclave in *Bull.*, XI., 212. Giov. Fontana and Carlo Maderno were architects of the conclave; see BEROLETTI, *Bollet. d. Svizzera ital.*, VII., 108. Plans of the conclave (with small illustrations) by Nicc. van Aelst and Giov. Maggi in the collection of plans of conclaves in the Vatican library. Two pasquinades on the conclave in RATTI, *Opuscolo*, 35 *seq.*

<sup>1</sup> See *Conclavi*, I., 314 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See the \*report of G. C. Foresto, March 19, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. COUZARD, 360.

The Spaniards cherished the hope that it might still be possible for Guevara, Colonna and Zappata to arrive in time. Aldobrandini was waiting for Ginnasio.<sup>1</sup> But none of these appeared. Instead, Dietrichstein arrived on March 19th.<sup>2</sup> The opponents of Spain reminded him of the favours which Clement VIII. had bestowed on him, and represented to him that he ought to entertain the highest esteem for the person of Baronius.

With anxious tension everybody wondered on which side the German Cardinal would range himself. Dietrichstein certainly wavered between his own inclinations and his obligations to the House of Hapsburg, but eventually he was persuaded by Madruzzo, Doria and Farnese, who were all on the Spanish side, to withhold his support from Baronius.<sup>3</sup> The Spaniards now commanded at least twenty-three votes for the latter's exclusion. But the opposite party did not give up the struggle. On March 24th Baronius had twenty-three votes. The rumour actually spread in Rome that he was elected, but a little later it became known that his election had been wrecked by the opposition of the Spaniards.<sup>4</sup> These even had the effrontery to appeal to St. Thomas Aquinas, who taught that unsuitable persons, even if virtuous, ought not to be raised to high dignity, as they might occasion wars and scandal! They recalled that Baronius had not only written against the *Monarchia Sicula*, but had even questioned the sojourn of St. James in Spain.<sup>5</sup> It is not difficult to understand that the great historian's adherents did not change their opinion on such grounds.

<sup>1</sup> See the \*report of G. C. Foresto, March 19, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> See Mucanzio in GATTICUS, 345.

<sup>3</sup> See the description by GINDELY, *Rudolf II.*, vol. I., 108, based on Spanish reports. According to the \*Avviso of March 26, 1605, when the Spaniards spoke to Dietrichstein about the exclusion of Baronius, he dismissed the suggestion in the first instance. *Cod. C. 20*, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Avviso of March 26, 1605, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> See *Conclavi*, I., 327.



Foresto, the Mantuan envoy, wrote on March 26th that Baronius, who had received twenty-seven votes on the preceding day, would probably obtain the tiara, if no change took place during the following days. Of all the candidates he had the fewest obstacles to overcome. Foresto added that Baronius did nothing towards his own election, on the contrary he even took pains to spoil his chances in every way. He dissuaded the Cardinals, reminding them of his humble origin and his coming from a long-lived family. All Clement VIII.'s Cardinals, continued Foresto, are favourable to this blameless man, especially Borromeo, Paravicini and Bandini, besides Giustiniani; even some of Montalto's Cardinals, such as Pinelli and Pierbenedetti, showed themselves not averse. Notwithstanding, Foresto was not yet entirely sure of Baronius' success. Not all on his side, he thought, were as sure and faithful supporters as were Borromeo and Paravicini. As regards both Cinzio and Pietro Aldobrandini, Foresto entertained serious doubts, since during the pontificate of Clement VIII. Baronius in his frankness had repeatedly criticized the actions of the papal nephews. Foresto hinted that he knew from a reliable source that Pietro Aldobrandini did not wish for the election of Baronius, because he thought him too independent and also because he did not think it prudent to break altogether with the Spaniards. The envoy believed that Aldobrandini really wished to secure the tiara for another candidate, preferably Zacchia, or, failing him, Ginnasio, Tosco or Blandrata, thus making use of the candidature of Baronius only in order to obtain the election of one of these.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile during the next few days the votes for Baronius

<sup>1</sup> See the \*report of G. C. Foresto, March 26, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. also the report in PETRUCELLI, II., 437. What Baronius himself said with regard to his reluctance (see LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 360 seq.) is completely confirmed by Foresto. The motive assigned by RUFFINI (*Perchè C. Baronio non fu papa*, Perugia, 1910) that Baronius did not want to become Pope in order to remain devoted to his historical work, will not hold; see FALCO in *Arch. Rom.*, XXXIV., 548.



increased, to the utmost alarm of the Spaniards. He had thirty-one on March 27th, and thirty-two on the 30th.<sup>1</sup> But he obviously could not obtain the further eight votes necessary for the two-thirds majority, since the Spaniards held firm.

In the meantime an important change took place, which provided well-grounded hope for a speedy end to the wearisome electoral contest.

During the days immediately before the election the name of Cardinal Medici had often been mentioned; but in the first week of the conclave it was only rarely spoken of, although in the scrutinies he always secured a certain number of votes.<sup>2</sup> Joyeuse never lost sight of Medici's candidature for a single moment. Assisted by Du Perron, he displayed an indefatigable activity for this end, without however finding in Aldobrandini the support on which he had counted. Arigoni and Visconti also exerted themselves upon Clement VIII.'s nephew; but it was in vain, for he still had in mind the elevation of Zacchia.<sup>3</sup>

The more evident it became that Baronius would not obtain the two-thirds majority, the more must Medici's star be in the ascendant. The Spaniards, of course, opposed his candidature now as before, but there were hopes of overcoming their opposition, since several of the more important Cardinals of the Spanish party, such as Aquaviva, Farnese and his friend Sfondrato<sup>4</sup> were bound to Medici by the closest ties. Baronius, entirely unselfish, openly declared himself for Medici throughout the whole conclave.<sup>5</sup> While Aldobrandini still hesitated in coming to a decision, Joyeuse succeeded at the end of March in gaining Montalto for Medici. This was of the greatest importance. At that very moment Viglienna, the Catholic king's ambassador, committed one of

<sup>1</sup> See *Conclavi*, I., 330, 337 (at the beginning, for 21, read 27).

<sup>2</sup> See the \*report of G. C. Foresto, March 19, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. COUZARD, 357, 360.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the \*Discorso of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

<sup>5</sup> See Baronius' own report in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 360. Cf. CALENZIO, 676 seq.

his usual follies. In the night of March 31st–April 1st he appeared at the door of the conclave, where the greatest excitement and tension prevailed. He informed the Cardinals that a group of English students from Padua, disguised as pilgrims, intended to rob the treasury of the sanctuary at Loreto. But this news had already been known for three weeks and all precautions had long ago been taken against any such attempt. This solemn communication to the Cardinals made the Spaniards ridiculous and discredited their cause.<sup>1</sup>

The scrutiny on the following day, April 1st, yielded no result; Baronius had only twenty-eight votes and Medici thirteen.<sup>2</sup> After this Joyeuse decided to carry his candidate's cause to a conclusion. He went to Aldobrandini and explained to him all the reasons for the election of Medici. Aldobrandini still hesitated. Joyeuse only gave him a little time to decide. Meanwhile Visconti, Borromeo and Bernerio left no stone unturned to persuade the nephew to accept Medici's candidature, for which they had also gained some of Ávila's party.<sup>3</sup>

Cardinal Ávila, who had not yet officially published the Spanish exclusion,<sup>4</sup> did not pay proper attention to these events. Though informed by Doria and Madruzzo of the danger which threatened, he thought the election of Medici impossible and did not allow his tranquillity to be perturbed. He evidently thought that the election would be no more than just another regular taking of votes. In this he was completely mistaken. Like the other friends of Spain, Dietrichstein also decided to support the election of Medici, after the latter had allayed his anxiety by assuring him that he would always be attached to the Emperor Rudolph and King Philip, and would protect both of them as pillars of the Church.<sup>5</sup> Aldobrandini, still reluctant, was urged

<sup>1</sup> See COUZARD, 361, 362 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Conclavi*, I., 340.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. COUZARD, 364.

<sup>4</sup> See SÄGMÜLLER, *Papstwahlbullen*, 238 *seq.* Cf. RUFFINI, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> See the \*report of Cardinal Paravicini to Rudolph II., April 2, 1605, State Archives, Vienna, 39–248. Cf. GINDELY, *Rudolf II.*, Vol. I., 109.

by his own adherents to decide at once. After Baronius had once more spoken in favour of Medici and urged his immediate election, Aldobrandini finally yielded. When he went to Medici's room, more than two-thirds of the electors were found to be assembled there, and they had elected him Pope without any further scrutiny. Not till this was announced did the scales fall from the eyes of Ávila. He hurried along the corridors of the conclave to call together his former adherents for a formal exclusion, and all the time he uttered vehement protests; but it was too late. Ávila renewed his protest in the Pauline Chapel, where the Cardinals had gone for the adoration of the new Pope, calling out at the top of his voice that the Catholic king did not want Cardinal de Medici as Pope. But his own adherents rejoined that any kind of protest was useless against one who was already elected Pope.<sup>1</sup> Simply as a matter of customary form an open scrutiny was then held for Medici, who chose the name of Leo XI.<sup>2</sup> The night being already well advanced, the conclave was not thrown open, in order to avoid any disorder, and the election was only announced to the public on the following morning, April 2nd.<sup>3</sup>

The election of Medici was an event of the greatest importance, since it had taken place with open disregard for the wishes of the King of Spain.<sup>4</sup> From the Spanish side an

<sup>1</sup> See GINDELY, I., 110, following the Spanish reports. Cf. also the French reports of du Perron, *Ambassades*, *loc. cit.* SÄGMÜLLER (*Papstwahlbulleten*, 240) as opposed to WAHRMUND (207 *seq.*) sees in these proceedings the exercise of exclusion in full form. He holds firmly to this in *Archiv. f. kathol. Kirchenrecht*, LXXIII., 198 *seq.* against WAHRMUND (*ibid.*, LXXII., 205 *seq.*). HERRE (651) remarks: "For the development of the right of exclusion I attach a different value to the occurrence than Wahrmond; for the rest the nature of my work makes it a matter of course that I should not enter further into this juridical question." RUFFINI (*loc. cit.*) and EISLER (*Veto*, 61 *seq.*) have recently given their decision against Sägmüller.

<sup>2</sup> See Mucantius in GATTICUS, 347.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. HERRE, 651.

impudent calumny was started that the Cardinals had been bribed by France.<sup>1</sup> In contrast to the discontent at Philip III.'s court was the joy in Paris. Henry IV. wrote to Joyeuse that he had secured for him the greatest triumph which he had gained since his elevation to the throne.<sup>2</sup> In Rome unanimity prevailed<sup>3</sup> as to the admirable qualities of the new Pope. Giovanni Battista Marini in one of his poems expressed the hope that a long life would be granted him.<sup>4</sup>

Alessandro de' Medici was descended from a collateral line of the celebrated Florentine family. Born on June 2nd, 1535, the son of Ottavio de' Medici and Francesca Salviati, a niece of Leo X., he gave proof even from earliest infancy of extraordinary gifts of mind and heart. He was an exemplary son and sincerely pious. His close connection with the Dominicans at San Marco led his relations to suspect that he intended to enter their Order.<sup>5</sup> But this was not the case ;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. COUZARD, 369, who speaks of "perfidie calomnieuse". As a matter of fact the suggestion, unquestioningly accepted by PHILIPPSON (*Heinrich IV. und Philipp III.*, Vol. I., 353) that the election of Leo XI. had cost Henry IV. 300,000 scudi, is due to an authority as unreliable as was Du Plessis-Mornay.

<sup>2</sup> *Lettres miss.*, VI., 401. Cf. also DESJARDINS, V., 552. Cardinal B. Maciejowski wrote on April 17, 1605, to Cardinal Givry : \*"*Dolorem quem obitus optimi parentis nostri Papae Clementis VIII. atque absentia ab electione novi Pontificis mea maximum mihi obtulerat, mitigat iam et lenit voluptas ingens quam ex electione S.D.N.P. Leonis XI. duplicatam capio, tum quod utilissimum illum fore Christianitati perspiciam, tum quod ab ill. dom. vestra desideratum existimem.*" (Cod. 219, p. 59, City Library, Metz.) Leo XI. himself speaks of his friendly relations with Venice in his \*brief to the Doge, M. Grimani, dated 1605, XV. Kal. Maii. Original in State Archives, Venice, *Bolle*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Lettere inedite di P. CAIMO*, Venice, 1863, 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Il Tebro festante nella elezione di Leone XI.* ; see BORZELLI, *Marino*, 12.

<sup>5</sup> See \**Vita del cardinale di Firenze* che fu P. Leone XI. scritta da un suo famigliare insino al tempo che fu mandato in Francia da Clemente VIII., Cod. 4201, Bibl. Casanatense, Rome. This manuscript, out of the Corvisieri Library, and not utilized hitherto, gives many interesting details.



the youth, who had a poetic temperament, dreamed rather of a career in the world, and not till he was in his twenties did he decide to become a priest.<sup>1</sup> His first priestly charge was in a quiet rural district, until Cosimo de' Medici in 1569 entrusted to his gifted kinsman the important post of ambassador in Rome. Alessandro filled it to the satisfaction of his patron as well as of Pius V. and Gregory XIII.<sup>2</sup> In Rome he won the friendship of Cardinals Pacheco and Morone, and also of Philip Neri. In a short time he became one of the Saint's favourite disciples. It was Medici who, in 1595, solemnly laid the foundation stone of the magnificent Oratorian church, S. Maria in Vallicella; later, when the church was opened for worship, it was he who sang the first High Mass.<sup>3</sup>

Cosimo was full of praise for the way in which Alessandro de Medici discharged his duties. In 1573 he obtained the diocese of Pistoia, whilst he retained his post as ambassador. As a conscientious man he took care that the decrees of the Council of Trent were enforced in his diocese through his representative.<sup>4</sup> When the Archbishop of Florence, Antonio Altoviti, died towards the end of 1573, Medici succeeded him.<sup>5</sup> But not even then was he allowed to rule his diocese in person, since he seemed indispensable in Rome. It was to Medici's credit that he nevertheless did everything possible to introduce the necessary ecclesiastical reforms among secular and regular clergy alike. In this he proceeded with such prudence and firmness that it seemed as if he had been employed for years in nothing but diocesan affairs.<sup>6</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> Cf. GUASTI, *Lettere di santa Caterina de' Ricci*, Prato, 1861, LXXXII. seq. and *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XIV., 250.

<sup>2</sup> Many of his \*reports can be found in the State Archives, Florence.

<sup>3</sup> See CAPECELATRO, St. Philip Neri [Engl. ed., 1926], p. 281.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Vita del card. di Firenze, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> \* Mi ha più volte detto che hebbe di questo maggior contento che quando fu fatto cardinale, says the author of the \*Vita, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> \*In assentia non mancò di fare tutto il suo potere per riformare et ridurre in buon termine il culto divino, la residenza,



Rome he enjoyed the highest reputation. A report of the year 1574 heaped praises upon him.<sup>1</sup> Ten years later Gregory XIII. admitted him to the Sacred College (December 12th, 1583).<sup>2</sup> The nomination took him completely by surprise; he welcomed it chiefly because it freed him from the almost insupportable burden of the Embassy, which he had borne for fifteen years.<sup>3</sup> To distinguish him from Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, Alessandro became now generally known as the Cardinal of Florence. Even as a Cardinal he still remained closely associated with Philip Neri. The fact that Medici did not share Philip Neri's veneration for Savonarola,<sup>4</sup> which on the Saint's part was based on insufficient knowledge of the man, in no way interfered with their friendship. The Cardinal often hastened to the room of the founder of the Oratorians, which he is said to have called his Paradise.<sup>5</sup>

During the eventful pontificate of Clement VIII., Medici and Philip Neri were entirely at one in their opinion of the

*l'habito, gl'ordini, l'esame di confessori et le monache per le quali a monastero di monastero faceva instruttioni di sua mano a MS. Bastiano de Medici suo vicario, quale da Pistoia haveva tirato a Firenze, che pareva che fusse stato arcivescovo venti anni. \*Vita, loc. cit.,* where the reforms and the difficulties which he had to overcome to introduce them, are described in full. The *Synodus Florentina* of 1589, printed, 1589. To this day the following inscription can be seen on the façade of the Archbishop's palace in the piazza of the cathedral: *Leoni XI. P.M. ob merita in ecc. | Flor. quam XXXII | an. rexit et has | aedes restitutas.*

<sup>1</sup> See the report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome. Cf. this work, Vol. XIX., 569 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, Vol. XIX., 230 *seq.*; cf. 602 *seq.* Medici was immediately regarded as "papabile". See Avviso of January 7, 1584, in *Bull. de la Commiss. Roy. d'hist.*, LXXXIX. (1926), 402.

<sup>3</sup> See the detailed account in the *\*Vita, loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> See in this connection GUASTI, *L'Officio proprio per Fra G. Savonarola e li suoi compagni scritto nel sec. XVI. con un proemio*, Prato, 1863.

<sup>5</sup> See CAPECELATRO, *loc. cit.*

French situation. Both had great influence <sup>1</sup> on the decision in favour of Henry IV. Medici's grief was profound when, on May 26th, 1595, death removed his friend and spiritual father; his sweetest consolation in this grievous loss was still to show him all the affection and veneration possible. Having learned that the Oratorians, from humility and poverty, had buried the body of their beloved Father in the common burying-place, he and Federico Borromeo together prepared a special tomb for him; when the Saint's body was found quite intact four years later, he placed on the head with his own hands a crown made of gold and precious stones at his own expense, and took a costly ring from his own finger to put on the hand of the beloved dead.<sup>2</sup>

When Pope Clement VIII., in 1596, entrusted to Alessandro de' Medici the important legation to France, d'Ossat gave the following description of him: "The Cardinal, now sixty years old, has the reputation of being an excellent, prudent, moderate, and upright man in whom there is no guile. The Pope loves and esteems him. He was always in favour of the absolution of our king. Wholly devoted though he is to the Holy See, he is nevertheless closely associated with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, his kinsman, whose ambassador in Rome he was for many years and to whom he owes in part his admission to the Sacred College."<sup>3</sup>

Cardinal Medici spent two whole years in France. When he returned to Rome in the autumn of 1598 <sup>4</sup> he had completely won the friendship of Henry IV. Although he was thoroughly disliked by the Spaniards for his French sympathies, yet he was thenceforward considered a serious candidate for the tiara. In a report of the year 1600, it was said that his prospects in this respect were excellent.<sup>5</sup> Medici, according

<sup>1</sup> See this work, Vol. XXIII, 130 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See CAPECELATRO [Engl. Ed. 1926], p. 584.

<sup>3</sup> *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 239. Cf. also the eulogy of Clement VIII. in the brief addressed at the time to Henry IV., *Arm.* 44, t. 40, p. 164b, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. this work, Vol. XXIII., 142 *seq.*, 153 *seq.*, 159.

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid.*, 483 *seq.*

to a statement made at the time by Dolfin, the Venetian ambassador, was much esteemed and also considered a good ecclesiastic. He had many friends and no avowed enemy. Montalto's party would certainly put him forward as their candidate in case of an election. Gregory XIII.'s Cardinals also supported him and Pietro Aldobrandini, after striving in vain for his own candidates, would prefer him to any other.<sup>1</sup>

The aversion of the Spaniards for Cardinal Medici, whose sympathies were French, was further increased by his close relations with the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The Cardinal did not mind. He complained with great frankness of the interference of Spanish statesmen in the internal affairs of the Church. Not they, he remarked on one occasion, had received the stole and the keys.<sup>2</sup> This remark gave the lie to the reproach levelled against Medici by the Spanish party that he was very timid in dealing with public affairs. Equally questionable was the opinion, due to the same party, that he had a hasty temper.<sup>3</sup> It is true that as a genuine Florentine he loved delicate wit, but he always kept within the limits of courtesy. In his private letters <sup>4</sup> he shows himself a typical Tuscan, distinguished, highly gifted, modest and pious.

Medici's generosity, especially towards writers, was widely admired as well as his interest in art. The latter greatly

<sup>1</sup> See DOLFIN, *Relazione*, 492, 494. A \*letter of Cardinal A. de' Medici to the abate Bandini in 1598 gives him instructions to arrange with Madame de Nemours with regard to the prompt execution of the will, which her sister, the Duchess of Urbino, had made in favour of Cardinal P. Aldobrandini. Original, with seal and signature: "Cardinal di Firenze Legato," in the Manzoni Library, Rome, until 1894, when that collection was scattered to the winds.

<sup>2</sup> See DESJARDINS, V., 237.

<sup>3</sup> So Girol. Frascetto in his memoir of 1602 written to the Duke of Escalona, in RATTI, *Opuscolo*, 40.

<sup>4</sup> See A. DEL VITA, *Di alcune lettere di Leone XI.* (to Pietro Vasari, from 1570 to 1593), in the *Riv. d. bibl. ed archivi*, 1924, II, 220 seq.

proved very beneficial to S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Martino ai Monti.<sup>1</sup> In 1574 Medici already possessed a fine collection of statues, which he placed in his villa near S. Francesca Romana.<sup>2</sup> Later he also acquired the villa on the Pincio which bears his name.

The hostility of the Spaniards towards the Cardinal did not cease throughout the pontificate of Clement VIII. On the Pope's death they were sure that the Catholic king would demand his exclusion. In order to discredit him, it was given out from the Spanish side that he was unsuited to govern; but that he was an admirable man could not be denied even by his enemies.<sup>3</sup>

Leo XI., according to the accounts of his contemporaries, was a handsome man, of imposing stature, spotless and pure in his conduct, and deeply imbued with a sense of the great obligations of the Papacy.<sup>4</sup> He appointed as Secretary of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. TOTTI, *Roma Moderna*, 67, 213; CARDELLA, V., 181 *seq.* The Cardinal also had his titular churches, SS. Quirico & Giulitta and S. Prassede, decorated; see PLATNER, III., 2, 237, 246, 254.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. LANCIANI, II., 212 *seq.* With regard to the triptych of Mary Stuart, belonging to Cardinal Medici, presented to the Bavarian court, now in the Reichen Kapelle, Munich, see ENGLER-STOCKBAUER-ZETTLER, *Kunstwerke der Reichen Kapelle*, plate 20, and P. COLONNA, *El Santo Cristo de Maria Stuart*, Madrid, 1901.

<sup>3</sup> See the two \*Discorsi of 1605, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, C. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the contemporaries mentioned by CIACONIUS (IV., 371). The figure of Leo XI., portrayed on his monument by Algardi (*cf. infra*, p. 27). Another statue of the Pope in the Cathedral of Pistoia, on the right of the entrance, with the Medici coat of arms and the inscription: Leoni XI. Pont. Max. | antea ep̄o. Pistorien. | ut eius mem. diocesani | religiosius venerentur | Alex. Caccia | in ep̄atu success. A. 1618. A portrait in oils by Ant. Scalvati (see BAGLIONE, 172) in the second chapel on the left in S. Agnese fuori le mura in Rome, in which church the Pope, when Cardinal, had restorations made; see CIACONIUS, IV., 372; FORCELLA, XI., 351. Cf. \*Avviso of November 5, 1605, Vatican Library.



State his able great-nephew Roberto Ubaldini<sup>1</sup>; his Treasurer was the Florentine Luigi Capponi,<sup>2</sup> his Secretary for Briefs another fellow countryman, Pietro Strozzi.<sup>3</sup> At the head of the Consulta he placed Pietro Aldobrandini.<sup>4</sup> Of all the Cardinals the learned and pious Sfondrato had the greatest influence.<sup>5</sup>

One of the first matters upon which Leo XI. was engaged was the support of the Imperialists in Hungary against the Turks,<sup>6</sup> which had been agreed to in the terms of election. He declared his immediate readiness to help to the utmost of his ability, although the Camera Apostolica was burdened with debts.<sup>7</sup> This was decided in a Congregation of Cardinals for Hungarian affairs on April 13th, 1605, on which occasion the new Pope expressed his intentions regarding the government of the Church in a way calculated to raise the highest

<sup>1</sup> See MORONI, LXXXI., 491 *seq.* Cf. CIACONIUS IV., 434. Pietro Giacomo Cima, the Pope's *maestro di camera*, was regarded as influential; see MUTINELLI, III., 20; Forcella XI., 351.

<sup>2</sup> See MORONI, LXXIV., 300. A \*letter of Leo XI. to the *tesoriere generale*, Capponi, of April 16, 1605, was preserved until 1894, in the Manzoni Library, Rome. Even this very rare document (seeing that the Pope only reigned twenty-six days) was sold. No authentic coins of Leo XI. are extant; see MARTINELLI, 67 *seq.* *Ibid.* with regard to his medals. Cf. also *Boll. di numismatica ital.*, III.

<sup>3</sup> See Mucantius in GATTICUS, 404 and BONAMICUS, *De claris. pontif. epist. script.*, Rome, 1753, 276.

<sup>4</sup> See the autograph \*letter of Aldobrandini, April 16, 1605, to the nuncio in Venice, *Barb.* 4697, p. 527, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> See the \*Discorso of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, C. 20.

<sup>6</sup> See the \*report of G. C. Foresto, April 23, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. With regard to the terms of the election-capitulation, see the article by H. ORTENBERG in the *Innsbrucker Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1896, 190. Cf. MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 326; LULVÈS in *Quellen u. Forschungen des preuss. Instituts*, XII., 228, and *infra*, p. 25, n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> See the letter of Cardinal Madruzzo to Rudolph II. of April 2, 1605, in MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 332.



hopes.<sup>1</sup> Very generous help was sent <sup>2</sup> to the hard pressed Emperor. In conformity with the terms of election, Leo XI. convoked a Congregation of Cardinals without delay for the reform of the conclave. The method then in use of electing the Pope by means of general homage (adoration) was to be abolished, and that of secret voting substituted. Du Perron remarks that Aldobrandini's opponents would agree to this, since he would thus lose his control over Clement VIII.'s Cardinals, and that those opposed to the Spaniards would be even better pleased, since then everyone would be able to give his vote freely and without the pressure of their tyranny.<sup>3</sup> Further, Leo XI. did not show any undue favouritism to France, as the Spaniards had feared. When Joyeuse asked a favour of him in the name of Henry IV., he roundly rejected the petition, saying that his duty was to rule justly and rightly and not to be complaisant to anyone.<sup>4</sup> Leo XI. won over the Romans by abolishing some oppressive taxes. April 10th, Easter Sunday, on which the coronation of the new Head of the Church took place, was a double holiday for the city.<sup>5</sup> It was characteristic of the Pope's strictness with regard to his relations that none of

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, 337 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, 652.

<sup>3</sup> DU PERRON, *Ambassades*, 308. Cf. WAHRMUND in *Archiv. f. kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXII., 204 *seq.*, where the text of the terms of the election is given (pp. 219 *seq.*).

<sup>4</sup> See THUANUS, I., 134; PHILIPPSON, *Heinrich IV.*, Vol. I., 353. The fears of an anti-Spanish policy on the part of Leo XI., expressed by the Duke of Escalona in harsh terms, were only justified inasmuch as the Pope was not willing to be made a tool for Spanish schemes. Even GINDELY, who at first (I., 110 *seq.*) seemed inclined to regard the Duke's fears as justified, nevertheless added at the end: "Allein es war ihm nicht vergönnt seiner antspanischen Politik, wenn er dies überhaupt je tun wollte, eine folgenreiche Wirksamkeit zu geben."

<sup>5</sup> See Mucantius in GATTICUS, 402. A \*poem on the coronation in Cl. VII., n. 425, National Library, Florence.

them were allowed to be present when he took possession of the Lateran.<sup>1</sup>

On the occasion of this function, which took place on April 17th,<sup>2</sup> the old man of seventy caught a chill which led to his death on April 27th.<sup>3</sup> While the Pope lay on his death-bed at the Quirinal, he was assailed with requests from various quarters, especially from the Spaniards, to confer the purple on his nephew Ottaviano de Medici. Leo XI. would not hear of it,<sup>4</sup> thereby showing himself to the very end a worthy disciple of Philip Neri, who, so it was said, had predicted not only that the tiara would be conferred on him but also the short duration of his pontificate.<sup>5</sup> The mourning for the death of this noble Pope extended to all circles in Rome<sup>6</sup>; in Florence also the grief was profound.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See COUZARD, 370.

<sup>2</sup> See Mucantius in GATTICUS, 402 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See \*Acta consist., Vatican Library. \*Diarium P. Alaleonis, *Barb.*, 2816, Vatican Library. Mucantius in GATTICUS, 456. Cf. the detailed \*report of Giov. Batt. Thesis, April 30, 1605, regarding the cause of death, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The story that Leo XI. was killed by a poisoned rose is not worth contradicting; grounds for suspicion recently alleged by FUSAI (*Vinta*, 96) prove nothing. MUÑOZ (see p. 27, n. 2) on p. 53 of the article referred to, is also of this opinion.

<sup>4</sup> He says: \*Nunquam feci rem indignam nec aliquid quod posset vitam maculare neque nunc volo in fine vitæ aliquid contra meam bonam famam facere. \*Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> See \*Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.*, p. 235b; Mucantius, *loc. cit.* and BARONIUS, *Annals XII.*, ad an. 1187. Cf. CIACONIUS, IV., 369.

<sup>6</sup> See the \*report of G. C. Foresto, April 30, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the letter of Cesi to Giov. Eckio, April 30, 1601, in GABRIELI, *Il carteggio fra i primi Lincei*, Rome, 1925, 165.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Dell'esequie di P. Leone XI. celebrate nel duomo di Firenze*, Florence, 1605. FR. VENTURI, *Oratio habita in maiori ecclesia Florent. in solemnibus funere Leonis XI. P.M.*, Florence, 1605. See also CUTINII, *Oratio funebris de laudibus Leonis XI. P.M.*, Florence, 1605.

The sorrow in France was as great as the rejoicing had been a little before.<sup>1</sup>

The mortal remains of Leo XI. were buried in St. Peter's. His nephew, Roberto Ubaldini, who had received the purple under Paul V., had a marble monument erected there in the left aisle, the execution of which was entrusted to Francesco Algardi,<sup>2</sup> who had a reputation as a restorer of ancient remains. The work was stopped by the death of Ubaldini (1635) and so the tomb was not completed until about the end of the first half of the seventeenth century. The material is white marble and the work is distinguished by its simplicity and unity. As with the famous monument which Bernini erected to Urban VIII., so there too the Pope is represented enthroned above the sarcophagus and as giving his blessing, while beside him stand the figures of Wisdom, represented by Minerva, and Munificence, pouring gold and jewels from a cornucopia. But what a contrast to the celebrated work of Bernini! Instead of a vast recess, ornamented with variegated stones, Algardi was content with a slight excavation of the walls which only serves as a dull background to the principal figure, so that the contour seems cramped. Beauty cannot be denied to the figures at the side, which Algardi carved with the help of his pupils Giuseppe Peroni and Ercole Ferrata,<sup>3</sup> but they are not organically related to the monument. The sarcophagus, decorated with a relief (representing the completion by Cardinal Medici of Henry IV.'s reconciliation to the Church) gives an impression of heaviness. The pedestal is gracefully ornamented with the heraldic rose of the Pope, which was interpreted by the allegorical taste of the time as an allusion to the extreme shortness of his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. COUZARD, 370.

<sup>2</sup> For the rest see the admirable study by H. POSSE in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, XXVI., 188 seqq. Cf. also BERGNER, *Das barocke Rom.*, 102 seq.; BRINCKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, II., 255 seq.; FERRARI, *Tomba*, 134 seq.; MUÑOZ in *Annuario d. Accad. di S. Luca*, 1912 (Rome, 1913), 52 seq.; *La scultura barocca*, V.: *Le tombe papali*, Milan, 1918, 13 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See PASSERI, 206.

reign.<sup>1</sup> The best part of the whole work is the simple statue, which portrays very well the tired old man, his right hand only half raised in benediction.<sup>2</sup>

On May 8th, 1605, fifty-nine Cardinals entered the conclave.<sup>3</sup> Zacchia and Madruzzo were ill<sup>4</sup>; Agucchio had died on

<sup>1</sup> The inscription says twice: "Sic florui."

<sup>2</sup> See POSSE, *loc. cit.*, where there is a good reproduction. The epitaph in FORCELLA, VI., 119.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of May 11, 1605, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> Some of the Italian reports, such as those of the Venetian, Agost. Nani, are printed in MUTINELLI, III., 16 and 97, the rest, not faultlessly translated, in PETRUCELLI, II., 454 *seqq.*, but not in a complete form, since they do not include the long and important \*letters of the Mantuan envoys in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, which are utilized for the first time in this work. Of the French reports the most valuable are the dispatches of DU PERRON (*Ambassades*, 344 *seqq.*, 347 *seq.*, 352 *seq.*), and a very detailed report of Cardinal Joyeuse, May 21, 1605 (*ibid.*, 451 *seq.*), in addition to the dispatches of the French ambassador Béthune, included in COUZARD, 375 *seqq.*, and a report, May 19, 1605, in DENIS, *Nouvelles de Rome*, I., Paris, 1913, 3 *seq.* The \*letter of Cardinal Paravicini to Rudolph II., May 21, 1605 (State Archives, Vienna), and also the \*reports of the Spanish ambassador Viglienna (Archives, Simancas, 1870—128) are utilized by GINDELY (*Rudolf II.*, Vol. I., 113 *seq.*). New evidence is provided by the report of Ávila to Philip III.: \*Relacion de lo que passo en el conclave que se hizo por muerte de Leon XI., en el que se ento a 8 de Maio 1605, discovered by me in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome (III., 9), unfortunately much damaged in various places. The account is strictly chronological and almost always objective. Three conclavists have described the election of Paul V.; one of these reports is printed in *Conclavi*, 347 *seq.*, the other two are in the Papal Secret Archives. Cf. BRUZZONE in *La Stampa*, Turin, 1900, September 3. To the new sources used here for the first time are to be added a \*letter of Federigo Cornaro, May 21, 1605 (*Cod. C. 20*, Boncompagni Archives, Rome); some reports in the State Archives, Modena, and a detailed \*letter of Pietro Federighi to Maffeo Barberini, archbishop of Nazaret, Rome, May 31, 1605. Original in *Barb.*, 4648, pp. 290—293, Vatican Library; on the back is an autograph note by M. Barberini.



April 27th. This time the discussions were even more violent than after the death of Clement VIII., a natural consequence of the disorganization of parties as the result of recent events. Aldobrandini's attitude during the conclave which elected Leo XI., had considerably increased the number of his opponents; twenty-one of them were entirely in accord, including twelve of Montalto's party and five of Sfondrato's adherents. The French and the Spaniards were independent with five votes each, as also the Venetians with three. Aldobrandini's party had twenty-six votes.<sup>1</sup> Immediately after Leo XI.'s death, Clement VIII.'s nephew had tried to effect a rapprochement with the Spaniards. He was ready to unite with them, if this time his ardent desire, the elevation of a Cardinal of his own party, could be satisfied. In his interviews with Philip III.'s ambassador, Aldobrandini strove before all else to win over the Spaniards to the candidature of Ginnasio or else for that of Zacchia, Tosco or Blandrata; only if they met with insurmountable obstacles would he support Galli. These negotiations were specially directed against Montalto, who had fallen so far short of the Spaniards' expectations, and for whom the elevation of Galli would be a terrible blow. On April 30th the Mantuan envoy reported that if Aldobrandini's plans failed, Sauli would have a considerable chance of success.<sup>2</sup>

Cardinal Sauli had the reputation of being a statesman of importance.<sup>3</sup> He drew a pension from Philip III.<sup>4</sup> and was definitely favoured by the Spaniards. Sfondrato's party, comprising seven votes, also supported him.<sup>5</sup> Even during the conclave which elected Clement VIII. the French were

<sup>1</sup> See the \*letter of P. Federighi, May 31, 1605, *loc. cit.*, p. 290. Foresto gives slightly different figures in his \*report, May 7, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*report of G. C. Foresto, April 30, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>3</sup> See PARUTA, *Relazione*, 484.

<sup>4</sup> See the \*report on the College of Cardinals in 1606, Spanish Embassy Archives, Rome.

<sup>5</sup> See the \*report of Foresto, April 30, 1605, *loc. cit.*



not averse to this combination. Sauli was now regarded as their candidate also.<sup>1</sup> But Aldobrandini showed himself his determined opponent, not only because Cardinal Sauli owed his elevation to Sixtus V. but for many other reasons also; above all, he could not forget that at the time of the election of Clement VIII. Sauli had worked against him. He knew, moreover, that one of Sauli's partisans had suggested that a Pope ought to be elected who would punish Clement VIII.'s nephew.<sup>2</sup> The danger became the more grave for Aldobrandini, who moreover had suffered from fever<sup>3</sup> since the end of April, when some of his Cardinals, such as Visconti and Bandini, gave their support to Sauli.<sup>4</sup> Thanks to the efforts of Visconti and Giustiniani, the negotiations on Sauli's behalf seemed to have made such progress, that it was calculated, at a meeting held in Sfondrato's room, that they

<sup>1</sup> Cf. COUZARD, 373.

<sup>2</sup> See *Conclavi*, I., 349.

<sup>3</sup> Sta gravemente infermo e forse ha poco speranza di vita—vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas, wrote P. Caimo to his brother, April 31, 1605, *Lettere inedite*, Venice, 1863, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Besides *Conclavi*, I., 349, cf. the \*report of G. C. Foresto, May 7, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Count Massimiliano Montecuccoli wrote to G. B. Laderchi, May 4, 1605: \*Per Sauli si fanno gran cose, ancorchè l'haver nemico dichiarato Aldobrandini fa che si dubita gagliardamente del fatto suo. È però desiderato da tutti et ha l'aura del maggior parte del collegio, della nobiltà e del popolo. Spagnuoli e Franzesi sono uniti a suo favore. Montalto, Este, Sforza, S. Cecilia [Sfondrato], Aquaviva e Visconti con tutti dipendenti stanno saldo et dicono di non voler altro che lui. Dall'altra parte Aldobrandini non lo vole a patto che sia et lo dice apertamente. Sauli ha 37 voti sicuri, Aldobrandini ne ha 24 per l'esclusione. Si spera non di meno col valore di chi favorisce le cose di Sauli con un poco di tempo rubar le 4 creature di Aldobrandini, che su la lista ch'io mando a V. S. ill. hanno la croce [Bufalo, Taverna, Arigoni, Pamfili], et quelle appunto levano l'esclusione ad Aldobrandini et includono Sauli. Il negotio non è però in sicuro, anzi ch'è più s'accordano che non si possa fare il Papa senza che Aldobrandini vi consenta. State Archives, Modena.

could rely on thirty-five votes.<sup>1</sup> But every effort to win over Aldobrandini was met by him with a decided refusal.<sup>2</sup> In these circumstances there could be no hope of an agreement with the Spaniards.

Pierbenedetti, though emphatically rejected by the Spaniards as well as Baronius and Valiero, was considered as a rival to Sauli. When it was discovered that the Spaniards would not have any of Aldobrandini's Cardinals, instead of the desired agreement violent opposition arose; the conclave was hardly over before the nephew complained of the perfidy of the Spaniards, who had completely disregarded him and, partly through malice and partly through stupidity, had tried to injure him as much as they could.<sup>3</sup> The position of the French in regard to Sauli's candidature, which they could not abandon without acting directly contrary to the orders of Henry IV., was difficult; on the other hand they realized that to support him meant a break with Aldobrandini.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to Sauli, there was much talk on the eve of the conclave of Baronius and more particularly of Tosco; the latter was supported especially by Bevilacqua, Cesi, Delfino, Este and even Aldobrandini, although in his inmost heart he adhered to his old candidates, Zacchia, Ginnasio or else Blandrata.<sup>5</sup> Next to Tosco came Bianchetti, but like Galli, Montelparo and all the Cardinals belonging to Religious Orders, except the Capuchin Marzato, he too was rejected by the French. For these reasons it seemed quite possible that the majority would agree upon Valiero, who was an excellent man and much more acceptable to the Sacred College than Galli. Aldobrandini and Montalto had absolute faith in Valiero. The only obstacle which presented itself

<sup>1</sup> See the \*report of Foresto, May 7, 1605, *loc. cit.* The \*Avviso of May 11, 1605, says that 40 votes were given per l'inclusione di Sauli. Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See *Conclavi*, I., 349.

<sup>3</sup> See the \*letter of Aldobrandini, May 21, 1605, *Barb.*, 4697, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. COUZARD, 375.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Conclavi*, I., 350; COUZARD, 376.

was the opposition of Spain, but it was thought possible to overcome that through the fear of Baronius' election, in comparison with which Valiero's seemed a less evil.<sup>1</sup>

During the first days of the conclave the attempt was made, especially by Cardinals Baronius, Sfondrato, Aquaviva, Farnese, Sforza and Piatti and their adherents, to obtain the tiara for the famous Jesuit Bellarmine.<sup>2</sup> Bellarmine himself desired his election so little that he said that he would not so much as pick up a straw if that alone would obtain it.<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Dietrichstein relates that when he revealed to Bellarmine what was intended for him, the latter replied that he even had it in mind to renounce the dignity of Cardinal.<sup>4</sup> After the conclave Bellarmine wrote to a friend that, realizing his own weakness, he had prayed to God with his whole heart not to allow him to attain so perilous a height.<sup>5</sup>

The elevation of Bellarmine failed. The Capuchin Marzato made capital of the position which the famous theologian had taken up on the question of grace.<sup>6</sup> Aldobrandini employed passive resistance to his candidature. Ávila informed Bellarmine that he was openly excluded by the Spanish king, without waiting for instructions on the point.<sup>7</sup> Whereupon Montalto proposed Cardinal Pierbenedetti, who

<sup>1</sup> See the \*report of G. C. Foresto, May 7, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The \*Avviso of May 7, 1605, gives the strength of the Spanish party as 32 votes, and that of Aldobrandini as 26. Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*report of Ávila, Spanish Embassy Archives, Rome, III., 9. Cf. COUDERC, II., 35 and the \*report of Foresto, May 14, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also PETRUCCELLI, II., 465 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See the *Vita* of Bellarmine in REUSCH, 43.

<sup>4</sup> See BARTOLI, *Bellarmino*, 200.

<sup>5</sup> *Epist. fam.*, n. 40.

<sup>6</sup> See \*Avviso of May 14, 1605, Vatican Library.

<sup>7</sup> This appears from the \*Protocol of the session of the Spanish Council of State, June 28, 1605. Original in Archives, Simancas, 870—129.

was positively hated<sup>1</sup> by the Spaniards, and especially by the ambassador, the Duke of Escalona. Aldobrandini made no objection, but meanwhile Sfondrato revealed the matter to Cardinal Ávila, who frustrated Montalto's project.<sup>2</sup> Then on May 14th, when Aldobrandini came forward with the candidature of Blandrata, Montalto and other opponents of Aldobrandini's schemes, such as Sfondrato, Farnese, Este and Visconti, met in Aquaviva's cell to proclaim emphatically the exclusion of Blandrata. The young Cardinals, Carlo Pio and Silvestro Aldobrandini, whom Pietro Aldobrandini had sent to the meeting, were thus unwilling witnesses of an occurrence so humiliating<sup>3</sup> for their leader. Aldobrandini retaliated the following day by the open exclusion of Sauli, obtaining thirty-two votes against him. At the same time the nephew's party decided to give their votes to none but to one of his Cardinals and to exclude all whom their leader excluded.<sup>4</sup>

While violent discussions<sup>5</sup> arose between Cardinals Ávila, Aquaviva and Sauli, on the night of May 15th-16th the candidature of Tosco came to the fore.<sup>6</sup> On May 14th it was already rumoured in Rome that Tosco's election to the Papacy was imminent.<sup>7</sup> Aldobrandini had drawn attention

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the \*report of Foresto, May 14, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> See *Conclavi*, I., 353 seq. Cf. PETRUCELLI, II., 467 and \*Avviso of May 14, 1605, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See the \*report of Ávila, Spanish Embassy Archives, Rome, and the \*letter of P. Federighi, May 31, 1605, Vatican Library, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> See the \*report of Ávila, *loc. cit.* \*P. Federighi (*loc. cit.*) gives the number of votes secured by Aldobrandini as 34. The \*Discorso of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, emphasizes Delfino's share in the exclusion of Sauli.

<sup>5</sup> Ávila refers to this in detail in his \*report, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> "Hor quanto la pratica di Sauli svanisce," was the opinion of Count M. Montecuccoli as early as May 4 in his \*letter to G. B. Laderchi, "io crederei che Tosco havesse meglio di tutti gli altri." State Archives, Modena.

<sup>7</sup> See *Lettere inedite di P. CAIMO*, Venice, 1863, 13.



to this Cardinal, who was favoured by the Spaniards and Sfondrato and his party, and for whom the French also showed an inclination, as they did not wish to fall foul of Clement VIII.'s nephew. Even Montalto showed favour to this candidate, though not very willingly. Este, Cesi, Bevilacqua and Monte exerted themselves energetically for Tosco. Pio, who had had disputes with Tosco, was pacified by Bevilacqua. Only three of the Cardinals appointed by Clement VIII. who, like the saintly religious that they were, proceeded with the utmost conscientiousness, opposed the candidature of Tosco,<sup>1</sup> namely the Oratorians Baronius and Tarugi and the Jesuit Bellarmine; Cardinals Taverna, Pio and Olivier also showed disinclination.<sup>2</sup>

The opposition to Tosco's elevation was not without foundation. Tosco, though a notable jurist, had only become a priest late in life, and had retained from his early military career such rough manners that, although seventy years of age, he did not seem suited to the dignity of Sovereign Pontiff. In particular he was reproached for his free use of coarse and offensive expressions, such as the people employed, and which his friends tried to excuse as Lombardisms.<sup>3</sup> On May 16th Tosco's adherents tried to make him Pope by adoration. At this critical moment Baronius threw the whole weight of his authority into the scales. While Aldobrandini and Montalto were going with their adherents to elect Tosco, they met Baronius and Tarugi in the Sala Ducale. Aldobrandini and Aquaviva invited Baronius to join them. But he loudly declared that the election of a man whose manners

<sup>1</sup> Besides *Conclavi*, I., 357 *seq.*, see the \*letter of F. Cornaro, May 21, 1605, *Cod. C. 20*, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Cf. also the \*letter of P. Federighi, May 31, 1605, Vatican Library, Rome.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*report of Foresto, May 14, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>3</sup> See *Conclavi*, I., 358. Cf. RATTI, *Opuscolo*, 46, and the \*report of Foresto, March 19, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the report in CALENZIO, 937 *seqq.* WAHRMUND (120) is quite mistaken when he says that only "a handful of specially religious Spaniards" considered Tosco too worldly.

and speech so plainly disclosed the old soldier, would cause grave scandal on all sides ; he, Tarugi and Bellarmine had no intention of causing a schism, but they would be the last to consent to such a decision.<sup>1</sup> This courageous declaration proved decisive. Montalto withdrew his support from Tosco, remarking that it would be better to elect the holy old man who had spoken so fearlessly and so much to the point. Thereupon Giustiniani called out loudly : " Let us elect Baronius ! " Plinio, Montalto's conclavist, raised the cry : " Long live Baronius ! " Whilst some Cardinals acquiesced, others loudly declared for Tosco. A regular tumult ensued ; in the confusion some of the Cardinals had their rochets torn. In this way the Sala Regia was reached.<sup>2</sup> From there the opponents of Tosco and the adherents of Baronius withdrew to the Pauline Chapel, and the supporters of Tosco to the Sistine. Among the latter were five Frenchmen who, however, deserted Tosco. Baronius' party, which counted more than twenty-two votes, wanted to proclaim the famous historian Pope, but Baronius opposed this with such force that they had to give up the attempt.<sup>3</sup> Thirty-eight Cardinals still stood firm for Tosco, and Madruzzo, now recovered from his illness, joined them.<sup>4</sup>

A contemporary, who was in the neighbourhood of the conclave, thus relates what he was able to hear through the

<sup>1</sup> Besides DU PERRON, *loc. cit.*, cf. the French report in DENIS, *loc. cit.*, 3 ; Nani in MUTINELLI, III., 97 ; Paravicini in GINDELY, I., 113 ; the \*report of F. Cornaro, *loc. cit.*, and the \*report of G. Magni, May 18, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the \*letter of P. Federighi, May 31, 1605, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Besides the \*report of F. Cornaro, *loc. cit.*, see the \*letter of G. Magni, May 25, 1605 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), which rightly emphasizes the importance of Montalto's conduct.

<sup>3</sup> DU PERRON relates that Baronius resisted with hands and feet. Cf. RUFFINI, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the \*report of F. Cornaro, May 21, 1605, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. With regard to Madruzzo see also the reference to Mucantius in MEYER, 326, n. 1. Cf. also the \*reports of Ercole Rondinelli, May 11 and 17, 1605, State Archives, Modena.

tumult which reigned there. He distinctly heard Aldobrandini call out: "I tell you he is Pope!" With equal distinctness he heard the answer of some others: "He is not and he never will be!" There was already a fear that a schism might occur; the number of the guards was doubled.<sup>1</sup> Rumours spread in Rome that Tosco, or alternatively Valiero was elected; a great crowd collected in front of the houses of both.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of all the efforts of Tosco's supporters, they could not obtain the two votes still lacking for the two-thirds majority. Baronius' candidature,<sup>3</sup> which the Spaniards opposed with the utmost violence, seemed equally hopeless. Finally, after seven hours of fruitless negotiations, the senior Cardinals of Clement VIII. and Sixtus V. realized that a compromise was imperative. Aldobrandini and Montalto then met in the Sala Regia for an interview. Clement VIII.'s nephew would have liked to impose Blandrata. Montalto allowed himself to be won over, but Farnese opposed the candidature so vehemently that it could not possibly succeed.

In the course of the subsequent negotiations between Aldobrandini and Montalto, the conversation turned unexpectedly upon Camillo Borghese, one of Clement VIII.'s Cardinals, who enjoyed the esteem of all and had no particular enemy. Aldobrandini and Montalto agreed on him in a very short time. Both informed their friends, who likewise approved. Borghese, who had hitherto kept modestly in the background, would not believe at first that he was being seriously considered. But he found himself greeted on all sides as Pope. Aldobrandini himself conducted him to the

<sup>1</sup> See the \*report of F. Cornaro, *loc. cit.* Ercole Rondinelli in his \*report, May 17, 1605 (*loc. cit.*), and Thesis in his \*report, May 21, 1605 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), emphasize the danger of a schism. Cf. the \*letter of Magni, May 18, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of May 18, 1605, Vatican Library, and the \*report of E. Rondinelli, May 17, 1605, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the \*report of Giulio del Carretto, October 22, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Pauline Chapel, where his election took place by open ballot the same evening.<sup>1</sup>

When Borghese's name was pronounced, the storm of the electoral contest was suddenly and unexpectedly calmed. The change was so instantaneous that even contemporaries attributed it to divine Providence; some of the Cardinals had implored the help of heaven during the critical period in which the two contending parties wrestled with each other. While the others negotiated and disputed these knelt in prayer.<sup>2</sup>

Even well informed diplomats did not know for certain whether it was Montalto or Aldobrandini who first proposed Borghese. It is certain, however, and it was also the opinion of the majority of the electors, that the greater credit for loosing the knot belonged to Montalto, inasmuch as he prevented Tosco's success.<sup>3</sup>

The election of Cardinal Borghese, only fifty-two years of age, who, in gratitude to the Farnese Pope, his father's patron,<sup>4</sup> took the name of Paul V., was a surprise to the whole world. If at the last conclave an aged invalid had been elected, this time the youngest and most robust of all the candidates was chosen.<sup>5</sup> As the new Head of the Church had been born in Rome, where he had many relations, the inhabitants of the Eternal City showed as much joy<sup>6</sup> as those of Siena, the home of the Borghese.<sup>7</sup> To the French Paul V. was not as welcome

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the \*letter of Cornaro, May 21, 1605, *loc. cit.*, the \*reports of Magni, May 18 and 25, and the \*report of Thesis, May 21, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*report of Magni, May 18, 1605, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> See the Mantuan \*reports, especially that of Magni, May 25, 1605, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> See the report of the Venetian ambassadors in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I, 59. Paul V. took as his motto the words: "Spiritus ubi vult spirat." See PITRA, *Analecta noviss.*, I. (1885), 312.

<sup>5</sup> See the report of Ag. Nani in MUTINELLI, III., 18.

<sup>6</sup> See \*Avviso of May 18, 1605, Vatican Library.

<sup>7</sup> See \*Avviso of May 29, 1605, *ibid.* Regarding the Grand Duke of Tuscany see *Carte Stroz.*, I., 2, 354.



as Leo XI., since he enjoyed a pension of 2,000 scudi from the Spaniards. Nevertheless Henry IV. was not displeased with the election, since the Pope's father had emigrated from Siena when the city was conquered by the Spaniards. It is quite comprehensible that the Bourbon king should have exclaimed, when he first heard the news: "God be praised; the French Cardinals have shown that I have some power in Rome and in the conclave." In comparison with the result of previous elections, the present event might certainly be considered very favourable to France.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand the Spaniards had found no more favour for their candidates with the majority of the Cardinals in the second conclave of 1605 than they had obtained in the first. Their annoyance at their defeat in a sphere which they had dominated for so long was all the greater, inasmuch as what they had lost, the French had gained.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. PHILIPPSON, *Heinrich IV.*, Vol. I., 357. Cf. PERRENS, *L'Église et l'État*, I., 290. Henry IV. wrote on June 3, 1605, to Cardinal Givry: "Mon cousin. Vous m'avez faict service tres agreable d'avoir constamment assisté mon cousin le card. de Joyeuse en la creation du pape Paul avec mes autres serviteurs ainsy que le d. cardinal m'a escrit, car j'augure et espere toute felicite pour l'Église de Dieu et le bien universel de la Chrestienté d'une si digne election." *Cod.* 219, p. 63, City Library, Metz.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the *Relazioni di Francia* of Fr. Priuli in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Francia*, I., 387 seq.; cf. 407. It is noteworthy for the impression received in Rome, as Béthune related, May 18, 1605 (see COUZARD, 388), that, according to what was said there, the French were responsible for the election of Paul.

## CHAPTER II.

### ANTECEDENTS, CHARACTER AND ENVIRONMENT OF PAUL V.— THE BORGHESE.

THE Borghese family had its origin in Siena, where its members had distinguished themselves from the second half of the thirteenth century as municipal officials, envoys, military leaders and especially as lawyers.<sup>1</sup> Agostino Borghese had been entrusted with missions to Venice, to Rome and to the Emperor Sigismund, from whom he received a knighthood and the right to bear an eagle in the family arms; Pius II. raised him to the rank of a Count. Galgano Borghese represented Siena in Rome at the end of the pontificate of Nicholas V. and went as envoy to Naples in 1456.<sup>2</sup>

Several Borghese held offices in the States of the Church. Under Leo X. one of the family, called Pietro, was a senator

<sup>1</sup> For the earlier history of the family, see GIROL. GIGLI, in the *Diario Senese*, I., Lucca, 1723, 123 seq., 162 seq. Cf. GIAMBATISTA CHIODINO, *La Nobiltà Borghesi Romana*, Macerata, 1619. See also, MORONI, VI., 37 seq.; REUMONT, *Beiträge*, V., 243 seq.; T. AMEYDEN, *Storie di Famiglie Romane*, con note di C. A. BERTINI, I., Roma, 1910, 171 seqq. In regard to a Brescian legend, according to which the Borghese were descended from the Bordigo family, see *Brixia Sacra*, I. (1910), 337. The *Pauli V. P.M. Vita compendio scripta* (Barb., XXXIII., 190, Vatican Library) says: "eoque in genere triginta amplius iuris peritissimos, quorum plerumque responsa servantur." "Ludovicus Borghesius, filius Simonis Burghesii," (*ibid.*), was famous as a jurist. He published the *Repetitio super legem primam de iudiciis*, Siena, 1516, dedicated to the archbishop of Siena, Giovanni Piccolomini.

<sup>2</sup> See the present work, Vol. II., p. 363, 374, n. 2, 403, n. 1. and BZOVIVS, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 1.

in Rome. Giambattista Borghese under Clement VII. took part in the defence of Rome against the troops of Charles V. Nicolò Borghese wrote a life of St. Catharine of Siena, who was said to be a relation of the family.<sup>1</sup> But the greatness of the house of Borghese only began with the famous jurist Marcantonio, who moved to Rome about the middle of the sixteenth century. He was moved to take this step on account of the warlike disturbances in which his native city lost its freedom. Like a good son, he arranged for his mother and sister to join him in Rome in 1554.<sup>2</sup> There he acquired the highest reputation in the service of eight Popes and ultimately became dean of the consistorial advocates.<sup>3</sup> Under Paul IV. he defended Cardinal Morone in his trial before the Inquisition.<sup>4</sup> He died in 1574 and was buried in Santissima Trinità dei Monti.<sup>5</sup>

By his marriage with Flaminia Astalli, who belonged to an ancient Roman family, Marcantonio Borghese had five sons (Girolamo, Orazio, Camillo, Giovanni Battista and Francesco) and two daughters, one of whom married into the family of the Caffarelli, the other into that of the Vittori.<sup>6</sup>

Camillo Borghese, born in Rome on September 17th, 1552, received from his pious mother a careful and thoroughly religious education. At first, as his father had done, he devoted himself to the study of law. For this purpose he attended the university of Perugia, where he was a model student. He returned to Rome with a doctor's degree, became a priest, and then went through the usual career of a prelate. After being at first assistant, then successor to his father as

<sup>1</sup> On this see GIGLI, *op. cit.*, II., III *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. L. PASSARINI, *Lettere di donne illustre a illustri uomini*, Roma, 1879 (only a few copies printed for the Borghese-Ruffo wedding), p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See CARTARI, *Sillabo degli avvocati concistor.*, Roma, 1656. Cf. GARAMPI, *Del valore*, 279.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the present work, Vol. XIV., 305, 473 *seq.* See also \*Avviso of May 21, 1605. Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the inscription on the tomb given in FORCELLA, III., 131.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. B. Ceci in ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 159.

consistorial advocate, he soon became an assessor of both *Segnatura's* and later a chaplain of St. Mary Major's. In 1588 Sixtus V. sent him as vice-legate to Bologna, where he acted for five years as Cardinal Montalto's deputy and distinguished himself in a difficult position as much as in his previous career. In 1590 his brother Orazio, for whom his father had bought a post as auditor of the Camera for 70,000 scudi, died. The premature death of Orazio was a great blow for the Borghese family, since, according to law, the vacant post should have reverted to the Camera Apostolica; but Cardinal Montalto persuaded Gregory XIV. to allow Camillo to acquire it on very favourable terms.<sup>1</sup>

In Rome under Clement VIII. Camillo Borghese quickly revealed himself as one of the most prominent, pious and capable prelates of the Curia, and he soon won the confidence of the Pope.<sup>2</sup> There was no great surprise when in 1593 he was appointed envoy extraordinary to Philip II.<sup>3</sup> The admirable way in which he fulfilled his mission made his promotion certain. On June 15th, 1596, Clement VIII. conferred on him the purple.<sup>4</sup> From 1597 to 1599 Camillo was bishop of Iesi. When Cardinal Rusticucci died in June, 1603, Clement VIII. appointed Borghese vicar of Rome. He discharged this office with great prudence. The Cardinal also became a member of the Roman Inquisition and Protector

<sup>1</sup> See BZOVIVS, *Vita Pauli V.*, 3 seq.; DE PERUGINI, *Auditori di S. Rota Romana*, Perugia, 1786, 112, 132; O. PIO CONTI, *Origine, fasti e privilegi degli avvocati concist.*, Roma, 1898, 35. Cf. the report of the Venetian envoys in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 58.

<sup>2</sup> \*"Camillo Borghese, il quale è il primo prelado della corte, persona di valore e in cui S.S.<sup>ta</sup> confida," Giulio del Carretto to the Duke of Mantua, September 25, 1593. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 5, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See the present work, Vol. XXIII., 271 seq. Cf. PARUTA, *Dispacci*, II., 26, 32, 40, 61, 122.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the present work, Vol. XXIII., 248; the \*letter of thanks from C. Borghese to Siena for congratulations on the occasion of his being made Cardinal, Rome, June 22, 1596, State Archives, Siena.



of Scotland. His dispassionateness in connection with the English disputes was the subject of praise.<sup>1</sup>

Like his father, Cardinal Camillo preserved great impartiality in the midst of political currents; he lived quietly, devoted only to the duties of his ecclesiastical offices and to his study of canon law, without involving himself in party schemes.<sup>2</sup> As a result of his legation in Spain, he had many friends in that country<sup>3</sup>; with the Pope's permission he received an annual pension from Philip III., but this did not make him a partisan of Spain.<sup>4</sup>

The Venetian ambassador Paruta in his reports testifies to the high esteem in which Cardinal Borghese was held as early as 1598. He was regarded as a scholar, and it was already thought that as the result of his notable qualities and lack of enemies he might attain to the tiara.<sup>5</sup> The Spanish council of state, which was opposed to young Cardinals on principle, considered in 1601 that Borghese was the most eminent of them.<sup>6</sup> Girolamo Frascetta on the other hand did not consider him a genius, though, in a

<sup>1</sup> See the \*report of G. B. Thesis, May 21, 1605. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. BZOVIVUS, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 6; COUZARD, 386. In regard to Iesi, cf. UGHELLI, I., 285 and the report in Vol. XXIII., 485 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the report of the Venetian envoys sent to pay homage in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 58.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the \*briefs to *Alvarus Carvajal, regis cath. mai. cappellanus*, VIII., Id. Mart., 1606, and to *Petrus Franchesius, comes Villae-longae, regis cath. secret.*, IX. Cal. Iulii, 1605, to the Count and Countess of Miranda, VIII. Cal. Iulii, 1605, to the Count and Countess Olivarez, the same date. *Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. MUTINELLI, III., 20; COUZARD, *loc. cit.* D'Ossat wrote on the occasion of Camillo's appointment as Cardinal: "Borghese . . . personnage de grande intégrité et probité en qui ne peut tomber soupçon d'aucune faction espagnole, si on ne voulait dire, que pour avoir fait un voyage en Espagne par le commandement du Papa, environ deux ans y a, il fut devenu Espagnol." *Lettres*, I., 266.

<sup>5</sup> PARUTA, *Relazione*, 488 seq.

<sup>6</sup> See \**La Junta en materia del pontificado*, 1601, Agosto. Archives at Simancas, 1870-23.

memorial composed for the Spanish ambassador, the Duke of Escalona, he praised his knowledge of canon law, his irreproachable life and his gentle disposition.<sup>1</sup> When the conclave met after the death of Clement VIII., it was thought that he stood a good chance, as he was much liked both within and without the Sacred College, and was a man of outstanding ability.<sup>2</sup> Later, when on the death of Leo XI. he was in the front rank, the diplomats were especially appreciative of his knowledge of canon law,<sup>3</sup> though some doubted if he possessed the qualities requisite for governing. It was thought, wrote the Duke of Urbino's representative, that he would make a good rather than a great Pope.<sup>4</sup>

Paul V. was tall, his heavy body was inclined to stoutness, and it was apparent that he was short-sighted. In accordance with the custom of the period<sup>5</sup> he had a small beard and pointed moustache. His face showed hard but very regular lines.<sup>6</sup> All his contemporaries admired the nobility of his

<sup>1</sup> See RATTI, *Opuscolo*, 44.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*Discorso in Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

<sup>3</sup> See the \*Report of Magni, of May 21, 1605. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>4</sup> B. Ceci's opinion in his report of October 31, 1605, \**Relazione di Roma, Urb.* 837, Vatican Library. The passage is given in ORBAAN, *Documenti*, XLVI, but without any mention of the concluding restriction: "Pure il tempo sarà egli il giudice."

<sup>5</sup> From Clement VII. to Clement VIII. the Popes wore full beards; from Clement XI. onwards no Pope wore a beard; see *Anal. iuris pontif.*, 1895, 1031.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Gigli in FRASCHETTI, *Bernini*, 8. *Pauli V. P.M. Vita compendio scripta* (Barb., XXXIII., 190, p. 12) thus describes Paul V.'s appearance: "Fuit Paulus excelsa staturae proceritate, grandibus membris et elegantibus, colore candido et flavo, caeruleis oculis, . . . gravi simul et placido oris aspectu, in quo dignitas venustati, hilaritas severitati miscentur" (Vatican Library). The Pope's Majordomo, G. B. Costaguti, remarks: "Fu alto di persona e di bella presenza, piacevole con gravità, diligente, accurato, integro, clemente, giusto. Non facile a credere, rispettoso, parco nel vivere, vestire" (COSTAGUTI, *Alcune attioni di Paolo V.*, ch. 1, Costaguti Archives, Rome, n. 11).

appearance. His whole deportment was restrained, dignified as became his high rank.<sup>1</sup> It was related in Rome that the Pope had made such an impression upon an Englishman as to induce him to abjure his religious errors forthwith.<sup>2</sup> Many busts, statues, oil paintings and engravings have preserved the likeness of Paul V. Among the most celebrated busts is one in marble by Bernini which adorns the Borghese Gallery.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 95.

<sup>2</sup> See BZOVIVUS, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. FRASCHETTI, 16 ; MUÑOZ in *L'Arte*, XIX. (1916), 99 *seq.* and MUÑOZ, *Roma*, 54, 66 *seq.* The bust in the sculpture gallery in Copenhagen, section 3<sup>a</sup>, no. 827, is of the school of Bernini. Cf. on this fine work, *L'Arte*, XX. (1917), 51 *seq.* Good bronze busts of Paul V. can be seen in the great hall of the Vatican Library, above the entrance to the Papal secret archives ; in the sacristy of the Lateran (by Niccolò Cordieri ; see TITI, 216 ; inscription in CIACONIUS, IV., 391) and in the private collection of Prince Boncompagni, at Rome. A bronze statue of Paul V. by Paolo Sanquirico adorns the main sacristy of St. Mary Major's (inscription in FORCELLA, XI., 64). The fine bronze statue at Rimini cast by Sebastiano di Recanati in 1614 after a model by Niccolò Cordieri (see BAGLIONE, 115 ; KEYSSLER, II., 459 *seq.* ; THIEME, VII., 402 ; ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 197 ; cf. *ibid.*, 206, on the statue in Fano) was transformed in 1797, under the Cisalpine Republic, into a St. Gaudentius and for this the keys and inscription were destroyed. On the statue in Ferrara see FRIZZI, V., 39 ; on that in Siena, by Fulvio Signorini, and on the bust in the Saraceni Palace see *Historisch-politische Blätter*, LXXXIV., 52. The marble statue on the tomb is by Silla da Viggiù ; see ch. V. of Vol. XXVI. A portrait of Paul V. in mosaic, made by Marcello Provenzale in 1621, is in the Borghese Gallery (reproduced in FR. BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, *Ambasciate dei Giapponesi*, LXIV.). Also in the Boncompagni Gallery is the oil painting by Pier Francesco Mola. There are other oil paintings of Paul V. in the Vatican picture gallery (reproduction in L. GUALINO, *L'apoplessia di Paolo V.*, Genoa, 1926, 8) and in the sacristy of San Carlo in Corso in Rome. At Prince Scipione Borghese's, I saw a good portrait of Paul V., larger than life size (cf. MORONI, C. 232) ; it is wrongly attributed to Caravaggio. MATTEO MARANSONI, *Il Caravaggio*, Florence, 1922, 52) also denies that it is by

Paul V. enjoyed extremely good health. Throughout his life he had never been seriously ill.<sup>1</sup> In order to preserve his health, he was assiduous in taking exercise, even when Pope.<sup>2</sup>

The Pope had a calm and reflective temperament; he was a man of few words, though he was ever genial and affable

Caravaggio, while Lionello Venturi maintains that it is; see *L'Arte*, XIII (1910), 276-9 (including a reproduction) and *Michelangelo da Caravaggio*, 1st and 2nd editions. A. VENTURI (*Il Museo e la Galleria Borghese*, Roma, 1893, 725) wants to ascribe P. F. Mola's portrait to a "rozzo frescante"; to me it looks like a mediocre copy of the picture belonging to the Prince Sc. Borghese. On the medallions and coins, see MARTINORI, 73 seq. Cf. also O. VITALINI, *Alcune monete di Paolo V. nuovamente acquistate da S.E. il principe Borghese*, Camerino, 1883. Among the extraordinarily numerous engravings showing Paul V.'s features may be mentioned those of Peter de Jode, F. von Hülsen ("Hulsius"), Jacob ab Heyden, Raphael Sadeler (Munich, 1605) and Crispin de Passe (1605, reproduced by PHILIPPSON, *Westeuropa*, I., 467 and WINTER, *Gesch. des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, 77).

<sup>1</sup> See the \*report of G. B. Thesis of October 2, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 95, and FR. CONTARINI, *Relazione*, 87. An \*Avviso of May 21, 1605, describes Paul V. "sanissimo", in continued good health for thirty years, "si spera un pontificato lunghissimo." There is much talk of the Pope being unwell, said an \*Avviso of October 10, 1607, but he is fundamentally healthy (Vatican Library). The preservation of this good health is attested by the author of \**Conclave per la morte di Paolo V.*, in *Barb.*, 4676, p. 1, Vatican Library. The Figdor Collection in Vienna contains Paul V.'s domestic medicine chest, made in Augsburg.

<sup>2</sup> Every morning, says an \*Avviso of August 10, 1605, the Pope takes exercise (*un buon essercitio*). In the autumn he went for a ride every day; see the \*Avviso of October 12, 1605, Vatican Library. In spite of the Pope's good health, the astrologers spread rumours of his approaching death. Hence arose a fear of poisoning; even the Pope himself was concerned about it, and ordered precautionary measures in regard to his food; see AG. NANI, in MUTINELLI, III., 20; cf. the report in STIEVE, V., 772, n. 3.



as well as frank and candid. Extremely hard-working, he had always lived for duty alone. His knowledge of the Roman Curia was exhaustive, but of foreign countries he only knew Spain. He had held aloof from high politics; if as Pope he succeeded in entering this sphere, he never became a politician properly so called.<sup>1</sup> His moral conduct was always exemplary and above the least suspicion; it was generally believed that he had preserved his baptismal innocence.<sup>2</sup> He rivalled Pius V. in piety. He said Mass every day; having first made his confession. When celebrating he was the personification, it was said, of the ideal of the priesthood. He prayed much and with the greatest devotion; he never let an hour of the day pass without invoking God. He also had a fervent devotion to Mary and the Saints.<sup>3</sup> His favourite meditation was the one on death. His love of spiritual treatises is attested by the large number which he kept in his bedroom.<sup>4</sup> Also characteristic of the thoroughly religious bent of Paul V. is the fact that, except for a few poems and Justus Lipsius' edition of Seneca, the works

<sup>1</sup> See AG. NANI, in MUTINELLI, III., 19; MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 95 seq.; FR. CONTARINI, *Relazione*, 87. Cf. the \*Avviso of May 28, 1605. Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*reports of G. Magni, of May 18, 1605, of G. B. Thesis, May 21, 1605, and of G. C. Foresto, of May 21, 1605, all in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. *Conclave per la morte di Paolo V.*, Barb., 4676, p. 2, Vatican Library; MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 96, and AMAYDEN-BERTINI, I., 175. Bitter enemies of Paul V. said "Si tiene per inabile nelle cose di Venere (RITTER, *Akten*, II., 86). Nevertheless Paul V. had to witness the appearance in Paris, in 1608, of an impostor, who claimed to be his son. The man was found out and brought to justice, November 22, 1608; cf. GOUJET, II., 1 seq. and PERRENS, *Un procès criminel sous le règne de Henri IV.*, Paris, 1867. The venomous epigrams which issued from Protestant quarters on this occasion are raked up anew by SCHELHORN (*Amoenit. V.*), 'avec une sorte de complaisance,' as GOUJET (II., 8) remarks.

<sup>3</sup> See BZOVIVUS, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 15. In confirmation cf. the report of G. Soranzo in MUTINELLI, III., 92.

<sup>4</sup> See BZOVIVUS, ch. 53.

dedicated to him dealt almost exclusively with ecclesiastical matters.<sup>1</sup> It should not be inferred, however, that the Borghese Pope was indifferent to learning; the contrary is shown by his care for the Vatican Library<sup>2</sup> and for the continuation of the building of the Roman University.<sup>3</sup> But,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Appendix No. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Paul V. enlarged and embellished the Vatican Library (see BAGLIONE, 96); he also considerably enriched it with MSS. coming from Bobbio (cf. DE ROSSI in the introduction to *Cod. Palat. lat. Bibl. Vatic.*, I., Romae, 1886, cxii., and SEEBAS, in the *Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, XIII. (1896), 57 seq.). The letter of thanks to the Abbot of Bobbio is now published in *Spicil. Vatic.*, Romae, 1890, 96, from the Library of Sirleto (see *Hist. Jahrb.*, XI., 725 seq., and from Grottaferrata (see MÜNTZ, *La Vaticane*, Paris, 1890, 96 seq.). See also *Bull.*, XI., 431 seq.; BLUME, III., 69, IV., 273, 277; CARINI, *Bibl. Vatic.*, 75 seq.; *Cat. Cod. graec. Ottob.*, Romae, 1893, xlix; *Mitteil. des Oesterr. Hist. Instit.* XXV., 303; ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 263; *ibid.*, 279, on the purchase of Card. Serafino Olivier's library; *Vat.* 5480: \*Nota delli libri donati dalla S<sup>ta</sup> di N.S. Paolo V. alla libreria Vaticana (libri 1906, parte stampati et parte manoscritti cioè libri 1564 stampati et libri 342 manoscritti pagati agli heredi d'Aldo Manutio scudi 500). Vatican Library. On the purchase of books belonging to Peña after his death, see \*Avviso, October 6, 1612, *ibid.* Other results of Paul V.'s efforts in all directions for the enrichment of the Vatican Library, were the \*Briefs to Cardinal B. Sandoval, dated sept. Cal. Iun. 1609 (he was to send to Rome the Arabic books found at Granada), and to the archbp. of Granada, dated XVII. Cal. Octob. 1609 (he was to give the Arabic books to the nuncio), *Epist.*, IV., V., Papal Secret Archives. See also Appendix, No. 7, the \*Brief to Aloysius Lollin, March 12, 1620. Papal Secret Archives. After Baronius' death, Cardinal de Torres became librarian (see \*Avviso of July 4, 1607, Vatican Library). When he died in 1609, Scipione Borghese became librarian; and was succeeded in 1618 by Scip. Cobelluzzi; see DENIS, *Nowvelles de Rome*, CXV. On Paul V.'s private library see ORBAAN, *Documenti*, XLV, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See RENAZZI, III., 64 seq. *Ibid.*, also on Paul V.'s enactments in favour of the professors of the Sapienza. On Paul V.'s solicitude for the University of Louvain, see P. WIRTZ in the *Wissenschaftl.*

for him, ecclesiastical interests were pre-eminent, so that the promotion of secular sciences was quite a secondary consideration.<sup>1</sup> Practical considerations inspired the promotion of the study of Oriental languages, the printing of religious books in Arabic<sup>2</sup> and the foundation of special new secret archives for the Holy See—a measure by which Paul V. has put historians under an immense obligation to him.<sup>3</sup>

The pre-eminence of ecclesiastical interests for Paul V. appeared also in his indefatigable participation in public religious functions.<sup>4</sup> In the Corpus Christi procession, in which, when at all possible, he took part on foot, he himself carried the Blessed Sacrament.<sup>5</sup> He frequently visited the seven churches of Rome.<sup>6</sup> He was regularly present at the forty hours devotion in the church of the Jesuits, and nearly

*Beil. of Germania*, 1905, No. 6. At Bologna Paul V. confirmed the privileges of the German nation; see *Atti d. Romagna*, II., 230 seq.

<sup>1</sup> In point of fact, Ant. Querengo was assisted in his studies by Paul V.; the famous orientalist G. B. Raimondi received an annual pension of 800 scudi from him; see ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 285, 187. According to RENAZZI (III., 116) the Pope also helped the controversialist John Barclay (d. 1621). L. Allaci, who subsequently acquired great fame, was a copyist at the Vatican Library under Paul V. The famous edition of the Councils (*Concilia generalia ecclesiae catholicae Paul V. auctoritae edita*, Romae ex typogr. Vatic. 1608–1612, 4 vols.) owes its origin principally to Clement VIII.; see BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 333.

<sup>2</sup> See BERTOLETTI, *Le tipografie orientali e gli orientalisti a Roma nei sec. XVI. e XVII.*, Firenze, 1878, 34 seqq., 47 seqq. The *Congregazione sopra la stamperia* consisted in 1605 of Cardinals Baronius, Du Perron, Arigoni and Cesi; see *\*Relazione di Roma by C. Ceci, Urb.* 837, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> More detailed information on the point in the next chapter.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *\*Avvisi* of April 5, 1608, April 10, 1610, December 28, 1611, April 25, 1612, and March 30, 1619, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> See the *\*Avviso* of June 20, 1615, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> See the *\*Avvisi* of April 2 and 5 and November 15, 1608; April 2, 1614; April 19, 1615, and March 30, 1619, *ibid.*

every year on that occasion he said Mass there.<sup>1</sup> He did the same at S. Maria Nuova on the feast of St. Frances of Rome.<sup>2</sup> Like Clement VIII., Paul V. sometimes heard confessions for hours on end.<sup>3</sup>

Into his immediate entourage the Pope only admitted men distinguished by piety, industry, prudence, modesty, peacefulness and disinterestedness. His servants were allowed to wear nothing more showy than wool.<sup>4</sup> He was by nature extremely economical<sup>5</sup>; the low state of finances induced him to limit his court to a minimum,<sup>6</sup> yet he always found money for the needy. From the first he continued the alms given by his predecessor.<sup>7</sup> Six poor men were given food in his palace every day; later the number was increased to thirteen.<sup>8</sup> The Pope spent large sums every year on dowries for girls without means, on foundlings and to help with bread, clothes or money those who were ashamed to own their poverty. When he went out—which was often—he gave alms freely.<sup>9</sup> His fatherly solicitude for the poor in

<sup>1</sup> See besides, \**Diarium P. Alaleonis* (Barb. 2816, Vatican Library), the \**Avvisi* of March 7, 1609, February 24, 1610, and February 12, 1620, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See \**Diarium P. Alaleonis*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> See \**Avviso* of April 1, 1606, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See the notes of G. B. Costaguti, ch. I. Costaguti Archives, Rome. (Cf. Appendix Vol. XXVI. No. 14).

<sup>5</sup> See AG. NANI in MUTINELLI, III., 19; STIEVE, VI., 103, 222, 309, 492, 515, 722; \**Avviso* of May 25, 1605, Vatican Library. It is characteristic that at first Paul V. even wanted to retain the pension conferred on him as Cardinal, by Philip III! The satisfaction of the Spanish Council of State and the king over this appears in the \**Protocol of the session of the Spanish Council*, June 28, 1605, original in Archives at Simancas, 1870—129.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the \**report of Magni*, May 21, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; and the \**Avvisi*, March 21 and September 9, 1606, June 16 and December 25, 1607, January 5 and 19, 1608, June 3, 1609, Vatican Library.

<sup>7</sup> See \**Avviso* of June 22, 1605, *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> See \**Avviso* of November 27, 1610, *ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> See BZOVIVS, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 45.



the city was shown also by the fact that he endeavoured to procure the best flour for them at a low price.<sup>1</sup> He was also anxious for the liberation of the unfortunate prisoners in Turkey<sup>2</sup> as also for the generous support of needy Greeks, and of the English, Scots and Irish, who had been driven out of their countries and had sought a refuge in Rome.<sup>3</sup> Regular subsidies also went to the colleges for the training of clergy in Rome and elsewhere; to missionaries, Religious orders and various charitable institutions in the Eternal City. Giovan Battista Costaguti, who was majordomo from 1618 to 1621, has recorded the subsidies granted by Paul V.; the sum which he spent on the objects mentioned amounts to 82,710 scudi a year.<sup>4</sup> To this must be added occasional relief distributed by the Pope or his officials. In this way the expenditure on charity each year came to 120,000 scudi. Paul V. himself mentioned this figure in 1619 to the imperial envoy.<sup>5</sup> The alms which came to the knowledge of Costaguti amounted to 1,300,000 scudi for the whole pontificate.<sup>6</sup>

In order always to have money for these charitable objects, Paul V. insisted on limiting as much as possible his personal expenditure. For this reason he wished to curtail his visits to Frascati, his only recreation. At first he even thought of dispensing altogether with such stays in the country, for the sake of economy,<sup>7</sup> but reasons of health compelled him to give up the idea. His constitution and the fatigue resulting from the work of government obliged him several times in

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avviso of December 29, 1607, Vatican Library. Cf. the next chapter.

<sup>2</sup> \*Brevia, II., 10, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>3</sup> See Bzovius, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 46, the statements of which are confirmed by Paul V.'s Majordomo, G. B. Costaguti (\**Alcune attioni di Paolo V.*, ch. 1, Costaguti Archives, Rome). Cf. Appendix Vol. XXVII. n. 14. See also *Vat.* 7956, p. 25, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See the \*notes of Costaguti in Appendix No. 14, Vol. XXVI.

<sup>5</sup> See the \*report of Max von Trautmansdorf to Ferdinand II., October 24, 1619, State Archives, Vienna.

<sup>6</sup> See the \*notes of Costaguti, *loc. cit.*, in Appendix No. 14, Vol. XXVI.

<sup>7</sup> As says the \*Avviso of September 24, 1605, Vatican Library.

the year, mostly in spring and autumn, to leave the heavy, oppressive air of Rome for the hills, where, free from all ceremony, he could take the exercise, so necessary for him, more easily<sup>1</sup> than in the Eternal City. Nevertheless he hardly ever prolonged for more than a week<sup>2</sup> his stay at the Villa Mondragone, purchased in 1614 from the Duke of Altemps.<sup>3</sup> During these periods he said Mass, sometimes in the domestic chapel of the villa, sometimes at the Capuchins', at Grottaferrata, Monte Porzio, Monte Compatri<sup>4</sup> and at Camaldoli, where he had founded a magnificently situated hermitage for the sons of St. Romuald.<sup>5</sup> In Rome during the first years of his pontificate he only spent the winter months at the Vatican; for the summer and autumn of 1605 and 1606 he lived at the Quirinal Palace.<sup>6</sup> In 1607 we find him there by the end of April, in 1608 in June, in 1609 on July 8th, in 1611 and 1612 in May, remaining there continuously until

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avviso of June 20, 1607, *ibid.* Cf. Vol. XXVI. n. 14.

<sup>2</sup> This information is derived from the \**Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb.* 2816, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of April 21, 1614, in the *Studi e docum.* XV., 269. Cf. TOMASSETTI, IV. (1926), 469.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Avviso of June 11, 1614, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> According to the inscription over the entrance, from 1611 to 1614; cf. ORBAAN, 81, 305 *seq.* In the chapel adjoining the church there is the following inscription on a tomb:—

D. O. M.  
 HORTENSIA SANTA CRUCIA FABII FILIA  
 FRANC. BURGHEII S. D. N.  
 PAULI PP. V. FRATRIS DILECTISS.  
 CONIUX EXSTRUCTO SACELLO HOC TUMULATA  
 SEPULCRO CARNIS RESURRECTIONEM EXPECTAT,  
 OBIT V. CAL. IUNII  
 A. D. 1616.

<sup>6</sup> When Dengel asserts in his work on the Palazzo di Venezia (p. 114): "None of the successors of Clement VIII. resided at S. Marco" he is correct, although in *Bull.*, XI. and XII. there are numerous *Bulls* dated "*apud S. Marcum*"; for this mention of the basilica nearest the Quirinal was only replaced in 1614 by "*apud S. Mariam Majorem*"; see NOVAES, IX., 126.

October. After the extensive building operations at the Quirinal were completed in 1613, he lived practically all the year in the spacious apartments of that splendid palace.<sup>1</sup>

The self-sacrificing devotion of Paul V. to the duties of his position could not have been greater. To an excellent memory he added indefatigable industry. His instructions to his envoys were revised and altered by him down to the last detail.<sup>2</sup> He himself composed many letters to nuncios.<sup>3</sup> But, since he wished to deal with everything himself and at the same time was very meticulous, conscientious and deliberate in all his doings, and averse from anything hasty, the whole world soon complained of his slowness.<sup>4</sup> When these mutterings reached the Pope's ears, he remarked that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Bull.*, XI. and XII., *passim*. In 1607, Paul V. went in the middle of May (see *Bull.*, XI., 421), to St. Peter's, intending to remain there till Corpus Christi, June 14 (see \**Avviso*, May 26, 1607, Vat. Libr.); but as early as June 6, his *acta* are again dated "apud S. Marcum" (*Bull.*, XI., 428 *seq.*). In other years also the Pope lived in the Vatican, but for the most part only for a short time.

<sup>2</sup> \**Liturae cernuntur Pauli manu appositae in exemplaribus mandatorum, quae illius iussu tradebantur viris in externum negotium proficiscentibus earumque loco reposita verba longe diversa a priore scripto et ab his, quae Pontifex coram iis egerat iam a se dimissis. Pauli V. P.M. Vita, etc., Barb. 2670, p. 9<sup>b</sup>, Vatican Library.*

<sup>3</sup> See BORGHESE, I., 582; cf. *ibid.*, XI., 55, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the \*report of G. B. Thesis of May 21, 1605; \*that of F. M. Vialardo, of June 4, 1605, and the \*letter of Giulio del Carretto, of October 22, 1605, all in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the report of Castiglione in STIEVE, V., 772, n. 2.; the \**Avvisi* of May 25, 1605 (Pasquino's satire), June 15 (the Pope wants to know everything) and June 22 (no precipitancy), Vatican Library; and the letter from \*Pietro Federighi to Maffei Barberini, of May 31, 1605, *Cod. Barb.* 4648, p. 290 *seq.*, *ibid.* \*"Paolo V. prima di far risoluzione di cosa alcuna s'informava di quello se ne diceva in banchi," says the note in *Cod. Hist.*, 181 (Folio), p. 45<sup>b</sup> of the Stuttgart Library.

it was no wonder if he did not from the first make great changes as other Popes had done, for these had had time to work out a scheme of government in advance, while he had been raised to the chair of Peter unexpectedly, and so he must be allowed time for reflection.<sup>1</sup> In these circumstances it was not surprising that the granting of numerous favours, as was customary at the beginning of a new reign, did not take place. The Pope thought that in these concessions there might be requested and granted things that should not be ; he meant to proceed with the strictest conscientiousness and to weigh diligently what might be granted.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of the taciturnity and majestic dignity which were characteristic of Paul V., his contemporaries spoke highly of the kindness and patience which he showed at audiences. He knew just how to temper his distinguished reserve with affability in conversation. While still a Cardinal he possessed these qualities in so high a degree that his courtesy was proverbial.<sup>3</sup> He listened to reports and requests with such goodwill that even those who were embarrassed took heart and came away with the impression that every reasonable request would easily meet with success from such a Pope.<sup>4</sup> For the first few years Paul V. rather was too liberal in granting audiences<sup>5</sup> ; subsequently he had to limit their number.<sup>6</sup> In order to obtain the exercise which he so greatly

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avviso of June 11, 1605, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the \*reports of G. Magni, May 18 and 28, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>3</sup> See the report of the Venetian *obbedienza* envoys, in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 62.

<sup>4</sup> See MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 95 and BZOVIVUS, *Vita Pauli V.*, c. 47. Cf. the \*report of G. Magni, of May 21, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>5</sup> The Pope, it is said in \*Avviso of June 11, 1605, gives audiences "a che ne vuole et quasi a che non ne vuole". Cf. the \*Avviso of July 19, 1606, Vatican Library, and the \*report of G. del Carretto of October 22, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>6</sup> See Avviso of January 24, 1609, Vatican Library. Towards the end of the pontificate, when the Pope was old, the diplomats



needed, Paul V. gave audiences whilst walking up and down the corridors of the palace.<sup>1</sup>

The appointments to the more important posts were only made at the end of May, 1605.<sup>2</sup> Cardinal Pompeo Arigoni continued as Datary.<sup>3</sup> Cinzio Aldobrandini as Grand Penitentiary, Montalto as Vice-Chancellor, Pietro Aldobrandini as *camerlengo*, Luigi Capponi as *tesoriere generale*,<sup>4</sup> and Favio Biondi as major domo,<sup>5</sup> while Girolamo Pamfili was made Cardinal Vicar of Rome,<sup>6</sup> Roberto Ubaldini, nephew of Leo XI., *maestro di camera*, and Settimio Ruberti *coppiere*.<sup>7</sup> The important office of Secretary of Briefs to princes, i.e. Secretary of State, was given to Cardinal Erminio Valenti.<sup>8</sup> He conducted the correspondence with the nuncios until the end of August, 1605; but at the beginning of

were received only in the afternoon, and one week was fixed for the envoys, another for the residents; see BIJDRAGTOT DE GESCHIEDENIS V. H. HERTOGDOM BRABANT VII. (1908), 192.

<sup>1</sup> See AG. NANI, in MUTINELLI, III., 19.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*letter of Pietro Federighi to Maffei Barberini, May 31, 1605, *loc. cit.* and \*Avviso of May 25, 1605, Vat. Libr. Paul V.'s taking possession did not occur until November 6, 1605; see CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 169 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> In the spring of 1607, Arigoni became archbishop of Benevento. Michelangelo Tonti succeeded him, but was soon replaced by Aurelio Maraldi; see MORONI, XIX., 135.

<sup>4</sup> See MORONI, LXXIV., 300. Alessandro Ruspoli was made *tesoriere segreto*, by a brief of September 22, 1605 (Ruspoli Archives, Rome).

<sup>5</sup> See MORONI, XLI., 263. On Costaguti, afterwards majordomo and his \*notes in the Costaguti Archives, Rome, see Appendix Vol. XXVI. n. 14.

<sup>6</sup> When Pamfili died in 1610, Cardinal Giangarzia Millini succeeded him; see MORONI, XCIX, 95.

<sup>7</sup> See the \*letter of P. Federighi, May 31, 1605, *loc. cit.* Cf. *Studi e documenti*, XXII., 203, where for "Pietro" read "Roberto". See also MORONI, LXXXI., 491. On Paul V.'s "scalco", see Serrano Trissino, see MUTINELLI, III., 98.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Valenti's letter to Rudolph II., June 3, 1605, in MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 372. On Valenti, cf. the present work, Vol. XXIII., 52.

September the management of affairs passed, nominally at least, to Paul V.'s nephew Scipione Caffarelli, his sister's son.<sup>1</sup>

Scipione Caffarelli had begun by studying philosophy at the Roman College founded by the Jesuits; later on he read for the law at the University of Perugia. His extant manuscripts<sup>2</sup> show that in these subjects he was both industrious and keen. The expenses of his education were paid by his uncle. When the latter, soon after his elevation to the papacy, summoned him to Rome, it was thought in court circles that he would marry, as Paul V.'s brother, Giovan Battista, and his son were both invalids.<sup>3</sup> But by the beginning of July, 1605, a rumour arose that Scipione was destined to be Cardinal nephew.<sup>4</sup> Sooner than was expected, on July 18th, his admission to the Sacred College took place.<sup>5</sup> The young man of twenty-seven<sup>6</sup> received, at the same time as the purple, the name and arms of the Borghese.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See MEYER, XLIII., 489 *seq.* Cf. RICHARD in the *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI., 732.

<sup>2</sup> See \**Compendium philosophiae in Borghese*, I., 664, Papal Secret Archives, and \**Notabilium super Institutionibus libri*, V., *ibid.*, I., 658-662, to which MEYER (*Nuntiaturberichte*, XLIV.) was the first to draw attention.

<sup>3</sup> See \**Avviso* of May 25, 1605, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See \**Avviso* of July 9, 1605, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> See \**Acta Consist.*, Vatican Library; \*report of G. Magni of July 18, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. On June 24, 1605, Paul V. replied to Duke Carlo Emanuele of Savoy's exhortation to confer the purple on a nephew, that he had not yet had time to do so. *Epist.*, I., 17, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>6</sup> CIACONIUS' statement (IV., 399), that he was 33, can safely be regarded as erroneous, since according to the report of the Venetian *obbedienza* envoys (BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 62) he was 26 in 1605; according to MOCENIGO (*Relazione*, 96) he was 27; with which the statement of the *Relacion del s. colegio del a.º 1606*, that he was 28, agrees (Spanish Embassy Archives, Rome). The \**Avviso* of July 23, 1605, gives too low a figure when it says that the nephew was hardly 25. Vatican Library.

<sup>7</sup> According to the \**Avviso* of July 23, 1605, Paul V. assigned to the new Cardinal "parte per 25 bocche e 5,000 scudi d'entrata". Vatican Library.

Cardinal Scipione Borghese was a stately man ; he possessed an attractive manner, uncommon versatility and ability and a vivacious if not a profound mentality.<sup>1</sup> His unusually genial, obliging and cheerful manner soon won him great favour. He was specially adapted for the important position of Cardinal nephew. Towards the Pope and his relations the nephew behaved from the first with the greatest discretion and reserve.<sup>2</sup>

Immediately after Borghese was made a Cardinal, when the apartments in the pontifical palace, which had formerly been those of Aldobrandini, were assigned to him, it was rumoured in Rome that he would be entrusted with the important affairs of state in place of Valenti.<sup>3</sup> After Scipione had been placed, in August, 1605, at the head of the Consulta, which was responsible for the government of the States of the Church,<sup>4</sup> he soon took Valenti's place. This was not surprising since Valenti, formerly secretary to Pietro Aldobrandini and nominated on his recommendation, was on the closest terms with Clement VIII.'s nephew.<sup>5</sup> His position became intolerable, as it was impossible for good relations to be maintained between the Pope and the arrogant Pietro Aldobrandini,<sup>6</sup> although Paul V., in order not to appear

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the \*report of G. Magni, July 23, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 96 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of August 24, 1605. In the \*Avviso of June 17, 1605, it is said that "Borghese camina con molto riguardo", so much so that he did not even dare to ask permission to summon his father from Nepi to Rome. Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of July 20 and 23, 1605, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. \*Avvisi of August 13 and 20, 1605. According to the latter Borghese, before taking possession of the Consulta, said his first Mass in S. Andrea di Monte Cavallo. Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> See the \*reports of G. Magni, May 25 and 28, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. also the \*report of Castiglione in STIEVE, V., 772, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the \*reports of Foresto, May 21 and 25, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and \*Avvisi of August 17 and 20, 1605, Vatican Library. B. Ceci of Urbino in his \**Relazione di Roma al principio del Pontificato di Paolo V.* calls Aldobrandini "superbo quanto si può", *Urb.* 837, p. 422, *ibid.*

ungrateful, attached great importance to their being kept up.<sup>1</sup>

Clement VIII.'s nephew, at one time so influential, had made many enemies during the thirteen years of his uncle's pontificate. His wavering, unreliable and selfish conduct in the recent conclaves had been a fatal blow to his prestige. Aldobrandini foolishly made immediate petitions to the new Pope for a quite excessive number of favours.<sup>2</sup> Finally, one circumstance in particular had a damaging effect. Aldobrandini, as legate to Ferrara, archbishop of Ravenna and camerlengo, was in a position which was bound to bring him into conflict with the Pope's nephew, especially in view of his own ambition. Aldobrandini was so little able to adapt himself to changed conditions that he tried to make a big political move on his own authority by negotiating with the representatives of France and Savoy for an alliance of the Italian powers against Spain.<sup>3</sup> The dismissal of Valenti was a great blow to Aldobrandini; soon afterwards it was apparent how strained relations had become between him and Scipione Borghese.<sup>4</sup>

In December, 1605, an open dispute arose about a valuable collection of books, which Clement VIII.'s nephew maintained had been given to him by his late uncle by word of mouth whereas Cardinal Borghese could produce a written deed of gift from Paul V.<sup>5</sup> Other measures of the reigning Pope annoyed

<sup>1</sup> Cf. \*Avvisi of May 28 and July 24, 1605, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the \*report of G. Magni, May 25, 1605, and \*that of F. del Carretto, October 22, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. PHILIPPSON, *Heinrich IV.*, Vol. III., 259 seq.; RITTER, *Akten*, II., 302. Cecchini in his \*Memoirs (see RANKE, III., Appendix 121) relates that the Advocate-General of the Treasury, Cirocchi, employed false testimony against Prince Aldobrandini in the suit for the acquisition of Montefortino. The use made of this assertion by BÖHN, in his book on Bernini, against Paul V.—whom Cecchini does not mention at all, is refuted by J. BRAUN, in the *Lit. Beiträge* of the *Köln. Volkszeitung*, 1912, No. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of September 28, 1605, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of December 17 and 31, 1605, *ibid.*



Aldobrandini even more. It was already a great disappointment to him that his relinquishing of the office of camerlengo in favour of the young Ippolito Aldobrandini was not accepted<sup>1</sup>; then came the strict application of the obligation of residence, which compelled him either to give up the large revenues of the archbishopric of Ravenna, or by leaving Rome to lose his position in the Curia.<sup>2</sup> When in April, 1606, Paul V. took the Ferrara legation away from Aldobrandini and transferred it until further notice to Cardinal Spinola, a formal breach ensued. Aldobrandini left Rome on May 21st, 1606, and retired to his see of Ravenna.<sup>3</sup> Two years later he had a sharp quarrel with Cardinal Caetani, who had been sent there as the Pope's legate, and in consequence went to Savoy for the winter.<sup>4</sup> The excellent work which he did in reforming the archdiocese of Ravenna subsequently effected a reconciliation with Cardinal Caetani and the Pope.<sup>5</sup> In February, 1610, Aldobrandini returned to Rome,<sup>6</sup> where he received many tokens of favour from

<sup>1</sup> Cf. \*Aviso of December 31, 1605, and January 14, 1606, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the \*report of the Venetian *obbedienza* ambassadors in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 61.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. \*Avvisi of April 1, May 17, 20 and 24, 1606, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of August 2 and October 22, 1608, *ibid.*, and the \*report in RITTER, *Akten*, II., 86. Cf. BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I (Torino), 98, 184.

<sup>5</sup> See \*Avvisi of April 11 and October 3, 1609, and February 2, 1610, Vatican Library. On the activities of Aldobrandini at Ravenna, cf. UGHELLI, II., 395. G. FABRI, *Sagre Memorie di Ravenna*, Venetia, 1664; BOZZELLI, *Marino*, 74; Aldobrandini held four diocesan synods (1607, 1609, 1613, 1617); see *Synodus dioec. Ravennat. a. 1790, Romae, 1791*, xxvii. The new seminary for priests was erected at Ravenna on October 12, 1609, and was entrusted to the Somaschi; see \**Atti* 32, p. 385, Archiepiscopal Archives, Ravenna. *Ibid.*, *Prot.*, 51, p. 366, the first \*Pastoral of Cardinal Aldobrandini, October 28, 1604. A large volume without any signature contains \**Acta et decreta card. Aldobrandini in prima eius ecclesiae visitatione 1606-1609*.

<sup>6</sup> See \*Avviso of February 13, 1610, Vatican Library.

Paul V.<sup>1</sup> Better relations with Scipione Borghese began to appear in the autumn of 1612,<sup>2</sup> but their mutual jealousy continued even afterwards.<sup>3</sup>

While Aldobrandini's relations with Paul V. underwent many vicissitudes, Cardinal Scipione on the other hand remained continuously in his uncle's favour. The clever and worldly-wise nephew knew exactly how to accommodate himself to the Pope's character. Realizing that the Pontiff meant to rule with complete independence,<sup>4</sup> Cardinal Scipione at first acted with great reserve<sup>5</sup> and with such caution that the Venetian envoys, who had come to pay homage, thought that he had not the slightest influence and hardly dared to open his mouth. All the honours due to a nephew in charge of affairs were paid to him; the envoys, after their audience with the Pope, had to visit him; but they never received any definite answer, not even an assurance of his support of their interests.<sup>6</sup> Cardinal Scipione persistently continued

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avviso of January 7 and 22, 1611, *ibid.*, and the Venetian report in CERESOLE, *Relazioni tra la casa Aldobrandini e Venezia*, Venezia, 1880, 43. By way of thanking the Pope Aldobrandini dedicated to him the book: *Silvestri Aldobrandini consiliorum liber secundus*, Romae, 1617; cf. L. PASSARINI, *Aggiunte alle memorie intorno alla vita di S. Aldobrandini*, Roma, 1879, 73 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of September 29, 1612. According to the \*Avviso of November 19, 1611, the relations between Aldobrandini and Borghese were then very strained. Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See the reports in CERESOLE, *loc. cit.*, 45 seq.

<sup>4</sup> Besides the \*Avvisi of June 11 and September 10, 1605 (Vatican Library), cf. the \*report of the Venetian *obbedienza* ambassadors in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 60. See also the \*Discorso of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the \*Avviso of August 24, 1605, Vatican Library.

<sup>6</sup> See the \*report of the Venetian envoys in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 62. Since subsequently MOCENIGO also (*Relazione*, 96) was of the same opinion, it is difficult to understand how RANKE, whose narrative is based principally on the Venetian reports, could write "Cardinal Scipione Cafarello Borghese exercised over Paul V. as much influence as P. Aldobrandini had over Clement VIII." (*Päpste*, III<sup>e</sup>, 13).

this prudent reserve, which was likewise observed by other persons entrusted with the most important business, such as the Datary, Cardinal Arigoni, and the Secretaries of State, Martino Malacrida and Lanfranco Margotti.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 96. On L. Margotti, whose letters were regarded as models of style (see CIACONIUS, IV., 419 *seq.*). On L. MARGOTTI, *Lettere scritte per lo più nei tempi di Paolo V. a nome del sig. card. Borghese, raccolte e pubblic. da Pietro de Magistris de Caldirola*, Roma, 1627, Venetia, 1633, new and enlarged edition, Bologna, 1661—unfortunately only letters of courtesy, undated). Cf. *Röm. Quartalschr.*, V., 57; MORONI, XLII., 299, XLIII., 248, 255, 257, 269. According to Moroni, L. Margotti was also "segretario delle cifre", a post vacant after the dismissal of Matteo Argenti (June 15, 1605; see MEISTER, *Geheimschrift*, 51). Cf. also RICHARD, in the *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI., 732, where on the subject of the secretary Porfirio Feliciani there is no reference to the fact that he wrote the Italian letters to the nuncios and other eminent persons for Scipione Borghese; Letters in *Cod. S. 6*, 7-18, and *S. 7*, 1-13 of the Angelica Library, Rome. Cf. LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 75 *seqq.*, and Melet, 255 *seq.*; *Atti d. Lincei*, 4 serie, RENDICONTI, III., 157. P. Feliciani, who in 1612 became bishop of Foligno (see MORONI, XXV., 141) had held, after the death of Card. Lanfranco Margotti in 1611, "gran parte della segretaria di N. Sre"; see the letter of Bentivoglio to him of May 12, 1612, in the *Lettere del card. Bentivoglio*, ed. Biagioli, I., Napoli, 1833, 24. The "segretari delle lettere latine del card. Borghese", were Niccolò Alemanni (until December, 1614) and then Gregorio Porzio; see *Studi e documenti*, XV., 284. The \**Epist. Pauli V. ad principes et alios*, of 1605-1617, in *Arm.* 45, t. 1-12, Papal Secret Archives, are written by "secretarius Petrus Strozza"; *ibid.*, *Arm.* 45, t. 15. \*"Brevia sub anulo," by *Secretarius Cobellutius*, who became a Cardinal in 1616. *Arm.* 44, t. 56, p. 435 *seq.* contains, \**Brevia quae scripsit Mart. Malacrida, secret. Clementis VIII., iussu Pauli V.* On the secretaries, cf. also BONAMICUS, *De claris pontif. epist. script.*, Romae, 1753, 276 *seqq.* Appendix No. 8 (those in charge in 1611 and 1620), and the following note of the period of Urban VIII. in *Barb.* 4592: Paul V., like Clement VIII., had two secretaries of state, Malacrida and Lanfranco; 'chiasch'un haveva parimente suoi negotii separati. Ma promosso Lanfranco al cardinalato,

The respect and devotion shown by Cardinal Borghese to the Pope could not have been greater. In politics also, especially in regard to the neutrality of France and Spain, he worked in close conjunction with the Pope.<sup>1</sup> Although all who had causes to plead in Curia paid great respect to the Cardinal and begged for his support, he took care not to forestall the Pope in the slightest degree, but did everything to help him in his work and to satisfy everyone, at least with pleasant words.<sup>2</sup> This was often very difficult, as Paul V. was very firm once he had made up his mind.<sup>3</sup>

The energy, patience and fidelity with which Scipione Borghese served the Pope brought him a wealth of favours. In 1607 he obtained the legation to Avignon in place of Cinzio Aldobrandini.<sup>4</sup> In the year 1608 alone he became archpriest of the Lateran,<sup>5</sup> prefect of the Congregation of the Council<sup>6</sup> and abbot of San Gregorio on the Coelian,<sup>7</sup> and in 1609 he

Lanfranco rimase capo di tutta la segretaria e Malacrida si licentiò. Morto Lanfranco la segretaria fu divisa di nuovo, cioè nell'abbate Felitiani, fatto poi vescovo di Foligno, et nel sig. Giov. Batt. Perugini, che doppo tre anni morì et la segretaria fu tutta ricommandata al vescovo di Foligno, a cui fu dato per aiutante in prender gli ordini dal Papa il sig. Decio Meruoli, che in ristretto haveva li negotii del Perugino. I sudetti segretarii di stato havevano in due divisi pro aequali portione i medesimi emolumenti che ha un segretario solo. Trattavano i negotii col Papa, l'uno la mattina et l'altro la sera, et il tutto per non cumular tanto le fatiche del Papa in una volta et acciò i negotii si digessero meglio.

Vatican Library.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 98.

<sup>2</sup> See MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 97. But what is said there in regard to Borghese in the \*Avviso of January 2, 1605: "da cui hora dipende ogni cosa," must be modified considerably. Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the report of Vinta in FUSAI, *Vinta*, 98.

<sup>4</sup> See MORONI, III., 157.

<sup>5</sup> See \*Avvisi of May 24 and 28, 1608, Vatican Library.

<sup>6</sup> See \*Avviso of October 18, 1608, *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> See \*Avviso of November 8, 1608, *ibid.*



was made librarian of the Roman Church.<sup>1</sup> After the death of Cinzio Aldobrandini he also obtained, in 1610, the office of Grand Penitentiary<sup>2</sup> and, two years later, following the resignation of Pietro Aldobrandini, that of camerlengo and prefect of Briefs.<sup>3</sup> In addition Cardinal Borghese became prefect of the Segnatura di Grazia, protector of several Orders and of the Swiss Guard, and from 1610 to 1612 he held the archiepiscopal see of Bologna.<sup>4</sup> In the last year of his uncle's pontificate he also became protector of the Holy House of Loreto<sup>5</sup> and archpriest of St. Peter's.<sup>6</sup>

The annual income of Scipione Borghese in 1609 amounted to from 80,000 to 90,000 scudi<sup>7</sup>; three years later it had increased to 140,000.<sup>8</sup> The Pope's generous allowances enabled Cardinal Borghese to buy up the best property in Latium, the owners of which allowed themselves to be induced by the high prices which they obtained to part with their ancestral estates. Thus in 1614 the nephew obtained from Pier Francesco Colonna, Duke of Zagarolo, the villages of Montefortino, Olevano and other property for 280,000 scudi.<sup>9</sup> The Borghese gradually succeeded to the position of the Colonna and Orsini, who from the early middle ages onwards had been owners of the environs of Rome. To this day on the dull walls of the massive and spacious country houses of

<sup>1</sup> See CARINI, *La Biblioteca Vaticana*, 78.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of January 9, 1610. According to the \*Avvisi of April 7, 1610, and April 15 and 19, 1615, Cardinal Borghese punctiliously fulfilled his duties as Grand Penitentiary, hearing confessions in person during Holy Week. Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of September 29, 1612, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> See CARDELLA, VI., 119. Cf. UGHELLI, II., 52. On the protectorate of the Swiss Guard, cf. *Studi e documenti*, XV., 269.

<sup>5</sup> See \*Avviso of April 4, 1620, Vatican Library.

<sup>6</sup> See \*Avviso of November 4, 1620, *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> See FR. CONTARINI, *Relazione*, 87.

<sup>8</sup> See MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 98. The \*Discorso of 1618 (Boncompagni Archives, Rome) gives the figure as 130,000.

<sup>9</sup> See COPPI, *Memorie Colonesi*, 365 and *Studi e documenti*, XV., 273.

Latium can be seen the family portraits of the new owners, and among them that of Scipione Borghese.<sup>1</sup> One becomes reconciled, to some extent, with the great wealth of Cardinal Borghese, when one reads of the generous use he made of it. He was always open-handed with the poor; writers<sup>2</sup> and artists were given the greatest help. The Cardinal, whose somewhat corpulent features have been preserved in two marble busts by Bernini,<sup>3</sup> possessed knowledge as well as love of art. We shall speak later, in the chapter dealing with art, of the splendid activity which he displayed in this connection, traces of which are encountered to this day in so many places in Rome.

Scipione Borghese's patronage of art brought him great popularity in Rome. This was further increased by his magnificent scale of living, which was more that of a great personage of the world than of a prince of the Church. The banquets which he gave to the envoys and Cardinals were extraordinarily sumptuous. These festivities, which sometimes took place in the Cardinal's splendid villa outside the

<sup>1</sup> See GREGOROVIVS, *Wanderjahre*, II., 21 *seq.* AMEYDEN (*Relazione di Roma, in Li Tesori della Corte Romana*, Brussels, 1672, 114), says that the Borghese bought "forse 80 casali, pagandoli più di quello valevano".

<sup>2</sup> A list, albeit by no means complete, of works dedicated to Cardinal Borghese, in CIACONIUS, IV., 400. Italian writings especially are omitted and among them one from a member of the family: "*Scipione Borghese dell'ordine di S. Spirito, Specchio della miseria humana, all'Illmo. Cardinale Borghese*, Bracciano, 1621." How writers showed their gratitude can be seen in J. BRANCONDIUS, *Panegyricus illustriss. et reverendiss. D. Scipionis Burghesii S.R.E. Card., totius Status Ecclesiastici superintendentis generalis, S. Pauli V. Nepotis carissimi*, Maceratae, 1615. (There was a copy in the Borghese Library, now dispersed.)

<sup>3</sup> Both the busts, now in the Casino Borghese in Rome, dating from no earlier than 1632-1633, are speaking likenesses; see FRASCHETTI, 107 *seq.*; BRINKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, 233; BENKARD, *Bernini*, 43.

Porta Pinciana,<sup>1</sup> were the talk of the town.<sup>2</sup> When on one occasion the nephew had arranged such entertainments just before Easter, when not only the Pope but large numbers of the people devoted themselves entirely to spiritual exercises, he was justly rebuked.<sup>3</sup> He has also been accused of frivolity.<sup>4</sup> But no certain proofs of immorality have yet been adduced. In any case grave transgressions would have caused him to forfeit his position with the Pope, who was very strict in such matters.

Of Paul V.'s brothers, who were described as very good men, the elder, Francesco, very pious and generous, had married a Santa Croce<sup>6</sup> but was childless. The younger, Giovan Battista, had by his marriage with Virginia Lante only one little son, Marcantonio, four years old, on whom therefore the future of the family depended.<sup>7</sup> At the very beginning of the pontificate Francesco was made governor of the Borgo and captain of the pontifical guard, and Giovan Battista keeper of Castel Sant' Angelo.<sup>8</sup> When in November, 1605, Francesco became general of the Church, the Pope made him hand over the governorship of the Borgo to his brother. By

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avvisi of July 19 and August 4, 1614, in *Studi e documenti*, XV., 277, 278.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. numerous \*Avvisi, especially of June 2, 1606, April 14, 1607, November 3, 1610, February 11, 1612, February 9, 1613, Vatican Library. On the banquet given on May 20, 1607, by Cardinal Borghese to the Spanish envoys for the *obbedienza*, see *Regin.*, 804, p. 12 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of April 14, 1607, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> See the anonymous report in MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, XLIV., note 4.

<sup>5</sup> See the report of the envoy from Lucca for the *obbedienza* in *Studi e documenti*, XXII., 202.

<sup>6</sup> For the inscription see *supra*, p. 51, n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the report of the Venetian ambassadors for the *obbedienza* in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 57.

<sup>8</sup> See the \*letter of P. Federighi to M. Barberini, May 31, 1605, *Barb.* 4648, and the \*Avviso of June 8, 1605, both in the Vatican Library.

this means Paul V. thought to assuage their mutual jealousy.<sup>1</sup> He gave them the palace in which he had lived as a Cardinal, and the patrimonial rights, which were subsequently to devolve upon Giovan Battista's son.<sup>2</sup> The brothers, of whom Giovan Battista was particularly dear to the Pope, had an audience every evening, but were not allowed to interfere in matters which did not concern their official duties, since Paul V. would not tolerate outside influences.<sup>3</sup> The brothers were compensated by receiving gifts, as varied as they were valuable, and large sums of money.<sup>4</sup> Giovan Battista in particular was abundantly provided for as the one who had to carry on the family. These subsidies were so large that by 1609 Giovan Battista had invested about 300,000 ducats in landed property.<sup>5</sup> In the autumn of 1607 a splendidly furnished apartment in the new Vatican palace was assigned to him<sup>6</sup>; in the winter of the following year he took up residence in the Borgo, in the palace where Cardinal Galli

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avvisi of November 23 and 26, 1605, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso, of December 14, 1605, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> See the report of the Venetian envoys for the *obbedienza*, in BAROCCHI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 62.

<sup>4</sup> The gifts (precious stones, silver plate, magnificent tapestry, glass, arms and especially currency, amounting up to the year 1621, to 629,727 *scudi* 31 *baj.* in currency; in "*Luoghi di Monte*" 24,600 *sc.* nominal value; in official posts, reckoned by the sum which it would cost to buy them, 268,176 *sc.*) are enumerated in the "*Nota di denari, uffici e mobili donati da P. Paolo V. a suoi parenti e concessioni fattegli.*," mentioned by Ranke (*Päpste*, III<sup>e</sup>, 13, 110\* *seqq.*). Whilst I have succeeded in finding almost all the MSS. referred to by Ranke, vaguely and without exact description, I have unfortunately not been able to trace this one. Some of the relevant details may be found in the \*Avvisi; in one of October 24, 1609, it is said that if the Pope lives for another five years, the income of Gio. Battista Borghese will come to 400,000 *scudi*. Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> See FR. CONTARINI, *Relazione*, 87. On the purchase of Rignano see ORBAAN, in *Arch. Rom.*, XXXVI., 124, n. 2. Cf. also \*Avviso, of November 8, 1608, Vatican Library.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of September 22, 1607, *ibid.*



had previously lived.<sup>1</sup> Moreover a family palace was also to be built.<sup>2</sup>

Cardinal Borghese was very careless in money matters. When the Pope once asked him what he did with his large income, he replied with a shrug of the shoulders that his brother Giovan Battista managed it. Small wonder then that the revenue was insufficient and the brothers got into debt.<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Scipione's father, Francesco Caffarelli, who first lived at Nepi and who was eventually permitted to come to Rome, had previously found himself in financial straits.<sup>4</sup> The Pope's nephews of the Vittori family also had heavy debts.<sup>5</sup> In this case, however, the Pope showed no desire to intervene.<sup>6</sup> In fact his relations were not always a source of joy to him. The quarrels between the two brothers were a special cause of great distress.<sup>7</sup> Giovan Battista died on December 24th, 1609. The Pope bore the sad loss as the will of God with great calmness and truly Christian resignation.<sup>8</sup>

One cause of contention between the brothers was the marriage of Diana Vittori. Giovan Battista wanted this niece of the Pope to marry into the Lante family.<sup>9</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avviso of September 13, 1608, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vol. XXVI., ch. V.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of October 24, 1607, Vatican Library. See also FR. CONTARINI, *Relazioni*, 88.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of January 3, 1607, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of December 20, 1608, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> See GIGLI in *Fraschetti*, 18, note.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the \*Avvisi of February 21, March 21, and October 7, 1606, and July 11, 1607, Vatican Library.

<sup>8</sup> It was thought that his death further advanced the position of Card. Scipione Borghese. Cf. \*Avvisi of December 5, 26, and 30, 1609, Vatican Library. (See ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 160.) According to these G. B. Borghese was temporarily buried in S. Maria Maggiore, in the chapel near the new sacristy, to be subsequently moved to the Pauline Chapel, erected by Paul V. On the Christian resignation of Paul V. at the death of his brother, see also \**Pauli V. P.M. Vita, etc.*, Barb. 2670, p. 106, Vatican Library.

<sup>9</sup> See \*Avvisi of April 14 and July 11, 1607, Vatican Library.

Diana was opposed to the match. Then there was talk of her marrying the Prince of Roccella, a member of the Carafa family, who was not only without means, but actually in debt.<sup>1</sup> This marriage took place in November, 1607.<sup>2</sup> In this affair also the Pope was to experience more than one annoyance.<sup>3</sup>

After the death of her husband, Giovan Battista's widow entered the convent of Poor Clares at San Lorenzo in Panisperna. The education of her son, Marcantonio, was undertaken by the Pope.<sup>4</sup> He was exceptionally fond of the boy; during the visits to Frascati,<sup>5</sup> besides Cardinal Borghese, Marcantonio, on whom rested all the hopes of the house of Borghese, was always to be seen in Paul V.'s company. "While His Holiness," said the Venetian ambassador Mocenigo in 1612, "loaded Cardinal Borghese with ecclesiastical offices and revenues, he heaped secular benefits upon Marcantonio, who already bore the title of Prince of Sulmona."<sup>6</sup> This fine property in the kingdom of Naples had been acquired by Paul V. two years earlier for his nephew.<sup>7</sup> Later he bought Morlupo, near Nepi, for him.<sup>8</sup> Great plans were also laid for his marriage. Just as under Clement VIII. the house of Aldobrandini was allied to the Farnese of Parma, so Paul V. would gladly have brought

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avviso of July 25, 1607, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avvisi of November 14, 17, and 21, 1607, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avvisi of July 2 and December 20, 1608, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> See \*Avvisi of January 2 and 9, 1610, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> This appears from several passages in the \*Avvisi, Vatican Library.

<sup>6</sup> MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 96.

<sup>7</sup> The taking possession of Sulmona by the secretary of Marcantonio Borghese is announced in the \*Avviso of June 26, 1610, Vatican Library.

<sup>8</sup> This purchase was made already in 1611, according to the \*Avviso of October 15, 1611; but it is dated two years later in the \*Avviso of April 27, 1613. The amount of the price, quoted in the two documents, differs considerably. Vatican Library.

about a similar union between the Borghese and the Medici.<sup>1</sup> But there were obstacles in the way; eventually Camilla Orsini, of the Bracciano family, was chosen as a wife for the eighteen-year-old nephew. The original idea was that the wedding should be celebrated at Frascati, in the Villa Mondragone.<sup>2</sup> But it actually took place in Rome. Camilla Orsini arrived there on October 19th, 1619, and the marriage was celebrated the following day in the new Pauline Chapel of the Quirinal palace. The Pope himself said the Mass, at which the bridegroom acted as server. The couple received Holy Communion from his hands.<sup>3</sup> When Francesco, the Pope's elder brother, died in the following year<sup>4</sup> the Prince of Sulmona was made general of the Church.<sup>5</sup>

Paul V's great affection for his family acted as an inducement for Princes and Cardinals to honour it as much as possible. As early as 1605 Cardinal Aquaviva presented his beautiful villa at Frascati to the Borghese.<sup>6</sup> When the Duke of Mantua stayed in Rome in the autumn of 1605, he made a present to Cardinal Borghese of a diamond worth 4,000 scudi.<sup>7</sup> At the same time Venice made the nephews honorary citizens.<sup>8</sup> The republic of Genoa did the same in 1606.<sup>9</sup> The French envoys made repeated gifts to Cardinal Borghese.<sup>10</sup> Philip III.

<sup>1</sup> See MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 107.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of August 10, 1619, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See the \**Diarium P. Alaleonis* of October 19 and 20, 1619, *Barb.* 2817, and the \*Avviso of October 23, 1619, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> Francesco Borghese died on June 20, 1620, at Frascati; he was buried in S. Maria Maggiore. \*Avviso of 24th June, 1620, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> See \*Avviso of July 18, 1620, *loc. cit.* The taking of the oath was on July 11; see \**Diarium P. Alaleonis*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> See \*Avviso of September 28, 1605, in ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 63. For the later destinies of the Villa see *Studi e docum.*, XV., 274.

<sup>7</sup> See \*Avviso of September 10, 1605, Vatican Library.

<sup>8</sup> See besides MUTINELLI, III., 39 *seq.*, also the \*Avviso of September 24, 1605, Vatican Library.

<sup>9</sup> See the \*Brief of thanks to Genua, dated March 25, 1606, *Epist.*, I., 467, Secret Papal Archives.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. \*Avviso in *Studi e documenti*, XV., 275.

likewise showed himself very anxious to win over the nephews and to obtain the Pope's favour by the bestowal upon them of pensions and honours.<sup>1</sup> As early as 1605 he conferred upon the Prince of Sulmona the title of a Grandee of Spain.<sup>2</sup>

Since nepotism was the one failing of Paul V., it was to it that his opponents directed their attacks.<sup>3</sup> Where his nephews are concerned the conduct of the Pope, in other respects so admirable, certainly deserves severe blame. He probably did not fully realize how much he failed in this respect, for, in face of a frank remonstrance on the subject from Cardinal Bellarmine, he defended himself by saying that his presents to his relations had only been given with moderation and not out of ecclesiastical revenues!<sup>4</sup> Unlike the Popes of the Renaissance, Paul V. kept aloof from the worldly conduct of his nephews. To form a fair judgment it is also necessary to bear in mind that neither of the Pope's nephews had any real influence on important decisions or on the direction of policy. This applies even to the Cardinal Secretary of State. Paul V. also refrained from establishing his relatives as independent princes, as the Popes of the Renaissance had done. He never for a moment thought of nepotism on the grand scale of times past, although there

<sup>1</sup> See the \*letter of Philip II. to the Marquis Aytona, December 6, 1606; March 2, 1607 (a pension of 3,000 ducats for Card. Borghese); March 8 and September 12. Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 28.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. MORONI, VI., 39; LXXI., 37 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. especially the hostile opinion of a Venetian, in BAROZZI-BERCHET, II., 320 and the *Lettere di Sarpi*, ed. Polidori, I., 281; II., 237. For TASSONI's scoffing see *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XLIX., 407. Extraordinarily violent attacks against Paul V. and the papacy in general are found in *Supplicatio ad Imperatorem, Reges, Principes super causis generalis concilii convocandi contra Paulum V.*, printed in London, 1613. DÖLLINGER-REUSCH (*Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., 548 seq.) believe that the document was "quite certainly drawn up in Rome". My opinion, on the contrary, is, that it proceeded from Sarpi's milieu, for he was in close touch with England.

<sup>4</sup> See LE BACHELET, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 535.



were again and again opportunities for this, especially when there was great dissatisfaction in the kingdom of Naples with the harsh rule of the viceroy Ossuna. It was enough for him that the Borghese should take their places among the Roman princes and equal in wealth the Colonna and Orsini or, if possible, surpass them.<sup>1</sup> Paul V. did not live long enough to see Marcantonio's son, Paolo, increase his fortune by marrying in 1640 Olympia Aldobrandini, the heiress of that family.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Venetian Ambassador, *G. Soranzo*, wrote on January 26, 1619, "(Il Papa) ha fisso il suo pensiero di lasciar nella sua casa gran ricchezze, sta pero risolutissimo di non entrar in pretenzioni di stati ne di principati, ma dissegna lasciar li suoi grandi et richissimi privati et che possino uguagliarsi et avanzar li Colonesi et Orsini ne si scopre sin hora che tenghi la mira piu alta." How a man may be blinded by hatred, appears in the case of M. BROSCHE (*Kirchenstaat*, I., 369), who was thoroughly versed in Italian through his long residence in Venice, yet translates this passage quite contrary to its sense. Thus, "The Pope did not trouble himself with the affairs of state and court," and again (p. 370) comments on the passage, saying that Paul V., "entirely absorbed in his family interests had quite lost all sense for the interests of the state." It is clear from Soranzo's final judgment, in his document of January 28, 1621, that the passage cannot be interpreted in the sense attributed to it by Brosch. This judgment has long been printed by MUTINELLI, II., 93, but Brosch is careful not to quote it: from this we may gather what value to set upon Brosch's assurances in the Preface to his work (I., v.): "I will only add that the factual and underlying basis of my account, even where it is borrowed from the exchange of despatches of the Republic's Ambassador, has been ascertained by deliberate consideration of all the circumstances which testify for or against the credibility of any piece of news. I have always tried to hold a proper balance between scepticism and confidence with regard to these diplomatic documents, and where I have failed to do so, it has not been for want of honest endeavour."

<sup>2</sup> See CERESOLE, *loc. cit.*, 71; NOVAES, IX., 83 *seq.*, and MORONI, VI., 39 *seq.*, where the subsequent history of the family up to the middle of the nineteenth century, will be found.

The historic splendour and rank of the Borghese family was destroyed by the great bankruptcy of the year 1891.<sup>1</sup> Its

<sup>1</sup> A Roman correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (April 5, 1895) considers that, "When the catastrophe overtook the family, there were not wanting people who welcomed the sensational event with undisguised rejoicing. Some individuals triumphed in the fall of a member of a family which was the most irreconcilable opponent of the new régime and the equally enthusiastic champion of papal claims. Others hoped that the ruined fortunes of the princely house might prove a fruitful source of profit for a host of proletarians. Gradually, however, it became clear that it made little difference to the papacy whether the house of Borghese lived in its former pomp or its present penury. Others, too, realized that the breakdown of the fortune belonging to the noble house had had no social repercussions, but had only brought about a change of ownership. The Borghese fortune served to increase the property of the new aristocracy, which had, perhaps, all the faults and none of the advantages of the older order. For speculators, apt in making profit out of everything, whether a national revolution or a building swindle, were vulgar people, lacking in ideals and quite untouched by the artistic interests which were the traditional inheritance of the older families. They turned the lovely palace of Paul V. into a second-hand emporium and thought they had accomplished a marvellous act of liberalism in establishing a Freemason's Lodge in a corner of the ancient papal residence. This act was interpreted as the triumph of liberalism over clericalism, though everyone knows that liberalism can scarcely build its hopes on that very dubious institution which Italian freemasonry has become, under the ægis of the well-known tobacco merchant Lemmi. The glorious Villa Borghese with the Casino in its grounds, was faced with a like act of vandalism. It was chosen for the site of innumerable popular festivities, which were to celebrate the twenty-fifth jubilee of Rome as the capital of Italy. The noble villa which has already been outraged by being made the scene of all sorts of races, is, for the space of some months, to be transformed into a kind of amusement park. The reign of bad taste has already been inaugurated in the proud marble halls of the Casino, adorned with masterpieces of antique sculpture, where from time to time, the municipal band has been

private art collections, including much that recalled Paul V., and the exceptionally valuable library, started by Paul V. and considerably increased by Cardinal Scipione,<sup>1</sup> were unfortunately dispersed by public auction. The manuscripts, some of which are of great value, and the priceless family archives were saved from this fate by Leo XIII., who again showed himself a great promoter of historical studies by buying them for 300,000 francs and placing them in the Papal Secret Archives.<sup>2</sup>

allowed to function." In 1902, the Villa Borghese was bought by the Italian State and given over to the city of Rome as a popular park. In the previous year the State had also acquired the collection of sculptures of the Borghese Casino, and the magnificent paintings, which were formerly housed in the Palazzo Borghese.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de S.E.D. Paolo Borghèse, Prince de Sulmona*, 2 vols., Rome, 1892-3; published by the bookseller Vincenzo Menozzi. Also see *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XIX., 463.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS., about 300, went to the Vatican Library; the family archives, which contain the bulk of the archives of the Cardinals Secretaries of State of Clement VIII. and Paul V., constitute, under the name of *Fondo Borghese*, a part of the Papal Secret Archives. Cf. QUIDES, *Deutsche Zeitschr. f. Geschichtswiss.*, VI., 402; MEYER, *Nuntiaturreichte*, LXXXV. See further, EHRLE, *Bibl. Pontif.*; CALENZIO, *Dei MSS. Borghesiani ora Vaticani, in omaggio della Biblioteca Vaticana nel giubileo episcopale di Leone XIII.*, Rome, 1893. A. PASTURE published in *Bullet. de la Commiss. d'hist. de Belgique*, LXXIX (1910), an *Inventaire du Fonds Borghèse au point de vue de l'histoire des Pays-Bas*.

## CHAPTER III.

### PAUL V. AS RULER OF THE PAPAL STATES.—PAPAL FINANCE.

AT the very beginning of the pontificate of Paul V. the opinion was expressed that his reign would be very similar to that of Clement VIII.<sup>1</sup> This opinion was to be verified in connection with the administration of both ecclesiastical and secular affairs.

The political economist and statistician, Giovanni Botero,<sup>2</sup> sometime secretary to Charles Borromeo, writing in the first quarter of Paul V.'s reign, has left an extremely interesting account of the Papal States,<sup>3</sup> the boundaries of which had been considerably extended with the acquisition of Ferrara under Clement VIII. Every division of property was prevented by the decree of Pius V., settling the inviolability of the entire possessions of the Holy See, which Paul V. at once confirmed.<sup>4</sup>

The area of the Papal States was somewhat more extensive than that of the Venetian Republic, while the population, owing to the sparseness of Central Italy, was about the

<sup>1</sup> See the report of G. Magni for May 28, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the monographs of Pozzi (Casale, 1881), Orsi (Mondovi, 1882) and Goda (Milan, 1895).

<sup>3</sup> *Discorso intorno allo stato della chiesa preso dalla parte dell'ufficio del Cardinale che non è stampato*, in *Relazioni del Sig. Giov. Botero*, "Parte sesta" (Venice, 1618), 30 seq.; it was, however, completed and published separately in Venice as early as 1612. Cf. also "Parte seconda", 122 seq. For the *Relazione della corte di Roma*, written also in 1611 by Lunadori and first published at Padua with letters from Cardinal Lanfranco, see *Giorn. d. Arch. Toscani*, IV., 264.

<sup>4</sup> Constitution of December 30, 1605, *Bull.*, XI., 267 seq.



same<sup>1</sup>; Botero estimated it at one and a half million souls.<sup>2</sup> The Papal States possessed only two large cities: Rome, the capital, with 115,000 inhabitants, and Bologna with over 80,000.<sup>3</sup> After these came Ferrara with 60,000, a number which was rapidly declining owing to the cessation of the ducal residence there. All the other places had considerably smaller populations, as, for example, Viterbo and Civitavecchia in the Patrimony, Rieti and Tivoli in Sabina, Velletri, Anagni and Terracina in the Roman Campagna proper, Perugia, Assisi, Foligno, Spoleto, Terni, Narni and Orvieto in Umbria, Ancona, Fermo, Macerata and Ascoli in the Marches, Ravenna, Faenza, Forlì, Cesena and Rimini in Romagna. There were

<sup>1</sup> The Papal States surpassed in extent and population all the states in upper Italy and were in this respect only second to Naples; see FUETER, *Gesch. des europäischen Staatensystems*, Munich, 1919, 215.

<sup>2</sup> See BOTERO, *Relationi*, VI., 30 seq. BELOCH (in *Zeitschr. f. Sozialwiss.* (Berlin, 1900), 769) was only acquainted with the census of 1656, which gave 1,180,000 souls.

<sup>3</sup> BOTERO, *Relationi*, II, 123. According to the \*report of A. Possevino for May 22, 1621, the population of Rome must have risen to 135,000 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). But this must be an exaggeration. According to CERASOLI (in *Studi e docum.*, XII., 174) the number in 1605 was 99,647, which increased to 118,356 in 1621; only by adding to this as high a figure for the number of Jews as that given for 1608, namely 4,500 (*loc. cit.*, 170), can one arrive at the figure of 122,856. The statement of RANKE (III<sup>e</sup>, 45) that Rome had in 1614 115,643 inhabitants (i.e. Christians) is inaccurate, for the \*register in *Cod. Barb.* 5074 (Vatican Library), to which Ranke refers, gives 115,413, agreeing with Cerasoli's source. The \*Relatione di Bologna sotto la legatione dell'ill. s. card. Barberini (1611-1614) in *Barb.* 5105 gives the population of Bologna as 70,000 (300,000 in tutto il contado" with 280 "comunità"). The \*Descrizione delle anime e case della città e diocesi di Bologna for December, 1617, gives: for the città 67,871 souls (preti regol. 110, monaci e fratri 873, monache 2631) and 8,643 houses; for the Suburbio 17,093 souls in 2,839 houses and for the diocese 174,884 souls in 25,814 houses. Vatican Library, *loc. cit.*

also smaller places with episcopal sees, amounting to about fifty in number.<sup>1</sup>

The nature of the soil of this State, crossed by the chain of the Apennines, presented great contrasts: next to extremely fertile districts there were rough, mountainous areas and extensive tracts of unhealthy lowlands like the Pontine Marshes, the Maremme, which reached from the mouth of the Tiber to the borders of Tuscany, and the swamps, which stretched along the Adriatic coast from the banks of the Po in the direction of Rimini, in the middle of which lay Comacchia. These districts were infested with malaria, as was also practically the whole of the Roman Campagna. These regions apart, the remaining lands were blessed with a splendid climate and with great natural resources and plants and animals abounded and prospered everywhere.

Botero praises as being particularly fertile the Umbrian valley of the Tiber, the smiling plains of Rieti, the country surrounding Bologna and the whole of Romagna and the Marches, where fertility was enhanced by a charming landscape. The rich harvests of corn, oil and wine allowed of considerable exportation, notably to Venice.<sup>2</sup> Certain districts were renowned for their special produce as, for example, Faenza and Lugo for flax, Cento and Perugia for hemp, Bologna and Forlì for woad, Sant' Arcangelo, Norcia and Terni for their rape of remarkable size, San Lorenzo for its manna and the famous woods of Ravenna for their pinecones. The vineyards prospered exceedingly in the whole of Romagna, in the Marches, Umbria, the Patrimony, the Sabina and in the Lazio. Besides the world-famed muscatel of Montefiascone, the wines of Orvieto, Todi, Albano, Cesena, Faenza and Rimini were also highly esteemed. In the plains as well as in the hills there were numerous olive yards and chestnut groves. Many woods still held a great wealth of timber.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See BOTERO, *Relationi*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II., 123, VI. 37. Cf. Gritti, *Relazione*, in ALBÈRI II., 4, 336.

<sup>3</sup> See BOTERO, VI., 31.

The animal kingdom in the Papal States was no less favoured than the vegetable. Large herds of cattle, sheep, pigs, goats and horses grazed freely and half-wild in the uninhabited parts of the Roman Campagna, the Pontine Marshes and the Maremma. Outside the Roman Campagna, the Romagna in particular produced magnificent oxen; the horses of the Agro Romano were scarcely inferior to those of Naples. Of the pigs, which abounded everywhere, those of the mountainous districts were considered the best. There was also no dearth of animals of the chase. The Pontine Marshes in particular harboured many wild boars. Excellent hunting country was to be found in the Lazio in the neighbourhood of Sermoneta, Terracina and Nettuno. After the sea itself, the lagoons of Comacchio were pre-eminently abundant in fish and the eels from there passed for the best in the whole of Italy. The mineral kingdom offered splendid marbles, peperino and the famous Travertine. The excellent alum from the Tolfa district near Cerveteri was a state monopoly, as were also the famous saltworks of Comacchio. The sulphur baths of Poretta in the legation of Bologna and those of Viterbo, where Nicholas V. had laid out a bathing establishment, were the most esteemed of all the numerous mineral springs. The warm sulphur-springs of Vicarello, not far from the lake of Bracciano, which the ancient Romans had used, and the medicinal waters of Anticoli, a picturesque mountain village near Subiaco, were also much frequented.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding all these natural advantages, the trade and commerce of the Papal States, apart from Rome itself,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Gottlob, in his important review of *RODOCANACHI, Les Corporations ouvrières à Rome* (2 vols., Paris, 1894) in *Hist. Jahrb.* XVI., 127, describes the industrial conditions in Rome as brilliant. "Parallel with the growth of luxury and the improvement in the city's fortunes, there was a remarkable and an ever widening division of labour and, in consequence, an increase of specialization in manual workers' corporations, this being brought about by the division of ancient guilds and the formation of new ones. At the time of Gregory XV. (1621-1623), that is

had scarcely been developed at all beyond the immediate requirements and the general prosperity as well as the number of the population was on the decline.<sup>1</sup> The efforts of several Popes of the XVIth century to bring about an improvement in this matter had not attained the desired end. There were many different factors which were unfavourable to success. The elective character of the State robbed its secular administration of the necessary stability, for there were no fixed rules here as there were in ecclesiastical affairs. Almost every pontificate brought with it a change of system. Added to this was the increasing elimination of the lay element from the administrative personnel of the Papal States; the ecclesiastics, who took their places, had not the requisite training for secular business and were often also unsuitable in other ways. The weak character of the people was also prejudicial to progress; they lacked energy and organizing ability and expected everything to be done by the government. To all this must be added the general mis-

immediately after Paul V., there were in Rome 5,578 shops with 6,609 masters and 11,584 assistants. More than half of these businesses were concentrated in the northern quarters, Ponte, Parione, Regola and Campo Marzio, while the centre of the city, previously so rich in industries, was almost deserted. The 'Monti' still numbered about 569 owners, easily surpassing gardeners, rope-makers and tanners. It is the period in which the industrial life of Rome put in the shade all the other great Italian cities, the most important of which had fallen under foreign domination." Botero laments the increase of luxury in the other towns of Lazio as well. (*Relazioni*, VI., 42.) A \*"Pragmatica sopra l'immoderato uso del vestire degli huomini e delle donne di Perugia", dated October 30, 1617, in *Editti*, V., 60, p. 230 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BOTERO, *loc. cit.*, 41. As regards the "mercantia" Botero remarks, *ibid.*, 36: "Non si può negare che lo stato della Chiesa non ne sia molto povero." The lowering of the general prosperity even after all the efforts of Paul V. is attested in the Venetian *obbedienza* for 1621 (in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I, 118 *seq.*), which gives as a cause the "qualità del governo" and the meagre trade.



fortunes, which visited Italy at the end of the XVIth century : pestilence, bad harvests, famines, uneconomic taxation and the evils consequent on banditry.

The scourge of banditry had increased to such an extent in the Papal States that many districts were abandoned by their populations and lay uncultivated. Botero specially mentions the widespread occurrence of malaria as a cause of the decline in the population of the Papal States and he suggests as a remedy not merely drainage but also the systematic colonization of the Roman Campagna. Botero also draws attention to the fact that everybody thought that organized recruiting of mercenaries was permissible in the Papal States, which were regarded as a sort of common property.<sup>1</sup> The temptation was particularly strong as the people of Romagna and the Marches were reputed to make very efficient soldiers.

Paul V. intervened repeatedly against the abuse of foreign recruiting on the lands of the Church, but his immediate and especial efforts were directed to the fight against banditry, which his predecessors, Clement VIII. and Sixtus V., had carried on with varying results.<sup>2</sup> Even the most embittered enemies of the Borghese Pope are compelled to recognize the undeniable success which attended his efforts to establish public safety,<sup>3</sup> although it was just here that his initial difficulties were particularly great, owing to the fact that the Holy See had recently been twice vacant.

As an example of the rigour with which Paul V. inaugurated his reign, one can cite in particular the execution of a man of letters, Piccinardi, a native of Cremona, amongst whose possessions was found a Life of Clement VIII., in which that excellent Pope was placed on a par with the emperor Tiberius.<sup>4</sup> Although Paul V. at first expressed himself in

<sup>1</sup> See BOTERO, VI., 34, 37, 41.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 77 *seqq.* and Vol. XXIV., p. 374 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> See BROSCHE, I., 370.

<sup>4</sup> See the report of the Venetian *obbedienza* in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 61.

favour of a light punishment in consideration of the fact that the lampoon was only shown by the author to quite a small number of persons,<sup>1</sup> he nevertheless finally let the law, under which Piccinardi was accounted guilty of high treason, take its course, and this notwithstanding the representations of influential personages. This inflexibility made all Rome tremble.<sup>2</sup> The Pope also proved very stern towards his own household.<sup>3</sup> The papal steward and his deputy, who had sold favours, were dismissed, although Giovan Battista, Paul V.'s brother, had pleaded on their behalf.<sup>4</sup> The officials realized, and with terror, how strictly they were being controlled. Even the aged master of ceremonies, Paolo Alaleone, received a reproof for courting too much the favour of Cardinal Scipione Borghese.<sup>5</sup>

Paul V. was also eager to improve the administration of justice. He saw to it that only those officials were chosen, whom he knew to be the best in the Cùria. He similarly took care that the settlement of lawsuits was not unnecessarily protracted and that no attention was paid to any representations from outsiders. Justice must follow its course with vigour not least in the case of the powerful.<sup>6</sup> The immunities, claimed by ambassadors and cardinals, such as Farnese, were to be no let to the course of justice.<sup>7</sup> The French ambassador, the Marquis of Coeuvres, was so unwilling

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avviso of September 3, 1605, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See the report of the Venetian *obbedienza*, *loc. cit.*, 61 *seq.* In 1614 Roberto Fidele was executed on account of "libelli famosi in materia del Papa e de cardinali"; see *Studi e docum.*, XV., 279.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the \*Avvisi of June 11, 1605, and June 23, 1607, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> \*Avviso of May 13, 1606, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> \*Avviso, of June 17, 1606, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> See \*Costaguti's notes, c. 1, Costaguti Archives in Rome.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. \*Pauli V. P.M. Vita compendio scripta, p. 10: "Nullus dabatur facinorosis receptui locus. Ex aulis Romae primariis ex aedium nobilissimarum non dicam atriis sed aditis penetralibus nocentes ad supplicium armato satellitio educabantur." *Barb.* 2670, Vatican Library. Cf. RANKE, III., 99\*.

to comply with this that an action had to be brought in Paris.<sup>1</sup>

In the struggle against banditry, which was the plague of the countryside, the discontinuation of one of its causes, namely, the large number of soldiers accustomed to the profession of arms, came to the aid of the Borghese Pope; that banditry died of its own accord, as some people have thought,<sup>2</sup> was far from being the case. It required the repeated exertions of the Pope as well as a fair lapse of time before the desired end was finally attained.<sup>3</sup> When Paul V.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ZELLER, *Richelieu et les ministres de Louis XIII.*, Paris, 1880, 52.

<sup>2</sup> BROSCHE, I., 370.

<sup>3</sup> The general observations in \*Pauli V. P.M. Vita compendio scripta: "dominatum exceptit factiosis, sicariis, grassatoribus tumultuosum; nihil ejus dominatu pacatius potuit excogitari; agrestes vias crebris antea latrociniis infames salubriter depurgavit" (*Barb.* 2670, p. 10) are entirely confirmed from other sources. On December 24, 1605, Paul V. \*asked the viceroy of Naples "ut mandet capi quendam Ioannem vulgo il Marchese della Villa, proscriptum ac mitti vinctum ad Urbem hominem nefarium, rustico genere natum", etc. (*Epist.*, I., 395, in Papal Secret Archives). In the summer of 1606 troops were sent against the bandits appearing near Ascoli (\*Avvisi of June 28 and July 12, 1606, Vatican Library), and in the following year the Marches were visited by bandits, against whom were sent Corsican troops in the pay of the Pope (see \*Avvisi of April 7, 1608, Vatican Library). On April 25, 1608, were sent out very strong "\*" Bandi generali contro banditi"; see *Editti*, V., 57, p. 70, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, p. 71. "\*" Bando delle nominationi e taglie contro banditi" of June 26, 1608. Cf. \*Avvisi of May 15 and August 26, 1608, *loc. cit.* In the autumn of 1611 the notorious robber, Giovanni di Norcia, was brought to Rome from the Maremma (\*Avvisi of September 28 and October 1, 1611, *ibid.*) Guarinoni, who made a pilgrimage to Rome in Lent of the year 1613, tried to cover the distance from Ancona to Loreto in one day as this district was rendered unsafe by reason of bandits; see Stampfer in *Zeitschr. des Innsbr. Ferdinandeums*, XXIII. (1879), 71, 74 seq. For the intervention of Cardinal Barberini in this district see NICOLETTI, \*Vita di Urbano VIII., *Barb.* 4730, Vatican Library.

died, perfect tranquillity and security reigned in his States.<sup>1</sup> In these matters the Pope had not the slightest regard for high-placed personages, who had any connection with evil-doers.<sup>2</sup> In 1608, the Marquis of Rignano, who had sheltered a bandit in his castle, was in danger of being executed. He had to consider himself lucky to be let off with a fine and a five years' banishment.<sup>3</sup> The fiscal attorney and auditor-general, Farinacci, well known on account of the Cenci case, was also implicated in the affair of the Marquis; in 1611 he forfeited his various positions.<sup>4</sup> The heads of three Corsican guardsmen, who had killed two French noblemen at the beginning of 1608, fell under the executioner's axe.<sup>5</sup> The Pope opposed the shedding of blood, which occurred so frequently in Rome, by repeatedly forbidding the carrying of arms.<sup>6</sup> Rome's beggars and vagabonds,<sup>7</sup> those who broadcast false news,<sup>8</sup> avaricious innkeepers<sup>9</sup> and dissolute women,<sup>10</sup> all felt the strong hand of the Pope.

<sup>1</sup> "Et è da notare che con quattro esserciti in Italia per lo stato della Chiesa si andava sicuramente a mezza notte con l'oro in mano e le città e terre sembravano monasteri de' regolari," said Costaguti in his \*Notes, c. 1, Costaguti Archives in Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the \*Avviso of August 10, 1605, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the \*Avvisi of July 12, 19, 29 and 30, and August 2, 6, 9, 16, 20 and 30, and September 6, 13, 17, 24 and 27, and October 1 and 4, 1609, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> See \*Avviso of April 16, 1611, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> See \*Avviso of February 16, 1608, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> See the \*Avvisi of March 23 and September 14, 1611, *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> "Editto contro gli otiosi e vagabondi," dated September 6, 1608, in the *Editti*, V., 66, p. 152, Papal Secret Archives. See the \*Avvisi of July 8, 1609, September 15, and December 10, Vatican Library.

<sup>8</sup> See \*Avvisi of March 1, 1608, *ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the \*Avvisi of July 27 and August 3, 1605, and of July 14, 1607, *ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> See the \*Avvisi of August 3, 1605, and February 2, 1606, *ibid.* Cf. also the \*Avviso, undated but relating to September 8, 1607, concerning impending measures against adulterous women, etc., such as were taken by Sixtus V., *ibid.*



At the beginning of the year 1608, Paul V. embarked on a radical reform of the entire judicature. With this end in view, he instituted a special Congregation, which sat every Friday under the presidency of Cardinal Borghese.<sup>1</sup> A reform of this kind was sure to meet with great difficulties, hence it was at first believed that the plan would come to nothing; but the Pope would not rest,<sup>2</sup> until success was attained. On March 1st, 1612, a consistorial bull was issued. The very format of the document, with its Italian-gothic, small-print type, showed the importance which the Pope attached to the matter; the severe regularity and beauty of the writing was well in keeping with the significance of the content.<sup>3</sup>

The reform, laid down in the bull of March 1st, 1612, embraced the *Segnatura di Grazia e Giustizia*, the *Camera Apostolica*, the tribunals of the Governor of the City and of the Auditors of the Chamber, the *Rota*, the municipal magistracy, the contentions between the Jews and the whole system of civil and criminal law. Special attention was paid to the protection of the poor and to the prison system. All prisons were to be inspected at least once a month, in order to prevent the illegal detention of prisoners; the Pope also provided for their bodily and spiritual needs. Severe penalties were fixed for all contraventions of the bull. Supplementary measures fixed the taxes to be paid to municipal notaries and to other officials.<sup>4</sup> The execution of these measures, which were still further explained in a special declaration,<sup>5</sup> was very closely watched.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avviso of March 20, 1608, *ibid.* The \*"Resoluciones factae in congregatione tribunalium Romanae Curiae sub Paulo V. a die 14 Martii manu Franc. Peniae Rotae auditoris" (*Miscel.*, XI., 90, in the Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> Cf \*Avviso of March 27, 1610, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. P. M. BAUMGARTEN in *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1909, 29 seq.

<sup>4</sup> See *Bull.*, XII., 58 seqq., III seqq. Cf. GOUJET, II., 212 seq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the \*Avviso of August 15, 1612, Vatican Library. For the prison system cf. BERTOLOTTI, *Le prigioni di Roma nei secoli XVI., XVII. e XVIII.*, Rome, 1890, 20 seq.

<sup>6</sup> *Bull.*, XII., 160 seq.

The legates in the provinces, following the Pope's example, also worked hard for the maintenance of peace and order. Cardinal Bonifacio Caetani, who was appointed legate of Romagna in 1608, sought to obtain this end by the exercise of sagacity and gentleness.

Caetani, in whose honour the grateful people of Ravenna erected in 1609 a granite column adorned with an eagle—his coat of arms—was in every respect an outstanding personality.<sup>1</sup> A blameless priest, he preached many times in Ravenna, particularly in the Church of the Theatines for whom he cherished a special affection.<sup>2</sup> He devoted himself to his secular business with such zeal, facility and pleasure that his work appeared to serve as his recreation. He dealt with every memorial with great despatch, often settling the matter personally. Only persons of irreproachable reputation found employment with him. In his immediate entourage he strongly insisted on order and discipline; his household had to assist at Mass daily and on feast days at the sermon as well. The Cardinal was an enemy of all superfluities. He had drawn up a strict time-table. When giving audience, he was courteous but brief. He rigorously insisted that his officials should keep to their own business and not meddle in affairs foreign to them. His demeanour was always grave and dignified. He knew well how to keep himself informed about everything and to alternate sternness with mildness, for he realized how ill the people can stand unmitigated rigour. He who wishes to rule well, he used to say, must be reliable, moderate and just.<sup>3</sup> The people of the Romagna had a reputation for turbulence. They were, indeed, still so divided into factions that Caetani used to say that there were two different peoples in the province, the Guelphs and the Ghibellines.

<sup>1</sup> The column, which originally stood in front of S. Sebastiano, was overthrown by an earthquake in 1673. It was then erected in the Piazzetta dell'Acquila, which has recently been renamed Piazza Alighieri.

<sup>2</sup> See CARDELLA, VI., 130.

<sup>3</sup> According to *\*Descrizione della Romagna* in Cod. XIV., b-3, of the Altieri Library in Rome, which is an account made in 1615 by a very well-informed authority.

For all that he praised the people of Romagna, declaring that if one dealt with them with gentleness and friendliness they were easily managed and pacified, and that they were obedient to their superiors and appreciative of acts of kindness.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “ \*Diceva che il Legato di Romagna doveva reggere doi popoli, uno Guelfo e l'altro Gibellino per natura turbolenti et alterabili per la commodità de confini et egli haveva con tutto ciò ne' Romagnoli trovato quattro cose buone, cioè che erano facili con la dolcezza e cortesia ridursi a qualsivoglia cosa, anco a quietarsi con il nemico mentre l'ingiuria non fosse troppo trascorsa ; secondo che erano ossequiosi verso li superiori ; terzo ch'erano molto liberali del suo ; quarto ch'erano ricordevoli de' benefici ricevuti et non mai ingrati ” (*Descrizione della Romagna*, Altieri Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*). The successor of Caetani, Cardinal Rivarola, who was sent as legate to the Romagna in 1611, earned great merit by the steps which he took against banditry ; see MORONI, LVIII., 58. The beautiful fountains in Faenza bear witness even to-day to the great care which he showed for the welfare of the people ; *cf. La Torre dell'Orologio e il Fonte Pubblico di Faenza per* GIAN MARCELLO VALGIMIGLI, Faenza, 1873. The bronze eagle and dragon on the fountain, which was completed in 1621, to the design of the Dominican, Domenico Paganelli, are an allusion to the arms of the Pope, whom the following inscription also recalls :—

PAULO V. PONT. MAX.  
 FELICISSIME REGNANTE  
 POST LATRONES PROFLIGATOS  
 PRESSUM INUNDANTEM PADUM  
 POPULOS IUSTITIA, PACE, ANNONA  
 SERVATOS  
 NE ET HOC MAGNUM DESIDERARETUR  
 ORNAMENTO AQUARUM URBEM ADAUXIT  
 D. CARD. RIVAROLA  
 LEGAT. SUAE ANNO NONO  
 AERE PUBL.

\*The *Hôtel des Monnaies* erected under Paul V. by the vice-legate Stefano Dulci at Avignon serves at this time as a barracks. Of the inscription only the following remains : “ Paulus V. Pontif. Maximus | has aedes | auro argento . . . | curante . . . | Aven. | Anno 1619.”

It was, however, rather with iron rigour that the Genoese Benedetto Giustiniani, who was sent as legate to Bologna in November, 1608, sought to carry out his task. Giustiniani insisted the more on his orders being obeyed in that he knew the old proverb, that in Bologna an ordinance is observed for a month—less twenty-nine days. He would gain information at first-hand and it was related that he often went about in disguise, in order to get at the truth.<sup>1</sup>

Giustiniani succeeded in restoring order, in spite of the unfavourable conditions which confronted him. His severity often carried him too far, and this was, indeed, the cause of his recall in the summer of 1611.<sup>2</sup> His successor was the French nuncio, Maffeo Barberini.<sup>3</sup> During his three years of office, this exceptional man provided admirably for the economic conditions of the city; he also reformed the coinage, settled some territorial disputes with the Duke of Modena and preserved the peace in the territory of his legation during the war between Savoy and Mantua.<sup>4</sup>

In 1605 Paul V. extended the jurisdiction of the "Congregazione del buon governo", which had been instituted by

<sup>1</sup> See \*Relazione sopra la legazione e governo del ill. card. Benedetto Giustiniano, 1606-1611, in Cod. K. 11, 21 in the Municipal Library of Bologna, and L. FRATI in *Giorn. Ligustico*, XIV. (1887), 112 seq. Cf. also CIACONIUS, IV., 169.

<sup>2</sup> See L. FRATI, *loc. cit.*, 120 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Acta consist. of August 31, 1611, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See A. N. NICOLETTI, \*Vita di Urbano VIII., t. I., 1, 2, c. 6-12, *Barb.* 4730, pp. 395-530, Vatican Library. Cf. *loc. cit.*, \*Relatione di Bologna sotto la legatione dell'ill. card. Barberini, where Barberini's prudence is especially praised; 5,660 \*Emolumento del sig. card. M. Barberini nella legatione di Bologna; 4148, p. 117 seq. " \*Sulle zecche d'Italia con un discorso, editti e lettere sull'abolizione dei Sesini, moneta ch'era in corso nelle provincie di Bologna, Ferrara e Romagna, l'anno 1612." In August, 1614, Cardinal Capponi succeeded M. Barberini in the Bologna legation; see *Studi e docum.*, XV., 279. Cf. \*Interessi della legazione di Bologna esposti alla corte di Roma 1609-1615 in Cod. E 54, Boncompagni Archives in Rome.



Clement VIII. to deal with the economic conditions of the Papal States.<sup>1</sup> The Congregation did much towards the liquidation of the debts of the various communes. These debts, which amounted to 1,745,600 scudi at the beginning of Paul V.'s pontificate, were reduced to 445,600.<sup>2</sup> A tax on meat and a reduction of the interest charged by the Monti was used for the extinction of the debt of the City of Rome.<sup>3</sup> The care which he took to avoid these taxes falling on the poor was characteristic of the Pope's humanity.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Bull.*, XI., 451 seq. Cf. *Collez. d. disposizioni su li censimenti dello Stato pontificio*, I., Rome, 1845 seqq.; *Gli Archivi Italiani*, VI. (1919), 200.

<sup>2</sup> See the survey of 1611: \*Effeti della bolla "de bono regimine", original in the Costaguti Archives in Rome. Cf. *loc. cit.*, also the \*notes of Costaguti, c. 1 and 2. The "debito della Comunità" gives the amount for the different provinces:—

Umbria . . . . .	sc.	337,300
Patrimonio . . . . .	"	355,500
Marca . . . . .	"	526,000
Romagna . . . . .	"	323,000
Campagna . . . . .	"	203,800
		<hr/>
	sc.	1,745,600
Debito estinto:		
Umbria . . . . .	sc.	217,600
Patrimonio . . . . .	"	21,940
Marca . . . . .	"	553,000
Romagna . . . . .	"	230,000
Campagna . . . . .	"	80,000
		<hr/>
	sc.	1,300,000

<sup>3</sup> " \*Entrata accresciute al Popolo Romano:—

Dalla gabella della carne . . . . .	sc.	35,800
Dalla reductione de Monti . . . . .	"	129,950

La sudetta entrata fu assegnata all'estintione de debiti di esso Popolo Romano." Notes of G. B. Costaguti, c. 2, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. for the wine tax \*Avvisi of May 3 and 28, 1608, Vatican Library.

The demands which Paul V. made on the governors of the provinces of the Papal States can be seen from one of his instructions. He made it clear that their first duty was to show the people love and benevolence, and thus to convince them that the government had their well-being at heart. The governor must treat his subjects as a father treats his sons. When he has to punish anyone, he must do so in such a way that the people can see that correction is the only motive. The officials, so ran the instruction, must always have clean hands. The governor must give audience once a week, in which women and the poor should be given precedence. If a punishment is commuted to a money payment, the judges must derive no personal gain from the transaction ; as had already been ruled by Pius IV. Every fortnight the prisons must be visited, so that the prisoners can lodge what complaints they may have. Heavy punishments must be meted out to those who help bandits with information, money, provisions or munitions. The governors must also see to it that important documents are carefully preserved. The economic conditions must receive their closest attention and they must above all take care that throughout the year the people have bread of just weight and good quality. For this purpose, the weights and measures in the shops should be inspected from time to time. The instruction then summarizes the duties of a governor : he is to provide an absolutely impartial administration of justice, to preserve peace and order, and to see to it that there is an abundance of provisions.<sup>1</sup> In this last respect, the Pope displayed the greatest zeal in Rome itself, his solicitude being directed towards meat, vegetables and oil,<sup>2</sup> but above all towards bread.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See \*Istruzione per un governatore di provincia nello Stato ecclesiastico, *Borghese*, IV., 174, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the \*Avvisi of July 6 and 13, August 3 and December 3, 1605, February 15, 1606, August 11, 1607, and February 30, 1608, for the measures against those who charged exorbitant prices. The export of slaughter cattle and oil from the Papal States, which had a very successful result, is mentioned in the \*Avviso

In spite of all the efforts of the Popes of the XVIth century, the productivity of the Campagna had dwindled. Already, at the end of 1605, grain had to be imported from Sicily to make up for Rome's deficiency.<sup>1</sup> It was necessary to re-issue and enforce with greater strictness the edicts of previous Popes since Pius IV., which forbade the exportation of provisions from the Papal States.<sup>2</sup> Besides the Congregation of Cardinals *sopra l'abbondanza dello Stato pontificio*, founded by Sixtus V., it was the duty of the Prefect of the *annona* to provide for the importation of grain and that of the President of *grascia* to procure cattle for slaughter, oil and other provisions. The *annona* depended partly on the municipality and partly on the Camera Apostolica.<sup>3</sup> It fixed the price of grain, actually purchasing it in order to resell it to the bakers. It was a source of considerable annoyance to the Pope that the treasury often lost much money in this way. The bakers were very discontented with the scale of prices for 1606, at which they had to buy grain.<sup>4</sup> This discontent only grew when Paul V. opposed a reduction of the weight of bread, although in that year, 1606,

of August 18, 1607; the obtaining of oil, notably from Provence, is mentioned in the \*Avvisi of November 24, 1607, and of January 12, 1608. Vatican Library.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. besides the \*Avvisi the remarks of G. B. Costaguti: he played a leading part in the affair and he is instructive about the matter in general; for his \*notes (Costaguti Archives in Rome) see Appendix vol. XXVI., n. 14.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*brief to the "vicerex Siciliae", the Duke of Feria, of November 11, 1605, "laudat eum quod alacris fuerit in procuranda expeditione 15,000 salmarum tritici, quae extrahi debebant ex Siciliae regno ad sollevandam Urbis annonae caritatem", *Epist.*, I., 312. Sècret Papal Archives.

<sup>3</sup> Constitution of December 23, 1605, *Bull.*, XI., 260 seq.

<sup>4</sup> At the head of the *annona* stood first Serra, then Mgr. Rucellai, who was replaced on July 1, 1614, by Mgr. Biscia; see *Studi e docum.*, XV., 275.

<sup>5</sup> See NICOLAI, II., 57; BENIGNI, *Getreidepolitik*, 48. Cf. *Il sistema della Tariffa annonaria sul pane in Roma*, Florence, 1866,

the harvest had been poor.<sup>1</sup> Some Jews, who tried to turn the general scarcity to their advantage by profiteering in wheat ended their lives on the gallows. Proceedings were also taken against others, who transgressed in this respect, regardless of the fact that they were Christians.<sup>2</sup> During the month of August in 1606 the Pope daily sent his palafrenieri into Rome to ascertain whether there was sufficient bread of good quality. Giacomo Serra, an expert financier, was sent into the Marches to buy up grain.<sup>3</sup> An edict forbidding exportation was also issued. The selfishness of the bakers and corn-merchants was restrained as far as it was possible. The Pope at this time spent in all 160,000 scudi, particularly large quantities of corn coming from Provence.<sup>4</sup> In January, 1607, Serra returned from the Marches and reported that he had found there sufficient supplies to hand.<sup>5</sup> Shortly afterwards, a consignment arrived from Civitavecchia. In spite of this, the prices remained high.<sup>6</sup> An edict of June, 1607, forbade profiteering in corn under pain of death.<sup>7</sup> Fortunately there was a good harvest. But in spite of this, the bread question was still to cause the Pope great trouble. The Camera did not want to give up selling the old stock of corn, although its quality was poor. Only when it was finally decided to mix the old corn with the new did the situation improve.<sup>8</sup> Throughout the whole affair the Pope showed the

<sup>1</sup> See the \*Avviso of July 19, 1606, Vatican Library. Cf. Gigli in FRASCHETTI, 18, note.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*Avviso of August 23, 1606, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See the \*Avvisi of August 12, 19, 23 and 26, 1606, *ibid.* Cf. Costaguti's \*notes in Costaguti Archives in Rome; see Appendix vol. XXVI., n. 14. For Serra, see Vol. XXIII., pp. 297 and 303 of this work and p. 100, also Meyer, XXLV. *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the \*Avvisi of September 2, 9, 16, 23 and 27, and of October 7, 1606, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the \*Avviso of January 6, 1607, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the \*Avviso of February 14, 1607, *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the \*Avviso of June 2, 1607, *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Cf. about this the \*Avvisi of June 23 and 30, and July 7, 17, 18, 21 and 25, 1607, *ibid.*



greatest watchfulness. He had bread sent in from various bakers in order that he might himself test it. When he discovered fraud, the guilty were sent to prison. Malvasia, the Prefect of the *annona*, having been found wanting in energy in this matter, was relieved from his post at the end of July.<sup>1</sup> The difficulties, however, were not yet over. Only by placing a bounty on imports and by procuring grain from Sicily was all want finally averted.<sup>2</sup>

With what goodwill the Pope was animated is seen in the plans, which he now made, for the erection of a granary for the poor of Rome. An edict of the Prefect of the *annona*, issued in the name of the Cardinal-President of the Camera on December 19th, 1607, made it known that with the new year a store would be opened at the expense of the State, in which the poor would always be able to buy flour of good quality at a moderate price. The regulations declared : That the store will be stocked with the best meal. It is forbidden to purchase there more than 50 pounds (about 34 English pounds). The price must always be 8 quattrini a pound (about 2*d.* a pound). This meal may only be bought by the poor. The rich, the corn merchants and all those who have no need of this privilege, if they either buy direct or through another will have it confiscated and will, in addition, have to pay a fine of 25 scudi.<sup>3</sup>

This new storehouse for corn, which can only be described as a truly providential institution for the poor,<sup>4</sup> was erected near the baths of Diocletian, where it was secure from flooding.<sup>5</sup> The Pope had it enlarged in 1609,<sup>6</sup> and he visited it

<sup>1</sup> See the \*Avviso of July 25, 1607, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> See the \*Avvisi of September 18 and December 26, 1607, *ibid.* Cf. the brief to the " vicerex Siciliae, dux Escalonae ", of March 11, 1607, *Epist.*, II., 368, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>3</sup> See BENIGNI, *Getreidepolitik*, 49.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> See \*Costaguti's notes, Costaguti Archives in Rome ; cf. Appendix vol. XXVI., n. 14.

<sup>6</sup> See the \*Avviso of February 7, 1609, Vatican Library.

repeatedly.<sup>1</sup> The supplies proved particularly useful to the people when the unusually hot summer of 1611 caused a bad harvest.<sup>2</sup>

Until 1611 the corn trade was regulated by long-standing dispositions which laid it down that corn was to be either consumed at its place of origin or else to be transported to Rome. However, on October 19th, 1611, Paul V. cancelled a prohibition of Clement VIII. and allowed a fifth of the harvest to be exported so long as the price did not exceed 55 giulii (about 28s.) a rubbio (about 188 lbs.).<sup>3</sup>

By a similar decree issued on October 19th, 1611, Paul V. instituted alongside the Congregation of the *annona*, founded by Sixtus V., a new Congregation, whose special work was to procure victuals for the Papal States and for Rome in particular.<sup>4</sup> The members had to meet twice a month, in the Papal palace, so that Paul V. could take part personally in their deliberations, when he thought it necessary. The Congregation was composed of the Treasurer-General Serra and four other officials, and the Pope had to be regularly furnished with its decisions, which he read through carefully, adding remarks and instructions of his own.<sup>5</sup>

The Constitution of October 19th, 1611, contained special orders for the advancement of agriculture in the Roman Campagna. It renewed the prohibition of the sale of plough oxen for slaughter; it confirmed the obligation of cattle-merchants to offer for sale every year 25 per cent of their oxen for agricultural labour and also the right of vassals to

<sup>1</sup> See the \*Avvisi of February 7 and November 14, 1609, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*Avviso of July 9, 1611, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Bull.*, XII., 17; BENIGNI, *loc. cit.*, 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Bull.*, XII., 15 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> See, in Appendix vol. XXVI., n. 14, the \*notes of G. B. Costaguti (Costaguti Archives in Rome), where the names of the members of the Congregation are given. The \*Libro delle risoluzioni della Congregazione sopra l'annona e grascia di Roma, from October 30 to November 17, 1617, in Cod. *Barb.* 4862, pp. 30-131, Vatican Library.

cultivate land outside their feudal property, as also all the other privileges granted by previous Popes for the promotion of agriculture. The pawnshops (Monte di Pietà) of Rome were, moreover, ordered to lend sums of money up to 1,000 scudi at the rate of 2 per cent to the farmers of the country round Rome and of the Lazio, the Marittima and the Campagna.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately Paul V. damaged his own designs by making it possible for his nephews to acquire in the Campagna those large estates which were later on to prove so great an obstacle to the advancement of agriculture.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding the bad harvest of 1611, the Pope opposed to his utmost any alteration in the price of bread. He threatened to have corn imported from abroad; he is reported to have said that he would rather resign the tiara than give way in this matter.<sup>3</sup> He felt his burden of cares lightened, however, when the harvest of 1612 turned out well.<sup>4</sup> In July of this year he made a personal inspection of the grain stored for the poor, in order to assure himself that there was a sufficient stock in hand. He repeated his visit in February, 1614.<sup>5</sup>

However much Paul V. desired that his people should be supplied with the largest possible loaves, the thing proved

<sup>1</sup> See *Bull.*, XII., 16 seq. Cf. BENIGNI, *Getreidepolitik*, 50; DECUPIS, *Per gli usi civici nell'Agro Romano*, Rome, 1906, 25 seq. See also TAMILIA, *Il s. Monte di Pietà di Roma*, Rome, 1900, 78 seq. A *motu proprio* of Paul V.: "Concessio privilegiorum exercentibus agriculturam in territ. et districtu Urbis ac Latii, Campaniae Maritimaeque provinciis," dated April 19, 1611, in the *Editti*, V., 49, p. 13 seq. *Ibid.*, a *motu proprio*: "Confirmatio capitulorum et concessio plurium privilegiorum pro consecratione et augmento agriculturae in territ. Cornetano," dated October 6, 1608. Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SISMONDI, *Historia des répub. ital.*, vol. XVI. (Paris, 1818), p. 254. BROSCHE, II., 128.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the \*Avvisi of January 21 and February 18, 1612, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the \*Avviso of June 13, 1612, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> \*Avviso of July 11, 1612, *ibid.*

unattainable. The views of the Congregation were divided. Serra, who was made a Cardinal on August 17th, 1611, and Rucellai, his successor as Prefect of the *annona*, shared the Pope's views, but the commissioner of the Camera and Giovanni Battista Costaguti declared that a diminution of weight was unavoidable. They pointed out that the quality was more important than the quantity. Paul V. ended by coming round to this view. In the year 1613 he entrusted the management of the matter to Costaguti; he had no reason to regret this step and soon found himself free from what had been a grave worry.<sup>1</sup>

When the harvest was bad, as in the year 1617, the grain store tided matters over until new supplies could arrive from Sicily.<sup>2</sup> Thanks to the great sums which Paul V. spent on provisioning Rome,<sup>3</sup> there was never a scarcity of food during the whole of his long pontificate; nor was the population crushed by excessive prices, as was the case in most of the neighbouring states.<sup>4</sup>

In order to assure for the future the importation of grain into Rome by sea, in April, 1613, the Pope ordered extensive works to be undertaken to facilitate shipping in the Tiber. It had been observed that south and south-westerly winds were a great hindrance to shipping entering the mouth of the river. In order to obviate this, Paul V. continued the work

<sup>1</sup> See the \*notes of G. B. Costaguti, Costaguti Archives in Rome; cf. Appendix vol. XXVI., n. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Costaguti's \*statements, *loc. cit.* \*Briefs to the viceroy of Sicily, the Duke of Ossuna, about the relief of the shortage of grain in Rome with grain from Sicily, of March 28, 1615, in *Epist.*, XV.; *ibid.*, a similar \*Brief of March 24, 1618. Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>3</sup> According to the \*notes of G. B. Costaguti (*loc. cit.*) they amounted to 200,000 scudi. The statement of Bzovius (*Vita Pauli V.*, c. 41): "DCCC nummum aureorum," must be an exaggeration. \*In a correct. in the 7th Germ. edit. Pastor says Bzovius may be right because the account book (see Appendix, vol. XXVI., n. 13, p. 481) mentions 744,054.

<sup>4</sup> See Costaguti's \*statement, *loc. cit.*



begun under Gregory XIII. of embanking the right mouth of the Tiber.<sup>1</sup> With a view to facilitating the importation of grain and to promote commerce generally the Pope also ordered the repair of the principal roads leading into Rome. The care of the roads leading into the Marches was in 1608 entrusted to Cardinal Pierbenedetti, while that of the road to Florence was given to Cardinal Bandini. Cardinal Cesi was made responsible for the repair of the highway to Naples<sup>2</sup>; this included restoration of the bridge over the Liris near Ceprano.<sup>3</sup> These works were protracted until 1620.<sup>4</sup> Paul V. had the Ponte Salaro restored<sup>5</sup>; he also laid down new roads in the Alban hills<sup>6</sup> to Gavignano,<sup>7</sup> the birthplace of Innocent III., lying on the picturesque hills near Segni. The building of harbours was likewise undertaken to promote commerce. In Civitavecchia he continued through the agency of Pompeo Targone the improvements in the harbour begun under

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BZOVIVS, *loc. cit.* See further ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 99 *seq.*, 139 *seq.*; "Bando et ordine per la conservazione del nuovo alveo et palificata di Fiumicino a Porto," dated September 17, 1611, in the *Editti*, V., 51, p. 186 *seq.*: "Pauli P. V. Constitutio super novi alvei et palif. Fiumicin. ac thesaurarii gener. in perpetuum operis protectorem et conservatorem deputatione cum instructione," dated March 20, 1614; p. 197 *seq.*: "Editto per l'aggiunta della nova palificata da farsi a Fiumicino," dated March 29, 1616, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. also FEA, *Considerazioni*, Rome, 1827, 31, 161 *seq.*; BENIGNI, *Getreidepolitik*, 49.

<sup>2</sup> \*Avviso of March 22, 1608, Vatican Library. Cf. Orbaan, *loc. cit.*, 204.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of December 12, 1612, *ibid.* Cf. the \*notes of G. B. Costaguti, *loc. cit.*, c. 2. The coinage of 1616 bore a picture of the bridge. Cf. L. ALLATIUS, \*De aedificiis Pauli V., in *Barb.*, 3060, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Avviso of April 25, 1620, Vatican Library. Cf. Costaguti's \*notes, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> See BZOVIVS, *Vita Pauli*, V., c. 41. Cf. FEA, *Considerazioni*, 30.

<sup>6</sup> See BZOVIVS, *loc. cit.* Cf. FEA, *Acque*, 269.

<sup>7</sup> \*Avviso of March 20, 1619, in ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 258.

Clement VII.,<sup>1</sup> a new lighthouse<sup>2</sup> and a large warehouse<sup>3</sup> being constructed. Targone was also charged by the Pope with the inspection of the cities on the Adriatic as regards harbours and fortifications.<sup>4</sup> Paul V. decided to construct a new harbour at Fano, where the road leading from the Furlo pass terminated. In spite of much opposition to this plan,<sup>5</sup> the work was taken in hand in 1613.<sup>6</sup> The new harbour, which received the name of Porto Borghesiano, acquired

<sup>1</sup> See the \*Avvisi, *loc. cit.*, 65, 76, 95 *seq.*, 99, 197, 202 (*cf.* 314).

<sup>2</sup> There is a medal of 1608 relating to this.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* the inscription in ANNOVAZZI, 275.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 82 and the \*report of Pompeo Targone addressed to Paul V. "Sopra le città, fortezza e porti da lui visitati d'Ancona, Fano, Rimini, Cervia, Ravenna e Ferrara," *Barb.* 4340, pp. 25-37, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> RANKE (III<sup>o</sup>, 112\*) quotes in this connection, "Tarq. Pitaro sopra la negotiatione maritima 17 ottobre 1612 *Vallic.*," the statements of which he believed without question. The document was no longer to be found in the Vallicelliana in Rome in 1879. The author's name is written incorrectly by Ranke; it should run: "Tarquinio Pinaoro." Many \*dissertations of this "Anconitano", who belonged to the "Confraternita Marchigiana" in Rome (see his \*Discorsi in *Vat.* 7850, p. 352 *seq.*, Vatican Library) addressed to Paul V. are to be found in the Roman libraries and also in the Gambalunga Library at Rimini, but I have not come across the above one. The composition of the work is evidently connected with the sending (announced in the Avviso of October 20, 1612) of the "architetto del popolo Romano" to Fano "per restaurare quel porto" in one year, for 38,000 scudi to be paid by the city (ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 207). The architect was Girolamo Rainaldi; see BERTOLOTTI, *Artisti in relazione coi Gonzaga*, 23.

<sup>6</sup> See the \*Avviso of December 21, 1613, Vatican Library. The medal mentioned here, portraying the "Portus Borghesius a fundamentis exstruct. Col. Iul. Fanestris 1613" is reproduced in CIACONIUS, IV., 397-8. The Avviso praises the harbour as easily accessible, sheltered from all winds, spacious and useful to the Papal States, which agrees with the statements which Ranke (*loc. cit.*) takes from Pinaoro.

considerable importance, especially for the Marches, Umbria and Romagna.<sup>1</sup>

The Pope took up repeatedly the question of the draining of the marshy regions and the regulation of rivers in the Papal States.<sup>2</sup> At first he concentrated on the northerly provinces, Ferrara and Romagna, but Central Italy was also in prospect.<sup>3</sup> Two extraordinary congregations were occupied with this question of water in the district of Ferrara and in the Chiana valley.<sup>4</sup> How difficult the task was is apparent from the evidence of numerous experts, amongst them being Giovanni Fontana and Targone.<sup>5</sup> In addition to Cardinal

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BZOVIVUS, *Vita Pauli V.*, c. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the \*notes of G. B. Costaguti, c. 1, Costaguti Archives in Rome. See also \*Vita Pauli V. compendio scripta in *Barb.* 2670, p. 8<sup>b</sup>, Vatican Library. For the draining of a marsh near Castelgandolfo see CANCELLIERI, *Tarantismo*, 105; A. GUIDI, *Colli Albani*, Rome, 1880, 58 seq.; CELLI, *Malaria*, 281; TOMASSETTI, II., 188; ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 156, No. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See the Avvisi in ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 57, 77, 81. Mention is also made here of the “\*Editto sopra la disiccatione del laghetto di Castelgandolfo et sopra la condotta dell’acqua di Malafitto a detto Castello”, dated January 12, 1610, *Editti*, V., 51, p. 312; *ibid.*, p. 315, “\*Editto per la conservazione della cava del lago Trasimeno,” dated May 30, 1615. Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> See the \**Relazione di Roma* of B. Ceci of 1605 in *Urb.*, 837, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. “\*Relatione et parere di Pompeo Targone sopra la bonificazione delle scoli delli valli di Ferrara, Comachio et altri luoghi alla Stà di Paulo V.”, *Vat.* 6344, p. 1 seq., Vatican Library; “\*Discorso sopra la modificatione del Po di Ferrara” (composed at the time of Paul V.), *Barb.* 4383; \*Informazione del P. Agostino [Spernazzi] a P. Paolo V. 1605 about the “bonificazione di Ferrara”, *Barb.* 4356, pp. 39-46; *ibid.*, pp. 46-97; “Informazione del P. Agostino a P. Paolo V. sopra la bonificazione del paese sommerso dal Po di Ferrara,” etc., composed in 1606 (cf. *Barb.* 4340, pp. 1-23); “Risposta del Fontana alla scrittura fatta dal P. Agostino Spernazzi per conto della bonificazione,” *Barb.* 4379, p. 101-185; *ibid.*, p. 105-114: “Risposta di Giov. Fontana alla scrittura dei signori Ferraresi per la bonificazione data a Msgr. ill. Vicelegato 10 Agosto, 1606.” Vatican Library.

Piatti, who was well acquainted with conditions in Ferrara, Mgr. Centurione and later Cardinal Caetani were consulted as regards the Romagna, and the legate, Cardinal Luigi Cappone, as regards Bologna.<sup>1</sup> The water problem also played an important part in the settlement, made in 1607, of the boundary between the papal city of Città della Pieve and the Tuscan city of Chiusi.<sup>2</sup> Three years later, Paul V. regulated the boundary between Rieti and the Neapolitan Civita Ducale.<sup>3</sup> In the same year the Pope ratified the agreement made by the Bolognese with Modena concerning the boundary and various questions relating to the water supply.<sup>4</sup>

Floodings of the Tiber at the end of 1607 and the beginning of 1608<sup>5</sup> once again gave cogency to the question of providing against this calamity, and once more there was no dearth of suggestions of the most varying kinds as to how to set about it<sup>6</sup>; it was, however, rather the question of raising

<sup>1</sup> Cf. " \*Relatione del ill. card. Piatti a P. Paolo V. " about the "acque di Ferrara e di Romagna", *Barb.* 4356, pp. 106-128; *ibid.*, pp. 194-222: " \*Scrittura delle ragioni della città intorno al metter Reno alla Stellata con le risposte del card. Capponi e repliche della città "; p. 226-232: " \*Risposta de Ferraresi alle ragioni de sig. Bolognesi " (cf. *Barb.* 4340, pp. 55-67: " \*Parere del sig. card. Gaetano sopra le acque del Reno "). Vatican Library. The " \*Visita di Msgr. Centurione dell'acque di Romagna nel 1605 e del card. Gaetano del 1610 " in Cod. H., III., 67 in the *Chigiana*, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bull.*, XI., 445 seq. Cf. THEINER, *Cod. dipl.*, III., No. 449. The " Confirmatio concordiae inter universitates terrarum Citerni et Monterchi, status eccles. et magni ducis Hetruriae respective pro reparandis alluvionibus fluminum Cerfonis et Rivianelli in itae " in *Bull.*, XII., 249 seq. Cf. also \*Pauli V., Vita compendio scripta in *Barb.* 2670, p. 8, Vatican Library, where the draining works near Sezze are also mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> THEINER, *Cod. dipl.*, III., No. 450.

<sup>4</sup> *Bull.*, XII., 225 seq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Avvisi in ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 87 seq., 92.

<sup>6</sup> BOTERO (cf. *supra*, p. 73, n. 3) suggested the diverting of the course of the Anio. Cf. further Pompeo Targone, \*Sopra il rimedio da darsi all'inondationi del Tevere (addressed to Paul V.),



the necessarily large sum of money <sup>1</sup> as well as the difficulties inherent in an undertaking of this kind, which prevented the remedying of an evil which was a constant menace.<sup>2</sup>

During the flooding of the Tiber in January, 1608, Cardinal Borghese and the Pope's brother had done all in their power for the people.<sup>3</sup> In other ways also they vied with Paul V. in their undertakings for the general good, which were specially beneficial to the Eternal City. The construction of the famous conduit, Acqua Paola,<sup>4</sup> was a very great boon to the Trastevere and the Borgo. Castelgandolfo <sup>5</sup> and Loreto <sup>6</sup>

*Barb.* 4340, pp. 47-53; *ibid.*, pp. 55-62: " \*Discorso sopra l'inondazione del Tevere et il modo da rimediarsi di Paolo Sanguirico " (similarly addressed to Paul V., Vatican Library. There is printed and dedicated to Paul V. the *Discorso del ingegnere* NIC. GALLI *sopra l'inondazione del Tevere*, Rome, 1609 (a copy of this very rare dissertation is in *Barb.* 4343). Four \*memorials about the freeing of Rome from flooding and a \*dissertation in Spanish addressed to Cardinal Capponi were composed by Joseph Fortan, in *Barb.* 3560, p. 140-251. Cf. also the \*Avvisi of August 20 and October 29, 1608, and the \*Avviso of July 25, 1609, about the plans of a Venetian engineer. Vatican Library. A discussion in the consistory took place on November 30, 1612; see \*Avviso of December 1, 1612 (*ibid.*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the \*Avvisi of January 26, March 1, May 28, and July 30, 1608, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> The \*Avviso of May 14, 1614, reports a fresh flooding of the Tiber. Cf. *Studi e docum.*, XV., 270. For a flooding in Comacchio, cf. the \*Avviso of March 4, 1606, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of January 12, 1608, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the \*notes of G. B. Costaguti, c. 3, Costaguti Archives in Rome. For the measures for the protection of Rome against the plague, in addition to the \*Avvisi of September 5 and 12, 1607 (Vatican Library), see the \**Editti*, V., 61, p. 38 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. For the Banco di S. Spirito instituted on December 13, 1605, see *Bull.*, XI., 251; *Atti dell'Accad.* "Arcadia", 1917, I., 162.

<sup>5</sup> See TOMASSETTI, *Campagna*, II., 188.

<sup>6</sup> See KEYSSLER, II., 413, 439. Loreto obtained two new bridges under Paul V.; see COLASANTI, *Loreto*, Bergamo, 1910, 62, 64; cf. RICCI, *Architettura*. The arms of Paul V. are to be seen on the bronze doors of the Casa Santa; see COLASANTI, 82.

also acquired aqueducts through the energy of Paul V. The extensive building enterprises of Paul V. in Rome were intended to give able-bodied labourers a chance to earn a livelihood. The Pope rightly regarded this as the best kind of almsgiving.<sup>1</sup>

Of great importance for the administration of the Papal States as also for the transaction of ecclesiastical and political affairs was the collection of all the documental treasures of the Church into one uniform secret archivium, which Paul V. carried out.<sup>2</sup> With him there begins a new epoch for these collections, which, in spite of all losses, were still as voluminous as they were valuable. Paul V. could see this for himself when, in February, 1609, he visited the archivium in St. Angelo, which had been founded by Sixtus IV., for housing the more valuable "of the privileges of the Roman Church".<sup>3</sup> A good canonist himself, he was well able to appreciate the great importance of such documents; it was only by the decision to bring together all the scattered collections and to preserve them more securely could further losses be prevented and what still remained be utilized to good purpose.

The new papal secret archives were housed near the Vatican Library in the long wing of the papal palace, overlooking the Vatican gardens. The rooms were adorned with paintings, illustrative of the donations made to the Church,<sup>4</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> See the \*notes of G. B. Costaguti, c. I, *loc. cit.* More particularly about the buildings of Paul V. in Rome, vol. xxvi, c. v.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for the later history MARINI, *Memorie degli archivi della S. Sede*, Rome, 1825, 26 *seq.*, 45; GASPAROLO, *Costituzione dell' Archivio Vaticano e suo primo indice sotto il pontificato di Paolo V.* Manoscritto inedito di Michele Lonigo, in *Studi e docum.*, VIII., 3 *seqq.* See also V. SICKEL, *Römische Berichte*, in *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad.*, *Hist. Kl.* CXXXIII. (9 *Abh.*, Vienna, 1895), 87 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of February 14, 1609, Vatican Library. For the archives of St. Angelo see Vol. IV., p. 436 *seq.*, of this work.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. TAJA, 478 *seq.*, PISTOLESI, III., 276 *seq.*, and BARBIER DE MONTAULT, II., 177 *seq.* The frescoes are well preserved but almost unknown, for until recently entrance was confined to

furnished with presses.<sup>1</sup> The first transfer of archival material to the new quarters took place under the supreme direction of Cardinal Cesi at the end of 1611, and lasted during the following year. Next took place the transfer of 258 volumes of papal registers and other important documents from the secret library, which had also been founded by Sixtus IV.<sup>2</sup>; the volumes were repaired and re-bound where necessary. There were also transferred a number of historical manuscripts, which the Pope had received as a present. The archives of the administrative offices of the Camera Apostolica yielded a considerable consignment. Amongst these were also, since the time of Sixtus V., the majority of those registers and briefs, acts and manuscripts, which had of old been preserved in the papal wardrobe. The wardrobe was situated on the third floor of the court of St. Damasus over the papal apartments<sup>3</sup> since it served to house those acts which might be wanted for reference at any moment. In addition to this, the famous collection of manuscripts of Cardinal Vitelli was also removed from the archives of the Camera Apostolica. In May, 1614, the archivium in St. Angelo, of which at the request of Paul V. an inventory had been made by Silvio de Paulis,<sup>4</sup> had to yield some of its Acta to the new secret archives. All these consignments were put in order, numbered and indexed. A brief of December 2nd, 1614, contained rigorous measures for the security of this treasure.<sup>5</sup>

The foundation of the new secret archives of the papacy

officials of the archives. Pope Benedict XV. rescinded this antiquated rule. On May 16, 1921, for the first time for centuries I was able to visit all the rooms of the archives.

<sup>1</sup> They still bear the arms of Paul V.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vol. IV., p. 436 *seq.* of this work.

<sup>3</sup> See *Ruolo degli appartamenti e delle stanze nel palazzo Vaticano dell'anno 1594*, p.p. F. C. COLNABRINI, Rome, 1895, and V. SICKEL, *loc. cit.*, 88 n., according to whom the "Guardarobba" was put in the same rooms as those in which the archives of the Secretary of State are now.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. SICKEL, *loc. cit.*, 115 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> See *Arch. Rom.*, II., 196 *seq.*

was laid not merely through the collecting of scattered archives<sup>1</sup> and the assigning of special quarters for them: special officials were also appointed. On January 30th, 1616, Baldassare Ansidei was made custodian. At his death he was succeeded by Nicola Alemanni.<sup>2</sup>

A bronze bust of Paul V. over the entrance from the Vatican Library into the secret papal archives recalls even to-day the memory of their creator,<sup>3</sup> who here called into being a safe home for a vast quantity of ancient documents and precious correspondence. Thus came into existence a collection of archives, which, if it is not the largest in Europe and the most important in every possible respect, is nevertheless unrivalled in its significance.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Paul V. searched for the conciliar acts of Massarelli with great energy; see *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XI., 397 seq. Cardinal Aless. Ludovisi (later Gregory XV.) took pains to secure the manuscripts of Cardinal G. Paleotto about the Council of Trent for the new archivium; see the " \*Lettere del card. Ludovisi al Ludovico Ludovisi ", dated Bologna, March 11 and 25 and April 25, 1620, in Cod. E. 67 of the Boncompagni Archives in Rome.

<sup>2</sup> See PALMIERI, *Ad Vaticanani Archivi Rom. Pontif. Regesta manu ductio*, Romae, 1884, XXVI.; GASPAROLO, *loc. cit.*, 17, where it reads 1612 instead of 1616. Ansidei remained at the same time first custodian of the library (see Appendix No. 8); the complete separation of the archives from the library was first accomplished under Urban VIII.

<sup>3</sup> The inscription in FORCELLA, VI., 135. It may be permissible to mention here that in January, 1879, the writer of these lines received for purposes of study in the Vatican Library the very first Acta allowed out from the hitherto almost hermetically sealed Papal Secret Archives, thus inaugurating the unrestricted access of scholars to these documents; cf. my communication in " *Hochland* ", 1904.

<sup>4</sup> See P. KEHR, *Das Vaticanische Archiv*, in *Hinnebergs Internat. Wochenschrift f. Wissensch.*, 1907, I., 429 seq., who says that an entirely new epoch in historical science begins with the bold decision of Leo XIII. to break with a thousand-year-old tradition and to throw the archives open to students of history. " Who is there now who either will or can resist such an example ?



The major-domo of Paul V., Giovan Battista Costaguti, observed in connection with the foundation of the papal secret archives that the ancient documents were juridical weapons for the preservation of what has been acquired.<sup>1</sup> What was the state of the material weapons at this time ?

The army was always a weak point in the Papal States. Giovanni Botero thought it an advantage for the worldly possessions of the Church that, apart from the great prestige of the Pope, they were so well protected by nature that it was unnecessary to spend a single quattrino on military projects. The country possessed no large harbour and its coasts were so constituted that it could only be attacked with great difficulty and then not with a large fighting force. There was also the marshiness of the coasts of the Tyrrhenian Sea, which alone sufficed to render a hostile landing impossible. The people of the Marches and the Romagna were good soldiers, well able to ward off an aggressor. The land frontiers also presented no danger, for the Papal States were larger than Tuscany and only slightly smaller than the kingdom of Naples. Orvieto, Civita Castellana, Paliano and Spoleto were advantageously situated, Umbria was a natural fortress and Rome seemed safe enough with the Castle of St. Angelo and the fortifications of the Borgo. According to Botero, it would have sufficed to fortify in addition Ascoli and Rieti, and in the south Frosinone and Anagni. He regarded the

When the Roman Church proffered her documents, for centuries so jealously and mysteriously guarded, all the other numerous ecclesiastical archives could no longer keep their treasures closed. Twenty years ago the archives of all the Roman churches were practically inaccessible ; nor was entrance easy to gain to the archives of the bishoprics, capitals and corporations of Italy ; to-day—after the lead given by the Vatican—almost all are open. The example of Rome was followed in all the other countries : only the Spanish archives remain closed. A new notion has irresistibly penetrated public life : the right of science to make use of archives."

<sup>1</sup> " Le scritture sono armi civili nel conservare l'acquisitato." Costaguti's \*notes, c. 3, Costaguti Archives in Rome.

Tuscan frontier as the weakest spot : the Pope should therefore keep on good terms with the Grand Duke. Of the outlying parts in the north, Ferrara and Bologna would have to be considered first. As regards Bologna, Paul V. had made a good beginning with the fortification of Castelfranco, while Clement VIII. had started the construction of a citadel at Ferrara.<sup>1</sup> Paul V. brought this work to completion<sup>2</sup> and, in addition, gave security to the coasts of the Papal States, notably by means of fortified towers as against the Turkish corsairs<sup>3</sup> and by restoring the works at Ancona.<sup>4</sup> He thought that he could let the matter rest there, for Clement VIII. had been able to raise 22,000 men in a month against Ferrara—an achievement which, according to Botero, could have been equalled by very few princes in Europe.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, when in 1606 a serious conflict broke out with Venice, this number proved to be as little equal to the occasion as the available funds. Paul V. had at that time erected two arsenals in Rome

<sup>1</sup> BOTERO, *Relationi*, VI., 32 seq., 39 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 109, III, 113 seq., 119 seq., 142 seq. "Minute di lettere scritte dal sig. Mario Farnese, locotenente generale de s. Chiesa per servitio della fortezza di Ferrara dal 1608-1611" in *Cod. ital.* 223 in the Munich municipal archives. The \**Vita Pauli V. compendio scripta* (*Barb.* 2670, p. 8<sup>b</sup>, Vatican Library) calls the citadel of Ferrara "opus sane amplum, sed in quo amplitudinem superat oportunitas".

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the \*notes of G. B. Costaguti, c. 3, Costaguti Archives, in Rome. Cf. also the \**Avvisi* of August 3, 1611 (fortification of Fiumicino) and of December 13, 1617 (fortification of the coasts of Romagna), Vatican Library. Cf. further BZOVIVUS, c. 34; *Studi e docum.*, XV., 272; FEA, *Considerazioni*, 167; GUGLIEMOTTI, *Fortificazioni*, 431, 470, 483, 493. Botero (*Relationi*, VI., 41) suggests the foundation of an order of knights to have its seat in Ponza, to combat the pirates. Concerning the papal fleet of which Francesco Centurione was given command, towards the end of 1609, see additions to Guglielmotti in a paper by Orbaan in the periodical *Roma*, IV. (1926), 500 seq.

<sup>4</sup> See the \*notes of Costaguti, c. 4, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> BOTERO, *Relationi*, VI., 33.

and had started a munitions factory at Tivoli.<sup>1</sup> Even after the special congregation for military affairs was constituted and, after the end of 1609, began to meet weekly,<sup>2</sup> the decline in military strength was far from being stemmed. In 1612 the Venetian ambassador, Mocenigo, reported that the 650 light horse, previously kept for withstanding banditry, were sent into Hungary to help the Emperor against the Turks without any other troops taking their place. Nor did the Pope have in his pay any general officers, and Ferrara and Ancona alone possessed garrison troops.<sup>3</sup> Money was saved wherever possible, for the financial circumstances of Paul V. were anything but easy.

The treasurer-general, Luigi Capponi, who had been appointed by Leo XI., was confirmed in office by the Borghese Pope, and he continued to hold it until he was made a Cardinal on November 24th, 1608. He was followed by the Genoese Giacomo Serra, an extremely conscientious man, who on August 17th, 1611, was also raised to the purple though he retained, for a time, as pro-treasurer, the supervision of the papal finances. When Serra went to France as legate in September, 1615, Mgr. Patrizi became Treasurer.<sup>4</sup>

The task of these men was fraught with difficulties. When

<sup>1</sup> See the \*notes of Costaguti, *loc. cit.*, and the statements in *Studi e docum.*, XIV., 50.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the \*Avviso of November 15, 1611, Vatican Library. The names of the members of the Congregazione "per la militia" in Costaguti's \*notes, *loc. cit.* (see Appendix n. 14, vol. xxvi).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. FR. CONTARINI, *Relazione*, 90; MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 100 *seq.*, 119.

<sup>4</sup> See MORONI, LXXIV., 300. Here also more details about the Pope's "Tesoriere segreto", Roberto Pietro, who died in 1619 and was buried in S. Maria della Scala. Mgr. Patrizio, whom Costaguti (vol. xxvi, n. 14) mentions as "Tesoriere generale", received this position on September 22, 1615; see *Studi e docum.*, XV., 292. For the character of Serra, see MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, XXVII. For the coinage of Paul V., see SERAFINO, *Le monete del Museo Vaticano*, II., Rome, 1912, 131 *seq.*

Paul V., at the beginning of his reign, lamented in a letter to the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria that his coffers were empty and that he was crushed by heavy debts,<sup>1</sup> he was stating the bare truth.<sup>2</sup> The chief evil was that the subscribers of the loans (*monti*) were entitled to certain of the taxes, so that a considerable part of the revenue was entirely lost to the State. The Venetian *obbedienza* reported in 1605 that only 70,000 scudi of the taxes paid to the Camera were not accounted for by payment of interest.<sup>3</sup> Through the selling of offices, fees and perquisites were likewise lost to the State treasury. From the autumn of 1605 a special congregation tried to find a remedy for this sorry condition.<sup>4</sup> The conflict with Venice, which broke out in April, 1606, rendered new taxes necessary for a time and occasioned yet further deliberations.<sup>5</sup> Of the many different suggestions, which were

<sup>1</sup> \*"Aerarium S. Sedis adeo exhaustum reperimus, et quod deterius est, cum cura maxima aeris alieni magnitudine, ut nisi . . . eius clementia consolaremur, qui d. Petrum redarguit, animo prorsus deficeremus." Brief of June 23, 1605, *Epist.*, I., 16, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the \*Avviso of May 25, 1605, Vatican Library. See also MEYER, *Nuntiatuerberichte*, 611 seq.

<sup>3</sup> BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 63. Cf. also the \*Relazione di Roma of B. Ceci of 1605, *Urb.* 837, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See the \*Avvisi of October 5 and December 21, 1605, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> \*"E per pagare la soldatesca e provisioni non parve bene toccare li denari di castello sì per non privarsene così di subito come per riputatione e mostrar che si poteva fare la guerra e non metter mano al denaro reposto. Spinto però dalla necessità messe alcune gravezze a populi, ma hebbe consideratione che li poveri ne patissero manco d'ogni altro e che tanto fosse pagato dalli essenti quanto da non essenti e tanto da terrazzani quanto da forastieri. Fu però augmentato tanto il prezzo della carta, dal sale e della carne e sopra essi assegnamenti prese alcuna somma di denari ad interesse. Si accomodorno poi li rumori e Sua Stà levò l'impositioni sopra la carta e sale e lasciò quella della carne per due cause. L'una acciò con questo assegnamento si estinguesse il debito fatto per le sudette occasioni. L'altra



forthcoming in the autumn of that year, a detailed plan drawn up specially for Paul V. by Malvasia, an expert of the Camera, is of particular interest.<sup>1</sup>

At the outset the author showed how entirely justified was the determination of the Pope to put the finances in order, for the interest, which the Holy See had to pay, swallowed up practically the whole of the income, so that it was a constant embarrassment to find enough money even to cover running expenses; and when an extraordinary necessity arose, one did not know where to turn.<sup>2</sup>

Malvasia discussed four possible ways of effecting a financial reform: new taxes, economies, reducing the rates of interest on the state loans and removing gold from the treasure in St. Angelo. He declared that the imposition of new taxes

acciò si estinguessero anche gli altri debiti e l'entrate, che avanzavano, potessero supplire alli bisogni futuri per non avere a gravare la città di nove impositioni." (Costaguti, \*notes, c. 1, Costaguti Archives in Rome). The suppression of the tax on paper took place at the beginning of May, 1607; see the \*Avviso of May 5, 1607, Vatican Library. In order to balance the tottering finances, Paul V. had on December 23, 1605, abolished a series of privileges and immunities, which his predecessors had granted for the benefit of the income of the papal Camera; see MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, LIV.

<sup>1</sup> See \*Per sollevare la Camera Apostolica. Discorso di mons. Malvasia, 1606, used by Ranke (III<sup>e</sup>., 9, and 109\* *seq.*), but quoted without giving references. I have found it in the report addressed to Paul V. in *Cod.*, 39 B, 13, pp. 122-7 in the Corsini Library in Rome. The time of composition is given in the \*Avviso of September 23, 1606, Vatican Library. Malvasia, a native of Bologna, was under Clement VIII. "foriere" (see MORONI, XXIV., 146) and, according to Costaguti, was under Clement VIII. a member of the "Congregazioni per la militia" and "del saldo de conti"; see Appendix, vol. xxvi, n. 14. According to the \*Avviso of January 11, 1606 (Vatican Library) he was also prefect of the prisons of Rome.

<sup>2</sup> It is expressed in the same way in a memorandum to Paul V., which G. B. Costaguti includes in his \*notes (c. 2). Costaguti Archives in Rome.

was impossible, quite apart from the fact that such a method was entirely against the wishes of the Pope. And in view of the large debts and the pressing demands it was useless to attempt any economies. Thus there only remained the two last methods, which would have to be combined. Malvasia sought to remedy the parlous state of affairs, in which the income of the state was ear-marked for creditors, by a complete alteration in the prevailing system of loans and the sale of offices. He suggested the creation of one single *monte papale* at 6 per cent, or 5 per cent at the highest, in place of the many existing *monti* with their varying rates of interest ; to do this, they must redeem all the outstanding obligations with a million in gold from the treasure in St. Angelo ; this could easily be paid back later with the saving effected. The redemption of the *luoghi di monte* should be based on the nominal value of the loans : Paul V. would be entirely justified in doing this as previous Popes, such as Paul III., Pius IV., Gregory XIII. and Clement VIII. had all reduced the rates of interest, although their financial difficulties were not nearly so serious. The governments of Spain and Venice had acted in a like manner ; it was in this way that Venice had in a few years paid off the debt of nine millions, which she had been forced to contract during the last Turkish war.

In his memorandum Malvasia sought to meet every possible objection. In particular he took pains to point out that the owners of the *luoghi di monti* had no right to complain if they only obtained the face-value of the loans under the Pope's redemption scheme, for in most cases this had been expressly reserved by the Apostolic Camera ; and even if it had not been so, the justification lay in the very nature of the case. Malvasia recalls in this connection that previous Popes, as for example Paul IV., had been forced to sell the *luoghi* in the *monti vacabili* at 50 ; and quite recently Clement VIII. had been forced to sell the *luoghi* of the *monti di pace* at 96½. For the rest, one could indemnify those who had acquired the *luoghi* above par.

Malvasia also pointed to the general economic interests which would benefit by the adoption of his scheme. It could

not but be beneficial if an end were made of the custom of obtaining through the *monti* life annuities without having to do any work. Also, the million taken from St. Angelo for the purpose of discharging the obligations on loans would bring fresh capital into circulation, which would be beneficial to agriculture, trade and industry. The consequent increase in customs duties would benefit the Pope.

Malvasia supported his plans with an appendix in which he gives accurate statistics. From these we learn that the debts of the Apostolic Camera had mounted to no less than 12,242,620 scudi<sup>1</sup> in 1606, while the annual interest charges were 1,800,600. Malvasia showed how this last could be reduced to either 489,702 or 612,130 by a reduction of the interest to 4 per cent or 5 per cent respectively.

Paul V. shrank from such drastic measures as were suggested to him in these proposals. A decisive factor in their rejection, in addition to other reasons, was the fact that the Pope was unwilling to take, even temporarily, a million in gold from the treasure in St. Angelo, the employment of which had been carefully circumscribed by solemn bulls.<sup>2</sup> An attempt to balance the budget by means of economies<sup>3</sup> proved fruitless.

<sup>1</sup> Giulio del Carretto also gives a debt of 13 millions in his \*report of October 22, 1605. Gonzaga Archives in Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> A \* " Discorso sopra li milioni che sono in Castello, che non si devono levare solo in casi molto urgenti ", which must be by G. B. Costaguti, recalls in this connection that Clement VIII. never wanted to touch this money either for the acquisition of Ferrara or for the help sent to Germany against the Turks. (Costaguti Archives in Rome.) For the state of the treasure in St. Angelo under Paul V. cf. *Studi e docum.*, XIII., 307.

<sup>3</sup> Costaguti says about this: " Deputò una congregazione de cardinali a questo effetto e dopo molte proposte a discorsi si risolse S.S<sup>ta</sup> de restringere le spese e cominciò da proprii parenti, a quali non dette le provisioni nel generalato di s. Chiesa, dovute almeno per onorevolezza de carichi, licentiò una compagnia di cavalli, moderò le spese di Palazzo (Notes, c. 1). In c. 3 he gives the following survey of the "spese scemate":—

And so the old system of defraying expenses through the *monti* and the sale of offices, initiated principally by Sixtus V., remained substantially in possession. This way seemed easier than that indicated by Malvasia. An incentive to persist in this also lay in the fact that the *luoghi di monti*, even after Paul V. had reduced the rate of interest in some cases, remained much in demand in view of the greater security offered.<sup>1</sup>

The new loans, which Paul V. raised, were not of course large in individual cases, but they were repeated so frequently that they gradually totalled a considerable sum. In the years 1608-1618 Paul V. contracted debts to the amount of two millions.<sup>2</sup> In the last years of his pontificate the debt rose even further; in the autumn of 1619, according to the statement of Paul V. himself, it had risen to eighteen millions.<sup>3</sup> And since the fixed annual income, according to

" Delle galere . . . . .	sc. 25,000
La provisione del generale di s. Chiesa	12,000
La compagnia di cavalli . . . .	5,000
Le spese di Palazzo . . . . .	45,000
	sc. 87,000 "

Costaguti Archives in Rome.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the \*notes of Costaguti, c. 1, who observes: " Tanto si vendevano i Monti, dopo che furono ridotti, quanto valevano prima che si ridussero " (Costaguti Archives in Rome). Cf. also RANKE, III<sup>6</sup>, 9, but he does not say whence he took his statement. For the order of 1615 about the Monti see *Civ. Catt.*, 1906, II., 598 seq.

<sup>2</sup> \* " Nota de luoghi di monti eretti in tempo del pontificato della fel. mem. di Paolo V., 1606-1618," quoted by Ranke (III<sup>6</sup>, 9) but without a reference. I have searched in vain for this manuscript in the Roman archives and collections of manuscripts; perhaps it belonged to the Albani Library, which was dispersed in 1857; see PASTOR, *Le biblioteche private di Roma*, Rome, 1906, 5. For Paul V. and the Monti, see MORONI, XL., 155 seq.

<sup>3</sup> " Noi habbiamo diciotto milioni de scuti di debiti et noi pagiamo l'interesse di quelli debiti fecero i nostri antecessori ;



the notes of major-domo Costaguti, amounted to 1,375,000 scudi, it was only possible to make ends meet by relying on uncertain and variable revenues which, according to the same authority, amounted to 435,000 scudi.<sup>1</sup> That these variable sources of revenue were great is likewise attested by Mocenigo, the Venetian ambassador. He lays stress on the fact that the Popes were still able to collect large sums of money, through tithes and subsidies, not only in the Papal States but in other countries as well.<sup>2</sup> For the rest Costaguti assures us that towards the end of his reign, Paul V. thought seriously about the establishment of an ordered economy and the reduction of the burden of debts: only death prevented him from carrying out this work.<sup>3</sup>

*l'elemosina ordinaria passa cento et venti mille scuti l'anno, il sostenere li confini, la corte (le spese della quale habbiamo molto ritirato) consume il resto della nostra entrata, di alcuni di nostri vicini habbiamo cause di sospettare*”; said Paul V. himself to the ambassador of Ferdinand II., Max von Trautmansdorf; see \*Report, dated October 24, 1619, State Archives in Vienna.

<sup>1</sup> See the \*notes of Costaguti, Appendix, vol. xxvi, n. 14, Costaguti Archives in Rome.

<sup>2</sup> MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 101.

<sup>3</sup> \*Notes of Costaguti, c. 1, *loc. cit.*

## CHAPTER IV.

### ECCLESIASTICO-POLITICAL STRUGGLE WITH VENICE AND PROCLAMATION OF THE INTERDICT.

VENICE has always been the point of contact between East and West ; in many respects it may be described as a bit of the East in the midst of the West. To begin with the church of St. Mark, the heart and symbol of the republic, gives the impression of having been brought over from Byzantium. The East is called to mind by the Venetian administration of justice with its arbitrary verdicts<sup>1</sup> and its secret condemnations and executions. The whole constitution bears an eastern stamp<sup>2</sup> in that it jealously checks one branch of the executive by another and allows even the doge to be sent to the block. In Venice, says an account written towards the end of the XVIth century,<sup>3</sup> there are not many monuments of the great men of bygone centuries ; the republic sees even in the outstanding worth of her captains and statesmen a danger against which it guards itself. Andrea Contarini, the conqueror of Genoa, deemed it expedient to leave

<sup>1</sup> An orderly study of jurisprudence, an observer remarks, is not to be found in Venice ; to arrive at a verdict, they follow an alleged natural sense of justice, but in reality they are swayed by passion. The judges " sono per lo più huomini ignoranti d'ogni cosa, o delle legge almeno ". The " nobili ad ogni altra scienza attendono che a quella delle legge con infinito danno de' poveri litiganti ". \**Relazione della Ser. Repubblica di Venetia dell'anno 1590*, Corsini Library, Rome, 35 F, 29, f. 223.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. MUTHER, I., 40.

<sup>3</sup> *Relatione*, loc. cit., seq. 216. Cf. RANKE, *Zur venez. Geschichte : Werke*, XLII., 62.

instructions that not even his name should appear on his tomb. Even as regards manners Venice was the most oriental city of Europe. There was a counterpart to the joyous sensuality and the delight in splendour and display which Titian and other Venetian artists paint with such glowing colours. Venice was the abode of luxurious, self-indulgent frivolity and the rendezvous of pleasure-seeking, dissipated foreigners. Above all relations with the Church, in Venice, seem to have been modelled on a Byzantine pattern.<sup>1</sup>

The republic set store by a reputation for orthodoxy and its frequent boast was that of being an obedient daughter of the Roman Church and a bulwark of Christendom against Islam. The numerous churches and pious foundations of the city as well as the splendour of the liturgical functions might well convey an impression that here religion flourished greatly. However, at least among the upper classes, there prevailed much religious indifference which was being steadily fostered by constant business relations with the Greeks and Mohammedans. The philosophy of Averroes, with its denial of the immortality of the individual soul, flourished at the Venetian university of Padua. As late as the beginning of the XVIIth century one of the masters there, Cremonini, was able to propagate such ideas with impunity. Free-thinkers such as Aretino and Giordano Bruno sought refuge precisely at Venice

<sup>1</sup> Concerning Church and State in Venice see our account in Vol. IV, p. 92 *seqq.*; V. 335 *seq.*; R. BATTISTELLA, *La politica ecclesiastica della Repubblica Veneta*, in the *Nuovo Arch. Veneto*, XVI., p. 2 (1898); BART. CECHETTI, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la corte di Roma nei rapporti della religione*, Venice, 1874; P. M. OLMENTI, *Venezia e il clero*, in *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto*, LX., 1900-1901, II., 678-684 (also in *Nuova Antologia*, 4 series, XCIV., Rome, 1901, 94-104); F. ALBANESE, *L'inquisizione religiosa nella repubblica di Venezia*, Venice, 1875; ANDREAS, *Relationen*, 22 *seqq.*; NÜRNBERGER, in *Hist. Jahrb.* (1883), 201 *seqq.*; GOTHEIN, *Ignatius*, 533 *seq.*; KRETCHMAYR, II., 478.

and nowhere in Italy did protestantism meet with so much success as in that city.<sup>1</sup>

If in private life, seemingly at least, religion meant everything, little room was left for it in political life. "We are Venetians first, and Christians after that," was the motto of the leaders of the State. True there was then elsewhere also a party which held that the interests of the State take precedence over everything, religion included; that all religions should be tolerated and that the State should claim sovereignty over the Church. But, in the opinion of a contemporary, Venice was perhaps the birthplace of these principles which there had passed into the political system.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. our statements, Vol. X., 306 seq., 529 seqq.; XII., 491 seq.; XIII., 210 seq.; BONNET, in *Bulletin hist. et littér. de la Société de l'hist. du protestantisme français*, XV. (1866), 440; K. BENRATH, *Gesch. der Reformation in Venedig*, Halle, 1886; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XL. (1843), 130; cf. MOLMENTI, *loc. cit.*, 680. \* "Il vescovo di Padua ha detto a N.S. che verranno costì persone di quella città a deporre contro il Cremonino, che tiene la mortalità dell'anima e la persuade e insegna ad altri, non ostante l'esquisite diligenze che si fanno dalli Rettori a favor suo; ne avvertisco V.S. affinché comparendo, faccia che si pigli le loro depositioni e non s'alteri in ciò la solita forma; onde non si possa mai dire che non si sia proceduto con tutta la schietezza che è propria del tribunale del sant'Officio. Dovrà bene V.S. dare animo a quelli che deporranno del sudetto Cremonino, onde sgravino le proprie coscienze. (Borghese to Gessi, August 9, 1608, *Nunciat. dw.*, 186 seq., 417 seq. Papal Secret Archives.)

<sup>2</sup> In regard to the party of the so-called *politici* cf. ADAM CONTZEN *Politicorum libri*, X., Mayence, 1628, l.2., c.14, § 1: "Nè so io se i politici l'abbiano presa (the principle of the precedence of the temporal) dalla Repubblica di Venezia, perchè ab antiquo, come s'è veduto, i Venetiani hanno patito di questo morbo, ed ora si sono dichiarati per pubblici scritti, che l'hanno, come si dice, nell'osso, fatti dare in luce in nome dell dottore Giovanni Marsilio." Thus also ANT. PERSIO in a pamphlet of the troubled period about to be described, in FIORENTINO, in *Revista Europea*, Anno VIII., vol. 3 (1877), 390. "Dicono esser



No more than her captains or her statesmen was the Church allowed to gain such prestige as might stand in the way of the men in power. For this reason the Signoria went so far as to foster the deplorable decadence observable in the ranks of the clergy, and jealously protected both priests and monasteries against the Pope and the bishops who in the nature of things should have reformed them.<sup>1</sup> Moreover the liberty of the Church was impeded by laws against the right of ownership of "mortmain"; by the surveillance of churches and monasteries; by the putting of the clergy on the same footing as the laity before the law; by the stringent exercise of *placet* and *exequatur*; by the Signoria's right of nomination of the patriarch and the bishops, and by the exclusion of clerics, even if they belonged to the ranks of the nobility, from all

christiani cattolici, chiamano il Papa santissimo, e poi con parole ignominiose ed insolenti lo vituperano, e co' fatti gli negano ogni ubbidienza, ed invitano, anzi sforzano altri a negargliela." *Ibid.*, 393.

<sup>1</sup> MOLMENTI, *loc. cit.*, 680; HORTIG-DÖLLINGER, *Handbuch der christl. Kirchengeschichte*, II., 2, Landshut, 1882, 730. Towards the end of the pontificate of Clement VIII., the scandals in a convent of nuns had called for the intervention of the *provveditori*. When they perceived that certain members of the Venetian nobility were involved, the Council of Ten called the affair before its own court and acquitted the nuns (NÜRNBERGER, *loc. cit.*, 203). As late as the year 1767 the Belgian, Rapedius of Berg, writes that Venice protects bad monks from their ecclesiastical superiors (FRIEDBERG, *Grenzen*, II., 703). "In consequence of the corruption of the clergy," Friedberg writes (704), "secular society became infected and the anarchy of social conditions attacked the State also and led to its ruin." The above mentioned pamphlet of A. Persic relates, as characterizing the Venetians, that they erected at great cost a theatre and that the *nobili* who resorted thither in great numbers, with their wives and daughters, required from the actors "che dicessero le più grasse, per non dir più sporche cose, che mai sapessero" (*Fiorentino, loc. cit.*, 394, cf. below, p. 155.

public offices.<sup>1</sup> All these dispositions the Republic justified by an appeal either to established custom or to papal concessions.

The years immediately preceding the accession of Paul V. had been particularly rich in such encroachments on the rights of the Church. Clement VIII. repeatedly had occasion to complain of the violation of episcopal jurisdiction by the Senate of Venice.<sup>2</sup> In 1603 a dispute arose at Brescia between the town and its clergy about the latter's obligation to contribute towards the repairing of the city walls.<sup>3</sup> The Signoria decided against the clergy, and because in consequence of the dispute many citizens had been refused absolution in confession, it was resolved to issue a legal summons against those who had instigated this line of action.<sup>4</sup> The clergy of Brescia refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Signoria in such a matter. They complained to the Pope that they were made to pay twice as much as the laity and asked him to proceed with ecclesiastical censures against their oppressors. Thereupon the Signoria, in support of its right, appealed to a century-old custom,<sup>5</sup> but the Holy See instructed the bishop of Brescia to protest against the execution of the decrees of the government. The bishop, however, did not dare to carry out his orders.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MOLMENTI, *loc. cit.*, 681; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 129-135; REIN, 1-9. "The most remarkable thing in the history of Venice, as Ruskin remarked, is that religion was so very much alive in private life and so dead in public life." KRETSCHMAYR, I., 154; *cf.* 242 *seq.*, 445, 462 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIV., 249 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> \**Cod. Ottob.*, 1941, Pars 2, *seq.* 297 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> April 3, 1604: \*Decreto del Senato, che si formi processo contro quelli che sono stati autori di negar l'assoluzione alli cittadini, che hanno acconsentito al far pagar il clero. *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> \*Reply of the Senate to the nuncio, February 19, 1604: "Disse il papa non si poteva sententiar il clero di Brescia senza parlar con lui." *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> \*January 29, 1604 (1605), *ibid.*

Rome was even more perturbed by two decrees passed at Venice in the last years before the election of Paul V. which were intended not only for the city but for the whole territory of the Republic.<sup>1</sup> Anyone erecting a monastery, a church, a hospital or similar buildings without leave of the Senate was to be punished, in virtue of one of these laws,<sup>2</sup> with perpetual banishment or, should he return, with perpetual imprisonment; the buildings were to be pulled down, the site on which they stood was forfeit and was to be divided between the official who carried out the sentence and him who denounced the delinquent. Remissness in the execution of the law was punishable with a fine of 500 ducats. The second law ordained<sup>3</sup> that immovable property could not be handed over to ecclesiastical persons either by purchase or by a free

<sup>1</sup> For what follows *cf.* besides ROMANIN, VII., 19 *seq.* and BALAN, VI., 657 *seq.*; P. SARPI, *Storia particolare delle cose passate tra' SS. Pontefice Paolo V. e la ser. rep. di Venezia negli anni 1605, 1606, 1607.* Lyons (Venice), 1624, MIRANDOLA (Geneva) 1624 (*Opere varie*, I., 1-144); GIUS. MALATESTA, *Istoria dell' Interdetto sotto Paolo V.*, MSS. (*cf.* NÜRNBERGER in *Theol. Quartal-schrift*, LXIV. (1882), 446-465); GAETANO CAPASSO, *Fra Paolo Sarpi e l'Interdetto di Venezia*, Firenze, 1880, reprint from the *Revista Europea*, XIV-XVII (1879-1880); *ibid.*, VIII., 3 (1877), 385 on the MSS. of A. Persio; F. DIEHL, *Streit zwischen Venedig und Paul V.* (Progr.), Marienwerder, 1876; MUTINELLI, III., 93 *seqq.*; CANTÙ, *Eretici*, III., 174; REUMONT, *Bibliographia*, 172 *seq.*, 186, 222 *seq.*; MOLMENTI, *Storie vecchie*, Venezia, 1882; CIAMPI, III., 26 *seq.*; Philippson, *Heinrich IV.*, III., 382 *seq.*; BROSCHE, I., 351 *seq.*; CARLO PIO DE-MAGISTRIS, *Primordi della contesa fra la repubblica Veneta e Paolo V.*, *Mediazione di Germania*, Torino, 1907; NÜRNBERGER in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, LV. (1883), 189 *seq.*, 473 *seq.* For MSS. sources *cf.* NÜRNBERGER in *Lit. Rundschau*, 1881, 756 *seq.*; A. GADALETA (*Paolo V. e l'Interdetto di Venezia*), Trani, 1901, gives nothing new. \*G. Malatesta's *Storia*, etc., is also in *Cod.* 836 of the *Bibl. Ossolissiana* at Lemberg.

<sup>2</sup> January 10, 1603 (*viz.* 1604, since at Venice the year began on March 25), see CORNET, 68.

<sup>3</sup> March 26, 1605, *ibid.*, 265.

gift, or in any other way, without leave of the State, under pain of confiscation for the benefit of the Republic, the officials who carried out the law and the informer ; as regards granting such permissions, the Senate should make as many difficulties as if it were a question of the alienation of State property.

Such ordinances could not be justified by any papal concessions ; they were, in fact, an interference with the existing law as it had grown up in the course of more than a thousand years. In addition to this the republic violated the immunity which the clergy had enjoyed from time immemorial though, of course, not in order that culprits might go unpunished, but because men wished to see the dignity of the clerical state respected even in its unworthiest members. One Saraceni, a canon of Vicenza and a man of ill repute, and who, as a matter of fact, had not received major orders,<sup>1</sup> was accused of having defiled, by night, out of revenge, the door of a lady of the town.<sup>2</sup> The woman would not endure the humiliation and the affair ended by being brought before the Council of Ten. Cardinal Delfino, himself a Venetian, advised the authorities to have nothing to do with the case. " To defile a door was no crime against the State," he said ; " papal concessions would not avail to justify a secular tribunal in taking proceedings in such a matter ; should the Pope hear of it there might be trouble." The answer for the Republic was that the papal concessions included not only the city, but the whole territory of Venice ; that, moreover, every day fresh crimes of Saraceni's were being brought to light. Rome was not satisfied with these explanations. On December 24th Delfino wrote that much dissatisfaction obtained there on account of Saraceni whom the Ten had summoned to appear before their tribunal on October 21st, and that he found it difficult to restrain the Pope from intervening.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> CORNET, 3, note, *cf.* on Saraceni the decrees of the Ten of 12, 14, and 21 December in Arch. Venet. (1873), 44-9.

<sup>2</sup> In the end it turned out that someone else was the culprit ; see Nürnberger in *Hist. Jahrb.*, LV., 514 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> CORNET, 266 *seq.*



At about the same time a lawsuit was pending against another most unworthy priest, one Brandolino, abbot of Nervesa, who was actually suspected of homicide. In September the Ten commissioned the Podestà of Treviso to take action against him; a month later they called the case before their own tribunal.<sup>1</sup> The Council of Trent had already stressed the fact that the liberty and immunity of the Church were no mere demand of Canon Law, but were based on a divine ordinance<sup>2</sup>: as a matter of fact they have their roots in the divine origin of the Church. Moreover the interference of the secular power in spiritual affairs proved one of the main causes of clerical decadence and the chief hindrance to its reform<sup>3</sup>: hence the attitude to be taken in regard to these usurpations was a most delicate as it was a most awkward problem for the protagonists of Church reform, the Fathers of the Council of Trent, Pius V. and Charles Borromeo.<sup>4</sup> Paul V. had been brought up from his youth in the spirit of the existing law,<sup>5</sup> and he was exceedingly keen on the reform; hence it was natural that he should strongly resent the arbitrariness of the Signoria.

It is, therefore, easy to understand, notwithstanding some show of friendliness towards the new Pope on the part of the Republic,<sup>6</sup> that Paul V., particularly from the end of October,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 267 seq., cf. *Arch. Venet.*, *loc. cit.*, 48 seq., 53 seq.; BROSCHE, I., 355; MOLMENTI, *La fine dell'Abbate Brandolini*, in *Rassegna settimanale*, 1878, n. 58, 1879, n. 99.

<sup>2</sup> "Ecclesiae et personarum ecclesiasticarum immunitatem Dei ordinatione et canonicis sanctionibus constitutam." (Sess. 25, 20, de ref.) <sup>3</sup> Cf. our account, Vol. XV., 345 seq.; XX., 114.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. our account, Vol. XV, 340.

<sup>5</sup> "Che da giovanetto et per il corso de molti anni era in simili cose e che come auditor della Camera l'haveva spesso havute per le mani e ne poteva parlare con fondamento (Paul. V. to Nani, in CORNET, note 7, 3). "Come è possibile che'l principe laico voglia ingerir si in giudicare un canonico" (*ibid.*, n. 3).

<sup>6</sup> Brief of thanks of September 25, 1605, to doge Grimani for the admission of Cardinal Borghese and the Pope's brothers among the Venetian *nobili*. *Brevia*, XLV., 1, f. 501, Papal Secret Archives.

1605, should have made earnest remonstrances to the Venetian ambassador, Agostino Nani: "With indescribable ardour and incredible emotion,"<sup>1</sup> he declared at the end of one of these discussions, that his duty as Pope demanded the defence of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; with all the energy of which he was capable he affirmed that he would maintain it, "with all zeal, with all his strength, even to the shedding of his blood."<sup>2</sup> As an experienced lawyer the Pope was of course but little impressed by the arguments of the ambassador who sought to defend the Venetian legislation and to justify the action of the Signoria against the clergy by papal privileges the existence of which he was unable to prove<sup>3</sup>; or when he excused its despotism with the hyperbolic assertion that if donations to the Church were not checked, she would soon own all the land right up to the walls of the cities, for even now more than a fourth part of the ground was in her possession.<sup>4</sup> Paul V.

<sup>1</sup> "Con ardore infinito e con commotione incredibile (Cornet, n. 9). Borghese \*wrote to the Venetian nuncio, Offredo de'Offredi (d. November 11, 1606): "Ogni resentimento che si faccia o si sia fatto per quella parte (the law) tanto detestabile e tanto dannosa alle cose ecclesiastiche è inferiore all'occasione; onde non se haverebbono da dolere costi che V.S. ne habbia parlato vivamente. Borghese, I, 908, f. 46 (50), Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> CORNET, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 9 and 10, 1. If there were such privileges "saranno corruttele, usurpationi et abusi, a i quali bisognerà in fine che S. Beatitudine proveda con sommo rigore". \*Borghese to Offredi on November 19, 1605, BORGHESE, I, 908, f. 55 (59), Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> CORNET, n. 8. The historian might be tempted to take such data as a proof of the survival, up to the seventeenth century, of munificence on the grand scale. However, a pamphlet of the period remarks that if during the preceding twelve centuries a fourth of the landed property had passed into the hands of the Church, in another twelve, or even ten centuries, "che solo e rare volte si fa qualche legato pio, e si erigge qualche capella," only another twelfth, at most, would pass into their hands (LELIO MEDICI, *Discorso sopra i Fondamenti e le ragioni delli Signori*

insisted on the repeal of the laws against the liberty of the Church as well as on the Republic handing over for punishment the two guilty ecclesiastics, if not to their own bishops, then to himself, otherwise measures would have to be taken which would not be agreeable to the signori in Venice.<sup>1</sup> Similar representations were made to the Signoria, but without success, by the none-too-worldly-wise nuncio Orazio Mattei.<sup>2</sup> The Senate decided not to alter the two laws and not to give up the two ecclesiastics.<sup>3</sup>

Paul V. now judged that the time had come when he must carry out his threats. A few years earlier the Interdict which Clement VIII. had pronounced against Ferrara in 1597, had met with prompt and complete success.<sup>4</sup> Other States also, such as the republics of Genoa and Lucca, had ended by yielding in similar conflicts.<sup>5</sup> Paul V. hoped for a like result in Venice. The republic had repeatedly been laid under interdict and excommunication; as recently as the pontificate of Julius II. the scorn with which such punishments were at first looked upon in the city of the lagoons was not kept up

*Veneziani*, Bologna, 1606, 25). The wealth of the Church in Venice is especially insisted upon in a pamphlet of the Senator Quirini, in the course of the dispute that was about to begin. According to him the wealth of the Venetian clergy amounted to thirty million ducats (in GOLDAST, *Monarchia*, iii, 314). The rejoinder was that these were exaggerations, as the whole of Christendom knew; in Venice the clergy certainly owned no more than at Milan, in Sicily, Castile, where laws such as those of Venice were, however, not thought necessary (BOVIO, 39).

<sup>1</sup> CORNET, 2, 7, ii.

<sup>2</sup> On Mattei, *ibid.*, 272 seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Deliberazione* of the Senate of November 3, 1605, in CAPASSO, App. iii, see *Consulta* of Sarpi on the subject, *ibid.*, p. vii seq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. our account, Vol. XXIV, 391 seq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. BAROZZI-BERCHET, I, 67 seq., the *Lettera d. Republica di Genova alla Republica di Venezia*, July 28, 1606, recently printed by L. PEIRANO (Genova, 1868) is a forgery; see *Riv. Europ.*, v. (1878), 690.

for very long.<sup>1</sup> On December 10th, 1605, therefore, Paul V. published two briefs, one of which condemned the two Venetian laws and the other the procedure against the two ecclesiastics. In the event of further obstinacy, the briefs threatened with ecclesiastical penalties.<sup>2</sup>

At this juncture the Signoria sought above all things to gain time. As the day drew near on which the briefs might be expected in Venice, a fresh envoy was appointed with a view to further negotiations<sup>3</sup>; he seemed, however, in no hurry to set out for Rome. It is significant that in the selection of an envoy, the choice should have fallen on Lunardo Donato, a man who maintained that his Venetian birth took precedence over his Christian baptism, and that his first duty was not to the Church, but to his country.<sup>4</sup> Whilst Donato delayed his departure the briefs arrived, but the nuncio was persuaded to keep them back for a time, in view of the alleged good dispositions of the Senate. Mattei allowed himself to be taken in; on the other hand when Rome rebuked him for his conduct and ordered him to deliver the briefs at once, he took the command too literally for he handed them in on the morning of Christmas day, whilst the doge Grimani lay dying and the Senators were in the act of going to High Mass.<sup>5</sup> After Grimani's death the briefs remained unopened until a new doge was elected. When they were opened at last, another untoward event occurred; by

<sup>1</sup> \**Collectanea scripturarum spectantium ad interdictum reipublicae Venetae inflictum a variis S. Pontificibus, nempe Clemente V, Pio II., Sixto IV., Julio II., Paulo V.* (on its author see *Theol. Quartalsch.*, LXIV. (1882), 457, Bibl. Vallicell., Rome, 4-27, cf. our acc. Vol. III., 379 seq.; VI., ch. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Translation of both briefs in CORNET, 18 seqq., 33 seqq. In the consistory of December 12, Paul V. informed the Cardinals of his decision (De Magistris, 1-5).

<sup>3</sup> On December 16, 1605 (CORNET, 13).

<sup>4</sup> Nürnberger in *Hist. Jahrb.*, IV., 197.

<sup>5</sup> Nürnberger, *loc. cit.*, 196; Cornet, 17; cf. \*Borghese to Mattei, December 21 and 24, 1605, *Borghese*, I, 908, Papal Secret Archives.



an oversight the drafts only of the briefs, not the originals, had been despatched from Rome. In the Senate's reply all this was duly pointed out to the Pope in mordant fashion, reproaches being but thinly veiled by gushing professions of respect.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact by that time all hope of an amicable settlement of the dispute had practically vanished for the choice of a new doge fell on none other than Donato, the avowed enemy of the Church. Pietro Duodo<sup>2</sup> took Donato's place as envoy to Rome, but he too delayed his departure for as long as possible.

However, the Signoria failed in its attempt at an indefinite procrastination of the affair. So far from this being the case, on February 20th, 1606, the Pope had to take exception to yet another law directed against the Church,<sup>3</sup> by which clerics or religious associations who had let to laymen immovable property on a long lease were debarred from ever again claiming it for their own personal use. The Pope declared<sup>4</sup> he would wait another ten or twelve days for the arrival of Duodo but after that he would proceed against the republic. The second brief of December 10th also, which through an oversight had not been despatched, he caused to be subsequently delivered, on February 25th by the nuncio Mattei.<sup>5</sup> On March 11th the Senate categorically declined to accept it, declaring that all explanations would be given by the extra-

<sup>1</sup> January 28, 1606. Transl. in CORNET, 23 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> January 10, 1606, in CORNET, 18, 22. Nürnberger, *loc. cit.*, 196.

<sup>3</sup> Of May 23, 1602, in CORNET, 269. \*This law, *come più esorbitante dell'altra, si sarebbe posta nei brevi in primo luogo, se prima se n'avesse havuta notizia.* Borghese to Mattei, February 4, 1606, *Borghese*, I, 908, f. 90 (94), Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> On February 20, 1606; see Lämmer, *Meletemata*, 241; De Magistris, 13.

<sup>5</sup> CORNET, 33. The order was given by Borghese on February 4 and 18, 1606, *loc. cit.*, 90 (94), 93 (97), Papal Secret Archives. The reply of the republic to the first brief the nuncio should not refute since it is harmless, let him content himself with once more exhorting them to give satisfaction to the Pope (*ibid.*).

ordinary envoy.<sup>1</sup> On the same day, March 11th, information came at last from Venice that Duodo had set out on his journey,<sup>2</sup> but that he would travel by slow stages and that he had no powers to conclude anything. The envoy arrived on Monday in Holy Week so that the discussion was naturally deferred until after Easter. Needless to say Duodo achieved nothing.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, at that very time, another dispute was pending between the Curia and the Signoria. Clement VIII. had given a ruling that the Italian bishops would not receive papal confirmation until they had come to Rome for an examination. The Venetians would have liked to see their Patriarch exempt from this obligation. The embassy, which came to pay homage to the newly-elected Paul V., was instructed to secure this exemption. But the Pope would not hear of it. Nor was the embassy more successful with regard to two other requests, viz. that Paul V. should settle the long-standing dispute over the town of Ceneda<sup>4</sup> and impose on the Venetian clergy the payment of a tenth.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> CORNET, 36 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> \*" Farà il viaggio agiatamente. Non so qual frutto sia per fare la sua missione, poichè intende che viene altrettanto nudo d'autorità quanto ben fornito d'esempi d'altri luoghi (CORNET, 41) che quadrono la materia di che si tratta." Tommaso Palmegiani to Borghese, *Nuntiat. di Venezia*, 17, p. 238, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>3</sup> Nani and Duodo on March 25 and 29, in DE MAGISTRIS, 14, 19-29; CORNET, 39 *seqq.*; BAROZZI-BERCHET, Roma, I, 83 *seq.*\* Borghese to Mattei, April 1 and 15, 1606, *Borghese*, I, 908, f. 99-101 (103-105), Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. our account, Vol. XXIV., 222, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> CORNET, 5 *seq.*; *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5, series XIII (1894), 208 *seq.* The *obbedienza* embassy did not discuss the laws in dispute, or the matter of the two prisoners, but in every audience the Pope told them " che non è per tollerare che la sua giurisdizione resti offesa nè ristretta la libertà ecclesiastica in alcun modo ". As for the " tenth " which was demanded of him, the Pope gave no decision; he instructed the nuncio " si finissero le concessioni vecchie, ella non permetta che se proceda a nuove esigenze

Whilst the Curia was still awaiting Duodo's arrival it received sufficiently disquieting information from Venice without him. Extreme embitterment, dating as far back as the reign of Clement VIII, prevailed in that city against Rome. There had been a feeling that in his defence of the rights of the Church Clement allowed himself to be led by interested advisers and that he was bent on treating the republic like a stubborn donkey out of whom nothing was to be got except with the stick.<sup>1</sup> The action of Paul V. could not soothe this unfortunate mood. When the nuncio to Venice was taken ill his secretary Tommaso Palmegiani, with many excuses for the boldness of his speech, sent repeated and earnest warnings to Rome. The Signoria is determined, so he wrote on February 4th, 1606, not to yield an inch; as a matter of fact there prevails an incredible exasperation.<sup>2</sup> If the Pope were to show some consideration and if a man experienced in debate were here, these gentlemen, he thought, might be brought to reason, to the advantage, perhaps, of the Apostolic See. But the threats on the one side, and the obstinacy on the other, are surely fraught with evil consequences, in fact they will be so disastrous that I wonder if this aspect of the case is sufficiently realized.<sup>3</sup> The Govern-

delle predette decime, se non avvisata di quà della rinnovazione” \*Borghese to Offredi, November 12, 1605, *Borghese*, I, 908, f. 50 *seqq.* (54 *seq.*), Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>1</sup> The Venetian nuncio, Graziani, to Aldobrandini, April 6, 1596, in Lämmer, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 166.

<sup>2</sup> \* “È una ferma resolutione di non cedere. . . Sono in somma essacerbati stranamente.” *Nuntiat. di Venezia*, 17, p. 733 (374), Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>3</sup> \* Si crede che quando il Papa volesse procedere con qualche piacevolezza e che ci fosse qui ch'avesse una certa maniera di portar e metter innanzi partiti, si potriano ridur questi Signori a segno ragionevole e forse con vantaggio della Sede Apostolica; ma mentre da una banda si minaccia e dall'altra si sta fermo sulla sua opinione, non si deve aspettare se non effetti cativi, i quali tirano seco tante male conseguenze, che non so se ci si pensa a bastanza. *Ibid.*

ment would rather see Venice in ruins than give way.<sup>1</sup> Minds had been still further inflamed by the delivery of the second brief on February 25th. If the Pope insists on the repeal of the two laws he will be compelled to take extraordinary measures. But if he merely demands the surrender of the two prisoners and the examination of the Patriarch, he may well succeed ; the Signoria would send the Patriarch to Rome and in time an opportunity would present itself for settling the matter of the two laws. If the affair were to take a bad turn, a conflagration would break out in Italy which would be put out only God knows when. Either the Pope remains firm, and it will mean the end of ecclesiastical liberty if he loses, or he gives way and the prestige of the Apostolic See suffers.<sup>2</sup>

Even in Rome there was no unwillingness to make concessions,<sup>3</sup> but it was felt that the Pope must obtain some

<sup>1</sup> To Borghese, February 25, 1606, *ibid.*, 235.

<sup>2</sup> \*Le cose di qua sono assai sconcertate e la presentatione dei nuovo Breve ha alterato gli animi di maniera che ci sono concetti stravagantissimi. Sia detta a V. S. Ill. solamente et in confidenza, che si N. S. starà fermo in volere che si rivochino le parti, sarà anco necessario che faccia deliberationi straordinarie, perchè sono risoluti di non farlo e di aspettare ogni rovina, come ho già scritto ; ma se si voltasse al particolare dei prigionii, havrà la sodisfattione che desidera e quando S. S. volesse mostrar di premere in questo solo e vi aggiungesse il negotio del Patriarcha, che al sicuro lo mandaranno, crederei che potesse venire in un certo modo sù la sua, senza anco mostrar di cedere nell'altro capo delle parti, ma metterlo in negotio, perchè col tempo non mancano mai nodi ed occasioni al Papa d'indurre i Vinitiani al suo volere, ma bisogna flemma e, come si dice, pigliar la lepre col carro. . . . Se il negotio aiutato dalla divina mano non piglia buono piega, ha da capitare a uno di questi due passi, ò s'ha da mettere un foco in Italia, che non s'estinguerà Dio sà quando, ò N. S. stando fermo e perdendo, sarà la rovina della giurisdittione et immunità ecclesiastica, ò cedendo, ci mette la sua reputatione e della Sede Apostolica. To Borghese, March 4, 1606, *loc. cit.*, 236 *seq.* (380 *seq.*).

<sup>3</sup> CORNET, 29, 38, 40, n. 3, and espec. 42.



satisfaction from the republic.<sup>1</sup> Venice, however, would concede nothing,<sup>2</sup> consequently, on April 17th, 1606, a decisive step was taken. In the Consistory the Pope announced that he intended to excommunicate the Senate and to lay the whole territory of Venice under an interdict if the three laws were not repealed and the prisoners surrendered within twenty-four days, with an additional three days' grace. With the exception of the two Venetian Cardinals, Valiero of Verona and Delfino of Vionga, the thirty-seven Cardinals expressed their approval. Immediately after the consistory the edict, which was already in print, was published in due legal form<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> " Il Papa disse, che non è necessario venire a qualche effetto, che non voleva stare sopra li rigori che se le dia qualche soddisfazione, e si trovi qualche compositione (CORNET, 41; cf. 31, 38.) Many Cardinals were equally anxious for an accommodation (*ibid.*, 46, 48, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> CORNET, 53, n. 4. At Venice, Paul V. was also considered as a friend of the hated Spaniards who, so it was believed, roused him against Venice. Cf. PAPASSO, 41 *seq.*; *Atti dei Lincei*, 1916-17, 197.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. DE MAGISTRIS, 32-6; *Votum* of Cardinal Valiero, *ibid.*, 37; Cornet, 54, 63; Nürnberger, in *Hist. Jahrb.* (1883), 201; Lämmer, *Meletemata*, 242; PITRA, *Anal. noviss.*, I. (1885), 621 *seq.* Copy of decree of Interdict in Lünig, II, 2013. The *votum* of Baronius (see Lämmer, *loc. cit.*, 363 *seq.*) gave rise to a controversy; attack of J. MARSILIUS; defence by the Augustinian FELIX MILENSIUS, Mayence, 1607, and GERARD LORPERSIUS, Rome, 1607; cf. CALENZIO, 982\*, *Votum* of the Cardinal of Verona in *Val.* 8638, p. 369, *Vatic. lib.*; *Corsini lib.*, Rome, 722, f. 18. The reports of the Venetian envoys in Rome, Contarini (1609) and Renier Zeno (1623), seem to assert that Paul V. had not consulted the Cardinals before pronouncing the interdict (BAROZZI-BERCHET, I, 88, 157). In any case, as early as March 29, Paul V. declared that the Cardinals were urging him to proceed (CORNET, 39). According to a letter of Cardinal Delfino, dated May 27, 1606, the Pope complained " de' cardinali furibondi nell'attizarlo contro i Veneti " (*ibid.*). Cf. also BERN. GIUSTI, *Avvocato nella Corte Romana, Difesa della libertà ecclesiastica. Contra alcuni detrattori di Venetia*, Roma, 1606, p. 5: S.S. ' se bene haveva primo inteso

The departure of the Venetian envoys from Rome and that of the nuncio from Venice sealed the breach between the Curia and the Signoria.<sup>1</sup>

The republic had long ago taken measures for the coming struggle. Even before the delivery of the first papal brief it had appealed, through its representatives, to the emperor, the kings of England and France as well as to Florence and Milan. The Signoria felt assured of the approval of the princes, so long as it kept representing its case as the common cause of all the secular potentates.<sup>2</sup> But since in the conditions then obtaining excommunication might easily prove a pretext for armed intervention on the part of neighbouring States, the military captains and commanders were summoned to Venice, a precaution which, as we know on the authority of Palmegiani, was not meant to be taken too seriously.<sup>3</sup> The most important measure taken by the republic was the preparation for a big-scale paper war against Rome by means of learned consultations and pamphlets in the vernacular. As

il parere di molti ill. cardinali, il di 17 Aprile, proposto il caso nel concistorio (con tutto che F. Paolo con poco rispetto dica il contrario), fu dalla viva voce de i cardinali risoluto". Likewise BOVIO (86). True Sarpi says (*Considerazioni sopra le censure: Opere varie*, I, 210: "ed e venuta S.S. a cosi fatta risoluzione con darne solo notizia e cardinali, e senza ricercar il parer loro"; but this refers probably to the briefs of December 10, 1605. Cf. *Storia particolare* in the *Opere varie*, I, 10.

<sup>1</sup> CORNET, 65 seq., 71, 74 seq. DE MAGISTRIS, 42 seq., 44 seq. \*Borghese, order to Mattei to set out, May 3, 1606, *Borghese*, I., 908, f. 106 (110), Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> CORNET, 15. "Potendosi riputar commune con tutti principi (*ibid.*). Queste novità grandemente pregiudiciali non solo al nostro, ma al utile e buon governo di tutti i principi laici" (*ibid.*, 38; cf. 69). As regards Venice's efforts with Rudolph II. see DE MAGISTRIS, *loc. cit.*, and Meyer, *Nuntiatgeberichte*, 620, 642.

<sup>3</sup> "Hanno chiamati i generali dell'armi a Venetia e molti colonelli," but that this was more for "ostentatione ch'altro". Palmegiani to Borghese, March 11, 1606, *Nuntiat. di Venezia*, 17, p. 238, Papal Secret Archives.

early as January, 1606, the Collegio resolved to submit all the documents relevant to the controversy to the judgment of the celebrated lawyer Giacomo Mennocchio (died 1607) who had declared his readiness to act in defence of the republic.<sup>1</sup> Already on January 15th, 1606, a jurist of Padua of the name Pellegrini had prepared a memoir and on March 26th an order was given to have three of his pamphlets translated into Italian as soon as possible.<sup>2</sup>

Even more significant was the fact that the Signoria, so that it might be ready for every eventuality, decided to hire an extraordinary State divine of its own. The choice fell on Paolo Sarpi, a Servite, who had already rendered good service to the republic<sup>3</sup> in its numerous quarrels with Clement VIII.<sup>4</sup> and who, in the dispute with Paul V. had also several times stated his opinion by word of mouth. When on January 14th, 1606, the Senate had guaranteed its protection to the defenders of the rights of the State<sup>5</sup> Sarpi felt bold enough to give public utterance to his views. His very first memoir convinced the Senate they had found the man they needed in their struggle with Rome. As soon as his pamphlet had been publicly read Sarpi received his appointment as State theologian with a salary of 200 ducats.<sup>6</sup> On February 25th Palmegiani writes that Sarpi was at work on a pamphlet on the invalidity of the impending excommunication.<sup>7</sup> Thereafter Sarpi became the real protagonist of the republic in its struggle with the Pope; his learned memoirs were decisive

<sup>1</sup> For his opinions, which did not satisfy Venice, *cf.* R. PUTELLI in *N. Arch. Veneto*, XXVIII. (1914), 483.

<sup>2</sup> CORNET, 23, n. 2. Permission to print dates only from September 22 (Putelli, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>3</sup> GRISELINI, 29.

<sup>4</sup> Especially with respect to the quarrel about the binding force of the Index at Venice.

<sup>5</sup> CORNET, 23, n. 2, 274.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 27. The decree of appointment, dated January 28, 1606, in Griselini, 35.

<sup>7</sup> \*To Borghese, *Nuntiat. di Venezia*, 17, p. 235, Papal Secret Archives.

factors in the conduct of the Signoria and it was owing to his intervention that the struggle round particular rights and laws developed into a fight for principles, a battle for the relationship between Church and State.

Sarpi was born at Venice in 1552, of poor parents, and in 1575 he entered the Servite Order in his native city. He was an extraordinarily gifted man.<sup>1</sup> From childhood he was consumed by an ardent thirst for knowledge; mathematics, Hebrew, botany, Canon law, ecclesiastical history, medicine, especially anatomy, all attracted him alike. He succeeded in acquiring considerable knowledge in all these branches

<sup>1</sup> Biographies by Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio, Leiden, 1646, printed in Sarpi's *Opere varie*, I., 1-143 (on authenticity, see *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4, series IX. (1882), 153 app.); GRISELINI, Lausanne, 1760, reprinted from Sarpi's *Opere*, I., Helmstat, 1701; also G. FONTANINI, *Storia arcana della vita di Fra P. Sarpi*, Venice, 1803 (for real author see F. STEFANI, in the *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto*, 1892; Vitt, Lazzarini, *ibid.*, LXV., p. 2; M. BUTTURINI, *La verità circa la scoperta di un documento inedito*, etc., Salò, 1895); A. BIANCHI-GIOVINI, Zürich, 1836 and 1846 *seq.*; Bâle, 1847; Florence-Turin, 1849 *seq.*; Brussels, 1863; MUTINELLI, III., 43 *seqq.*; ARABELLA GEORGINA CAMPBELL, Florence, 1875; A. ROBERTSON, *Fra P. Sarpi, the greatest of the Venetians*<sup>2</sup>, London, 1894; ALESSANDRO PASCOLATI, Milan, 1893; *cf.* (Steccanella) in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, 6 series, XI. (1867), 53 *seqq.*, XII., 649 *seqq.*; BALAN, *Fra P. Sarpi*, Venice, 1887; GAMBINO RAMPOLLA, *Fra P. Sarpi*, Palermo, 1919. Extracts from Sarpi's letters in PALLAVICINI, *Storia del Conc., Trid.*, I., preface, II., preface. Collection of letters: Verona (*viz.* Geneva), 1673; F. L. Polidori, 2 vols. Florence, 1863. Particulars published by Lebret's magazine, I-IV. (1771 *seqq.*); Böhmer's *Magazin für Kirchenrecht*, 1787; BIANCHI-GIOVINI (Capolago, 1833, and Lugano, 1847); C. CASTELLANI (Letters to Contarini, 1615, Venice, 1892); K. BENRATH, Leipzig, 1909; *cf. Hist. Zeitschr.*, CII., 566-573). The authenticity of the letters was questioned (because of heretical assertions and suchlike by Giusto Nave, *viz.* Bergantinio (*Paolo Sarpi giustificato*<sup>3</sup>, Cologne, 1756), BIANCHI-GIOVINI, etc. *Cf.* on the other hand, REIN, 177 *seqq.* P. Sarpi, *Scritti filosofici inediti*, edit. by G. Papini. Lanciano, 1910.



owing to an amazing memory which enabled him, as a boy, to repeat thirty lines of Virgil after but one hearing. Only one branch of knowledge was not to his liking: he hated scholastic theology.<sup>1</sup> Had he had constancy enough to apply the full power of his keen intellect to his favourite subject, the new science of physics, which was then gathering force, he might have secured a place among the pioneers in this field, for Galileo, Porta and Acquapendente speak highly of his ability and perspicacity.<sup>2</sup> But it could hardly have been conducive to a really deep and thorough formation, especially could it not have been favourable to his religious life that, when only eighteen years of age and after a brilliant disputation, he should have been summoned to the court of Mantua in the capacity of theologian. There he was frequently

<sup>1</sup> REIN, 196.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. P. CASSANI in the *Ateneo Veneto, Riv. scient.*, III. (1882), 295. A. Heller (*Gesch. der Physik*, Stuttgart, 1882, 390) mentions him for the purpose of calling in doubt the invention of the thermometer which has been attributed to him, though he ascribes "important anatomical discoveries" to him. F. Rosenberger (*Gesch. der Physik*, Braunschweig, 1882) does not mention his name. Poggenдорff (*Handwörterbuch zur Gesch. der exacten Wissenschaften*) mentions him (II., Leipzig, 1863, 751), and says that he is wrongly styled one of the inventors of the thermometer. Gurlt-Hirsch (*Lexicon der hervorragenden Ärzte*, V. (1887), 180) repeats the assertion and finds him deserving of mention because (though mistakenly) the knowledge of circulation was attributed to him, probably because he knew of the vein valves. E. Gerland (*Gesch. der Physik*<sup>2</sup>, München-Berlin, 1913, 321, 376) mentions him only as a witness for the discovery by Galileo of the laws of a falling body. Recently G. de Toni discussed the value of Sarpi in the field of the natural and exact sciences in a paper published by the *Ateneo Veneto*, on the occasion of the third centenary of the death of the Servite: *P. Sarpi ed i suoi tempi*, Venice, 1923. Cf. also, Wohlwill, *Galilei*, 165-9; A. Favaro, in the *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di scienze*, etc., 6 series, I. Letters of Sarpi to Galileo in the *Opere di Galilei*, ed. Favaro, X., 91, 114, to Lechassier, *ibid.*, 290; Galileo to Sarpi, *ibid.*, XI., 46.

made to shine before visitors and to display his dialectical skill in the defence of the most daring theses. At the same time the bishop appointed him professor of dogmatic theology. In 1579, when not yet twenty-seven, he became provincial and in 1585 he went to Rome in the capacity of Procurator-General of his Order. There he appears to have made a not unfavourable impression. In 1593, Cardinal Santori proposed him for the See of Milopotamo, in Crete.<sup>1</sup> However, not many years later the Curia thought differently, for when in 1600 and 1601 Sarpi applied successively for the sees of Caorle and Nona, he met with a refusal each time, notwithstanding the backing of the Signoria : his dealings with heretics as well as other circumstances were giving offence.<sup>3</sup>

Thereafter Sarpi became increasingly estranged from the Church. It is impossible to say how far he strayed. The British envoy in Venice, Wotton, in his report to his Sovereign, described Sarpi as a true Protestant in a monk's habit and Wotton's information was derived from his chaplain Bedell

<sup>1</sup> BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 35 *seq.*, 74 ; FULGENTIO, in the *Opere varie*, I., 47. According to other information, Santori had already then read his character : "Sanctorius ordinis olim protector ingenium hominis et meditamenta introspererat, et nocitura reipublicae quandoque praedixerat," and for that reason he had tried to keep him in Rome. (E. Krauss in *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXXII. (1902), 18.

<sup>2</sup> Sarpi's petition for Nona and the Senate's recommendation in GRISELINI, in the *Opere Varie*, I., 26 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. our account, Vol. XXIV, 213 *seq.* The nuncio Zacchia, in 1623, said to the doge : "Quanto poi alla vita di fra Paolo, che altrove era tenuto in concetto molto differente" (at Venice they talked of him as a Saint) "e particolarmente in Roma, dove . . . non potè perciò ottenere le prelatùre che pretendeva : oltre le sopra accennate prattiche con gli eretici, e le altre cose che non volevo, per allora, esprimere più innanzi ; sapendo che S. Ser<sup>tà</sup> m'intendeva meglio che non gli averei potuto esplicare". PLONCHER, in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4 series, LX. (1883), 158 *seq.* Sarpi is described as a frugal scholar (BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 371). He is blamed for his pride, *un très suffisant personnage*, Christian of Anhalt calls him, see GINDELY, *Rudolf II.*, Vol. I., 121.

who was wont to spend half a day every week with the Servite friar.<sup>1</sup> On these occasions he made it his business to ascertain the friar's religious opinions. To the French envoy, Bruslart, Sarpi was represented as a man without religion, without faith, without conscience and as one who denied the immortality of the soul.<sup>2</sup> The Church which venerates the Pope as its visible head, Sarpi invariably describes in his letters in terms and with the apocalyptic imagery which were current among the Protestants<sup>3</sup>; he did all he could to bring about her destruction and to introduce Protestantism into Italy.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand<sup>5</sup> he also declared he could see no difference between Calvinism and Lutheranism.<sup>6</sup> He owed allegiance to none of the existing religious bodies; as a matter of fact he had been excommunicated since January, 1607.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wotton to Salisbury, September 13, 1607, in *Athenæum*, No. 4062, of September 2, 1905, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> SIRI, I., 437. He is considered a free-thinker by Gindely, *loc. cit.*, 123, and by F. X. Kraus, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst.*, II., 2, 729.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 397. According to Hase (*Vorlesungen*, 377) Sarpi wanted a Catholic Church without the Pope. Gindely's judgment is that "the only purpose in life for Sarpi was the destruction of papal authority". *Wiener Sitzungsber., Phil-hist. Kl.*, XXXIX. (1862), 6. Cf. even now, L. EMERY, *Religione e politica di fra Sarpi* in the *Nuova Riv. stor.*, VIII. (1924).

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 153 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> In GINDELY, *Rudolf II.*, Vol. I., 121.

<sup>6</sup> "In regard to dogma," says RANKE (II<sup>e</sup>, 222), "his Protestantism scarcely went beyond the first elementary clauses of the confession of Augsburg, if he even held these. . . . It is impossible to know what he believed interiorly." It is amusing to see a recent German admirer of Sarpi, v. Zwiedineck-Südenhorst (*Venedig als Weltmacht und Weltstadt*<sup>2</sup>, Bielefeld, 1906, 157 *seq.*) describing him as "a convinced Catholic of deepest piety", who "never swerved by a hair's breadth from the teaching which, all his life, he acknowledged as the only saving one".

<sup>7</sup> Cf. below, note 148, n. 3.

This did not prevent him from frequently saying Mass and, for instance, from beginning one of his pamphlets<sup>1</sup> with these words: "The republic of Venice has always held that the chief foundation of the State is true religion and piety and it has always seen a special favour of God in the fact that it was born and reared and has grown up in the true service of God." In point of fact in his memoirs on behalf of the republic he was constrained to keep up a Catholic appearance<sup>2</sup>; he was a chameleon, he says in a letter, and had to wear a mask like everyone else in Italy.<sup>3</sup>

After his appointment as State theologian the influence of Sarpi was promptly felt in the changed attitude of the republic. Until then the Senate had justified its action against criminal ecclesiastics by an appeal to papal privileges and concessions, thus acknowledging that it possessed no real jurisdiction over the clergy.<sup>4</sup> From the moment of Sarpi's appointment it adopted the view that God Himself had

<sup>1</sup> *Considerazioni sopra le censure di Paolo V.* in the *Opere varie*, I., 182.

<sup>2</sup> The attempt of B. CECCHETTI (*Le consulte di Fra P. Sarpi*, in *Ateneo Veneto*, II series, I. (1887), 232 *seqq.*) to prove Sarpi's orthodoxy from his reports fails for that reason. REIN, 193 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> REIN, n. 1; cf. 193, n. 4. According to Rein (201) "the fairly universal opinion (recently also defended by CASTELLANI (*Lettere di Sarpi*, XXI.)) that Sarpi was indeed an enemy of the Pope, but that as regards dogma he was a sincere adherent of the Catholic Church, cannot be maintained since in regard to several dogmas he either adopts a sceptical attitude, or allows his sympathies with the Protestant view to be seen." Cf. *ibid.*, 170-206, a detailed investigation of Sarpi's religious opinions. See also PUTELLI in *Arch. Veneto*, N.S., XI., 21 (1911), 240.

<sup>4</sup> "Quanto poi alla retentione d'Ecclesiastici . . . ha commesso la loro retentione, facendo questo in virtù di molte Bolle et Indulti concessi da Sommi Pontefici" (the Senate to the imperial ambassador at Prague, December 20, 1605, in CORNERI, 16). Donato's address to Mattei on February 10, 1606 (1605 according to Venet. style), *ibid.*, 270. Reprint of the alleged privileges of Sixtus V., Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., Paul III. in NICOMACO FILALITEO, 20.



immediately conferred on it all power over the subjects of the State.<sup>1</sup> Sarpi suggested this line of conduct from the first. The question as to how the republic was to defend itself against the papal excommunication he had already answered in the memoir which had secured him his post of official theologian. In this work he explained that it would be best not to appeal from the Pope to a general council but to treat the excommunication as invalid and non-existent and to forbid its publication.<sup>2</sup> The republic followed this advice when, on April 17th, 1606, a courier brought word that the Pope was resolved to proceed against Venice. The religious Orders were at once forbidden, under pain of death, to publish the sentence of excommunication.<sup>3</sup> On the same day, in the Senate, the doge represented to the Spanish envoy that in all this the Pope was actuated by no other motive than a desire of securing unlimited authority over the princes even in temporal affairs.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> " Questa libertà, beatissimo padre, l'abbiamo dalla clemenza Divina che l'ha concessa alli nostri maggiori . . ." (the Senate to Paul V., on March 11, 1606, CORNET, 37). Hence the measures which the Pope had taken were of a nature " di sovvertir li giusti ordini nostri et impedir quel Dominio ch'è dato a noi, e a tutti li precinpi dal Signor Iddio *solo* nel governo delli proprii stati ". (Reply of Senate to the envoy of Savoy, March 18, 1606, *ibid.*, 38.)

<sup>2</sup> BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 144 ; CAPASSO, App. XVIII. *seq.* ; GRISELINI, 36 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> \*Palmeiani to Aldobrandini on April 22, 1606, *Nuntiat. di Venetia*, 17, p. 239, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> CORNET, 57. \*" Intendiamo che si sia sparsa una voce costì che N.S. pretenda di riformare la Republica, non solo nello spirituale, ma nel temporale e che di più pensi a turbare la pace d'Italia, e la passi di concerto con qualche altro principe grande. Non crediamo che nissuna cosa fosse mai divulgata e detta più malignamente di questa." In the brief itself " si protesta che S.S. non intende di toccar la giurisditione temporale, e vuole la pace publica ". B. Borghese to Mattei, January 7, 1606, *Borghese*, I., 908, f. 82 (86), Papal Secret Archives.

When on April 20th news arrived that the excommunication had actually been pronounced further measures were taken. Through the foreign envoys in Venice, as well as through its own representatives abroad, the republic sought to win over the princes.<sup>1</sup> From the vicar of the Patriarch the parish priests received instructions to give up unopened all documents they might receive from Rome and not to have them posted up in the churches.<sup>2</sup> Troops were recruited, and though excommunicated, the Senate did not forget to give public proof of its piety by dividing 500 ducats among the hospitals to the end that prayers be offered there for the unjustly persecuted republic.<sup>3</sup> The doge, in a full assembly of the Collegio, told the nuncio to his face that the Pope, inexperienced as he was, knew nothing of the management of the world ; he even hinted pretty bluntly that Venice might go so far as to cut itself off from the Church and draw others along with it.<sup>4</sup> On May 5th the monasteries were reminded of the previous injunction, with its accompanying threat of the death penalty ; those who proved pliant could feel assured of the protection of the republic ; those who withdrew themselves from its authority, by leaving its territory, would never be permitted to return.<sup>5</sup>

On May 6th the doge issued to the whole body of the clergy an instruction which was posted up everywhere.<sup>6</sup> In this document, in accordance with the opinion of the theologians and lawyers whose signatures were appended, solemn protest was made against the papal censures. In temporal matters, the doge declared, he acknowledged no superior except the

<sup>1</sup> CORNET, 59 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 55, 63 *seq.* Cf. the decrees of the Council of Ten of April 18, 1606, in *Arch. Veneto*, V. (1873), 55-60, and the decree of the Senate, April 17, in CAPASSO, App. XXXVI *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Decree of April 20, 1606, in CAPASSO, App. XXXVIII.

<sup>4</sup> CORNET, 66 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>6</sup> Reprint, *ibid.*, 7 *seq.* ; Lünig, II., 2015, CAPASSO, App. XXXVIII *seq.*

divine Majesty.<sup>1</sup> He solemnly attested before God and man that he had had recourse to every imaginable means in order to make His Holiness see the strong and incontrovertible grounds of the justice of his claims, but he had preached to deaf ears. Hence he was applying the means which their forbears had used whenever the Pope went beyond his bounds. A similar edict was issued, in the name of the Senate, to all the towns and communes.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding every precaution, on the night of May 2nd to 3rd, 1606, the brief containing the threat of excommunication was nailed up in five churches in Venice itself,<sup>3</sup> though, as elsewhere, it was promptly torn down.<sup>4</sup> However the substance of the brief, if not the brief itself, soon became generally known, as may be gathered from the very conduct of the Senate. The effect of the Brief was slight. "If the bishops and the greater part of the regular clergy had fearlessly protested their loyalty to their highest Superior," so we read in a pamphlet of the period,<sup>5</sup> "there can be no doubt

<sup>1</sup> He was compelled, "mantenere l'autorità di Prencipe, che non riconosce nelle cose temporali alcun Superiore sotto la Divina Maestà." CORNET, 72.

<sup>2</sup> Reprint in Lünig, II., 2017. Cf. Nürnberger, *loc. cit.*, 206. Subsequently, at the time of the accommodation, the Senate refused to recognize the piece as its own (see CORNET, 238, n. 1, 241, 247), but at the same time it would not declare expressly that it was spurious (*ibid.*, 238, n. 1, 255, n. 1). Joyeuse at first looked on it as authentic (*ibid.*, 233); later on he declared: *Delle lettere ducali non si sa quello che sieno* (*ibid.*, 243).

<sup>3</sup> *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 139.

<sup>4</sup> An anonymous diary, in CADALETA in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5 series, XVIII., 100.

<sup>5</sup> BELLARMINO, *Risposta*, 20; cf. Nürnberger, *loc. cit.* "Ma oh miseria de' nostri tempi! I vescovi di quel dominio, da pochissimi infuora che sene sono fuggiti, hanno si può dire, riconosciuto per loro sommo Pontifice Leonardo Donato, Doge di Venezia. Quella Republica vuol esser cattolica solamente di nome, poichè in effetti è un'altra Cartagine." Similarly the above mentioned paper of Persio, *Riv. Europea*, 1877, 394.

that the doge would have been impressed." As things were they pleaded that obedience to the Pope was punishable by death, so they strove to convince themselves that in such circumstances a human law was not binding, even though it was an open secret that the threatened death penalty was meant to be no more than a mere threat, to enable the priests to cover their disobedience with the thin cloak of fear; for the rest everybody knew that they would not have observed the interdict even had there been no pressure.<sup>1</sup>

The Pope was so dissatisfied with the Venetian bishops that he thought of taking action against them and of deposing every one of them.<sup>2</sup> True, the bishop of Brescia seemed at first disposed to obey the Pope, but when the Senate threatened to deprive his aged parents of their property and their title of nobility, he too gave up all further resistance.<sup>3</sup>

Generally speaking no resistance was to be expected from

<sup>1</sup> BELLARMINO, *loc. cit.*, 19.

<sup>2</sup> See extracts from letters of July 22 and August 5, 1606, in CORNET, 325 *seq.*; *cf.* n. 5 and CAPASSO, 91; *Ascanii S.R.E. Card. Columnae Episcopi Praenestini Sententia contra reipublicae Venetae episcopos* SS. D.N. Pauli PP. V. *Interdicto non obtemperantes*, Rome and Ferrara, 1606. Colonna counsels proceeding with excommunication, loss of income and secular dignities; see CORNET, 31 *seqq.* The Franciscan Conventual Lud. Mosso, of Mantua, should be made to influence the bishops in the name of the Pope; the Senate rendered his work impossible. CORNET, 122, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See information in *Brixia sacra*, I. (1915), 229; CORNET, 80 *seq.*; CAPASSO, 99; subsequently the bishop earned the praise of the Senate (CORNET, 141, n. 1). The bishop of Treviso, who at first made a show of doing his duty and after a while wished to resign, on the plea of health, was reduced to submission by threats against his two brothers (*ibid.*, 91, 140 *seq.*). The newly appointed bishop of Verona was strictly enjoined to hold a solemn function on September 17, otherwise both he and his brothers would have their property confiscated (*ibid.*, 136). With few exceptions the clergy of Istria did not observe the interdict; see *Atti d. Soc. Istr. di stor. patr.*, XV. (1898).



the lower clergy in Venice. As a consequence of the interference of the State in the affairs of the Church, there was a good deal of demoralization in its ranks. No one from among the better classes in Venice ever becomes a priest, says a pamphlet of the period<sup>1</sup>; the parish priests are chosen by the people, and in these elections considerations of friendship and various intrigues are the decisive factors, so that it is invariably the most ignorant and the least qualified that are appointed; the priests are despised; towards the rich their attitude is that of mere lacqueys. The condition of the monks was even worse. At the time of Paul V. they were deemed the dregs and the scum of all the Orders<sup>2</sup> and it was they who furnished the republic with its keenest champions in the quarrel over the interdict. The convents of nuns were to a large extent little more than asylums for the daughters of nobles. But that the decadence of the Venetian clergy was far from universal was presently to be shown in the struggle over the interdict.<sup>3</sup>

The first to declare their submission to the interdict were the Jesuits.<sup>4</sup> To them also the doge represented that the threatened death penalty was sufficient ground for regarding the Pope's command as not binding. However the General of the Order, Aquaviva, had directed them in the name of the Pope to submit to the Bull and if obedience was impossible

<sup>1</sup> MOLMENTI in the *Atti del. R. Istituto Veneto*, LX. (1900 seq., 679 seq.).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 679.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also *Caes. Baronii Paraenesis ad Rempublicam Venetam*, Roma, 1606, 39: generalizations were unjust, *cum sint ex iis (ecclesiasticis) complures, quos certum est digne in evangelio laborare, ad Deum pro populo puras levare manus.*

<sup>4</sup> JUVENCIUS, I., 12, n. 98 seqq.; I., 25, n. 56, p. 90, 910; *Litt. ann.*, 1607, p. 47 seqq.; CORNET, 74, 76 seq.; circular in the name of the General, Aquaviva, on the banishment, in PRAT, II., 483 seq.; G. GOVI, *La partenza dei Gesuiti dal dominio Veneto*, in *Accad. dei Lincei*, 1886; CAPASSO, 96; BUSS, II., 972 seq.; G. CAPPELLETTI, I., *Gesuiti e la repubblica di Venezia*, Venice, 1873; \**Cod. Barb.*, 4192, Vatic. Lib.

to leave Venice. If they were prevented from leaving they were rather to die than to offend God.<sup>1</sup> The government of Venice had no love for the Jesuits; Sarpi, its chief adviser, cherished a deadly hatred of them.<sup>2</sup> The occasion was now seized to get rid of them; if possible, for good. They were banished from the entire territory of the republic.<sup>3</sup> When the Capuchins and the Theatines also indicated their willingness to obey, they were forbidden, under pain of death, even to leave the city. However, they remained firm and were allowed to depart.<sup>4</sup> A special law affecting the Jesuits alone was passed on June 14th, 1606, by which they were permanently banished from Venice<sup>5</sup>; their return was made dependent on conditions which would hardly ever be fulfilled. Under threat of being sent into exile, or to the galleys, all citizens were commended on August 17th, to refrain from all epistolary intercourse with the Jesuits and to withdraw any members of their families from their colleges.<sup>6</sup> The revenues of those thus banished were conferred on more pliant religious.<sup>7</sup>

Not a few ecclesiastics, besides the above named, were found ready to go to prison rather than disobey the Pope<sup>8</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> JUVENCIUS, 104.

<sup>2</sup> "the confraternity of the Jesuits against which he wages a passionate warfare at all times, one might say, in every line of his letters" (REIN, 176). Cf. BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 333 *seq.*, 436 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> CORNET, 79, 277, 279.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 80, 85, 88, n. 2; CAPASSO, 98; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 139. The *Reformati* were also thinking of withdrawing, "pero non fecero altro moto." CORNET, 85 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> CORNET, 105 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 130. Even in Constantinople the Venetian ambassador sought to create difficulties for the Jesuits. Brèves to Villeroi, November 29, 1609, in PRAT, V., 262 *seq.*; cf. II., 495, and TH. DE GONTAUT BIRON, *Ambassade en Turquie de Jean Gontaut Biron, baron de Salignac*, 1605-1610, Paris, 1889.

<sup>7</sup> CORNET, 128, 154.

<sup>8</sup> "Chi vede oggi, che con occasione del servare l'interdetto i sacerdoti sono carcerati e puniti come rei . . . non può negare

a considerable number were even secretly executed for having laid on their penitents the duty of observing the interdict.<sup>1</sup> Many took to flight, disguised as peasants or soldiers and even as women, thereby forfeiting all their possessions but escaping from an intolerable pressure on their conscience.<sup>2</sup> Even where the clergy gave way, it was apparent that they only yielded to violence and against their convictions.

More detailed information about the period of the interdict is available from Brescia.<sup>3</sup> There the publication of a decree of the Senate against the interdict on May 10th was followed, on the next day, by a proclamation of the Rectors forbidding the priests to leave the city and ordering them to carry out

etc." (Bellarmino, *Risposta*, 24). "Furono posti molti religiosi prigioni si secolari come regolari, molti sono stati banditi, ad alcuni è stata confiscata la roba." Diary in GADALETA in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5 series, XVIII. (1896), 102.

<sup>1</sup> MORNAY, *Mémoires*, X., 142; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 357.

<sup>2</sup> "Si dà forse a credere cotesto Senato, che non siano disgustati i sudditi dal vedere ogni giorno scemarsi il numero de religiosi, che non ostante gli strettissimi ordini e provisioni, se ne fuggono. (BERTOLOTTI, *Filotropia*, Bologna, 1606, 12.) "Ogni giorno ne (of the priests) fuggivano molti travestiti da contadini, da soldati, fino in habito di donna facendo strade fastidiosissime." (Diary in GADALETA, *loc. cit.*, 101.) \*"Non s'intende altro che delli religiosi che parteno da quella città per obedire al Papa, e di quelli che non si parteno per obedire al Senato et ogni giorno stanno alla mano, et il Doge ogni giorno commanda et imprigiona ogni sorte di religiosi, non perdonando nè a vescovi nè a patriarchi nè a qualsivoglia altro sacerdoti, et vole che tutti dicano la messa a porte aperte come prima, e li Zoccolanti si sonno protestati che si partiranno ogni volta che gli siano dati luoghi dove possano vivere." (Vinc. Americi to Fr. Caffarelli, June 3, 1606, *Borghese*, I., 251-3, f. 79, Papal Secret Archives.) The people sympathized with the banished religious and cried *Viva Papa Paolo!* the same correspondent reports (*ibid.*, 95). At Verona: *Viva il Papa!* was scribbled on the walls (CAPASSO, 95). Even Capasso admits that the republic's claim was not justified, viz. that the whole of the clergy were on its side.

<sup>3</sup> See *Brixia sacra*, I. (1915), 224 *seq.*

the Church services as before. The penalty for disobedience was death, and to a confidential representative of the clergy the Podestà declared that he would have strung up in front of his church any priest who spoke of leaving the town.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless on May 13th, Whitsun Eve, and the day on which the interdict came into force, no church services were held. However, the Rectors visited the various churches, gave orders for Mass to be said everywhere, set up sentries to prevent the posting up of the sentence of excommunication and had the gates guarded in order to detain the religious who one after another were trying to flee from the city. Nevertheless very many made good their escape. The Capuchins declared they would rather die than disobey the Pope. They were banished, to the great sorrow of the people, and replaced by more pliant Capuchins from Drugolo. Some priests yielded to the ceaseless demands, warnings and threats of the Rectors and resumed the practice of saying Mass; others, who had failed in their attempted flight, preferred to go to prison. Amongst those who fled were the archpriest, who was subsequently banished; one canon; the Abbots of St. Faustino and St. Euphemia and many others, so that in July the government set a prize of 500 berlingotti on the capture of every fugitive priest.<sup>2</sup> The Olivetans of Rodengo made good their escape in August, though their movements were watched by fifteen policemen; their flight had been favoured by an officer formerly in the service of Venice and now in that of Mantua. Far greater than the monks' was the embarrassment of the nuns. On learning that Mass was not being said in their chapels the governors, on November 9th, cut off their supplies of necessaries,<sup>3</sup> a weapon similarly adopted against the Bernardine Sisters at Murano.<sup>4</sup> When the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 228 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 230.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 231.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the documents from February to April, 1607, in CORNET, in *Arch. Veneto*, VI. (1873), 83 *seqq.*, 108, 115 *seqq.* With regard to three Capuchin nuns who were threatened for observing the interdict, see \*Borghese to Cardinal Spinola, February 21, 1607, *Borghese*, I, 251-3, Papal Secret Archives.



nuns of Brescia gave the excuse that their chaplain had fled other priests were appointed in their place.

In many churches in Brescia, notwithstanding the interdict, the services suffered no interruptions and were attended by the people. The bulk of the ordinary people did not understand the nature of the quarrel; they grumbled at the interdict and applauded the monks who went on with the performance of the wonted services. Those who did not side with the government would flock together, in great numbers, and then walk in procession to a holy image which stood over the fountain in the market place, where they prayed for the cessation of the interdict; in consequence the governors forbade these processions. Many consciences were gravely perturbed by the action of the bishop when, on Rosary Sunday, in October, he celebrated a pontifical High Mass in memory of the battle of Lepanto.<sup>1</sup> Vast crowds passed over into the territory of Cremona, or that of Mantua, in order to attend the offices of the Church. During the night lampoons against the republic and the Podestà<sup>2</sup> were stuck on the walls whilst satirical inscriptions against those clergy who were in sympathy with Venice, were scribbled on the walls of the churches; however their author was discovered and suffered for his action on the gallows. But this did not put a stop to the epidemic of satirical writings.<sup>3</sup> Whilst the bulk of the common people stood by the authorities, the greater part of the nobles, since the proclamation of the interdict, ceased to attend church and, to safeguard their freedom, retired to their country houses outside the city. Small wonder that the Podestà declared<sup>4</sup> that the administration of Brescia, always a difficult business, became an almost unbearable burden; he complained of great difficulties with the religious Orders; had he not on occasion proceeded with severity Brescia and its surrounding territory would have been almost without

<sup>1</sup> CAPRETTI, 231 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 233

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 234 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> In a report to the Senate of May 18, 1607, in CORNET, 319.

priests; even those of the laity who were loyal to the government failed to show the keenness he could have wished for.<sup>1</sup>

In other Venetian cities the position was more favourable to the government than at Brescia. At Civaldi di Belluno only the Capuchins, and even they only for a time, made any attempt to observe the interdict. At Crema only a few priests were banished; at Feltre a few Reformati and at Legnago only one priest took to flight. At Orzi-Novati the archpriest and a few others at first observed the interdict but by the end of December they had been brought round by the Podestà. Treviso and Udine were praised by their respective Podestàs.<sup>2</sup> Serious opposition only came from Padua and Verona. According to the Podestà it was due to the influence of the Jesuits that the people of Verona, always so loyal to the government, "failed on this occasion to show their wonted readiness and zeal." For this reason he observed a studied moderation.<sup>3</sup> According to official reports from Padua<sup>4</sup> priests in that city 'upset' people's consciences under pretext of religion. Hence many religious who were not natives of Padua were banished; others were forced to lie in hiding or to flee in disguise. Special difficulties arose in the convents of nuns from the attitude of the confessors who insisted on observing the interdict. The Podestà deemed it within his power to compel them to say Mass. He forced them to do so at times in his own presence, at the palace, at other times in some of the churches; but not all complied. The Provveditore of Legnago boasts of a similar abuse of authority. It seemed to him that the archpriest of the place no longer said Mass as

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 319 *seq.* About Bergamo, *ibid.*, 133 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 322. An order was still issued on February 10, 1606, to take the Rector of the convent of S. Nazzaro to Venice as soon as he should recover from the illness into which he had fallen. He had published the interdict (*ibid.*, 213). For measures against some writings on the interdict which were being distributed in Verona and Terraferma, *ibid.*, 216, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Of August 21, 1606, *ibid.*, 321; *cf.* 94, n. 3. 96.

often as he used to do ; so, having first closed every avenue of escape, he ordered him to obey punctually the commands of the republic.<sup>1</sup> The monasteries were daily visited by a layman whose duty it was to ascertain whether the offices were being celebrated.<sup>2</sup> By order of the Senate<sup>3</sup> the governors of the ten largest cities were to see to it that preaching was not stopped and that the task was entrusted to priests loyal to the State. Towards the end of September, as the time drew near when the faithful were in the habit of going to confession, the public officials of Padua were instructed to summon the confessors before them in order that they might ascertain their attitude towards the interdict and inflict suitable penalties on those who proved loyal to the Pope. They were likewise to bring pressure to bear on the bishops, to the end that, in confession, consciences might not be 'troubled'.<sup>4</sup> These measures throw light on the way in which, under Sarpi's influence, the republic interpreted the relationship between Church and State and what it understood by the alleged encroachments of the Pope on the temporal domain. The domain of the Church, according to this theory, is exclusively constituted by what concerns the inner life of the soul ; whatever is external comes within the competence of the State, even such functions as saying Mass, hearing confessions and preaching.

One wonders whether it was possible to humiliate the Church still further. Yet even more galling indignities were in store for her. The intention of the government was not to remain content with isolated encroachments, on the contrary, violence was to be given a permanent status by being put as a logical basis. It was for this that the republic had its Paolo Sarpi with his two hundred ducats a year, an honorarium

<sup>1</sup> In CORNET, 330, *cf.* a decree of the Senate of February 23, 1607, against observance of the interdict by priests and religious, *ibid.*, 216, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 94.

<sup>3</sup> Of September 6, 1606, *ibid.*, 137 n.

<sup>4</sup> Decree of the Senate of September 26, 1606, *ibid.*, 141 n.

which was doubled on September 28th, 1606,<sup>1</sup> and trebled the year after.<sup>2</sup> It was precisely the writings of Sarpi and his sympathizers that imparted to the struggle between the Pope and the Signoria its bitterness and its special significance in the history of the Church.

Long before the proclamation of the interdict the republic had seen to its own defence in the theological field. As early as January and February, 1606, certain lawyers of Padua had drawn up three reports which were published there in September, in the name of the whole university.<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact the author of the most important of these three pamphlets, Pellegrini, contradicts therein his own earlier writings.<sup>4</sup> More sensational, however, were the pamphlets of the ex-Jesuit Giovanni Marsiglio, the Senator Marcantonio Quirini,<sup>5</sup> and the Franciscan-Conventual Capello. But they were all surpassed by Sarpi whose ideas these others endeavoured to make their own. He began by printing, with an introduction, but without his signature, a translation of two small works of Jean Gerson in which the great chancellor, in the midst of the troubles of his time, had said many things con-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 142, n. 1. In other ways also the Signoria showed itself grateful to those who served it with their pen. On May 16, 1606, 100 ducats were voted to the Vicar-General (*ibid.*, 82); and on October 7, 600 ducats to its theologians and jurists (*ibid.*, 142, n. 1); its French ambassador was praised for having secured pens for the service of the republic and he was sent a gold chain worth 300 scudi to give to the royal advocate Servin, in order to get him to write on the nullity of the interdict (*ibid.*, 126 n.). Sarpi's amanuensis, Fulgenzio Micanzio, received 100 ducats, and eventually 400 ducats a year, for having written a pamphlet in defence of his master. (GRISELINI, 47, n. a).

<sup>2</sup> BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 169, 203.

<sup>3</sup> Reprint by GOLDAST, 340, 367; *cf.* above, p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> *Archiv. f. Kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXXII. (1902), 28.

<sup>5</sup> Reprint in GOLDAST, 312, 374. The republic sent it to its representatives abroad; see CORNET, 110, n. 2. A few notes about Marsiglio are found in Persio's essay (above, p. 114; *Riv. Europea*, *loc. cit.*, 392).



cerning resistance to the abuse of the papal power and to unjust excommunication which, later on, proved greatly to the taste of the Gallicans. This was followed, under Sarpi's name, by "Considerations on the Censures of Paul V. against the Republic of Venice". In a tone devoid of all respect the pamphlet claims to show the injustice of almost every assertion and every sentence of the brief of excommunication of April 17th. But Sarpi's chief effort in his quarrel with Paul V. is his "Treatise on the Interdict". It is Sarpi's work although it is published in the name also of six other divines of the republic. The brief of the interdict, it is asserted, cannot create an obligation inasmuch as it was not properly promulgated and from its observance grave disadvantages would ensue for the mass of the people and for the priests who obeyed it. If the Venetians, before accepting the brief, submitted it to an examination, they were within their rights, for both the Pope's power and the obedience due to him have their limits and blind obedience is immoral. Examination of the brief shows that the Pope had exceeded his powers; that it is contrary to God's law and is therefore not binding. What then is to be thought of the excommunication under threat of which the brief promulgates its orders? It is null and void; the Pope has misused his power; he must be resisted and to obey him is a sin.<sup>1</sup>

Sarpi's assertions caused an enormous sensation throughout Europe and started a controversy which, in the years immediately following, seemed likely to go on indefinitely. Gretser, who entered the lists in 1607, in the opening pages of his pamphlet, enumerates twenty-eight works in support of Venice and thirty-eight in favour of Paul V.<sup>2</sup> In 1607, seventeen such writings for and against the Pope were gathered into

<sup>1</sup> *Trattato dell' Interdetto della Santità di Papa Paolo V. composta da F. Paolo, dell'ordine de'Servi e da'sotto nominati teologi . . . (Opere varie, I., 145-168)*. Originally the name of the Vicar-General of Venice headed the list of the seven divines.

<sup>2</sup> *Considerationum ad theologos Venetos libri tres*, Ingolstadt, 1607, in GRETSER, *Opera omnia*, VII., 425-7.

one volume and published at Chur, and we are told in that same year that this was only a tenth part of all that had appeared.<sup>1</sup> Moreover some of these documents won the honour of being several times reprinted and translated into various languages! The most important replies to the Venetian divines came from Bellarmine who, in point of fact, excused himself for taking part, he a Cardinal, in such a controversy. Cardinal Caetani, though under an assumed name, likewise wrote <sup>2</sup> a defence of the Pope, and Cardinal Baronius wrote at least an "admonition" to the republic.<sup>3</sup> Among the universities, Padua sided

<sup>1</sup> Reusch, *Index*, II., 322. The Bibl. Angelica in Rome preserves a collection (to-day no longer complete) of forty-four pamphlets in defence of papal claims belonging to the years 1606 and 1607; cf. Krauss in *Archiv. f. Kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXXII. (1882), 19-21; Nürnberger, 209. Many writings of this kind are in the Bibl. Barberini in Rome, especially 2539, 2713, 4568, 4576, 4932, 5096, 5297, 5298, 5421, 5498, Vat. Lib.; cf. Bibl. Corsini Cod. 163, Bibl. Vallicelliana L 27, 34, 35; Cod. Vat. 5425, 5547, 6540. Goldast in his *Monarchia* prints, I., 674-716, III., 282-564; twenty-four papal writings in all; a catalogue of anti-papal writings on the interdict also in FRESNE, *Lettres et ambassades*, III., introd. n. 141-4; much material also in the library of Franckfort, *Cod. Th. U. 6, 1, MSS. Glauburg*, 43. An anti-papal poem originating from Venice is published by E. Teza in *Arch. Rom.*, IX., 615 seq., cf. VII., 578. See also Andrea Maschetti, *Il Gobbo di Rialto e le sue relazioni con Pasquino*, in *Arch. Ven.*, 1893. Fiorentino discusses a pamphlet by Ant. Persio, which is friendly towards the Pope, in the *Riv. Europea. Anno VIII.*, III (1877), 385-402.

<sup>2</sup> He wrote first against Marsiglio, then against Sarpi-Gerson. Both papers were then published together and saw three editions in 1606 in Rome, two at Ferrara, one respectively in Milan, Bologna, Viterbo, Florence, one Latin and German translation, one reprint in a collection (Chur, 1607), which was translated into French and Latin (see below). Bellarmine's reply to the pamphlet of the seven divines and his answer to Sarpi did not get as many editions; see Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, I., 1208 seqq.

<sup>3</sup> On Baronius' pamphlet, see CALENZIO, 752 seqq.; *Per Ces. Baronio*, 17 seq., 321 seq.; A. CAUCHIE, *Témoignages d'estime*

with the republic, Bologna with the Pope. The most noted theologians of the time, such as Francesco Suarez and Adam Tanner devoted special treatises to the questions then so hotly controverted.<sup>1</sup> In France, where the Gallicans, in Germany and Holland, where the Protestants applauded Venice, translations were published of more than one pamphlet; even in Spain a defence of the Pope saw the light.<sup>2</sup> Marsiglio and Sarpi were summoned to Rome, to explain their conduct, and when they failed to put in an appearance they were excommunicated and their writings fell under the ban of the Romarr Inquisition.<sup>3</sup>

*rendus en Belgique au card. Baronius spécialement à l'occasion du conflit de Paul V. avec Venise, in the Analectes pour servir à l'histoire eccl. de Belgique, XXXIV. ; \*Brief of November 16 to Cardinal Doria, who had prompted the essay of Beltram Guevara, in Epist., XLV., 2, f. 267, Papal Secret Archives.*

<sup>1</sup> Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, VII., 1847, f. 1682. Suarez' paper was praised in a papal brief of October 2, 1607, but it was not printed at the time, the dispute having meanwhile come to an end; see R. de SCORAILLE, *Suarez*, II., 121 *seqq.* The writings of the Jesuits Fern. de la Bastida, Bellarmine, Comitoli, Ben. Giustiniani, Gretser, Henriques and Possevino, on the dispute, are catalogued by Sommervogel (I. 1006, 1208-1210, II. 1342, III. 1490, 1777, IV. 276, VI. 1085). Catalogue of writings on the dispute in the *Bibliothek von seltenenen und sehr seltenen Büchern*, 9, Stück, Nürnberg, 1780, 316-380.

<sup>2</sup> Pièces du mémorable procès esmeu l'an 1606 entre le Pape Paul V et les Seigneurs de Venise, touchant l'excommunication du Pape publiée contre iceux Venitiens, trad. de Latin et d'Italien, à S. Vincent, 1607. Some Gallican writings in Goldast, I., 674 *seqq.*, III., 405 *seqq.*, 430 *seqq.*; de Backer mentions a few German and Dutch writings, *Biblioth.*, I., 519 *seq.* Reprint of the pamphlet of Bastida, Léon, 1607.

<sup>3</sup> With them was also cited the Franciscan Manfredi for his sermon. See Sarpi, *Opere varie*, 169-181; BIANCHI-GIOVANI, 156, 162; Reusch, *Index*, II, 321. The excommunication of Sarpi, January 5, 1607, in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4 series, IX. (1882), 154; CICOGNA, *Iscrizioni Veneziani*, VI., 878; CASTELLANI, *Lettere*, IX.

It is easy to understand the excitement of the Catholic as well as the Protestant world. On the one hand there was fear, on the other hope, that in Italy also another Luther had arisen who, in the very heart of the Catholic world, would promote apostacy from Rome.<sup>1</sup> Prompted by Sarpi, the republic had made the acceptance of papal briefs dependent on a previous examination ; in other words, on its own caprice. From this to a complete denial of papal jurisdiction it was but one step. Moreover, by his views on the relation between Church and State, Sarpi took up a position which was at variance with the conception hitherto maintained by scholars ; in fact he challenged the whole traditional teaching in this respect. In the opinion of his admirers the merit of Sarpi's writings lies precisely in this that by their means he became a pioneer and one of the founders of modern statecraft. So we must submit Sarpi's writings to a brief examination from just this point of view.

The Catholic conception of the relationship between Church and State starts from the fact that Christ founded the Church ; that as God-man all power was given to Him in heaven and on earth, and that in virtue of this power He bestowed on His Church, in the person of the Apostles, all the rights and powers that she needs for the fulfilment of the task entrusted to her. The authority of the Church is, therefore, not limited to the interior life of the soul. Christ sends forth His Apostles to teach and to administer the Sacraments ; hence, they and their followers are free to take up their abode anywhere on earth, even though the secular princes may banish them ; they may

<sup>1</sup> *Hinc eorum opuscula* (the Venetian divines) *cedunt et recedunt* (haeretici) *et in germanicam linguam vertunt, ut Germani videant, in Italia quoque Saxonico evangelio aliquam januam patefactam esse.* (Gretser, *Considerationes*, I., i., c. 5 : *Opera*, VII., 449). The Huguenots Scaliger and Casaubonus praised the 'great Paul' (Prat, II., 489, 499), whereas others were of opinion, in respect of the seven State divines, that a counterpart to the seven wise men of Greece had appeared in the persons of the seven fools of Venice (*ibid.*, 487).



convene assemblies, build churches, acquire property and in none of these things has any secular power a juridical right to interfere with them. Were it otherwise the Church could never have struck roots on earth, for from the first the State was ill disposed towards her so that any obligation in conscience to obey its laws of proscription would have made her existence impossible from the very outset.

Sarpi does not openly deny these principles but he observes a complete silence in their regard. In other ways also it would not do for him to oppose Catholic convictions openly ; Venice was still too religious for that. Even during the time of the interdict a pamphlet by the Calvinist Nicholas Viguier which was hostile to the papacy was banned by the Senate<sup>1</sup> and the republic boasted to the French ambassador that it had never tolerated any abusive writings against the Pope.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, Sarpi did not openly deny the jurisdiction of the Pope or his infallibility : in principle at least he even recognized the immunity of Church property ; his claim was that the laws of the republic were not at variance with this immunity.

However, when viewed in the light of the code then obtaining, the laws to which the Pope objected could not be defended and, when he undertook to defend them in the name of Canon Law, Sarpi condemned himself to the rôle of a sophist and pamphleteer. Thus, for example, the prohibition of the free erection of churches is, according to him, no more than a decision concerning the ground on which the church was to be raised ; now questions of ground or land are within the competence of the State so that ecclesiastical interests are not in any way affected by the prohibition.<sup>3</sup> The obvious answer to such reasoning was that the republic might with equal right forbid millers and bakers to grind corn and to bake bread for the priests, and then pretend that it had merely given its orders to millers and bakers without in any way interfering

<sup>1</sup> CORNET, 112, n.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 125, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Considerationes: Opere varie*, I., 188.

with the clergy.<sup>1</sup> In defence of the same law Sarpi further argued that any private citizen might prevent the erection of a church on his own property; hence a similar right belonged to the State within the whole of its territory, since the soil of the whole State was the private property of the prince!<sup>2</sup> Apart from this there can be no serious doubt that the better type of pamphlet written against Sarpi far surpassed his as regards objectivity and thoroughness. True, Sarpi's knowledge ranged over an immense field but he was no specialist. His numerous references to legal sources were shown to be inaccurate and inadequate<sup>3</sup>; he had the mortification of being told that often enough he made long-winded attacks against positions which no one defended,<sup>4</sup> and it will scarcely be denied that he frequently talked against his own better knowledge.<sup>5</sup>

It remains, nevertheless, that Sarpi's writings did their work. They are clever, seasoned with witty sallies, and they drown the reader in a flood of arguments and texts which only a few are able to put to the test; moreover, in literature of this kind boldness in the attack invariably puts the defence at a disadvantage. Most of the ideas of Sarpi and his followers are already found in Marsilius of Padua, Wyclif, Hus and Luther<sup>6</sup>; Gretser went to the trouble of furnishing detailed proof in

<sup>1</sup> *Nicomaco Filaliteo*, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Sarpi, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. say GIOV. ANT. BOVIO, *Risposta alle Considerazioni del P. Maestro Paolo de Venetia*, Roma, 1606, 67 *seqq.*, 72 *seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 35, 45, 82.

<sup>5</sup> As when, for instance, he reproaches the Pope with having decided, with unseemly haste, to excommunicate at one blow three million people! (*Considerazioni, loc. cit.*, 210). He knew quite well that only the doge and the Senate were excommunicated and not the whole people of Venice. In like manner when he affirms that under Sixtus V. and Clement VIII., religious had been hanged in Rome in their habits: "neither then nor *a memoria hominum* did such a thing happen," Bovio rejoins (84).

<sup>6</sup> Bovio, *loc. cit.*, 21.

every single instance.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand the significance of these writings lies precisely in the fact that they advocate an anti-Catholic conception of the State at the very gates of Rome. In his writings James I. of England adopted Sarpi's ideas. From the point of view of Church history Sarpi, by allying himself with the Protestants, was the first, on the Catholic side, to start an evolutionary process which, through Richer, Barclay, the Gallicans, Febronius, leads up to Josephism. From the standpoint of secular history it must be said that he helped to loosen the subordination of the secular to the spiritual authority and thus paved the way for absolutism which in its turn led up to the revolution with its incalculable consequences.<sup>2</sup> In the story of his native city Sarpi also has his place; through him Venice already in decay became for a last time the centre of world politics and once more riveted all eyes on itself. There was but little need of any polemical writings to raise the excitement of the Venetians against the Pope to fever heat. Such was its embitterment, Tommaso Palmegiani wrote to Borghese,<sup>3</sup> that the republic was capable of extreme measures; there was reason to fear a catastrophe that might well prove irreparable; not everything could be entrusted to writing but if the Secretary of State could hear

<sup>1</sup> In his *Considerationes* on the pamphlet of Marcantonio Capello (*Opera*, VII., 421-546).

<sup>2</sup> Sarpi is sharply condemned by MONTALEMBERT (*Du vandalisme et du catholicisme dans l'art*, Paris, 1839, 130-1; cf. K. Werner, *Gesch. der polemischen und apologetischen Literatur*, IV., 394 seq., 398 seq. Admirers of Sarpi are Franc. Scaduto (*Stato e chiesa secondo fra P. Sarpi e la coscienza pubblica durante l'interdetto di Venezia del 1606-7*, Florence, 1885), and Friedberg (*Grenzen*, II., 696 seq.).

<sup>3</sup> \* "Per il che son tanto essacerbati che precipitariano in ogni strana risolutione, e se non s'interpongono mezi potentissimi, prevedo una rovina così grande che non avrà nissuno o poco riparo; e se V.S. ill. sentesse il parlar e straparlar di questo popolo, non potrebbe a bastanza stupirsi: nè si può in questo particolare fidar ogni cosa alla penna." *Nuntiat. di Venezia*, 17, f. 239 (384), Papal Secret Archives.

what was being said at Venice he would have a surprise. It is well known, Bellarmine wrote, that at Venice many who formerly were but seldom at Mass now hear it daily, just to display their rebelliousness.<sup>1</sup> The Corpus Christi procession of 1606 was more gorgeous than it had been for years and the ornaments in gold and silver which were displayed at it were valued at three to four millions.<sup>2</sup>

Fresne writes<sup>3</sup> that on all feast days sermons were preached all over the city to proclaim that the excommunication was null and void; that the people looked on the Pope as the enemy of their spiritual welfare; the Jesuits, and their conduct in the confessional, were hotly discussed in the public houses; the Inquisition was despised and the booksellers scattered broadcast all kinds of writings. The sermons of Fulgenzio Manfredi, a friar minor, in particular were remarkable for their abuse of the Pope.<sup>4</sup>

In these circumstances the fear lest Venice should end by going over to Protestantism took an ever more concrete shape. Already in the reign of Clement VIII. it was known in Rome that English agents were making propaganda in favour of Calvinism.<sup>5</sup> At the time of England's apostasy from the Church, diplomatic relations between London and Venice were broken off; they were only resumed in the last year of Elizabeth. James I. had sent as his representative in Venice Sir Henry Wotton who caused his chaplain to hold Protestant services.<sup>6</sup> True, Wotton had given a pledge that no one, beside his own household, was to be admitted to the Protestant sermons,<sup>7</sup> but on one occasion he himself declared that "an

<sup>1</sup> *Risposta al trattato de i sette teologi*, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Vinc. Americi to Franc. Caffarelli on June 3, 1606, *Borghese*, I. (251)-253, f. 79 (72), Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>3</sup> To Villeroi on July 11, 1606, in Crétineau-Joly, III., 79.

<sup>4</sup> REIN, 64.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. our account, Vol. XXIV., 217.

<sup>6</sup> REIN, II. For Wotton cf. besides the older biographies by J. Walton and A. W. Ward (1898), especially Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, Oxford, 1907.

<sup>7</sup> REIN, 13.



ambassador was a gentleman sent abroad to tell lies for reasons of State"!<sup>1</sup> For Wotton this definition was a joke only in its wording. Soon news reached Rome that the Anglican sermons at Wotton's house were much frequented and that "dreadful things" were said in them.<sup>2</sup> When the nuncios Offredo and Orazio Mattei lodged a protest both Wotton and the Signoria met them with a complete denial.<sup>3</sup>

As soon as the struggle with the Pope had begun Protestantism began to rear its head still higher in Venice. Wotton got in touch with Geneva in order to secure from there a Calvinist preacher for the city of the lagoons<sup>4</sup>; Protestant writings in vast quantities were smuggled into the city and into the very chamber of the doge<sup>5</sup>; from Catholic pulpits friends of Sarpi began to preach thinly disguised Protestant doctrines<sup>6</sup>; the doge himself, whom Paul V. would have liked to summon before the Inquisition, notwithstanding many assurances of orthodoxy, let fall on occasion mysterious threats<sup>7</sup>; in June, 1606, a printed sheet which openly advocated apostacy from the Pope was publicly posted up at Vicenza though, as a matter of fact, the government suppressed it.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 133. He wrote this sentence in an album, at Augsburg, in 1604. It led him into a controversy with Kaspar Schopp and called forth James I.'s displeasure; *cf. Dict. of National Biography*, LXIII, 51 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See \**Barb. lat.*, 5195, f. 83-6, *Vatic. Lib.* (*cf. Anal. juris Pontif.*, XXVI. (1886), 583). In this MSS. there is much information about heretics in Venice. *Cf.* on the subject A. PILOT, *Del Protestantismo in Venezia e delle poesie religiose di Celio Magno*, in *Ateneo Veneto*, XXXII., 1, 2 (1909); Mohnicke in *Mitteil. der deutschen Gesellsch. zu Königsberg*, II., 115-208; REUMONT, *Bibliographia*, 172.

<sup>3</sup> REIN, 15 *seq.*; *Anal. juris pontif.*, XXVI (1886), 584.

<sup>4</sup> REIN, 26.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 28, 35.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 34 *seqq.*

<sup>8</sup> CORNET, 112.

There can be no doubt that Paul V. seriously misjudged the effect of the interdict. A century earlier the Signoria had at least made an attempt to have the ecclesiastical censures raised, but within the last decades a change had come over the city. Since the last war against the Turks, so we read in a memoir of 1590,<sup>1</sup> eighteen years of age was deemed sufficient for membership of the Council. The result was that youths outnumbered the older and experienced men. Venerable old men could be seen courting the favour of these youths for the distribution of all offices lay with them. This brought about a change in the moral as well as the political condition of the republic. The Council of Ten saw its power curtailed to the advantage of the Senate<sup>2</sup> in which the young people were in the majority. The spirit of parsimony and frugality of former times vanished<sup>3</sup>; levity and immorality became rampant; only a few years previous to the interdict a preacher had the courage to proclaim that if the city did not amend in this respect, he himself feared lest God should punish Venice by taking from it the light of faith.<sup>4</sup> Not many months after the interdict it became apparent that things could not go on in this strain: either Venice must openly secede from the Church or, by mutual concessions, a reconciliation with Rome must be brought about. Paul V. showed an early readiness to parley; all he insisted on was

<sup>1</sup> \**Relatione della Ser. Republica di Venetia*, in *Cod.*, 35, F. 29, f. 221, Corsini Lib., Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ranke, *Zur venezianischen Geschichte: Werke*, XLII, 64 seqq. Also our account, Vol. XXI, 233, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> "La gioventù ha introdotto nelle mense altra sorte di lusso con non picciolo ramarico de'vecchi" (\**Relatione, Cod.*, 35, F. 29, f. 221, Corsini Lib., Rome). "Un certo habito d'incontinenza, con che si allevano i giovani di quella republica, i quali abbandonati in ogni sorta d'intemperanza e d'impudicitia, fa che quegli anni, che si dovrebbero dare all'apprendere delle buone discipline . . . , restino vilmente a perdersi nelle sensualità, etc." Their excuse is that "la carnalità è proprio difetto di Venezia" (*ibid.*, f. 220).

<sup>4</sup> GIOV. BERTOLOTI, *Filoprotropia*, Bologna, 1606, 4.

that he should be given some kind of satisfaction.<sup>1</sup> The Senate, however, seemed unwilling to relent; with unbending obstinacy it sought to humiliate the Pope by insisting on an unconditional surrender on his part.

However, since some time already the final decision no longer lay exclusively with the Senate. The strife had had its repercussion as far as England and Denmark. The immediate neighbours of the republic especially could not be indifferent to the formation of a Protestant State in Venice; such an eventuality could easily lead to civil war in Italy and would constitute a danger for the whole of Europe. The leading ministers of France and Spain, Villeroi and Lerma, were the first, at any early date, to tackle the Venetian problem. The head of the German empire would have had good ground for similar action but only in the beginning and at the end of the struggle did the impotent Rudolph II. rouse himself sufficiently to take a few measures.<sup>2</sup> As for the smaller Italian States, they only saw in the quarrel an opportunity, by means of the double-faced flatteries with which they encouraged the two principals, to acquire yet another strip of territory.<sup>3</sup> Charles Emmanuel of Savoy was seemingly prompted by loftier motives when he strove for a league between the Pope, Tuscany and Mantua, with a view to keeping Spain and France out of these purely Italian questions. Yet at the same time he entered into negotiations with Spain in the hope of securing Montferrat, and with France in order to get possession of Milan.<sup>4</sup> The duke of Mantua earned the thanks

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the extracts from the letters of the Cardinal of Vicenza in CORNET, 323.

<sup>2</sup> DE MAGISTRIS, 50 *seqq.* The marquis of Castiglione had purposely journeyed to Prague in order to get the emperor to appoint him as mediator (*ibid.*, 66 *seqq.*, 77 *seqq.*). The Pope would have been agreeable; see Brief of November 4, 1606, *ibid.* Cf. Meyer, *Nuntianurberichte*, 620 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> R. PUTELLI in *Arch. Ven.*, XXVIII (1914), 31.

<sup>4</sup> DE MAGISTRIS, *Carlo Emmanuele I e la contesa fra la repubblica di Veneta e Paolo V.*, 1605-7. *Documenti* (*Miscell. di stor. Veneta*, 2 series, X.), Venezia, 1906. Cf. Erdmannsdörffer, 60; Gindely, *Rudolf II.*, Vol. I., 124; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XXX., 821.

of the Venetian Senate for informing it of his refusal to listen to the Spanish solicitations. For all that the duke engineered a conspiracy among the Venetian troops, supplied the papal army with officers and courted the friendship of Spain and the Spanish governor of Milan. But even this friendship did not prevent the duke from working for an alliance with France and Venice.<sup>1</sup> The dukes of Mantua, Savoy, and Florence also declared their willingness to act as mediators between Rome and Venice, but their proposals were of little importance. A decisive change in the situation could only be brought about by the great powers, France and Spain, inasmuch as the Venetian complications furnished each of them with an opportunity of cutting out the other in their mutual struggle for preponderance in the Italian peninsula.

Henry IV. had expressed the opinion that in this contest he would be both for the Pope and for Venice; for the Pope against all comers; for Venice against all, with the sole exception of the Pope.<sup>2</sup> Of all the powers Venice had been the first to recognize him as king, hence he felt under some obligation to the republic. On the other hand he durst not offend the Pope for fear of making his reception into the Church suspect. So the king decided to take sides for neither party<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> R. PUTELLI, *Il duca Vincenzo Gonzaga e l'interdetto di Paolo V.*, Venice, 1913. Reprint from *N. Arch. Ven.*, XXI. and XXII. (1911-12).

<sup>2</sup> Nürnbergger, *Interdikt*, 474. In accordance with his instructions, Alincourt, the French ambassador in 1605, was to make representations in Rome to the effect that during the last six or seven years religion had made more progress by peaceful means than it had done previously by force of arms. Cf. MERCIER DE LA COMBE, 34; \**Discorso d'un cavalier francese incognito al suo re, nel quale s'esorta a convocare un concilio*, 1607 (*Barb.*, LVII., 6, Vatic. Lib.); \*Henry IV. to Cardinal Givry, July 19 and 25, 1606. \*Villeroi to Givry, May 5 and June 30, 1606 (*Lib. at Metz*, 219, p. 105-7). On Henry's attitude, cf. also ROTT, 2, 368 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Rome was not without anxiety as regards his attitude and sought information from P. Coton through Aquaviva; cf. PRAT,



in order not to forfeit their confidence in him as a mediator. His envoy to Venice, Philippe Canaye, Seigneur de Fresne, showed himself less impartial than the king and his sympathy with the republic frequently set him at variance with the instructions given him by Henry.<sup>1</sup>

At the first threat of the interdict Henry IV. took a preliminary step, which aimed at securing a prolongation of the truce of twenty-four days which had been granted. But since the Venetians showed no desire for it the Pope could not consider the request of the king.<sup>2</sup>

The disappointment of the French owing to this first ill-success, gave the Spaniards a chance to intervene. On July 5th the Spanish envoy in Rome, the Duke of Escalona, presented a letter of Philip III.<sup>3</sup> in which the king expressed

II., 492 seq. "Out of consideration for Henry IV. he had told his ambassadors that he would do anything that was compatible with his dignity," Paul V. \*wrote on May 26, 1606. *Epist. ad princip.*, XLV., 1, f. 357, Papal Secret Archives. As regards Villeroi's friendly remarks about Rome, the nuncio Barberini wrote on December 26, 1606 : \*" Mi parve che dicesse seriamente queste parole, perchè soggionse che S.M. Crist. desidera questa compositione et accordo grandemente e che non ha voluto dar orecchia a consiglieri che gli anteponevan, che per ragion di stato il tener distratte con le di Signori d'Italia le forze Spagnuole era espediente per questo reame massime non havendo S.M. che perdere in Italia. Voglio credere c'habbia parlato con sincerità. *Barb.* 5868, p. 896 seq., Vatic. Lib.

<sup>1</sup> *Lettres et Ambassade de Messire Ph. Canaye, Seigneur de Fresne.* III., Paris, 1635 ; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI. (1843), 137 seqq., 193 seqq. ; PRAT, II., 480 seq., 497 seqq.

<sup>2</sup> Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 475 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Of June 14, 1606 : \*Ha me dado mucho cuidado el estado en que sea puesto el negocio con Veneçianos y como quiera que quisiera que no estuviera tan adelante por todas las raçones que se dexan considerar, pero siendo tam empeñada en el (como esta) la autoridad de V. S. y de la Sede Apostolica me he resuelto de acudir a V. S. y a la Sede Apostolica, como el hijo verdaderamente obediente della, con mi persona y fuerzas, y nõ quierio

his determination to throw his person and his power into the scales on the Pope's side. The king said that he had spoken in that sense to the Venetian envoy at Madrid and had caused the viceroys and other officials in Italy to be informed of his attitude. A covering letter to Escalona mentions the orders given to the latter to be ready for every emergency with the necessary forces on land and sea as well as the instructions to the governor of Milan who was commanded under no circumstances to permit the passage of troops.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, to the great joy of the Spanish sympathizers in Rome, Philip III. appeared to be in earnest. However, he himself weakened the value of his letter by the explanations given in Venice. When he expressed his devotion to the Pope, he explained the king had merely sought to win the Pontiff's confidence to the end that he might the more readily be accepted as mediator.

An attempt at mediation was made before the Senate on July 13th by Iñigo de Cardenas, the Spanish ambassador, but in the circumstances there was all the less hope of success as the English envoy, on May 16th, had held out to the republic the prospect of a secret alliance with the Protestant powers.<sup>2</sup> For the time being, therefore, there was no hope of a reconciliation. To the pressing demands of the French envoy, Alincourt, that he would raise the censures at least for a time, the Pope had replied, with the consent of nearly

contentarme con menos que con declararlo desde luego a l'em-  
baxada que la Republica de Venecia tiene cerca de mi persona  
y juntamente se ha mandado escribir a los virreyes y ministros  
que me sirven en Italia con orden que por su medio lo entiendan  
los potentados que penden de mi, como mas particularmente  
se lo dira a V. S. el duque de Escalona y esté cierto V. S. de  
que en todo lo que le tocare me tendra a su lado etc. Arch. of  
Spanish Embassy, Rome, III., 10. Ital. transl. in CORNET, 285,  
together with another letter of the king dated April 1, 1606,  
in which he exhorts to peace.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 476 seq.; Wotton's mission in CORNET, 87.

all the Cardinals, that before he could do anything it was the duty of the republic to take at least the first step to meet him half-way. To the representative of France who handed over this answer, as well as to the Spanish intermediary, the Senate declared on September 14th that unless the censures were first raised there could be no question of reconciliation. Nevertheless, under the impression of the king's letter, the Senate decided, not without many reservations, to agree to the proposal that the King of Spain should ask for the raising of the censures and that the request might also be made in the name of Venice.<sup>1</sup>

The Spanish peace proposal was followed by two similar ones by France, in August and November. The first was submitted by Henry IV.,<sup>2</sup> the second came from the French Cardinals in Rome.<sup>3</sup> Spain then re-appeared on the scene with a great show of energy. The king decided to send an envoy extraordinary; his choice fell on no less a personage than the former viceroy of Naples, Francisco de Castro, nephew of the duke of Lerma.<sup>4</sup> After the grand duke of Tuscany had likewise made peace proposals the Pope made known his terms.<sup>5</sup> All was in vain. The republic would not have been unwilling to deliver the prisoners to the Pope, or to the King of France, but it was not prepared to repeal the laws concerning Church property, nor would it even go so far as to consent to their provisional repeal.<sup>6</sup> In these transactions a sinister rôle was played by Fresne who repeatedly spoke of papal concessions; he was not empowered to do so and he thereby put the Pope in an unfavourable light.<sup>7</sup>

Outside Venice and Protestant or Gallican circles the attitude of the republic caused but little surprise. Cardinal

<sup>1</sup> Nürnberger, 477 *seq.*; CORNET, 118.

<sup>2</sup> CORNET, 128 *seq.*, 131 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 158 *seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 168 *seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Nürnberger, 483 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 479-487.

<sup>7</sup> Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 483, 484, 486.

Du Perron wrote as follows to Henry IV. "What risk would Venice have run if, out of regard for your Majesty, it had suspended the application of the laws whilst peaceful negotiations were proceeding, as between Prince and Prince, seeing that the Church took exception to them? But Venice is no longer the shrewd republic of former times and the most weighty affairs of State are in the hands of a band of young people."<sup>1</sup> The Pope had long been under the impression that the tension caused by the Venetian situation would lead to a European war and he ordered preparations to be made which were to be under the direction of a commission of thirteen Cardinals. A Spanish memoir counselled that Venice should be threatened<sup>2</sup> with war; fear would make more impression on them than all the arguments of St. Paul and all the eloquence of Cicero; these people worshipped no other god than their personal advantage and their independence.<sup>3</sup> Philip III. wrote in the same sense to his

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 488.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 481. Numerous \*briefs in praise of zeal for the defence of the Church and requesting not to permit the levying of troops or their passage through territory, etc., in *Epist. ad princ.*, XLV., 2, Papal Secret Archives; to the governor of Milan on July 12, 1606, January 6 and April 26, 1607; to the viceroy of Naples on July 21, 1606, January 12 and April 26, 1607; to Ferdinand of Austria on February 15, 1607; to Charles of Lorraine on January 5 and 13 and February 6, 1607; to Caspar von Altemps on July 29, 1606; to Solothurn on August 13, 1606; to Lucerne on September 9, 1606; to the duke of Lerma on January 1 and May 1, 1607; to Maximilian of Bavaria on March 5, 1607; to Switzerland on June 17 and September 9, 1606, January 6 and February 3, 1607. \**Coactum duritia Venetorum armis prosequi Ecclesiae jus, decrevisse scribere 2,000 peditum Walonorum ac 300 equites, postquam omnia alia consilia nihil profuerunt, ne nova haeresis in Italia oriatur.* (To Ernest of Louvain, January 6, 1607), *ibid.*, 295. \**Decrevisse scribere 3,000 Helvetiorum.* (To Catholic Switzerland, on January 6, 1607), *ibid.*, 297.

<sup>3</sup> \**Porque el temor de que estas prevenciones han de llover sobre si en caso que no se acordasen con el Papa, havia mas obra i efecto en ellos que las raçones de S. Pablo i eloquencia*



new ambassador in Rome, the Marquis de Aytona<sup>1</sup>: "Since the Venetians, so far from humbling themselves before the Apostolic See, have scattered abroad writings against it which teem with harmful and anti-religious teaching, and since to defend their erroneous principles they have asked for the help not only of the Catholic princes, but even for that of heretical ones, thus at one and the same time jeopardizing both religion and the peace of the world, he felt compelled to take his stand beside the Pope. He therefore orders the governor of Milan, Conde de Fuentes, to levy an armed force of 26,000 foot and 4,000 horse." Fuentes was an able soldier and a decided opponent of the Venetians. For some time already he had been urging both the Pope and the king to go to war for, so he urged, the Venetians would not yield to persuasion and there was a danger that if they could get help from the Grisons, Switzerland and France, they would invade the territory of Milan.<sup>2</sup> Thereupon, as was to be expected, Venice pushed forward her armaments with greater energy than ever. France also mobilized 24,000 foot and 4,000 horse, as a counterpoise to Spain.<sup>3</sup> Rudolph IV. put at the Pope's

de Ciceron, porque es gente que no adoran otro Dios que su interes i libertad (Relacion de las diferencias que si penden entre S. S. i Venecianos). Arch. der span. Botschaft zu Rom, III., 10. S. S. i Venecianos). Arch. of Span. Embassy, Rome, III., 10.

<sup>1</sup> Viendo que Venecianos en vez de humillarse in obediencia a S. S. y a la Sede Apostolica permiten que se escrivan i publiquen papeles en ofensa de la autoridad de S. S. y de la Sede Apostolica de doctrina perniciosa y contraria a nuestra s religion, y que para defender sus erradas opiniones y sustentirlas conmueven los principes del mundo para su ayuda no contentandose a los que professan nuestra s religion sino a los que professan la contraria aventurando juntamente la religion i la paz universal de la Christianidad y de Italia . . . no puede faltar al Papa ni dexar de estar a su lado para su Jefensa i de la Sede Apostolica y de su patrimonio . . . De Pardo, November 30, 1606, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Nürnbergger, *loc. cit.*, 478 *seq.*, 487.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* A Venetian war council, under the Provveditore of the Terraferma, Benedetto Moro, held at Verona, at the beginning

disposal 20,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry.<sup>1</sup> The Pope himself also prepared for a military expedition<sup>2</sup> since the republic clung so obstinately to its "diabolical writings", and he did not want Venice to become another Geneva.<sup>3</sup>

Great was now the embarrassment of Venice for the Senate knew perfectly well—and even said so—that the republic could not long resist unaided the combined forces of Spain and the Pope.<sup>4</sup> About that time Cardinal Du Perron expressed the opinion that there remained now for the Signoria only one way out of its difficulties, that is, to give satisfaction to the Pope and then, leagued with France, to turn its whole strength against Spain.<sup>5</sup>

In these circumstances, on January 8th, 1607, Castro was in a position to renew his offer with a better prospect of success. The republic, he asked, should pledge itself not to apply the laws in dispute during the discussion; otherwise

of November, decided to attack the Pope in the Polesina, Spain in Lombardy, Austria in Friuli; 24,000 men were to be levied. Cf. the minutes in E. CELANI in *Arch. N. Ven.*, XVII. (1899).

<sup>1</sup> CORNET, 332.

<sup>2</sup> \**Istruzione a Msgr. l'arciv. di Damasco di quello che haverà da trattare col ser. arciduca Alberto e con altri in materia delle genti da guerra, che si desiderano per servizio di N. S. Paolo V. per li rumori di Venezia*, January 8, 1607, *Cod.*, 468, f. 151, of Corsini Lib., Rome. Cf. \**Parere dato a Paolo V. circa il muovere la guerra a Venetia* (BOLOGNETTI, 214); \**Discorso di Tarq. Pinaoro del modo da tenersi da Paolo V. per vincere i Veneziani per via d'assedio*. *Bibl. Gambalungo*, Rimini, D. IV., 314, n. 20. A \**Discorso of T. Pinaoro on the reconciliation*, in the library of Upsala, H. 327, and in the Corsini Lib., Rome, 717 (= 34 F. 6), p. 143 seq.: \**Del modo di rendere i Veneziani più osequiosi alla Sede Apost.* See also the acc. of Malatesta in *Brosch*, I., 360 seq. On the new taxes see *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5 series; XVIII., 106.

<sup>3</sup> Letter of the Cardinal of Vicenza of January 9, 1607, in CORNET, 332.

<sup>4</sup> Nürnbergger, *loc. cit.*, 489. This was likewise the opinion of Henry IV., see CORNET, 198, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Nürnbergger, 488.

he would take his leave. On January 13th Fresne demanded a similar promise.<sup>1</sup> Nothing throws a clearer light on the situation as the fact that now the doge himself strove for the suspension of the laws so hotly fought for until then. In his speech on the proposal<sup>2</sup> he openly conceded the greatness of the peril, the inadequateness of Venice's armed forces and the lack of reliable allies, for the unwarlike James I. was too far away and Henry IV. was content with good advice. Once again the national pride of the Venetians<sup>3</sup> reared itself against the humiliation; once again the old slogan about the intangible freedom and autonomy of the republic proved effective at the sittings of the Senate,<sup>4</sup> and the doge's proposal fell through. Nevertheless, in a subsequent vote, he secured a majority of two, though this was insufficient in affairs of State and Castro was put off with the excuse that for the time being no one knew what exactly were the demands of the Pope.<sup>5</sup> More and more the conviction gathered strength that a compromise must be arrived at. The common people had long ago wearied of the strife. When, in August, 1606, the mediation of Henry IV. was invited, even Fresne wrote that the Jews had not more impatiently longed for the Messiah than people now awaited the reply of the King of France.<sup>6</sup> A speaker in the Senate insisted on the fact that, however much Venetian polemicists might seek to put the Pope in the wrong, the views of the Pope were bound to have the greater weight with the faithful since

<sup>1</sup> Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 489.

<sup>2</sup> Printed by CORNET, 297 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> GOTHEIN, *Ignatius*, 539.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the speeches of Zorzi and Contarini in CORNET, 299 *seqq.*, 301 *seqq.* *Il trattare ad istanza d'altri, ma che dico ad istanza d'altri? necessitati et astretti da altri, di sospendere una legge, non sara pregiudicare alla liberta pubblica?* Thus Zorzi (299), Contarini (301) thought that this was probably the last time that he spoke as a free citizen: *trattandosi d'imporre alla Repubblica giogo (voglio dire liberamente) di vera et patientissima servitu.*

<sup>5</sup> CORNET, 199-202.

<sup>6</sup> *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 194. Cf. CORNET, 139, n. 1.



by common consent he was the judge in all disputed questions.<sup>1</sup> Moreover many internal disadvantages had ensued from the quarrel. Since a whole year, so the same speaker pointed out, the republic was as it were on a war footing. Every day, so it is said, inflicts some fresh damage; those of the princes who are friendly with Venice hesitate; the undecided fall away and the enemies grow stronger; trade suffers; taxes remain unpaid and revenue decreases in a thousand ways by reason of the huge sums swallowed by war preparations. Moreover the citizens are divided in their opinions, troubled in conscience, weary of existing conditions, and all the time a superstitious populace sees in their calamities the effects of the excommunication. And who can tell what will happen if the Pope takes yet sterner measures? If he insists on punishing the disobedience of bishops and priests and inflicts severer censures? On the part of Venice so many fresh and shocking excesses have taken place that the original cause of the quarrel is almost forgotten; there have been so many extravagant sermons and pamphlets, confiscations of Church property, banishments, persecutions; the prisons are full of religious whose only crime is their submission to the interdict which is treated with greater contempt and is scoffed at in worse fashion than it would be in a heretical land. Add to this the external difficulties. Does anyone believe the republic capable of maintaining three armies of 16,000 men each, in Lombardy, in Friuli and Polesina? <sup>2</sup> Can we rely on the subjects? We have taken possession of their land, hence there prevail amongst us luxury and an intolerable arrogance in stark contrast with the manners of our forbears, whilst among the people there is poverty, discontent and a longing for a change.<sup>3</sup> Add to this that we have no ally whom we could really trust.<sup>4</sup>

The attitude of the foreign countries also was sufficiently humiliating for the republic. The interdict was published in Savoy and the Venetian envoy was forbidden to enter

<sup>1</sup> In CORNET, 308.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 310 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 313.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 313 *seq.*



the churches<sup>1</sup>; in Venice the envoy of Savoy refused to attend services forbidden by the Pope and in order to avoid contact with the excommunicated Senate he retired to a country house outside the city, alleging the example of the Imperial and the Spanish Court.<sup>2</sup> At the court of Rudolph II., at Prague, the nuncio Ferreri broke off all relations with the envoy of the Signoria and forbade him to take part in the procession of Corpus Christi; the Emperor himself would not give him audience and his ministers openly avoided him.<sup>3</sup> The Spanish nuncio declared at Madrid that he would not take part in the services in the chapel royal if the Venetian representative was present. With a view to avoiding a decisive step the king ceased to attend his own chapel<sup>4</sup> till at last, in January, 1607, he yielded to the pressure of the Pope and decided to exclude the envoy.<sup>5</sup> At Warsaw the ambassador of the Signoria had the mortification of seeing some gentlemen of his suite excluded from church by order of the nuncio, though in this matter the archbishop did not agree with the action of the nuncio and whilst the envoy remained in Poland the king withheld the publication of the interdict.<sup>6</sup> Henry IV., notwithstanding his efforts at media-

<sup>1</sup> CORNET, 119, n. 1. \*Laudatory brief of October 6, 1606, in the *Epist. ad princip.*, XLV., 2, 213, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> CORNET, 117, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Meyer, *Nuntiaturberichte*, LXII., 775 de 778, f. 785d; CORNET, 97, 315 *seqq*; DE MAGISTRIS, 68, 73. In the opinion of the Senate here also the nuncio went beyond his rights for, it was claimed, the envoy was subject only to the emperor and the Signoria; see CORNET, 105, Maximilian I. of Bavaria exhorted to obedience to the Pope (*ibid.*, 104), but declined to offer his services to the latter (Stieve, V., 59).

<sup>4</sup> CORNET, 113.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 186, n. 1. \*Philip III. to Aytona on January 19, 1607, Arch. of Spanish Embassy, at Rome, III., 10.

<sup>6</sup> CORNET, 114 *seq.* Cf. \*instruction for Simonetta, November, 1606 (*Breva Lib.*, at Milan): the nuncio is instructed to explain to the Poles the true nature of the dispute between the Pope and Venice, the best books on which were those of Bellarmine,

tion, would not allow the Venetian ambassador to be present at the christening of his children.<sup>1</sup>

The best hopes of the Senate rested on the King of France. At the end of December, 1606, Fresne had counselled getting the Grisons to make an irruption into Milanese territory; in such an eventuality France would surely side with Venice.<sup>2</sup> Towards the end of January the Venetian envoy in Paris vainly besought Henry IV. to come to the assistance of the republic. Heated discussions ensued; not long after the envoy had a stroke of apoplexy which was thought to have been caused by the controversy.<sup>3</sup> An alliance which Fresne had suggested the Venetians should ask for, Henry flatly refused.<sup>4</sup> As a matter of fact, notwithstanding all these warlike preparations, the king had not yet given up hope of a peaceful settlement. At this very time he informed his ambassador of an important arrangement he had just concluded with the Pope. Seeing how difficult Venice found it to promise suspension of the laws in dispute, the king was prepared to make the promise in its name, only the republic must give him some token which would win for his word respect and trust.<sup>5</sup>

The king took a step fraught with even graver consequences when at the end of 1606 he commissioned his kinsman, Cardinal de Joyeuse, who was eager to go to Italy, to inquire, whilst there, into the state of the quarrel and, should reports be favourable, to betake himself to the city of the lagoons with a view to acting as a mediator.<sup>6</sup>

Baronius and Bovio, and to use his influence against the presence in Poland of an envoy from Venice. The bishop of Chur also refused to say Mass in the presence of the Venetian representative. The levying of troops against the Pope he declared to be unlawful: so he was banished; see Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., 553 seq., II., 264.

<sup>1</sup> PRAT, II., 501.

<sup>2</sup> Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 48E.

<sup>3</sup> Nürnberger, 490. On similar proposals of the king see: Coton to Aquaviva on November 18, 1606, in PRAT, II., 502 seq.

<sup>4</sup> Nürnberger, 490, 494.

<sup>5</sup> On February 1, 1607; see Nürnberger, 490; cf. Cornet, 207.

<sup>6</sup> Nürnberger, 487; CORNET, 207, 210.

When he had entered Italian territory, Joyeuse made a show of journeying Romewards; in reality he set out for Papozze, a village on the Po, where he spent the whole of January and part of February at the country house of a nobleman, a friend of his. There he had several conferences with Fresne. On February 2nd, 1607, the King ordered him to proceed to Venice and on February 10th de Joyeuse informed Rome of his impending departure.<sup>1</sup>

Though Paul V. had not summoned the French Cardinal he was not displeased to see him, for he hoped that here at last there might be a chance to settle the tiresome quarrel. In his instructions to Joyeuse the Pope insisted on the strict observance of the interdict; the promise of the republic not to apply the contentious laws must not be limited to a determined period; to this the Pope would never consent, the promise to be made by the Signoria under the guaranty of the French king, must be perfectly clear and defined in its smallest detail. Rome would be greatly gratified if the King of Spain also pledged his word. As a matter of fact it had been the wish of the Pope that Spain and France should settle the dispute by a joint action; however the rivalry between the two courts allowed but little hope of such an eventuality.<sup>2</sup>

Joyeuse reached Venice on February 15th. He met with a hearty welcome for the arrival of the Frenchman was held as a guarantee that Henry IV. would fall in with the republic's proposals for a league with France. It was only when the king's reply of February 20th and March 3rd had destroyed this hope that a beginning could be made of the discussions which, it was hoped, would lead to an amicable solution of the quarrel.<sup>3</sup>

It is open to reasonable doubt whether Joyeuse was the best exponent of Rome's point of view. Henry IV. had no

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the report of Malatesta, printed by Nürnberger, in *Röm. Quartalschrift*, II. (1888), 248 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Nürnberger, 491 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 493 *seqq.*

intention to draw the sword on behalf of the Pope, but he cherished the ambition of being considered the great pacifier of Italy ; hence his envoy strove for peace at all costs, the Spaniards and all others being excluded from the discussions. In these endeavours the Cardinal more than once exceeded the instructions he had received from Rome. The cunning statesmen on the Rialto soon saw that not only did France not seriously threaten them, but that on the contrary she averted the storm that threatened them from Spain. Hence they took up a position as follows : as regards concessions to the Pope, only a bare minimum must be agreed to, so as to get their necks out of the noose ; this minimum must be granted with as little publicity as possible, so that it would be easier, later on, to deny that a promise was ever made ; throughout the transaction they must display towards the Pope as much disrespect and arrogance as was possible without compromising the continuation of the discussion. As a matter of fact, even after the arrival of the Cardinal, the excommunicated Franciscan, Fulgenzio Manfredi, was allowed to renew from the pulpit his extravagant denunciations of the Pope. True, Joyeuse succeeded in getting Manfredi removed from Venice, though only for a time.<sup>1</sup> As late as February 26th, the Senate instructed the governors of Padua and those of nine other large towns to see to it that there were frequent services and that those who obstinately submitted to the interdict were banished. They were particularly to keep an eye on the confessors.<sup>2</sup> Cardinal Borghese even writes that after the arrival of the peace-maker, contempt for all things ecclesiastical and divine became more pronounced ; the protest of the doge against the excommunication, as well as the proclamation of the Senate to the citizens, was once more posted up on the church doors ; by shutting them off from the outer world, nuns were made to choose between death by starvation and breaking the interdict ; one noble lady was

<sup>1</sup> Nürnberger, *Inderdikt*, 493, 498. On Manfredi see some notes by Mercati in the *Miscell. di stor. eccl.*, V., 4 (1907).

<sup>2</sup> CORNET, 217 ; cf. 193, n. 1.



cast into prison for refusing to hear Mass and blasphemous publications were once more broadcast.<sup>1</sup>

The discussions with Joyeuse started from the concessions consented by the Senate in the preceding November, though in a somewhat altered form. Accordingly, France and Spain were to pray the Pope for the revocation of the censures; out of regard for the King of France, the two prisoners were to be delivered into the hands of a prelate who would take charge of them in the name of the Pope, without prejudice, however, to the right of the republic to judge these ecclesiastics. With the raising of the censures, Venice's protest against them would cease, and with regard to the polemical writings published at Venice, the republic would deal with them as Rome deals with those published in Rome. After the removal of the censures an envoy would go to Rome to thank the Pope for having paved the way for an amicable discussion. The republic persisted, however, in its refusal to suspend the laws, but promised that in the application of them it would not depart from its traditional piety.<sup>2</sup>

In the last mentioned condition lay the chief difficulty, hence Joyeuse took the greatest pains to make it easy for the Senate to grant some concession on this point. The Pope, he explained, demanded a promise of non-application of the laws; King Henry was prepared to give it to the Pope; but there was no need for the republic to issue a written declaration or to pass a special act in the matter; all that was required was that the king should have a guarantee that his word would not be dishonoured. Moreover the required non-application of the laws meant very little, inasmuch as they were only prohibitions; therefore, as long as they remain, the erection of churches, for instance, which they forbade,

<sup>1</sup> \*Borghese to the French nuncio, Barberini, on March 6, 1607, *Barb. lat.* 5913, p. 65, Vat. Lib. \*(Scritture) *escono tuttavia molte da Venezia e hieri appunto ne capitano quattro alle mani*; a pamphlet in favour of Rome was printed in Paris. Borghese to Barberini on March 17, 1606, *ibid.*, p. 103

<sup>2</sup> CORNET 218, n. 2; *cf.* 222 and Nürnberger, 482.

would not be practicable and this state would continue so even if they were suspended ; there was really question of no more than an act of courtesy towards the Pope,<sup>1</sup> a " false coin " as Fresne put it.<sup>2</sup> Joyeuse had likewise endeavoured to secure a certain concession on the part of the Pope, but in this he had been so far unsuccessful : it was that the Church agreed on looking upon everything as in suspense, and in consequence no new church building would take place. In this way the Venetian law would be purposeless and would fall into abeyance.<sup>3</sup>

After an inconclusive vote on March 9th,<sup>4</sup> the Senate on the 14th reached an agreement on the text of an explanation to be presented to Joyeuse and Castro. Since the republic, it was stated, did not wish to depart from its traditional piety and religious spirit in the application of the laws, in that declaration the two kings had enough to go on with to justify them in settling the whole affair for they could rest assured of the republic's straightforwardness and the purity of its motives. The republic prayed for such good offices of the two monarchs as could be expected from their prudence and kindly disposition.<sup>5</sup> Joyeuse, on being informed of the decision on the following day, declared himself satisfied, whereas Castro remarked that he understood the decision to mean no more than that the laws would not be applied whilst further deliberation was in progress. To the query implied in this remark the doge gave an evasive answer though in the letter in which Castro and Cardenas, on the same day, prayed in the name of Venice for the removal of the censures, both spoke as if a definite promise had been made. Yet another point in the letter of the two Spaniards demands attention : they give an assurance that the priests and religious who had fled by reason of the interdict, would

<sup>1</sup> Nürnberger, 494 ; CORNET, 219.

<sup>2</sup> CORNET, 219, n. I.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, and Nürnberger, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> CORNET, 222 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 224.

be allowed to come back, though with one exception: thereafter the city of the lagoons would be closed to the Jesuits.<sup>1</sup>

The Society of Jesus had bitter enemies in Venice of whom Sarpi was not the least dangerous. From the first the decree which banished them had been so worded that they could not benefit by the city's reconciliation with Rome, for it was not the interdict that was alleged in the decree of expulsion as the ground of their banishment, but the evil dispositions towards the republic with which they were credited.<sup>2</sup> The polemical writings of Bellarmine and other Jesuits against Sarpi and his associates, and their exhortations to observe the interdict, were not likely to lessen the existing hatred for them. Notwithstanding the intervention of Henry IV.<sup>3</sup> both the doge and the Senate repeatedly declared that they would never again be admitted.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand Paul V. felt in honour bound to exert himself on their behalf and he reasserted his determination in this matter in his last instructions to Joyeuse.<sup>5</sup> Hence the French peace-maker was faced with a difficulty which for a time seemed destined to wreck every attempt to settle the quarrel.

However, by the time the question of the Jesuits threatened to become acute the scene of the peace parleys had been transferred from Venice to Rome. This is what had happened. In March, 1607, the emperor Rudolph II., through the duke of Savoy and the marquis of Castiglione, had made a show of

<sup>1</sup> Nürnberger, 495.

<sup>2</sup> The Senate obstinately maintained that the decree against them (in CORNET, 106) had been issued *per gravissime colpe commesse così innanzi come dopo l'Interdetto* (*ibid.*, 224). As against this Paul V. affirms *che contro le padri non sarà portata cosa, che giustifichi la loro esclusione* (Nürnberger, Dokumente, 362). Henry IV. asked for accurate details of their transgressions, but the Senate begged to be excused. (PRAT, II., 494, 496.)

<sup>3</sup> CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, III., 140 *seqq.*; PRAT, II., 494, 496; CORNET, 220.

<sup>4</sup> CORNET, 125, n. 1, 130, 133, 198, n. 2, 219, etc. For Joyeuse's efforts in their behalf *cf.* CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, III., 143 *seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 492, 493.

throwing his weight into the scales in favour of peace. To preclude so undesirable an intervention, Joyeuse now made out that a settlement had already been reached and he forthwith set out for Rome: all that the marquis could do was to follow him thither.<sup>1</sup>

It was an arduous task that awaited the peace-maker in Rome. In their mortification the Spaniards had already seen to it that the Pope was well informed as regarded the not very brilliant success achieved at Venice. The marquis expressed surprise that Joyeuse should dare to approach the Holy See,<sup>2</sup> when he had but such slender concessions to offer. The Cardinal needs must begin by trying to obtain a brief which would grant him full power to absolve the Venetians without a demand for the return of the Jesuits. He reached Rome on the evening of March 22nd, took counsel all that night with the friends of France and only presented himself to Paul V. on the evening of the next day. He expatiated on the impending danger of Venice turning Protestant and the difficulty of an accommodation, but made no reference to the Jesuits. Only as he was about to leave he casually remarked that on the following day he would suggest a means by which a satisfactory settlement of their affairs could be reached.<sup>3</sup>

The whole of that night Paul V. racked his brains as to the nature of the mysterious way out which the Frenchman claimed he had been ingenious enough to discover. Early in the morning he sent a messenger to Joyeuse asking for details of the secret. The Pope must have been not a little disappointed when the Cardinal came in person to inform him that discussions led nowhere but that he would be able to achieve something if the Pope would first give him a brief with full powers to pronounce absolution. Paul V. would not allow the longed-for brief to be wrung from him in such a fashion. He replied that the whole quarrel had started

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 495 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 496.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 496 *seq.*



because of two priests ; he could not end it by sacrificing an entire religious Order. Joyeuse had to leave without having obtained anything.<sup>1</sup> Where he had failed, Du Perron was now expected to succeed. The latter represented to the Pope that he could assuredly not risk a war because of the Jesuits. Meanwhile Joyeuse got in touch with Aquaviva, the General of the Jesuits, who expressed his readiness for peace to be concluded regardless of his Order.<sup>2</sup> On April 1st the Pope dropped the question not indeed of the Jesuits' return, but of their immediate return.<sup>3</sup>

Even so they were very far from having cleared the ground of all obstacles. Everybody in Rome deemed the French terms of settlement humiliating. It was felt that if the French had acted in Venice in concert with the Spaniards and if jointly with the latter they had brought to bear on the Senate the pressure they were now applying to the Pope, affairs would be in a very different state. A compromise like the French one, Castro wrote, he could have secured himself without the aid of Joyeuse, and if the latter had not stood in his way either he or Fuentes would have succeeded in getting the objectionable laws repealed. Moreover on April 3rd it became known that on the occasion of the handing over of the two priests the Venetians were determined to make an express declaration that they meant to uphold their pretension that the two clerics were justiciable to their city. Hence arose fresh difficulties. Late at night Du Perron called once more on the Pope to give him a solemn assurance that Joyeuse would not make use of his powers of absolution unless the prisoners were surrendered without reservation. For the time being Joyeuse would absolve the bishops and prelates only in so far as their individual conscience was concerned, but not publicly.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 497 ; Delfino on March 29, in CORNET, 336.

<sup>2</sup> JUVENCIUS, P. V., I, 12, n. 119, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Nürnberger, 499 ; Circular of Aquaviva to his subjects of May 29, in PRAT, II., 514.

<sup>4</sup> Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 498 *seq.*

At last, on April 1st, Joyeuse, in conjunction with the French envoy Alincourt, was able to draw up two documents.<sup>1</sup> In the first it was stated that Alincourt, in the name of his king and in that of the republic, prayed for the repeal of the censures. It gave expression to the republic's deep regret for all that had happened, its eagerness to recover the Pope's goodwill and its readiness to give him every satisfaction. In the second document Joyeuse and Alincourt, in the name of Henry IV., pledged themselves as follows: The two prisoners shall be handed over to the Pope; Venice agrees not to apply the laws in dispute whilst the discussions are in progress; the protest against the interdict and the doge's letter shall be withdrawn simultaneously with the repeal of the censures; religious who fled because of the interdict are free to return; any proceedings taken against persons, or property by reason of the observance of the interdict, are declared null and void and compensation will be made. On March 10th Castro and Cardenas had pledged their king's word in respect to these same points and with the consent of the republic had prayed, in the king's name, for the removal of the censures.<sup>2</sup> An instruction to Joyeuse enumerates the conditions under which he is empowered to absolve the Senate. In addition to the non-application of the laws and the above mentioned promises, the Pope now demands the immediate despatch of an envoy to Rome.<sup>3</sup> In the event of no settlement ensuing the Pope was resolved to stiffen the existing censures.<sup>4</sup>

In point of fact fresh difficulties arose at once at Venice. Joyeuse had reached the city on Monday in Holy Week; by

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 499. Cf. Borghese to Barberini, April 4, 1607, in Nürnbergger, *Dokumente*, II., 262.

<sup>2</sup> Borghese, *ibid.*, 69.

<sup>3</sup> Nürnbergger, *Interdikt*, 498 *seq.* Brief for the absolution of April 4, 1607, in *Bull.*, XII., 388. The Spaniards in Rome *hanno fatto grandissimo rumore* when the settlement of the affair was put into the hands of Joyeuse (Borghese to Barberini on April 4, 1607, *Barb. lat.* 5913, p. 13, Vat. Lib.). Cf. also RINIERY, *Clemente VIII. e Sinan Bassà Cicala*, Rome, 1898, 209 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Borghese to Barberini, in Nürnbergger, *Dokumente*, II., 265.

Easter, so he thought, everything could be settled. However, whilst under this impression, the Cardinal had forgotten that beside the doge, the Senate and the Counsel of Ten there was yet another power in Venice, namely Sarpi, for whose hatred of Rome a settlement was most unwelcome. On his advice the Senate would not hear of a public absolution and of a public recantation of the former protest against the censures. This led to a further lengthy discussion and it was with the greatest difficulty that an agreement was come to at last. Saturday after Easter, April 21st, was fixed upon for the reconciliation.<sup>1</sup> Castro had been previously informed by the Senate of the terms of the settlement.<sup>2</sup>

No one can maintain that in this affair of the reconciliation the Senate showed the faintest trace of either dignity or magnanimity; on the contrary, no trick or artifice was too petty if by using it it was possible to whittle down and to lessen the value of what it could not help agreeing to. To begin with, early in the morning the two prisoners were handed over to the French envoy, at the Cardinal's lodgings. It was explained that this was done out of regard for the King of France and without prejudice to the jurisdiction of the republic over the two ecclesiastics. After that a deputation called upon the Cardinal to whom Fresne handed the prisoners; at this ceremony no mention was made of the jurisdiction of the republic.<sup>3</sup> Thereupon Joyeuse proceeded to the assembly hall of the Collegio where he absolved from

<sup>1</sup> Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 500 seq.

<sup>2</sup> CORNET, 25 seq.

<sup>3</sup> The Venetian notary on the surrender of the prisoners, in CORNET, 305 seq., cf. 253; Joyeuse, on the subject in Nürnberger, *Dokumente*, II., 76 seq. Joyeuse was able to report to Rome that the prisoners had been handed over to him *libere nullaque interposita neque in verbo neque in scriptis protestatione, conditione vel reservatione de facto* (Nürnberger, *ibid.*, 77). Only the Senate could also say the opposite and Joyeuse had made this possible (see CORNET, 246); on April 18 *restava* (*S. Signoria*) *contenta* in regard to the prisoners though he knew quite well what the Senate's conditions were (*ibid.*, 236, 237, 239, 241, 243).



their censures both the doge and the Senate represented by sixteen of its members. Thus the republic permitted an act by which it acknowledged the existence both of the excommunication and the interdict,<sup>1</sup> but, as was seen at once, it did so only with the intention of subsequently denying everything. In order that all might see that the interdict was at an end, the Cardinal resolved, immediately after the absolution, to say Mass with all possible solemnity, for until then, to the keen chagrin of the Senate, he had strictly observed the interdict.<sup>2</sup> To add to the annoyance of the Senate a vast concourse of people had assembled in the piazza of San Marco to await the arrival of the Cardinal. The Senate now ordered the main door to be closed. When Joyeuse was about to set out for St. Mark's he was told that the key could not be found; so he had to make his exit through a narrow postern gate. However, a dense mass of worshippers assisted at his Mass.<sup>3</sup> Finally the wording of the Senate's statement concerning the recall of its 'protestations' caused general indignation in Rome, for its most important paragraph was couched in these terms: 'Since both sides have done all that was required and the censures have been removed, the protest is likewise revoked.'<sup>4</sup> Obviously if the Pope no longer insisted on the censures Venice's protest was purposeless and the fact was disguised that an absolution had taken place and that the recall of the protest had preceded it. The document, in this form, was then broadcast by means of the printing press.<sup>5</sup> When the Pope complained, the Senate declared itself

<sup>1</sup> The proofs that Venice "had received a formal absolution from the papal legate" (Hinschius, *Kirchenrecht*, V., 537), in Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 503, 505 seq.; *Dokumente*, II., 356 seq., 360.

<sup>2</sup> Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 491, 493.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 501 seq. *J'ai eu de la peine à me garantir d'estre foulé*, Joyeuse wrote to Henry IV. on April 23, 1607. PRAT, II., 512.

<sup>4</sup> CORNET, 252; Lünig, II., 2019.

<sup>5</sup> \*L'istessa sera comparve una scrittura stampata piena d'un arrogante e simulata humiltà, la quale offese gli animi di tutti a la corte. . . . The Pope non si sarai mai aspettata una cosa



ready for further explanations, but opinion in Rome was that it was best not to insist. So it was deemed that enough had been done when Fresne and Joyeuse attested by an official written document that the protest had been revoked *previous* to the absolution.<sup>1</sup> Rome had likewise demanded the recall of a circular dealing with the interdict which the doge had addressed to the subjects of the republic. However, the Pope declared himself satisfied with an attestation of the Senate that it was not responsible for its publication.<sup>2</sup> In the letters of April 6th and 21st, Joyeuse had been instructed to exert himself on behalf of the Jesuits, but in this respect his efforts proved in vain. The Senate would inform the Pope, he was told, why it insisted on the continuation of the banishment of the Society.<sup>3</sup> The other Orders were allowed to return,<sup>4</sup> but they were to do so unostentatiously.<sup>5</sup> The Senate refused to draw up a formal document concerning the settlement; to do so would be against the laws of the republic, it was said, and a thing attested by a Cardinal and the envoys of two such great kings needed no further guaranty.<sup>6</sup> As a

tale. . . . The Venetians hanno proceduto con manifesto inganno. . . . Noi per ora procureremo che la verità si sappia, et a tale effetto si mandano a V. S. ill. le copie sudette. (Borghese to Barberini on May 1, 1606, *Barb. lat.*, 5913, p. 115, Vatic. Lib.) \*Per quella scrittura in stampa . . . e per altre dimostrazioni di poco rispetto e di una impenitenza espressa, ne andavano di mezzo la riputatione di N. S. On his complaining Joyeuse returned to Venice from the Abbey of Candidiana and from there he sent his secretary con una fede autentica che si era fatta la rivocazione del Manifesto prima che si venisse all' atto dell' assoluzione e che la scrittura in stampa era una diligenza aliena del negotio, che alla Republica era parso di fare con gl'Ecclesiastici del suo dominio. (Borghese to Barberini on May 29, 1607, *ibid.*, p. 144 seq.)

<sup>1</sup> Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 504, 507; *Dokumente*, II., 358-367.

<sup>2</sup> Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 500, 501, 507.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 501, 504.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 506.

<sup>5</sup> CORNET, 255, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 504.

matter of fact both kings confirmed by special letters all that their envoys had promised and performed and guaranteed the non-execution of the laws to which Rome took exception.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless when in the consistory of 30th April Paul V. gave an account to the Cardinals of what had taken place in Venice they were not given an opportunity to express their opinion for the Pope was afraid lest they should signify their disapproval.<sup>2</sup> The Senate had refused to observe the interdict for two or three days previous to the absolution<sup>3</sup> and just before the solemn Mass of Cardinal de Joyeuse several priests had been compelled to say Mass.<sup>4</sup> For two whole days the waiting rooms of the Cardinal were encumbered with priests and religious who flocked to him in order to get absolution from the censures they had incurred by their non-observance of the interdict, so that Joyeuse saw himself compelled to delegate his powers to ten suitable priests and these also found themselves surrounded by an extraordinary concourse. In this respect also the republic took counter measures lest the pressure it had exercised on consciences should become too evident. However, many priests refrained from saying Mass until they had received absolution and in this way the interdict was after all observed.<sup>5</sup> Joyeuse

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 507. \*Letter of Henry IV., Fontainebleau, May 3, 1607, in *Borghese*, I., 129, Papal Secret Archives; reply of Paul V., of May 29 (with recommendation of the affair of the Jesuits) in PRAT V., 240 seq. Cf. \* brief of May 25, 1607, in the *Epist. ad princ.*, I., 508, XLV., 1, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 505. Protocol of the Consistory, *ibid.* According to an anonymous diary the Pope said: che la Chiesa e la dignità ecclesiastica non haveva perso niente ma guadagnato molto, but havendo osservato circa l'essenziale tutte le cose più principali per non mettere in Italia una ruina così grande, haveva lasciato passare certe cose di poco momento. *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5 series, XVIII., 502.

<sup>3</sup> \*Borghese to Barberini on April 18, 1607, *Barb. lat.* 5913, p. 112, Vatic. Lib.; Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 501.

<sup>4</sup> Nürnberger, *ibid.*, 501, 502.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 505 seq.; *Dokumente*, 355.

informed the bishops and prelates by letter that they were absolved, though with certain limitations.<sup>1</sup> This letter made things awkward for the Senate, since it stated the fact that the republic had been absolved, and consequently, that absolution had been needed; accordingly the *locum tenens* of the bishop of Padua<sup>2</sup> received orders not to publish the document without the Senate's leave for it was enough that the censures no longer existed *de facto*; moreover he was to take care not to grant to any priest or religious power to absolve from the consequences of their non-observance of the interdict; let him soothe anxious consciences with this assurance, all the more as in Venice absolution was neither needed nor demanded by the Senate. Thus, by every means imaginable, did the republic vent its spite against the Pope.

At the time of the death of Cardinal Valier of Verona, who had always counselled peace with Venice, Villeroi had written to Cardinal Givry<sup>3</sup> that he regretted both the death of the Cardinal and the prolongation of the quarrel; that the latter would cause more injury to the Holy See and grief to the Pope than is realized by those who oppose the reconciliation. The successor of Paul V., Gregory XV., begins his instructions to the new nuncio of Venice<sup>4</sup> with these words: "The best results had been hoped for from the use of spiritual weapons which Paul V. took up for the defence of the Church's freedom, not for destruction but for building up; however, the existing evil dispositions towards them, the influence of persons who, by reason of their age and discretion were not entitled to as

<sup>1</sup> On May 2, 1607, in CORNET, 307.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of May 9, *ibid.*, 258, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> On June 30, 1606: Nous regrettons la mort du bon cardinal de Verone comme nous faisons la continuation du differend du Pape avec les Venetiens jugeans s'il dure qu'il preiudiciera plus au St. Siege et apportera plus de desplaisir à S. S. que ne s'imaginent ceulx qui s'opposent à l'accommodement d'iceluy. MS. 219, p. 107, of Metz Lib. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 105, 106, the \*letters of Henry IV. of June 19 and July 25, 1606; of Villeroi, May 5, 1606.

<sup>4</sup> Of June 1, 1621, published by ACHILLE GENNARELLI in *Archiv. stor. ital. N. Ser. VII.*, 1 (1858), 13-35.

much authority as they exercised, the inspiration of a man of genius for evil who exerted greater influence through his tongue and his friends than by reason of his position—all these things produced as many evils as would have been the case had these weapons been used at the worst periods of history. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction and discipline, respect for the Pope and the Apostolic See suffered such damage—to the no small danger of the Catholic religion—that instead of gain and recovery no small loss had to be registered.” Such an admission suggests a comparison with the action of Pius V. : like his successor that Pope had had difficulties with Venice of a similar nature,<sup>1</sup> yet notwithstanding his great zeal he could not make up his mind to take steps such as were taken by Paul V. If Paul V. had made a miscalculation, so had Venice.<sup>2</sup> The Senate imagined that it stood for the cause of all the princes as against the Pope, so that all the European powers would range themselves by its side. In this the Senate, or its advisor Sarpi, was mistaken : in the end the republic was forced to yield to the combined pressure of Spain and France. The very fact that it strove to deny, or to whittle down by unseemly tricks, the concessions it was finally compelled to make to the Pope, was the surest proof that the republic only yielded because it could not help itself. At the beginning, as a speaker in the Senate remarked, they were not afraid of the censures, on the contrary, they welcomed them, for if they now became an object of contempt, the power of Venice would be confirmed for all time.<sup>3</sup> But our republic, he adds, is more powerful in name than in reality.<sup>4</sup> A contemporary writer declares that Venice would

<sup>1</sup> Cf. our account, Vol. XVIII, 363 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Ranke (II.<sup>6</sup>, 231) sums up thus : ‘As a matter of fact it is easy to see that the points in dispute had been settled not quite as much to the advantage of the Venetians as is generally asserted.’

<sup>3</sup> Le quali ragioni sono state di tanto peso presso di noi, che facevano desiderabili non che temute le minacce delle censure credendo che sprezzate questa volta, fermassimo per sempre le cose nostre. In CORNET, 308.

<sup>4</sup> CORNET, 310.



never have allowed things to go as far as a war had the Pope seriously contemplated taking up arms.<sup>1</sup> At the close of his history of the interdict the Senator Antonio Quirini sets down the following twelve conclusions.<sup>2</sup> The event, he writes, has shown that the republic begins everything eagerly but fails to hold out; that wars in which religion enters are exceedingly dangerous; that in all contests with the Pope the latter has an enormous advantage over his opponents. Fourthly that nothing so jeopardizes the independence of the State as a misunderstanding with the Pope. Our forbears were well aware of the necessity of not rousing the Turk; of being on good terms with the Pope, of rewarding the good and punishing the wicked. These things, in their opinion, were the four wheels which must carry forward on the right road the chariot of a republic. The ship of our republic will be secure when, by means of a good understanding, it is anchored to the Church! In the ninth place Quirini points out to the merchants on the Rialto the losses incurred by them as a result of the quarrel, namely two millions in gold for armaments, the losses resulting from irregularities in the collection of taxes and the sixty thousand ducats annually paid to the army, and all to no purpose. His eleventh point is that all the calculations of the republic were wrong from the beginning. At first people thought the Pope would not really make use of the weapon of excommunication; then they imagined that no secular prince would take sides against Venice; lastly they fancied that at least the king of France would surely come down with his whole weight on the side of Venice as soon as Spain had decided to support the Pope. They were mistaken. Again people deceived themselves when, after the statement made by Spain, it was thought that the main purpose both of the Spaniards and the Pope was the oppression of the republic. Neither France nor Spain sought a real compromise; if they did, the attempt of the one must nullify that of the other; in a word, if in the end things did

<sup>1</sup> In Nürnbergger, *Interdikt*, 510.

<sup>2</sup> In CORNET, 337-9.

not go badly, it was all due not to the action of men, but to the kindly intervention of Providence. Quirini ends with an attack on the party of the youths who, during the struggle, had arrogated to themselves a preponderant rôle. Venice must maintain itself by prudence rather than by force of arms, hence the republic honours age and its maturity of judgment—at least it used to do so once upon a time.

## CHAPTER V.

### SARPI'S POLITICAL THEORIES AND HIS ATTEMPTS TO PROTESTANTIZE VENICE.

THE reconciliation between Rome and Venice was followed by an immediate resumption of diplomatic relations. On the very day of the absolution the Senate appointed Francesco Contarini as its representative in Rome.<sup>1</sup> The Pope received him in a most friendly way, embraced him, spoke of his affection and regard for the republic, declaring how the independence of Italy depended on an understanding between Venice and the Holy See ; he would not remember the past ; let everything be new and let the past be forgotten.<sup>2</sup> On his part the Pope also appointed a nuncio to Venice in the person of Berlingherio Gessi, bishop of Rimini. In his instruction the new nuncio<sup>3</sup> was bidden to display zeal and

<sup>1</sup> CORNET, 255 ; cf. 258. \*Brief with announcement of his arrival, of June 8, 1607, in the *Epist. ad princ.*, XLV., 3, Papal Secret Archives. \*Brief of the same day to Donato on despatch of nuncio, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> CORNET, 261. Already on November 3, 1606, Paul V. had said to Alincourt : che conosce benissimo i disordini che possono succedere e quanto convenga al servizio di tutta la Christianità il conservarsi in amorevole confidenza la S. Sede con la Repubblica (*ibid.*, 158). Cf. GIROLAMO CORDONI, \**Allegrezze della Chiesa cattolica nella riconciliazione del ser. senato di Venezia con la S. Sede Apostolica*, 1607, Bibl. Corvisieri in Rome ; Magnus Perneus, \**Opusculum super reversione Venetorum* (dedicated to Paul V., written June–September, 1607), *Barb.*, 3260, Vat. Lib.

<sup>3</sup> \**Instruzione al vesc. di Rimini*, dated June 4, 1607, often found in MS. ; I found it in Berlin, *Staatsbibl. Inform. polit.*, 10 ; Naples, *Lib. of Soc. di stor. patr.*, XXXIII, B 7505 ; Rome, *Bibl. Casanat.*, X., iv., 58, p. 149–169, *Cod. Barb.*, 5527, *Ottob.*, I., 426, 427 *seqq.*, *Urb.*, 867, p. 362 *seqq.* ; Venice, *Lib.*

manly courage as well as a gentle and conciliatory spirit. Venice was still under the impression of the distress the city experienced at the time of the censures inflicted by Sixtus V. and Julius II.<sup>1</sup>; consequently anyone with a glib tongue would easily persuade the people that the Popes sought to oppress the secular power by all the means they disposed of. As against these ideas the nuncio should stress the love of peace cherished by the Apostolic See. To peace the papacy owed its existence and increase; the Pope demanded no more than what was due to him, and he embraced the Venetians with fatherly affection. We all learn by experience, hence the nuncio must defend with impartiality and courage the interests of the Church in the face of too worldly-minded prelates, and the prelates themselves in the face of secular officials. At all times the Pope wished to see the Church's authority and power manfully defended by the nuncio; on the other hand he may not, without solid justification in law, meddle with things over which controversy might arise, for it may very well be a less evil not to start a controversy than to be defeated in it.<sup>2</sup> In particular Gessi must see to it that the Venetians carry out the promises made previous to the reconciliation and endeavour to secure the recall of the Jesuits.

As regards the reform in Venice the nuncio should particularly keep an eye on the bishops and the religious.

of St. Mark, CL, VII., *Cod. DCCCLXXVI*; Salzburg, *Studienbibl.*, V., F 94; Vienna, *Staatsbibl. Cod.* 6582, *Staatsarchiv, Handschr. Abt.* I quote according to the codex of the *Bibl. Casanatense*. Ranke (III.<sup>6</sup>, App., n. 79) used a copy of the *Bibl. Albani* which no longer exists.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. our account, Vol. III, 379 seq.; VI., ch. 10.

<sup>2</sup> \*di non abbracciare causa, che possa venire in contesa, dove non habbia ragione, perchè forse è minor male il non contendere, che il perdere (*Cod. Casanat.*, 166). The passage does not necessarily refer to the latest events of the period just passed (Ranke, III.<sup>6</sup>, 102\*), since it is also found in the instruction of the Venetian nuncio, Graziani, for his successor, Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini, in 1598. Cf. Lämmer, *Zur Kirchengeschichte*, 123.



For the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline at Venice the Patriarch Vendramin is the most important factor: he must present himself for examination in Rome. In Dalmatia, where the prelates have but slender revenues and but little standing in public opinion, the bishops were themselves at times the occasion of irregularities. The bishops of the Terra Ferma (the mainland) were more prudent. They were usually chosen from among the nobles and for that reason they were treated with greater respect by the officials. Gessi's instructions reproach the ecclesiastical judges with the same vice of which the secular judges were accused, namely that in Venice the study of the law was neglected and that the verdicts of the judges were arrived at through a mere instinctive sense of what was right, so that much arbitrariness prevailed. If then there is an appeal from episcopal judgments of this kind and if the bishops take sides against the appellant, the nuncio should, as a rule, favour the party which is in danger of suffering violence.

As regards the religious in Venice, the storm that recently broke out against them was due to the fact that they still refuse to accept the reform and for that reason seek the protection of the secular power. Examples of this have been seen even since peace was re-established, at Bassano and Bergamo, and the monks were still in the habit of appealing to the secular power. Both the regular and secular clergy of Venice are in sore need of reform for the city offers every occasion for sin as well as a large measure of impunity for the guilty.<sup>1</sup> But since strictness in dealing with the religious would be interpreted as revenge for their rebellion, the nuncio, as occasion may arise, should deal sharply rather with such as kept themselves free from such conduct. As for Sarpi and Marsiglio, let him see to it that they are handed over to the Inquisition.

It goes without saying that the Pope once more draws Gessi's attention to certain points which had long been objects

<sup>1</sup> \*Venetia somministra insieme e commodità grande ai delitti, e grande impunità (*loc. cit.*, 164 *seq.*).

of controversy between Venice and Rome: for instance, certain grievances in respect of the freedom of shipping in the Adriatic, the city of Ceneda, and the regulation of rivers which Venice had taken it on itself to carry out in the territory of Ferrara with a view to preventing the silting up of the lagoons.

It was no easy task to carry out these instructions. Only under duress had the republic agreed to a compromise. Now that by yielding it had averted the danger of war, the republic redoubled its arrogant attitude towards the Pope with a view to avenging itself for its humiliation. As it had done before, so now also it stuck to its contention that the censures had been invalid and that absolution had been neither needed nor imparted.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly the Venetian envoy in Paris zealously scattered copies of a pamphlet which appeared to prove that the Senate had not revoked the decree in which it protested against the interdict. In a letter, the contents of which his brother broadcast all over Paris, Cardinal Du Perron also seems to assert that the Pope gave his assent to the compromise simply because he was driven to it. Hence great joy among the Huguenots and all those who were ill disposed towards the Pope.<sup>2</sup> However, public opinion underwent a change when the nuncio published the text of the requests for absolution. In Rome itself an account was drawn up of the course of the discussions and the absolution.<sup>3</sup> This was sent to the nuncio for his information and for use in private conversation. Naturally the republic felt bound to issue a refutation of the account; to this end Sarpi had to put his ever ready pen at its disposal.<sup>4</sup> In that document the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> Ubaldini to Borghese, May 29, 1607, in Nürnbergger, *Dokumente*, 66, 364.

<sup>3</sup> In Nürnbergger, *ibid.*, 68-79. That the Roman presentment agrees with the acts, see *ibid.*, 78-80, 248-276, 354-367.

<sup>4</sup> *Informazione particolare dell'Accomodamento: Opere varie*, I., 137-144. In this work, Sarpi's obvious aim is to deceive the reader; his arguments are sophisms. The presentment of Sarpi

undesirable fact that absolution had been given is passed over in silence, just as it is in the protocols of the sittings of the Senate.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to commissioning him to press for a real execution of the settlement, Gessi's instructions contain a prominent paragraph in which he is bidden to exert himself in behalf of the return of the Jesuits to Venice.<sup>2</sup> The Pope did not cease to look on it as a point of honour not to abandon an Order that had sacrificed itself for him. In that spirit he earnestly represented to Contarini, the Venetian envoy, the injustice of an indiscriminate expulsion of all Jesuits.<sup>3</sup> Rumour had it that other princes were disposed to follow the example of Venice. In particular it was feared that Rudolph II. was about to banish the Jesuits, an act which in the opinion of Cardinal Borghese, would lead to the utter disruption of Catholicism in Germany. For this reason the French nuncio, Barberini, was instructed to urge Henry IV. to intervene on behalf of the threatened religious.<sup>4</sup> According to a letter of Ubaldini, who succeeded Barberini,<sup>5</sup> Henry IV. was very favourably disposed towards the Jesuits and on their account greatly irritated against Venice. Yet not even he met with any success: the Jesuits were destined to be banished from Venice for nearly fifty years. Another task laid on Gessi, one which it was not possible to carry out, was in regard to "those seducers, styled theologians", especially

has been followed many times until our own time; it is enough to mention: SCADUTO, 75 *seqq.*; Friedberg, *Grenzen*, II., 699; BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 183, etc.

<sup>1</sup> CORNET, 253 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, f. 152.

<sup>3</sup> \*Borghese to Gessi on August 25, 1607, *Nuntiat. div.*, 186, f. 79, Papal Secret Archives. About Jesuit property in Venice \**ibid.*, August 18 and September 8 and 22, 1607.

<sup>4</sup> È l'Imperatore quello che disegna venire a questa espulsione con la quale si distruggerebbe affatto la religione cattolica in Germania. Borghese to Card. Barberini, May 1, 1607, *Barb. lat.*, 5913, p. 118, Vat. Lib.

<sup>5</sup> To Borghese on February 5, 1608, in REIN, 113.

Sarpi and Marsiglio. The opinion in Rome was that after the reconciliation their being handed over to the Inquisition would meet with no difficulty and the new nuncio had been given verbal instructions in that sense.<sup>1</sup> However, only two days after the reconciliation, the republic had assigned to the State divines annual pensions of 100–200 ducats each.<sup>2</sup> It gave them its support now as in the past so that Gessi finally hit on the plan of seizing one or other of their number by force and taking him by sea into papal territory.<sup>3</sup> Authorities in Rome informed the nuncio that it would doubtless be impossible to get hold of the theologians or to compel them to flee without the act of force which he suggested, but they wished to know what would be the effect in Venice of violent measures seeing that the Senate protected and favoured its divines. The Pope would gladly cite them before the Inquisition, but what was to be done if, following the example of Sarpi, Fulgenzio and Marsiglio, they refused to obey? Would it not be a less evil to let things be rather than provoke a fresh rupture? <sup>4</sup>

However, an act of violence, far greater than the one here

<sup>1</sup> \*Instruction, *loc. cit.*, 156.

<sup>2</sup> CORNET, 255, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Gessi to Borghese, August, 4, 1607, in REIN, 54.

<sup>4</sup> \*Io credo bene che difficilmente s'havranno nelle mani nè si metteranno in fuga i falsi teologi di Venetia, se non si viene all'atto delle forze, che V. S. propone; ma essendo nel Senato la resolutione presupposta da lei stessa di favorirli e sostenerli, desidero d'intendere che effetto ella giudichi che possa partorire la violenza quando s'usi. Del chiamare li sudetti teologi al Sant' Ufficio, N. S. seria risoluto; nondimeno perchè furono chiamati fra Paolo, fra Fulgentio et il Marsilio, li quali se ne stanno nella loro contumacia con scandalo publico del mondo, intenderea volontieri S. B. da V. S., che consiglio si potesse pigliare, se non obediranno, e se sia minor male il procedere con dissimulatione finchè il tempo consigli altrimenti, per non venire a rottura o pur rompere doppo l'essersi disarmato, per non tollerare l'inobbedienza e il dispreggio. Conosce forse V. S. stando in fatti che questi estremi hanno li loro mezzi. (Borghese to Gessi, August 11, 1607; *Nuntiat. Liv.*, 186, f. 56<sup>v</sup>, Papal Secret Archives.



declined by the Pope, was now about to occur. Whilst Cardinal Du Perron, acting on instructions from Rome, was making a move for a reconciliation of the State divines with the Pope,<sup>1</sup> on 5th October, 1607, Sarpi was the object of a murderous attack in which he received three dagger wounds in the head.<sup>2</sup> Even if Rome had been ignorant of the consequences of force in any form, events were now to speak loud enough. Forthwith there arose in Venice such an outcry against the crime as if the doge himself had been attacked. The plot, it was said, had been hatched in Rome and by the Pope himself; the Collegio deliberated as to whether or not the nuncio should be arrested and his papers confiscated.<sup>3</sup> Sarpi himself, in a well-known pun, threw the blame on Rome when he said that the stiletto that had struck him was in the style of the Roman curia. Together with the text of the sentence pronounced against the culprits the Signoria sent an account of the attempt to Paris. In this story suspicion was thrown on the Pope and the Jesuits as having instigated the deed. The Venetian envoy in Paris, Foscarini, was a bitter enemy of the Holy See; consequently he did his best to spread this version especially among the Huguenots.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> \*Borghese to Gessi, October 13 and 20, 1607, *ibid.*, f. 146<sup>v</sup>, 152<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 205-229; V. STECCANELLA, in the *Civiltà Catt.*, 6 series, XII. (1867, 648-668). Declarations of witnesses in the trial of the assassins are published by A. Bazzoni in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 3 series, XII. (1870), 8-36.

<sup>3</sup> \*Se ne fa quel rumore che se ne faria, se il caso fosse successo nella persona del Doge. Ma quello che dà fastidio a noi è l'essersi sparsa malignamente una voce che la cosa venga da Roma e da N. S. istesso, e fino trattato in Collegio di far violenza al Nuntio e cercarli e levarli le scritture di che S. B. si sente molto offesa. (Borghese to the French nuncio Ubaldini, October 16, 1607, *Barb. lat.* 5914, p. 3, Vatic. Lib.) That the murderers fled to the palace of the nuncio and that the people gathered in front of the house in a threatening mood (BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 209) is an invention of Fulgenzio. (STECCANELLA, *loc. cit.*, 654.)

<sup>4</sup> G. degli Effetti to Borghese, November 12, 1607, in STECCANELLA, *loc. cit.*, 658. Cf. PRAT, Coton, III., 130.

The French nuncio, Ubaldini, saw himself compelled to give a positive assurance that it was very far from the Pope's mind to inflict on Sarpi the punishment he justly deserved by any other means than by a regular judicial procedure of the tribunal of the Inquisition; that the Pope desired his conversion rather than his punishment and would have granted him his pardon had Sarpi made it possible.<sup>1</sup> True, the assassins had not been molested after their escape into the Pontifical States, but then the same liberty is left to all who have committed no crime in the territory; the Venetian ambassador had not demanded their extradition, whereas even notorious highwaymen, notwithstanding the excesses committed by them in the Pontifical States, find a refuge in Venice.<sup>2</sup> Cardinal Pinelli remarked to the secretary of the

<sup>1</sup> \*A fra Paolo si saria dato il castigo che merita per li suoi eccessi, quando fosse venuto in mano del S. Officio, a procurarglielo per altra via tanto è lontano che S. S. habbia pur pensato, che anzi ha desiderato più tosto la sua emendatione che la pena, e con quella paterna benignità che è ben nota a V. S., l'havria ricevuto in grazia si egli se ne fosse reso habile. Il che si come è verissimo, così vedra V. S. diluere ogn'opinione in contrario, che, o gl'ambasciatori di Venetia o altri havessero cercato d'imprimere in Francia, dove viene per resiedervi quel Foscarini che era podestà di Chiozza e si mostra acerbissimo nemico della Sede Apost. in tempo dell'Interdetto (*Barb. lat.* 5914, *loc. cit.*, 4 *seq.*). \*Per l'accidente di fra Paolo avvertirà V. S. che non esca cosa da lei che habbia nè forma nè senso di giustificatione, anzi, se in publico o in privato si scuoprisse alcun rumore della voce popolare che correva di haver sospetto sopra di noi, dolgasi vivamente del sinistro giuditio mostrando che fra Paolo si saria ben punito severamente, se fosse venuto in potere dell'Inquisitione, ma che non siamo huomini sanguinari, e che N. S. ha desiderato che si riduca a penitenza (Borghese to Gessi, October 13, 1607, *Nuntiat. div.*, 186, f. 150, Papal Secret Archives). STECCANELLA, 667. Cf. \*Borghese to Barberini's representative in Paris, Calgaroli, on October 16, 1607, *Barb.* 5913; 263 *seq.*, Vat. Lib. On Foscarini, see REIN, 74.

<sup>2</sup> \*Borghese to Ubaldini, November 26, 1607, *loc. cit.*, p. 35 :  
\*Borghese to Gessi, October 20 and November 3, 1607, pp. 153, 162.

Venetian envoy in Rome that at no time could an instance be found of the Church having acted in so crooked and diabolical a fashion and only the lowest among the populace could entertain such a suspicion.<sup>1</sup> Paul V. himself declared to the Venetian envoy that if the attempt was the act of a zealot such zeal was ill-inspired and insane.<sup>2</sup> However, at Venice they obstinately stuck to their suspicion.<sup>3</sup> The Secretary of State, Borghese, sent explanations concerning the suspicions to which the attempt on Sarpi gave rise, not only to the French nuncio, but to other envoys as well.<sup>4</sup> That this should have been necessary was humiliating enough for the Holy See, but it need not surprise us too much. The

<sup>1</sup> In STECCANELLA, 663.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 666, n. 5. In view of a rumour to this effect, Cardinal Bellarmine had had Sarpi warned. *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4 series, LX. (1882), 156.

<sup>3</sup> \*Questi Signori continuano nella opinione che il fatto habbia origine da Roma, ancorchè li più prudenti lo vanno dissimulando. Ma nella mente loro è fisso nè gli rimuoverà. (Tommaso Palmegiani, secretary of the Venetian nuncio, to Aldobrandini, on October 27, 1607, *Nunziat. di Venetia*, 17, 245 (393), Papal Secret Archives). \*Molti senatori hanno grande sospetto che la cosa venghi da Roma et ne mormorano con brutte parole, e così anche il popolo ne resta grandemente alterato et mormorano di Roma. It is to be desired that on their entering the Papal States the assassins be arrested—that would stop the talk. Non ho dubbio che questo successo ha così inaspriti gli animi che per l'avvenire nelle negotiationi si otterrà qui poco (the same on October 6, 1607, *ibid.*, 246 (394)). The assertion of Brosch (I., 364) that the attempt originated with Cardinal Borghese, is not proven as the *Revue Critique*, 1880, 327, has already emphasized. Bertarelli (*Guida d'Italia dal Touring Club. Le tre Venezie*, I., Milano, 1920, 477) is very bold when he says that the assassins "came from the court of Rome".

<sup>4</sup> \*Se di fra Paolo fosse parlato con lei, sostenga la verità senza uscire dalli termini già prescritti e procuri di penetrare nell'istesso tempo come se ne parli alle persone pubbliche e se ne scriva all'ambasciatore. Borghese to Gessi, October 20, 1607, *Nunziat. div.*, 186, p. 153, Papal Secret Archives.

Venetian envoys to the various courts belonged for the most part to the school of Sarpi and in the spirit of their teacher they all worked against the Pope.<sup>1</sup> Moreover it was precisely the rulers of Venice who had accustomed the world to secret condemnations and executions, without any legal formalities<sup>2</sup>; hence it need not be matter for surprise if some people were disposed to believe that even the Pope would act in this fashion and in virtue of his supreme authority would declare Sarpi without the law. The fact is that, disgusted by Sarpi's deceitful conduct, more than one offer was made to the Pope to rid the world from such a "pest". But Paul V. always rejected such proposals with horror; he desired Sarpi's conversion, he was wont to say, not his death.<sup>3</sup> None the less in 1609, Sarpi's friends once more spread all over Italy

<sup>1</sup> \*L'arte dei ministri che stanno appresso li principi e sono della schola di fra Paolo e del Doge. Borghese to Ubaldini, July 7, 1609, *Barb. lat.* 5914, f. 634, Vat. Lib.

<sup>2</sup> In the sentence on the assassins of Sarpi we read: Chi prenderà e condurrà nelle forze ovvero ammazzera in alcun luoco suddito Ridolfo Poma, abbia ducati quattro mille (Steccanella, 665, n. 1).

<sup>3</sup> \*Ha parlato e replicato V. S. al re con gran verità e gran prudenza nelle materie di Venetia, dove si sono ben fabricate altre imposture e malignità insigni, ma non già la maggiore di quella che ha riferita Sua Maestà a lei et hanno fatto correre per tutta Italia gl' amici e protettori di fra Paolo, contro la vita del quale tanto è lontano che si sia machinato con saputa di N. S., nè per mezo di alcun servitore o ministro, ma detestò sempre Sua Beatitudine simili vie, et a diversi che si essibivano di levare quella peste dal mondo, non ha prestato orecchie, facendo loro rispondere che desiderava la sua conversione, non la sua morte, e per quello che a noi costa dell' ultimo accidente non si trattò nè di ferro nè di veleno contro fra Paolo, come si è divulgato per rendere odiosa S. S. e qualche cardinale e Roma istessa, ma di guadagnare un fraticello suo scrittore, che partendo da lui portasse con sè le sue scritture; e chi fece la diligenza la fece spontaneamente, e, come dice, per zelo. Borghese to Ubaldini on June 9, 1609, *loc. cit.*, p. 598 *seqq.*



rumours of fresh attempts on the part of the Pope against the life of the Servite friar.<sup>1</sup>

In general the letters of the Roman Secretary of State are full of complaints against the attitude of Venice. The conduct of the republic, he writes, is little better than it was previous to the compromise; the publication of blasphemous writings and speeches against the Holy See goes on and the people are given to understand that all the wrongs in the quarrel were on the Pope's side. Those who had written against the interdict are still in the pay of the Signoria<sup>2</sup> and Fra Fulgenzio, perhaps the worst of them all, occupies, with other members of his Order of a like stamp, the place of the Jesuits, both in their church and in their college.<sup>3</sup> Since the reconciliation, in many monasteries, new superiors have been appointed under the protection of the republic; however, the religious and the former superiors who during the interdict had been tools of the Signoria, refused to acknowledge their authority. Priests true to their conscience were prevented from returning to their churches and according to reliable rumours many ecclesiastics still lingered in gaol.<sup>4</sup> The Venetian envoys, for instance Contarini in Rome, spread the belief that the terms of the reconciliation were wholly in favour of the

<sup>1</sup> See n. 3. Cf. BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 239; REIN, 103. According to the \*report of Gessi, April 18, 1609, the instigators of the attempt of that time against Sarpi's life were two Servites; see *Nunziat. di Venetia*, 40, p. 119<sup>b</sup>. *Ibid.*, 40A, p. 203 seq.; an interesting \*report of Gessi, dated November 7, 1609, on Sarpi, Fra Fulgenzio, and other adherents. Papal Secret Archives (see App., n. 1 and 2).

<sup>2</sup> \*Borghese to the French nuncio Barberini on May 15, 1607, *Barb. lat.* 5913, p. 130, Vat. Lib.

<sup>3</sup> \*Borghese, *ibid.*; Joyeuse to Henry IV., May 3, 1607, in CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, III., 138.

<sup>4</sup> \*Borghese to Barberini, June 11, 1607, *loc. cit.*, 158 seq. As regards priests who were not allowed to return to their posts, see CORNET in *Arch. Ven.*, VI., 128 seq.

republic.<sup>1</sup> In the following year Borghese had again to complain of the favour shown to the State theologians by the government as well as the public sale of heretical writings and the banishment of priests and religious on the smallest pretext. Venice no longer showed any regard for ecclesiastical immunity,<sup>2</sup> though this had been the occasion of the quarrel with Rome; it even happened that priests were banished for their decisions in the confessional.<sup>3</sup> Religious whose rule obliged them to live on charity received such scanty alms that they often lacked necessaries, and that solely because they were loyal to the Apostolic See. In addition to all this the Senate defended many of its violent measures against the religious by alleging certain concessions granted by Cardinal Joyeuse; under this pretext, for instance, the Capuchin Paolo of Cesena had been prevented from holding a visitation of the monasteries of his Order.<sup>4</sup> There was no doubt about it, Joyeuse had exceeded his instructions.<sup>5</sup>

Henry IV., for whose ears these complaints were intended, and whose intervention was hinted at by the French envoy in Rome,<sup>6</sup> did at least this much that he sent as his envoy

<sup>1</sup> \*Ma io tengo che pochi prencipi e pochi huomini posti nella luce del mondo manchino della vera notitia di quello che è passato in tutto il negotio; is Borghese's comment, *loc. cit.*, 161.

<sup>2</sup> \*Borghese to Ubaldini, Barberini's successor, on March 4, 1608, *Barb. lat.* 5914, p. 104 *seqq.*, Vat. Lib. As against that in other respects the republic was most considerate. In no heretical city, so the Pope is informed, would anyone be allowed to pass from heresy to Judaism as it is done at Venice. \*Borghese to Gessi on June 14, 1608, *Nuntiat. div.*, 186, f. 365, f. 370, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>3</sup> Borghese gives an instance, \*October 14, 1608, *ibid.*, f. 372.

<sup>4</sup> \*Borghese to Barberini, July 24, 1607, *Barb. lat.* 5913, f. 212, Vat. Lib.

<sup>5</sup> \*Borghese to Barberini, May 15, 1607, *ibid.*, f. 131, and Nürnberger, *Dokumente*, II., 361.

\* \* "N. S. . . . conosce che nessuno cosa è più necessaria della costanza del re in voler che sia adempita da i Venetiani ogni conditione dell'accordo e rispettata quella S. Sede, in che ci assicura il Sign. d'Alincourt che S. Maestà starà salda, anzi ci

to Venice Champigny, a man devoted to the Holy See.<sup>1</sup> But to Champigny's representations the Senate replied with a series of reproaches against the Pope which in turn were stigmatized by the papal government as quite unjustified.<sup>2</sup> First among these grievances was this that, contrary to established custom, the tenth part of ecclesiastical revenues was not conceded to the Signoria. On this point Paul V. would not yield; he declared that he would not grant the tenth; the whole world would be astonished if he were to do so before the State divines had obeyed the summons to Rome.<sup>3</sup>

The keenest sorrow of the Pope was, however, the knowledge that now as before the friends of the Protestants were busy paving the way for Calvinism in Venice and, as a consequence, in the whole of Italy.<sup>4</sup> As a means to this end the English envoy Wotton was eager for a war with the Pope,<sup>5</sup> hence the compromise proved most unwelcome to him though in public, before the Collegio, he expressed the

ha fatto vedere una lettera della Maestà Sua, dove si riferiscono certi nuovi offitii, che haveva passati con l'ambasciatore della Repubblica." Borghese to Barberini, September 18, 1607, *Barb. lat.* 5913, p. 255, Vat. Lib.

<sup>1</sup> The Pope, so \*Borghese writes to Cardinal Spinola on October 31, 1607, had received relationi assai buone about him, *et in particolare che sia buon cattolico*; so it is hoped that he will show *migliori sensi* than his predecessor, il quale fu assolutamente Venetiano dal principio delle controversie sino al fine, et tale l'hanno giudicato i ministri più principali di quel re. Borghese, I., 251-3, f. 52 (46), Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> \*Barberini to Ubaldini, November 26, 1607, *Barb. lat.* 5914, p. 32 *seqq.*, Vat. Lib.

<sup>3</sup> \*Borghese to Gessi, May 10, 1608, *Nuntiat. div.*, 186, f. 316, Papal Secret Archives. \*Borghese on September 1 and 15, 1607, on Contarini's request for the *tenth*, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> \*Se conosce specialmente che i Venetiani vogliono aprire un'adito patente all'heresia da sovvertire tutta l'Italia. Borghese to Ubaldini on January 8, 1608, *Barb. lat.* 5914, p. 64, Vat. Lib.

<sup>5</sup> Wotton to Salisbury, June 8, 1606, in REIN, 49.

opposite view.<sup>1</sup> William Bedell, chaplain to Wotton since 1606, was of opinion that if the dispute had gone on for a few years longer, Venice would have broken with the Pope for ever; however, there was no need to despair of the future seeing that outstanding men, such as Sarpi and Fulgenzio, were at heart wholly bound to the new teaching.<sup>2</sup> The secret intrigues of the two Servites which constituted Bedell's hope were the nuncio's constant and heavy anxiety.<sup>3</sup> So far Protestantism could not be openly preached in Venice. On one occasion, when Gessi complained that some of the nobles frequented Wotton's house, the doge replied that if that was so he would have their heads cut off<sup>4</sup>; none the less Flemish and German merchants were in the habit of holding meetings in the house of the Zechinelli which were attended by Wotton and the State divines.

On these occasions hatred for the Pope and enthusiasm for the teaching of Calvin were freely expressed.<sup>5</sup> Moreover sermons were preached at Wotton's house,<sup>6</sup> though, owing to the indifference in matters of religion of the upper classes in Venice, these were but sparsely attended. For this reason Wotton made arrangements for some public lectures on political science which he hoped would prove more injurious to Catholicism.<sup>7</sup> Heretical books also were smuggled into the city, Wotton himself getting two cases of such works. When the Venetian envoy in Paris, Pietro Priuli, a friend of Sarpi's, returned from France, Protestant writings were discovered in four bundles of his luggage. These had been collected by Biondi, Priuli's secretary.<sup>8</sup> Gessi protested in

<sup>1</sup> April 4, 1607, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 55. According to Wotton, Sarpi had taken the preacher Bedell to his heart and confided his innermost thoughts to him (*ibid.*, 56, n. 1; *cf.* 30, n. 2).

<sup>3</sup> REIN, 58, 60.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 57, 59.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 68 *seq.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 73. *Cf.* PRAT, III., 131 *seq.*



vain ; when he complained to the Senate of the Protestant sermons of Bedell, some of the senators merely laughed and wagged their heads<sup>1</sup> ; the doge declared that permission had been given for these lectures on political science.<sup>2</sup> The doge would not listen to the nuncio's complaint concerning Priuli's " secretary " Biondi and his Protestant books on the plea that there was no " secretary " of the name of Biondi ! The explanation is that Biondi had not been officially appointed by the republic but had been employed by Priuli at his own expense !<sup>3</sup>

In the spring of 1608, Wotton judged the time favourable for an attempt to found a Protestant community in Venice.<sup>4</sup> However, the undertaking proved abortive. Diodati, who had translated the Bible into Italian and whom Wotton had summoned to Venice in the capacity of preacher, deemed it expedient to make an early departure before he had accomplished anything.<sup>5</sup> However, his journey was not altogether without result for it established fresh contact between Sarpi, the really leading statesman of the republic of San Marco and the two heads of the Calvinistic revolutionary party, namely Philippe du Plessis Mornay and Christian of Anhalt, men who both nursed far-reaching plans.

Mornay, the " Huguenot Pope ", was wholly taken up with the idea of linking all the Calvinist powers in one universal federation and by means of a military campaign of such a league to destroy the papacy in its very seat, Rome. Christian of Anhalt, in the interests of Protestantism, worked for the downfall of the house of Habsburg ; he had already succeeded in uniting many Protestant princes in a separate league, the so-called Union of 1608, with a view to the execution of his

<sup>1</sup> REIN, 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>5</sup> Diodati to Christian of Anhalt on November 22, 1608, in Ritter, *Union*, 130 *seqq.* ; to Mornay on January 8, 1609, in the latter's *Mémoires*, X., 268-276. Cf. PRAT, III, 139 *seqq.*

designs. By its position, in the rear of the Habsburgs and facing Rome, a Protestant Venice would have been an invaluable asset for Mornay and Anhalt alike, hence they were both urged by Diodati to ascertain how matters stood with regard to the Protestant leanings of the Venetians. A letter of Diodati to Achatius von Dohna prompted Anhalt, in 1608, to despatch Christopher von Dohna to Venice for the purpose of gathering information, especially through Sarpi, concerning the religious situation there. Diodati's request that a French ecclesiastic should accompany him on his journey to Venice was agreed to and Mornay assigned to him not a priest, but the young French nobleman, David Siques; at Venice the indefatigable enemy of Rome would be able to bring pressure upon King James through Wotton and on the Signoria through Sarpi for the realization of his great plan. A letter of Mornay<sup>1</sup> charges Siques to work for an alliance with England and Holland, which France would perhaps join. The object of the alliance was to break the tyranny of Rome and to undermine superstition and idolatry. A letter of Mornay to Wotton is couched in most hopeful language; the fall of Babylon, which had been foretold by the Angel of the Apocalypse, was at hand; then, like the old man Simeon, he too would gladly depart from this world.<sup>2</sup>

Dohna and Siques achieved as little in the political sphere as Diodati had done in the religious life of Venice; nevertheless their reports give us a good insight into the plans and intrigues of the friends of Protestantism in that city. Sarpi proved extremely disappointing to Diodati. On his arrival in the city of the lagoons he still hoped for everything from the famous Servite; but when he conferred with him all his hopes vanished. Sarpi, without doubt, was a good hater; but that which actuated him was the icy hate of a cool scholar; he lacked the impassioned fire which makes the popular leader and sways the masses. To Diodati's adjura-

<sup>1</sup> Of August 1, 1608, in MORNAY, *Mémoires*, X., 236 seq.

<sup>2</sup> REIN, 88 seq.

tion to come out in the open and to enter upon a struggle with Rome Sarpi only replied with tears ; he could not, so he explained, show himself before the whole world as a friend of the Protestants ; as advisor of the government, and under his friar's cowl, he could more effectively undermine the Pope's authority ; God, he added, only looked to the heart, hence an open avowal was not required.<sup>1</sup> Burrowing, not daring, was Sarpi's forte. To Dohna<sup>2</sup> he lamented the fact of his being forced to do many things against his will, such as saying Mass ; he did so as rarely as possible, but since Rome had excommunicated him he could not leave off, lest he should give the impression that he recognized the excommunication ; besides, he had orders from the government to do so.<sup>3</sup> Sarpi, as he remarked to Dohna, thought it desirable for the German princes to maintain agents with the Signoria with a view to their making propaganda in favour of Protestantism both in private conversations and by means of printed sheets.<sup>4</sup> Each month some fifty copies of a broadsheet should be printed by the British envoy in which a covert attack would be made on some point of Catholic teaching or practice. Sarpi himself volunteered to write an essay of this kind every fortnight. After a while people would surely say : ' All these errors have the Pope for their author, hence we must free ourselves from his authority.'<sup>5</sup> No one could prevent the German merchants in Venice from maintaining a preacher of their own,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 95. Bedell (see above, p. 197) had hoped, as a result of the attempt on Sarpi, that it would wake him up and " put some more spirit into him, which is his only want ". *Dictionary of National Biography*, IV., 106.

<sup>2</sup> In Ritter, *Die Union und Heinrich IV. (Briefe und Akten, II)*, 78 ; cf. 87.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 78. According to Diodati's report, Sarpi and his associates omitted in the Canon of the Mass *alcuni più intollerabili parole e parti*, heard confessions, but used the sacrament for their purposes (*ibid.*, 131). Sarpi was never relieved from the special excommunication, by name, which had been pronounced against him.

<sup>4</sup> Ritter, 79, 80.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

for the Inquisition was powerless against foreigners. At first let the sermon be in German, the rest will follow of its own accord<sup>1</sup> and the time will come when a common profession of faith will have to be drawn up for the churches of England, Switzerland, the Palatinate and Geneva.<sup>2</sup> For the rest Diodati confirms Gessi's report to Rome concerning the attitude of the Signoria: according to what Sarpi had told him more priests had been executed since the settlement than in any previous twenty-five years.

At Naples, the republic of St. Mark was represented by a friend of Sarpi, who was doing his utmost to increase the tension between Venice and the Holy See.<sup>3</sup> The Roman authorities were accurately informed of these intrigues. Through the nuncio at Naples they sought to bring pressure to bear on the viceroy, by pointing out how the encroachment of the government of Naples on the province of the Church was calculated to encourage Venice to act in like manner<sup>4</sup> and that it would be fatal for Spain and the loyalty

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>2</sup> To Christian von Anhalt, November 22, 1608, *ibid.*, 132.

<sup>3</sup> \*Il segretario che risiede costì per li Venetiani scrive a Venetia lettere piene di veneno per nudrire le differenze tra la republica e questa Santa Sede e fa altre male opere in altri modi. Dicalo però V. S. al Sig. Vicere per suo avvertimento, specificandoli d'haver ordine da me, anzi da S. Beatitudine istessa, e che l'avviso è securissimo se bene conviene forse non publicarlo, e dica di più che l'istesso segretario è della scuola di fra Paolo Servita che non solo come nemico della predetta Santa Sede, ma come heretico procura d'introdurre l'heresia in Venetia. Borghese to the bishop of Città di Castello, nuncio in Naples, on February 6, 1609. Libr. of Stuttgart, 181. \*Exhortation to the nuncio to watch the secretary unostentatiously; February 14, 1609, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> \*Quanto al segretario di Venetia non lasci già V. S. di dire al predetto Signore (the viceroy) in buona congiuntura che gli esempi delle violenze che patisce la giurisdizione ecclesiastica in regno, rendono più audaci i Venetiani e che per questa causa hanno non minor scrupolo nel commettere tante loro esorbitanze. Borghese on February 20, 1609, Bibl. of Stuttgart, 181.



of its Italian subjects if heresy were to find acceptance in Italy.<sup>1</sup>

Although, in view of the circumstances, Sarpi put his hopes in his underground efforts, he nevertheless did not lose sight of the possibility of a sudden and complete rupture between the republic and the papacy. A war, so he fancied, might bring about such an eventuality and, as is seen from his remarks to Dohna, he did not shrink from the thought of causing a general war and, with the help of the Turks, from causing a wholesale conflagration of Christendom if thereby he could advance his pet scheme. Let the Turkish fleet show itself before Granada; the Moriscos, whose numbers exceeded a million, would surely revolt. A fresh dispute between the Pope and Venice may be expected; Spain would side with the Pope, France and England with the republic and the struggle for Milan would break out anew; Holland was still at war with Spain; Savoy and, through the mediation of the Swiss cantons, the German Protestant princes, would be drawn into a league with Venice.<sup>2</sup> From Sarpi's correspondence it becomes clear that the man who was reputed to have the welfare of Italy so very much at heart, actually wished its territory to become the scene of war, for in that event heretical soldiery would sweep over the peninsula and two years would suffice to wipe out the papacy.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> \* trattandosi dell'interesse commune di tutt'i precinci catholici e più strettamente di quello del re che ha tanti Stati in Italia ne i quali occorre dubitare che non perdesse o se gli diminuisse l'obediienza quando fossero contaminati dall'heresie, sarà conforme non meno alla prudenza che alla pietà di S. Eccellenza che ne scriva in Spagna di dove può venire il remedio più efficace che da ogni altre parte. Borghese, March 13, 1609, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Ritter, *Die Union und Heinrich IV. (Briefe u. Akten, II.)*, 85. Diodati too saw in an Italian war the means of introducing the gospel; see PRAT, III., 156. Giovanni Battista Padavino stayed at Zürich, 1606-7 on a commission from Venice, but he failed to bring about a formal alliance; see *Dierauer*, III., 453.

<sup>3</sup> REIN, 190. The letters published by Benrath (on the whole they are unimportant) which Sarpi wrote to Dohna from September 5, 1608, onwards, are full of warlike rumours, wishes and

However, so far there was but little prospect of a war on Italian territory. For the year 1609, those Venetians who favoured Protestantism set their hopes on Sarpi's pupil and brother in religion, Fulgenzio Micanzio. A man of immoral life and secretly an apostate from the Catholic faith,<sup>1</sup> Fulgenzio possessed the daring and passion which were wanting in his master whose foxy nature led him to work underground rather than in the open.<sup>2</sup> From Fulgenzio's Lenten sermons Bedell, who had read them before they were delivered, expected decisive results.<sup>3</sup> Fulgenzio was well known in Rome; he had gone on preaching during the interdict and since then he had not changed his conduct in the slightest degree. His audacity, Cardinal Borghese writes in 1607, is beyond all bounds<sup>4</sup> and a year later he describes him as a

proposals. However, to Sarpi's annoyance, Spain stood on the side of the Pope (Benrath, 21); from James I. there are only promises (*ibid.*, 38, 53; *cf.* 24; see also the subsequently satirical comments on James I. in CASTELLANI, *Lettere*, 26, 45, 61); and Henry IV. does not want to see Protestantism established in Venice (Benrath, 53). One comfort for Sarpi is the Protestant Union in Germany (sento grandissima allegrezza che l'Unione dei Protestanti sta bene, on July 7, 1609, *ibid.*, 38). When the death of Duke Francesco of Mantua, in 1612, threatened to become the signal for warlike complications, Sarpi wrote on May 3, 1613 (*ibid.*, 62): A Roma questi successi appena si sanno et non ci si pensa punto, con tutto che forse a loro tocca più che ad altri, portando la guerra pericolo grande d'introdurre la religione riformata.

<sup>1</sup> He complains that "he needs must stick in the superstitious, idolatrous Church". He would have escaped to Geneva had not Sarpi restrained him (Dohna, in Ritter, *Union*, 82). On Fulgenzio's immorality—he had *filios et filias* (SIRI, I., 439)—see the note from *Cod. CL.*, n. 6189, of the *Collezione Foscarini* in Tom Gar in *Arch. stor. ital.*, V. (1843), 414; other notes about him: BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 449; A. FAVARO in *N. Arch. Veneto*, XIII. (1907), 25.

<sup>2</sup> See REUMONT, *Beitrag*e, II., 170 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> REIN, 106 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> \*Borghese to Gessi, *loc. cit.*, f. 293, Vat. Lib.

formal heretic.<sup>1</sup> During his stay in Rome the Patriarch of Venice, Vendramin, was pressed to forbid Fulgenzio to preach, but in his terror of the Signoria all he found it in his heart to say was that it was a long time till next Lent and that a way out would be found.<sup>2</sup> The way out was not discovered and in Lent, 1609, that Calvinist in a friar's habit went into the pulpit and there expounded to his hearers his own Calvinistic tenets as if they were the teaching of the Catholic Church. In doing so he acted in full accord with his master: "This is the line we take," Sarpi observed to Dohna,<sup>3</sup> "we expound the truth of the gospel but without saying that the Catholic Church teaches the opposite. In this way only Protestants understand us whilst the others feel satisfied with our preaching." As a matter of fact Fulgenzio's praises were sounded throughout Venice: he was extolled as a man of great merit, one who preached Catholic doctrine and who deserved every commendation and reward.<sup>4</sup> At that time Paul V. feared the worst on the part of the republic; in fact he was debating whether the welfare of Italy required that the power of Venice should be broken with the help of the Spanish arms, for it had become evident that nothing would be achieved by censures alone.<sup>5</sup> On his part, and in his

<sup>1</sup> \*Fra Fulgentio compagno e allievo di fra Paolo, che se bene manca della dichiarazione di Roma, lo dichiarono nondimeno heretico formale i suoi scritti, i quali sono forse peggio in alcune parti di quelli del suo maestro. Borghese to Gessi, July 12, 1608, *loc. cit.*, f. 386.

<sup>2</sup> \*Borghese to Gessi, August 16, 1608, *loc. cit.*, f. 421; cf. REIN, 106 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Ritter, 79.

<sup>4</sup> \*Borghese to Ubaldini, March 31, 1609, *loc. cit.*, p. 503, Vat. Lib. List of propositions of Fulgenzio which the Roman Inquisition, in 1610, declared either to be heretical or blame-worthy, in REIN, 218 *seqq.* \*Borghese, March 21, 1609, prays Cardinal Spinola to have the sermons of Fulgenzio accurately taken down in writing (*Borghese*, I., 251-3, f. 43, Papal Secret Archives).

<sup>5</sup> Aytona to Philip III. on March 31, 1609, in Gindely, *Rudolf II.*, Vol. I., 276 note; \**Relacion del Marques de Aytona al Conde de Castro de cosas de estado de su tiempo*, of June, 1609, Arch. of Spanish Embass., Rome, I., 28.

capacity as a statesman, Sarpi also played a double game. Thus the Signoria was not allowed to know that if, for instance, he advocated a league with Holland it was with the secret desire of thereby paving the way for the reformed teaching, or that a similar plan had prompted his wish for the presence in Venice of agents of the German princes.<sup>1</sup>

Such tortuous means may have served to prepare the way, they could not of themselves bring about decisive success. The bulk of the people did not understand Fulgenzio's sermons, or they attached a Catholic meaning to them. Agents, however, of the Protestant powers appeared in Venice; thus in 1609 and 1610, John Baptist Lenck represented several German princes and since 1609, Cornelius van der Myle was the envoy of the States General. In 1620, a treaty of commerce was concluded between Holland and Venice; nothing, however, transpired as regards any success of the two agents in the religious sphere.<sup>2</sup> Greater zeal was being shown since 1608 by Biondi, the former secretary of the Venetian ambassador in France. Biondi had gone to England for the express purpose of offering his services to the English king. He is probably the author of a memorial advocating the formation of a league of all Protestants, under the leadership of James I., for the purpose of fighting the papacy chiefly in Italy itself. The king was asked to provide stipends for preachers in Venice and to found seminaries for the training of such men in England and in the Valtellina. These plans, which never got beyond the stage of mere plans, must probably be traced back to Sarpi himself.<sup>3</sup>

As a matter of fact Sarpi's hopes of a Protestant Venice were pretty well at an end about this time. Opinion had gradually veered round in favour of the Pope. Immediately after the reconciliation with the Holy See, Marcantonio Capello, one of the seven divines who had jointly worked against the interdict, had fled to Rome for the purpose of

<sup>1</sup> REIN, 191 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 115-124, 168; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 358 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> REIN, 72 *seq.*, 97, 150.



making his peace with the Pope. In the following year the Franciscan, Fulgenzio Manfredi, who had shouted louder than any one of them against the Curia, took a similar step and towards the close of the year he was followed by the Vicar General, Ribetti, another of the seven signatories of the pamphlet against the interdict.<sup>1</sup> In 1609, the Venetian envoy in Rome, Contarini, a partisan of Sarpi, was recalled and his place taken by Giovanni Mocenigo, a man well disposed towards the Pope and who had successfully worked for a compromise in the dispute between Paul V. and the republic over the abbey of Vagandizza.<sup>2</sup> On the representations of Henry IV. and at the request of Mocenigo, the Pope now granted Venice the tenth which he had refused until then.<sup>3</sup>

That same year the King of France rendered a signal service to the Curia. To one of his colleagues Diodati had given a glowing account of his journey to Venice.<sup>4</sup> There existed in Venice, so he wrote, a strong leaning towards the new teaching; the sermons of Fulgenzio were a blow to

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 64 *seqq.*, 67. Capello now dedicated to the Pope his essay *\*Nuovo et corretto parere delle controversie fra il S.P. Paolo V. e la repubblica di Venezia*, Vat. Lib. 7089. On the efforts of Paul of Sulmona, in November, 1606, to reconcile the State divines to Rome, see CORNET in *Arch. Ven.*, V. (1873), 265 *seqq.* As a matter of fact Fulgenzio Manfredi did not persevere and on July 5, 1610, he was hanged and burnt as a relapsed heretic, after one more recantation, *cf.* R. GIBBINGS, *A Report of the Proceedings in the Roman Inquisition against Fulgentio Manfredi*, London, 1852; RULE, II., 218 *seq.*; G. MERCATI in *Miscellanea di storia e cultura ecclesiastica*, V. (1907), 441 *seqq.* The verdicts of the Inquisition against him, of December 13, 1608, and July 4, 1610, in GIBBINGS, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Borghese to Ubaldini, June 23, 1609, *loc. cit.*, p. 614, Vat. Lib., and September 14, 1609, in Lämmer, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 77. *Cf.* BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 242, 253; *Notices et extraits des MSS. du Roi*, VII., 2, Paris, 1804, 303 *seqq.*; PRAT, III., 157 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Borghese to Ubaldini, November 10, 1609, and January 5, 1610, in Lämmer, *Melet.*, 265 *seq.*, 270 *seq.*; to the Spanish nuncio, November 13 in Lämmer, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 82 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> On May 8 (1609), printed by REIN, 226.

the Pope which it will be impossible to make good ; if Fulgenzio could preach every Sunday, the battle would soon be won ; the greatest freedom of speech obtained in Venice ; the Calvinistic books were read and the Pope's conduct and teaching were the objects of universal condemnation. This letter came into the hands of Henry IV. Now the French King was a friend of the republic. He frequently warned Rome not to drive Venice, by harsh measures, into the path taken by England. A Protestant Venice, however, did not fit into his political scheme for he did not wish the French Huguenots to derive new strength from a league with a Calvinistic Signoria.<sup>1</sup> Hence this letter greatly annoyed the king and he ordered Champigny, his envoy, to read it to the assembled Senate of Venice. Nothing could be worse for Sarpi and Fulgenzio than their being so completely unmasked by their talkative friend and things becoming public property of whose success silence was the first condition. The effect of the letter was immediate, during the reading one of the Senators turned deadly pale whilst another strove in vain to prove that the document was a forgery. The Senators who were favourable to the Pope now waxed more bold. Fulgenzio was forbidden to preach and Sarpi's prestige suffered a first set-back.<sup>2</sup> Paul V. thanked the King of France in an autograph letter.<sup>3</sup> From this time onwards forebodings of the approaching fall of the learned Servite increased. Many of his letters to Huguenots came into the hands of the French nuncio<sup>4</sup> ; they contained clear proof of the writer's heretical sentiments.<sup>5</sup> However, neither Gessi nor the Curia

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>2</sup> Ubaldini to Borghese, October 13, 1609, Lämmer, *Melet.*, 226, n. 1. Cf. PRAT, III., 159-171 ; G. DANIEL, *Hist. de France*, XIV., Amsterdam, 1742, 465 *seqq.* ; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 363 *seqq.* ; REIN, 135-141. An inaccurate account by Lenck (from the lips of Sarpi) in Ritter, *Union*, 463, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> PRAT, III., 167 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> REIN, 159 *seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> *È eretico formale*. Borghese to Ubaldini, January 23, 1610, in Lämmer, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 78. Cf. BALAN, VI., 669 *seqq.*

judged it opportune to show these documents in Venice<sup>1</sup> for the republic was still unwilling to dispense with the services of the clever friar.<sup>2</sup>

None the less the unlimited freedom he had hitherto enjoyed in the use of the State archives was now limited to ecclesiastical documents<sup>3</sup> and he himself felt the need of greater reserve in his intercourse with the Protestants.<sup>4</sup> His epistolary correspondence with the French Huguenots, of which until then the Venetian envoy in Paris, Foscarini, had been the intermediary, was rendered exceedingly difficult after the latter's recall.<sup>5</sup> His correspondence with Mornay ended about the year 1612.<sup>6</sup> As early as 1609, his patron Wotton had been on the point of leaving Venice when the Signoria banned the book in which James I. defended the oath of allegiance.<sup>7</sup> At the close of 1610, Wotton was recalled by his King.<sup>8</sup> He returned indeed twice to Venice, as ambassador,<sup>9</sup> but Bedell no longer accompanied him and it

<sup>1</sup> REIN, 160, 164. Borghese to Ubaldini, January 31, 1612, Lämmer, *Melet.*, 309. Efforts to get Bruslart, the French envoy in Venice, to take steps, see REIN, 165 *seq.* Cf. Ubaldini on September 11, 1612, in Lämmer, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 308, n. 1; Letter of Brèves, the French ambassador in Rome, of April 14, 1613, in PRAT, V., 316; Villeroi to the French ambassador De Léon (of January 5, 1613?), *ibid.*, 313 *seq.* On Sarpi, 1612, see *Atti di Romagna*, XVIII. (1900), 89 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> PRAT, III., 422, V. 316. When the nuncio requested the Inquisition of Venice to publish a list of forbidden books drawn up by the Roman Inquisition, the Senate first asked for Sarpi's opinion. The Senate to its Roman envoy on December 10, 1616, *Cal. of State Papers*, Venice, XIV., 374.

<sup>3</sup> REIN, 163.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 161. On Foscarini and his tragic fate see REUMONT, *Beiträge*, II., 155-184.

<sup>6</sup> REIN, 167.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 162 *seqq.* Sarpi feared in 1609 that James might replace Wotton by a Catholic; see PRAT, III., 144.

<sup>8</sup> REIN, 148.

<sup>9</sup> In the years 1616-1619 and 1621-3. SMITH, I., 144 *seqq.*, 176 *seqq.*

does not appear that at that time he took any great interest in the Calvinists of the city.<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime Paul V. did all he could in order to win over the republic of St. Mark by kindness. His gentleness increasingly impressed the Venetians.<sup>2</sup> True, the violence of the republic against priests that remained loyal to the papacy from time to time revived the hopes of the friends of Protestantism that yet another break with Rome might occur. However, to the bitter chagrin of Sarpi, Paul V. acted with wisdom and restraint.<sup>3</sup> By degrees the friends of the papacy secured the ascendancy in the Senate<sup>4</sup> and Sarpi himself thought it advisable to hide his hatred of the Pope.<sup>5</sup> The doge Donato remained obstinate, but in 1612 he was carried off by death.<sup>6</sup>

Once again the hopes of those who favoured Protestantism even in Venice rose high as Henry IV., now leagued with the Calvinists of Germany, was preparing to deal a mortal blow to the house of Habsburg. However, when the dagger of an assassin put a sudden end to the French king's life Sarpi wrote that "the only hope of Christian freedom" had vanished.<sup>7</sup>

Even now Mornay refused to give up hope. The disputes of Rudolph II. with his brothers and his Protestant subjects, so he fancied, might yet prove useful to the Protestants of Venice.<sup>8</sup> With this in mind he commissioned the Pole,

<sup>1</sup> REIN, 167.

<sup>2</sup> Borghese to Ubaldini on September 14, 1609, Lämmer, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 77. Complaint that the Pope's kindness is abused: Borghese to Ubaldini, January 23, 1610, *ibid.*, 78 seq.; TARQ. PINAORO, *Modo che Paolo haveria da tenere perchè Venetiani fossero più ossequenti*, *Riv. di biblioteche*, XXV., 78.

<sup>3</sup> Wotton to Mornay, March 17, 1609, *Mémoires*, X., 294. Cf. *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 397; PRAT, III., 156 seq.

<sup>4</sup> REIN, 142.

<sup>5</sup> BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 355 seq.

<sup>6</sup> REIN, 165.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.

<sup>8</sup> As early as December 8, 1609, Sarpi wrote to Mornay: *S: Stiria libertatem religionis adipisceretur, vulnus esset meretrici gravissimum*; see MORNAY, *Mémoires*, X., 450.



Rey, to visit Venice and Sarpi and then also Germany.<sup>1</sup> However, the governor of Moravia, Charles von Zierotin, a keen Protestant on whom Mornay relied, found himself compelled to explain that the archduke had made a Protestant rising impossible so that even the bravest in the land would not dare to forward the designs of Mornay.<sup>2</sup>

The next few years brought fresh disappointments. Sarpi's wish to see Protestant soldiery in Italy was fulfilled when in the war of the Uscocchi against central Austria, the republic entered into an alliance with the States General (Holland). Even Sarpi could not wish for fiercer enemies of the Papacy than the Dutch mercenaries. When the league with the republic of St. Mark was concluded, the Dutch Protestants boasted that now they would drive the Pope from Rome and depose him; that this and the introduction of their tenets, would be the fruit of the war in Italy. Bibles in Italian and copies of the Catechism of Heidelberg were already being printed in Holland for distribution in Venetian territory.<sup>3</sup> However, in the end even Sarpi had to confess that the presence of Dutch troops had been of little advantage to the spread of Calvinism in Italy.<sup>4</sup> Sarpi was assuredly mistaken when on occasion he claimed that there were 10,000, or even more, Protestants in Venice<sup>5</sup>; as a matter of fact apostacy from the ancient Church ended more often in complete infidelity than in Protestantism.<sup>6</sup> Be this as it may,

<sup>1</sup> *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 395 seq.; REIN, 151.

<sup>2</sup> CHLUMECKY, I., 795 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Reports of the Brussels nuncio, Gesualdi, to Borghese, December 3 and 17, 1616, and February 18, 1617, in BROM, *Archivalia*, I., 2, 945 seq., 948.

<sup>4</sup> REIN, 168.

<sup>5</sup> Ritter, 77, 82. Lenck spoke of 300 nobles and 15,000 other Protestants in Venice; see REIN, 120.

<sup>6</sup> REIN, 79. "Au lieu d'esclaircir les ignorants, il (the 'pure' gospel) les a entretenus davantage en leur ignorance . . . et la plus grande part des clairvoyans, abandonnant tout à fait les superstitions, se sont laisser glisser en pur athéisme." ASSELINEAU to Mornay, August 16, 1611, *Mémoires*, XI., 267. Cf. *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 396; PRAT, III., 411.

Sarpi's efforts to found a Calvinist community in Venice proved a complete failure. For all that this grim hater of the Holy See was very far from the thought of making his peace with the Pope; quite the contrary. "I shall fight him more fiercely after my death than during my life," he had written<sup>1</sup>; and he kept his word; in the solitude of his study he now prepared to deal the Catholic Church his heaviest blow.

It would seem that Sarpi had begun at an early date to collect information about the Council of Trent, and in his capacity as a consultor to the republic, the State archives were open to him so that he was in a position to add constantly to his knowledge. Wotton, who went to Germany in 1611, as well as other enemies of the Pope, supplied him with fresh documents. With so much material in hand Sarpi set himself the task of writing a great history of the assembly of Trent.<sup>2</sup> The apostate archbishop of Spalato, Marcantonio de Dominis, made a copy of the work during a stay in Venice in 1615 and published it in London in 1619, under the pseudonym of Pietro Soave Polano, an anagram of Paolo Sarpi Veneto. Against the advice of the shrewd Sarpi, de Dominis betrayed the scope of the publication by the very title he gave it: *A History of the Council of Trent; an exposition of the artifices used by the Roman Curia for the purpose of preventing the divergences in its dogmatic teaching to be made manifest and the reform of the papacy and the Church from being discussed*.<sup>3</sup> "The Popes," so the editor declares in his dedication of the work to James I., "fearing precisely lest the councils should show them in their true colour, and seek to recall them to a sense of their duty, have, by diabolical instigation, taken no notice of the ancient councils and stultified the recent ones to the holding of which they have been compelled to

<sup>1</sup> On June 6, 1609, to De l'Isle Grosloot.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the notes in BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 391 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> In later editions the title and dedication were omitted. Apart from a few expressions the text of the edition agrees with Sarpi's autograph. Cf. BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 387 *seq.*; TEZA in the *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto*, 1892.

consent, for by trickery and intimidation they brought it about that these assemblies were not only unable to investigate the truth, but were even compelled to exalt still further the worldly power of the papacy and to destroy the last vestiges of the Church's liberty."

The author of the book, de Dominis declares, wished to destroy his work but he now laid it in the arms of the king as another Moses saved from the water, to the end that it may help to rescue God's people from the tyranny of the new Pharaoh who by means of the fetters of a most illegal and treacherous council oppresses it by a cruel slavery.

Sarpi's book created a sensation from the first and its effect has not spent itself even now. Within a decade it could be read in Italian, Latin, German, French and English; the Latin translation alone reached a fourth edition by 1622.<sup>1</sup> This phenomenal success is explained by the universal wish for further information on a Council which for Catholics was a pillar of the ecclesiastical order and for Protestants a stumbling block. Already Cardinal Cervini and Pius IV. had entertained the idea of publishing the Acts of the Council, and Massarelli's preparatory work on the subject was well forward, hence de Dominis' assertion is false when he affirms, in his dedication, that Rome was anxious to keep the Acts of the Council from the eyes of the world.<sup>2</sup> However, the projected publication did not take place, so that Sarpi's book is the first detailed story of the assembly. Moreover it was largely based on unpublished documents<sup>3</sup> and written with undeniable skill

<sup>1</sup> BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 455 *seq.* German translation by Rambach, Halle, 1761 *seqq.*, by Winterer, Mergentheim, 1839. On the French translation by Amelot de la Houssaye, see Gust. Wolf in *Deutschen Geschichtsblättern*, XVIII. (1917), 244; on the one by Le Courayer, an excommunicated French Canon, *ibid.*, 248; *Dictionary of National Biography*, XII., 328.

<sup>2</sup> St. Ehses in the *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XVI. (1902), 296-307; Derf. in *Conc. Trid.*, V., XXVI. *seqq.*; Merkle, *ibid.*, I., XIV.

<sup>3</sup> Among printed works the following have been used: Jovius, Guicciardini, De Thou, Adriani and especially Sleidan (Ranke, *Päpste*, III<sup>o</sup>., 27\*).

and vigour.<sup>1</sup> The Protestants could not fail to derive particular enjoyment from the spiteful sallies against the Roman Curia with which the story is seasoned, for in those pages that which to Catholics was an inviolable sanctuary of holiest origin, was ascribed to very human motives and dragged in the dust. As history Sarpi's work does not attain a high level. Hate guided his pen. Where his sources, which he seldom quotes, can be verified, we frequently detect "the most arbitrary distortions and misrepresentations which cause persons and things to appear in the wrong place and in a false light".<sup>2</sup> Until quite recently<sup>3</sup> it was believed that for many of his statements Sarpi must have disposed of manu-

<sup>1</sup> According to FUETER (273) Sarpi is with Guicciardini "the greatest historical artist of the sixteenth century". Cf. *ibid.*: "His history is good party-literature, precisely because it has none of the air of such writings." Fueter thus sums up his impression (272): "Sarpi's history is . . . not only biassed writing, it is the partisan expression of opinion of a lawyer, a historical apology of the particularistic ecclesiastical policy of Venice." That Sarpi's work, from the point of view of style and history, is far from being the masterpiece which Ranke still imagined it to be, is shown by the testimony of competent judges in Baumgartner, *Welliteratur*, VI., 479.

<sup>2</sup> Ehses in *Jahresber. der Görresgesellschaft für 1919*, Köln, 1920, 39. On the way in which Sarpi uses and alters Contarini's instruction for the diet of 1541, cf. also Ranke, III<sup>e</sup>., 31 *seqq.* Ranke agrees that Sarpi's remarks "are full of bitterness and gall" (*ibid.*, 29); to the worldly influence of the papacy he devoted "a decisive, irreconcilable hatred" (*ibid.*, II., 222). REIN (195) says of Sarpi's historical work that in its pages "he discharges so bitter a hatred of the Popes and the Roman Curia, that in this respect no Protestant could go further. In the actions of the Popes he invariably discovers selfish motives and he puts an unfavourable construction upon all their measures. In this matter he openly sympathizes with their opponents, the Protestants". P. Tschackert also says of Sarpi's history that in it "he airs his hatred against his deadly enemy (the papacy)" (Herzog-Hauck, *Real enzyklopädie*, XVII., 488).

<sup>3</sup> Thus according to Merkle in *Conc. Trid.*, I., 487, n. 3.



script documents which are lost to us. But the most recent research has shown that such details as cannot be verified by documentary evidence are simply forgeries.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thus in the very first congregation of the theologians of the Council, on February 20, 1546, he introduces four speakers : Lunellus, Marinarius, Cardinal Pole, who was president of the Council, and Louis of Catania. Of these Catania was not even at the Council at the time ; the three other speeches are made up from speeches delivered at the Congregation of the *bishops* of February 18 and 26. It is in accordance with Sarpi's bias to represent the bishops as ignorant men by attributing their opinions to the theologians. (Ehses in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXVI. (1905), 299-313. A list of heresies on original sin which had been drawn up for the Council but which, owing to lack of time, was used neither by the bishops nor the theologians, is made by him the cardinal point of wholly imaginary discussions in which he parades his biblical and patristic knowledge. In these discussions he also introduces the celebrated Dominican De Soto who had left Trent shortly before (Ehses, *ibid.*, XXVII. (1906), 69-73). On the alleged diary of Chierigato see *ibid.*, 67-9. In a report of Visconti, who had only just arrived in Trent, Sarpi finds the erroneous remark that Foscarari exercised a censorship of public discussions at the Council. On the occasion of the first general Congregation under Pius IV., on January 15, 1562, Sarpi relates how Foscarari was formally entrusted with that office so that freedom of speech was limited (Ehses in *Jahresbericht der Görresgesellschaft für 1919*, 40-5). The safe-conduct which the Council gave to the Protestants in 1562, is grossly travestied by Sarpi, who then goes on to accuse the Council of having broken its pledged word (*ibid.*, 45-51). In the discussions of the duty of residence he puts in the mouth of the younger Paul Jovius a speech against that duty together with the anti-papal sally that the Popes had always resided in Rome without Rome being for that reason better than all other cities. This speech was never delivered and is made up from a most becoming *votum* of Th. Stella (*ibid.*, 51-8). To bishop Draskowich, Sarpi attributes a defence of court bishops although that bishop's *votum* is to the exact contrary effect : Sarpi the State divine must have seen his own justification in such a defence. But in order that Draskowich should have occasion to make such representations,

Sarpi did not long survive the last and most influential of his literary achievements. He died on January 15th, 1623, unreconciled with the Church,<sup>1</sup> detested, in his last years, by the nobility and shunned by the people.<sup>2</sup> The Signoria, however, and the more intimate circles of his followers continued loyal to him. Three weeks after his death the Senate decreed the erection of a monument in his honour. However, consideration for the Roman Curia prevented the execution of the plan.<sup>3</sup> He was given a pompous funeral in which all the religious Orders took part, though many walked but reluctantly in the funeral cortège.<sup>4</sup> An account was published, signed by all the inmates of the Servite

he makes the previous speaker, the bishop of Ajaccio, speak in defence of the bishops' attendance at courts (*ibid.*, 58-63). When the question of ordination to the title of personal patrimony came up for discussion, the State theologian saw in it an interference with the rights of the secular power. So he invented a speech against it and put it in the mouth of Gabriel le Veneur, bishop of Viviers. As a matter of fact le Veneur was bishop of Evreux. From a similar motive Sarpi makes the bishop of Paris speak *against* the demand that, when new parishes were erected, the parishioners should be put under obligation to provide for the maintenance of the new parish priests. Now the bishop of Paris was *in favour* of this demand and in the discussions on the question he never spoke at all. Cf. Ehses' examination of Sarpi's credibility in the *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXXI. (1923), 150 *seq.*, where more instances are given of the way in which Sarpi falsifies speeches and puts them in the mouth of people who were not even present.

<sup>1</sup> Report of nuncio Zacchia to Cardinals Ludovisi and Barberini, edited by A. PLONCHER in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4 series, IX. (1882), 145-160. Cf. SIRI, V., 520 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> . . . nobili che l'odiano, come fa universalmente il popolo, che lo schifa, e fugge di stare alla sua messa, tenendolo per cagione ed autore di quanti infortuni e gravezze ha questo stato (PLONCHER, *loc. cit.*, 151).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 148. Letter of Cardinal Ludovisi of October 28, 1623, to the French nuncio, in *Carte Strozzi*, I, series II. (1891), 83.

<sup>4</sup> PLONCHER, *loc. cit.*, 148.

Convent, according to which his end had been almost like that of a Saint, but not all the friars had signed the document of their own free will.<sup>1</sup> It was only in the eighteenth century, when the anti-christian spirit was describing ever widening circles, that editions of the complete works of Sarpi began to appear<sup>2</sup> and that his reputation grew more and more.<sup>3</sup> It was reserved to the nineteenth century to raise a monument to the enemy of the Popes.<sup>4</sup> That he deserved no such honour is sufficiently proved by the fact that his character betrays some very despicable features. Sarpi defied the thunder of Rome though he had no cause to fear it whilst he enjoyed the protection of the Venetian government; but for fear of compromising himself he refused, in 1622, a legacy left him by Antonio Foscarini who had been innocently sentenced to death and whom, in happier days, he had called his friend. Foscarini had left 100 ducats to Sarpi, with a request for his prayers; Sarpi refused the gift on the plea that duty and loyalty forbade him to have anything to do, be it in life, be it in death, with a man who had rendered himself unworthy of the favour of the government.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* Copy of the report in CIOGNA, *Iscrittioni*, V., 603.

<sup>2</sup> BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 454 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> On the finding of his body in 1722 see U. BALZANI in the *Rendi conti dell'Accad. dei Lincei*, 5 series, IV. (1895); K. Benrath in the *Allg. Zeitung*, 1876, *Beil.* 274. Translation of his remains to San Michele di Murano, on November 15, 1828, BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 451.

<sup>4</sup> That the erection of a monument in his honour at Venice was intended as an 'anticlerical demonstration', see E. GUGLIA in the *Allg. Zeitung* of September 21, 1892, *Beil.* 221.

<sup>5</sup> See REUMONT, *Beiträge*, II., 175 *seq.*

## CHAPTER VI.

### PAUL V.'S REFORMING ACTIVITY WITHIN THE CHURCH— SUSPENSION OF THE THOMIST AND MOLINIST CONTROVERSY— CANONIZATIONS.

IN consequence of the stir created by the dispute with Venice the idea has taken root that that conflict was the chief event of the pontificate of the Borghese Pope. This view, which confines itself too exclusively to externals, has caused not a few historians increasingly to overlook the widespread activity of the Pope within the Church. As against such a conception impartial students acknowledge that precisely this side of Paul V.'s activity was as extensive as it was successful.<sup>1</sup>

A man of such deep piety and glowing zeal for souls, of such strong will and firm character as Paul V., was not likely to allow himself to lose heart because of the difficulties of the situation. In the midst of the manifold cares which the burden of the supreme pontificate laid upon him, he put all his trust in Him who, without any co-operation on his part, had raised him to the most exalted dignity in the world.<sup>2</sup> In all the offices which he had previously held the Pope had most strictly complied with existing laws. Now he was

<sup>1</sup> See REUMONT, III., 2, 607.

<sup>2</sup> \*“ Nam cum experiamur cum hac suprema dignitate tantam sollicitudinem ac tantas curas esse coniunctos, nisi hoc solatio consolaremur, nunquam vid. nos pro sua misericordia deserturum esse eum, qui tantum miseratione sua, non nostris meritis voluit, ut huic s. Sedi praesideremus, lugendum nobiscum potius quam gratulandum nobis existimaremus.” Brief to archbishop Sbynek of Prague, July 2, 1605, *Epist.*, I., 41; *Arm.*, 45, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. *loc. cit.*, p. 193, the \*Brief to Caterina de Braganzia: “ Incidit hic noster pontificatus in saevissima tempora.”



more determined than ever to carry out his duties as Supreme Head of the Church with the utmost conscientiousness. When replying to letters of congratulation he invariably begged for the help of fervent prayers.<sup>1</sup> In this spirit he proclaimed, on June 28th, 1605, a universal jubilee.<sup>2</sup>

One of the first measures of Paul V. in the internal government of the Church was to inculcate anew, in an ordinance published on October 19th, 1605, the duty of residence laid upon all ecclesiastics by the Council of Trent, and for which Clement VIII. had recently striven. No one enjoying a benefice could be exempt from this obligation.<sup>3</sup> In a consistory of November 7th, 1605, the Pope announced that he had instructed his vicar in Rome, Cardinal Pamfili, to ask all bishops then in the Curia, to return to their dioceses; even Cardinals with dioceses were bound by this law. There could be no question of a dispensation; anyone refusing to observe the duty of residence must resign his see; if nevertheless he appropriated the revenues of his charge he was guilty of mortal sin.<sup>4</sup> It was thought in Rome that Cardinal Bellarmine had persuaded the Pope to take this step.<sup>5</sup> When, in November, 1605, Cardinal Aldobrandini asked for a dispensation from residence for a certain bishop he was unable to obtain anything. At this same time all bishops still in Rome without leave were informed not to presume to show themselves in the papal chapel.<sup>6</sup>

Towards the end of November, 1605, Cardinal Valenti left for his diocese of Faenza and at Christmas Cardinal Sannesì repaired to his bishopric of Orvieto.<sup>7</sup> Some Cardinals resigned their sees or made preparations for their departure

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the \*letter to Joh. Valentinus, Patriarch of Antioch, September 30, 1605. *Epist.*, I., 226, *Arm.*, 45, and other \*Briefs in the same place. Secret Papal Archives.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull.*, XI., 197 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of October 19, 1605, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. \**Acta consist.* for November 7, 1605, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> \*Avvisi of November 16 and 26, 1605, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> \*Avviso of November 26, 1605, *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> \*Avvisi of November 26 and December 21, 1605, *ibid.*

as soon as the cold season would be over. In the judgment of the Pope only those engaged in some legation in the Pontifical States were exempt from the duty of residence.<sup>1</sup>

In this respect all expostulations proved in vain.<sup>2</sup> The rigid Cardinal Bellarmine wished the Pope to go still further and not to bestow bishoprics at all upon the Cardinals since they found residence difficult. However, Paul V. pointed out to the Cardinal that such a procedure was contrary to the spirit of the Tridentine decrees and as regards the exemptions granted to the Cardinals he appealed to the opinion of the celebrated Gregory of Valencia.<sup>3</sup>

Although he refrained from excessive rigorism, Paul V. never lost sight of this question of residence. An edict of October, 1607, based on the prescriptions of Trent, decrees that all bishops would forfeit their revenues if they had not repaired to their dioceses within a fortnight. Simultaneously with this order another decree laid down that no bishop was to come to Rome without leave of the Pope. Beneficed ecclesiastics were to be in residence within nine days.<sup>4</sup> Though in the sequel opposition was not lacking, the Pope remained firm. From time to time fresh edicts were issued inculcating again and again the duty of residence for all beneficed ecclesiastics.<sup>5</sup>

What advantages flowed from the bishops' presence in their dioceses is shown by the example of Cardinal Maffeo Barberini. That prelate was appointed to the see of Spoleto on October 17th, 1608, with the obligation, however, of resigning

<sup>1</sup> See the report of the Venetian *obediienza* ambassadors in BARROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 60.

<sup>2</sup> See the despatch of DU PERRON of May 17, 1606, *Ambassades*, 476, and the \*Avvisi of October 11, 1606, and June 2, 1607, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See LE BACHELET, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 533, 535.

<sup>4</sup> See the \*Avvisi of September 1 and 8 and October 6, 1607, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> See CARDELLA, VI., 157 and the \*Avvisi of March 7, 1609, March 9, 1611, and November 21, 1617, Vatican Library.

the bishopric of Nazaret, in Southern Italy.<sup>1</sup> On finding himself detained in Rome by his duties as Prefect of the Segnatura di Grazia with which the Pope had entrusted him, he began by having the diocese visited by his Vicar General.<sup>2</sup> As soon as he was able to do so, the Cardinal left Rome, to take possession of his diocese (1610). A Dominican, a Friar Minor and two Jesuits accompanied him.<sup>3</sup> He now displayed an activity truly in accord with the spirit of Trent. A visitation of the whole diocese was announced; it started with the episcopal city. Whilst suppressing abuses Barberini made special provision for the religious instruction of the young. Every evening the parish priests were convoked to the episcopal palace there to receive the necessary instructions. Barberini, whose personal life was very simple, made immediate and generous provision for the poor of the city. At the conclusion of the visitation of Spoleto he undertook the inspection of every part of his diocese. On this journey his only companions were his Vicar General and a few familiars. The Cardinal penetrated even into the lonely mountain districts of Norcia and Leonessa. At times he

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avviso of October 25, 1608, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> See \**Spoletinae dioecesis locorum visitatio a vicario generali dom. card. Barberini, episc. Spoletini* (*Barb.*, 2352, Vatican Library), beginning with October 6, 1609.

<sup>3</sup> For what follows, compare the account of NICOLETTI (*Vita d'Urbano VIII.*, I., 385 *seq.*, Vatican Library), with *Barb.*, 2417: \**Editti del card. M. Barberini, vescovo di Spoleto* (the first five are in print); 2829, 73: \**Ordinationes card. Barberini editae in visitatione suae eccles. cathedr. de s. Eucharistia*; L., 89: \**Ordinationi per le monache di Spoleto, date 18 Agosto, 1611, essendo vescovo il card. M. Barberini*; L., 152, p. 210 *seq.*: \**Ordini per gli eremiti di Monte Luco date dal card. M. Barberini, vesc. di Spoleto*; p. 214 *seq.*; \*Articles which the parish priests had to answer at the diocesan visitation, 1610. In *Barb.*, 2585, there is also, p. 153 *seq.*, \**Relatio ecclesiae Spolet. et illius status facta a me M. card. Barberini*, Vatican Library. The \*Acts of Visitations of Barberini, are in the Archiepisc. Archives, Spoleto. Cf. G. SORDINI, *Alla ricerca della tomba di un uomo celebre, Spoleto*, 1903, X.

himself imparted religious instruction to the country people. Everywhere he insisted on an exemplary life being led by the clergy as well as on regular preaching and catechizing. He likewise took action against banditry. The Cardinal also suitably endowed the ecclesiastical seminary founded by his predecessor in the See of Spoleto. In addition to this he erected two smaller seminaries at Spello and Visso. He founded a special association for the purpose of forming priests for the administration of the Sacrament of Penance; those who would not join were refused posts. The Cardinal also interested himself in the reform of the convents of nuns. The hermits who dwelt on the picturesque heights of Monte Luco and whom Michelangelo visited on one occasion likewise felt the touch of his reforming hand.

The sick, no less than the poor, were the objects of the solicitude of the indefatigable prelate. He often personally attended the dying. To crown his reforming activities, Cardinal Barberini, after the pattern of Charles Boromeo, convoked a diocesan synod at Spoleto. The decrees of this assembly were published on September 13th, 1616.<sup>1</sup>

The admirable activity of Maffeo Barberini at Spoleto was imitated by other Cardinals in their respective dioceses: as, for instance, by Giustiniani in the Sabine country<sup>2</sup>; Ludovisi at Bologna<sup>3</sup>; Aldobrandini at Ravenna<sup>4</sup>; Federigo

<sup>1</sup> See *Barb.*, 2830: \**Indictio dioc. synodi habendae Spoleti a Maph. card. Barberini*, September 1, 2 and 3, 1615; *Barb.*, 2831: \**M. card. Barberini Spolet. synodus promulgata*, September 13, 1616. Cf. *Regin.* 2044, p. 41 seq.: \**Ragionamento che fece Urbano VIII. (in minorib.) al sinodo, che fece a Spoleto*. Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ottob.* 1075: \**Sabinen. ecclesiae visitatio A.º 1615 a card. B. Iustiniano, episc. Sabin. peracta*, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. CIACONIUS, IV., 468 and ACCARISIUS, *Vita Gregorii XV.*, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 58, note 5. Aldobrandini's successor to the archbishopric of Ravenna (1621), Cardinal Capponi, also carried out reforms there: see CARDELLA, VI., 151, and *Cod. Vat.* 6705: \**Lettere pastorali, orazioni e prediche del card. Capponi, arcivesc. di Ravenna*, Vatican Library.



Borromeo at Milan <sup>1</sup>; Valenti at Faenza <sup>2</sup>; Bichi at Siena <sup>3</sup>; Lante at Todi <sup>4</sup>; Galamina at Recanati and Loreto <sup>5</sup>; Muti at Viterbo <sup>6</sup>; Carafa at Naples <sup>7</sup>; Caraccioli at Tropea <sup>8</sup>; Centini at Mileto and Macerata <sup>9</sup>; Scaglia at Melfi <sup>10</sup>; Doria at Palermo.<sup>11</sup> Many bishops vied with these Cardinals. For their benefit a disciple of Filippo Neri, Antonio Talpa, wrote an instruction to guide them in a careful administration of their dioceses. This document was much esteemed by Paul V.<sup>12</sup>

In Rome, supported by his Vicars General, Pamfili and Millini,<sup>13</sup> Paul V. promoted the cure of souls,<sup>14</sup> the frequent reception of the Eucharist, the Forty Hours' prayer and the pilgrimage to the seven churches. The great processions and the solemn general Communions instituted for those occasions

<sup>1</sup> See the biographies of ROBERTI (Milan, 1870) and QUESNEL (Lille, 1890).

<sup>2</sup> See MORONI, LXXXVII., 244.

<sup>3</sup> See CARDELLA, VI., 160.

<sup>4</sup> See ROSSI, *Vita del card. Lante*, Rome, 1653.

<sup>5</sup> See CARDELLA, VI., 166 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 154 *seq.*

<sup>8</sup> For the seminary founded at Tropea in 1615, *cf. Bollettino pel XVI. Centenario di S. Domenica vergine et martire in Tropea* 1903, No. II.

<sup>9</sup> See CARDELLA, VI., 173.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.

<sup>11</sup> *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 363 and BOGLINO, 54 *seq.* See also TACCHI VENTURI, I., 148.

<sup>12</sup> *Della curia e vigilanza de' vescovi, etc.*, 1607. *Cf.* CAPECELATRO, *F. Neri*, II.,<sup>3</sup> 700; Engl. transl. (1882), Vol. II., 340 *seq.* Paul V. expressed his special satisfaction with the archbishop of Salerno, Giov. Beltramini; see the \*briefs addressed to him, on February 7 ("laudat eius diligentiam in visit. dioc.") and December 22, 1609, *Epist.*, IV., 329, V., 247. *Arm.*, 45. Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>13</sup> *Cf.* MORONI, XCIX., 95 and MEMMOLI, *Vita card. Millini*, 34 *seq.*

<sup>14</sup> See \*Avviso of June 29, 1613, Vatican Library.

were soon copied in many cities of Italy.<sup>1</sup> The Roman Seminary enjoyed the Pope's support.<sup>2</sup> In 1611 he caused seven parish churches to be erected in the Roman campagna.<sup>3</sup>

The commission of reform, whose activities had begun under Clement VIII., was convoked anew in November, 1607,<sup>4</sup> for, as Cardinal Bellarmine remarked, human frailty makes constant correction a necessity.<sup>5</sup> To this end the great theologian could think of nothing better than a strict execution of the reform decrees of Trent. This view was likewise advocated by the author of a memorandum which demanded for the whole Church the literal application of these decrees. In the work of the reform, the memorandum declares, the first thing to do is to seek the glory of God before all else, then to amend one's own life so as to encourage others to do in like manner; this procedure is greatly to be preferred to compulsion. For the purpose of ascertaining the true nature of existing evils, and with a view to applying appropriate remedies, the writer suggests that the Pope should convoke in Rome special synods presided over by himself. These synods should be composed, at first, of the bishops of Italy, and hereafter those of Spain, France, Germany and other countries should also be convened. The agenda of these Roman synods should be provided by previous provincial synods. Everywhere the reform should begin with the higher clergy and then to extend itself to all ranks, down to the lowest order. Special attention should be paid to the formation of the clergy; for this purpose seminaries should be erected everywhere or suitable provision made for the existing ones. The seminaries, as well as the monasteries, should be examined by the Apostolic Visitors. The arduousness of the task should not deter the Pope, all the more as he

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BZOVIVS, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 16. For the raising of the Roman " *Confraternità del ss. Sacramento* ", to an " *Arciconfraternità* ", see MORONI, II., 305.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of October 25, 1608, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of June 4, 1611, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> See \*Avviso of November 17, 1607, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> LE BACHELET, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 533, note 3.

had ascended the Apostolic See whilst still in full physical vigour ; the necessary time to carry out the work would not be wanting.<sup>1</sup>

Although Paul V. did not carry out all these suggestions his intervention in ecclesiastical affairs of every Catholic country proves that he was honestly determined to give force everywhere to the reform decrees of Trent.<sup>2</sup> He was particularly careful in his appointment of new bishops. In this respect his preferences were for religious ; from the Order of St. Dominic he chose nearly sixty bishops.<sup>3</sup> In the spring of 1618, through the consistory of Cardinals, he introduced certain improvements in the method of nominations to bishoprics and monasteries.<sup>4</sup>

Soon after his elevation it was rumoured that Paul V. would carry through a reform of the procedure of papal elections which his premature death had prevented Leo XI. from realizing.<sup>5</sup> In effect the Cardinalitial Congregation appointed by the late Pope was strengthened by the addition of new members and was once more charged with the examination of the draft of a Bull concerning the conclave which had been drawn up under Clement VIII. But, as Paul V. informed the Cardinals on November 7th, 1605, he was unwilling to move in the matter without first ascertaining the personal opinion of every member of the Sacred College.<sup>6</sup> By

<sup>1</sup> \**Pro universali totius Ecclesiae reformatione, Borghese, IV., 56, Papal Secret Archives.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. further on, especially Vol. XXVI, Chs. I and IV. As to Portugal, see the references in the \**Istruzione* for the collector Accoramboni, of June 1, 1614, *Cod., X., IV., 38, p. 30, Casanatense Library, Rome.*

<sup>3</sup> See BZOVIVS, *Vita Pauli, V., ch. 21.*

<sup>4</sup> See \**Acta consist.*, of April 2, 1618, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. \**Avviso* of June 11, 1605. Vatican Library. Tarquinio Pinaoro dedicated to Paul V. his "*Discorso sopra la riforma del conclave da farsi per la sicurezza, libertà e unione eccles.*," *Cod. D., IV., 202, of the Gambalunga Library, Rimini.*

<sup>6</sup> See \**Acta Consist.*, of November 7, 1605. Cf. also the \**Avviso* of November 16, 1605, Vatican Library.

December this had been done,<sup>1</sup> yet the Bull of Reform did not appear. According to hints thrown out by well-informed people, it was in all probability the Cardinals heading various parties who, for fear of losing their influence, once again delayed the completion of the work.<sup>2</sup>

Like his predecessors, Gregory XIII., Sixtus V. and Clement VIII., Paul V. also interested himself in the compilation of a new collection of decretals. The draft already printed in 1598, for the benefit of the Commission of Cardinals, was revised in 1607 and 1608, but no publication ensued. The explanation is probably to be sought in the unsatisfactory lay-out of the whole scheme and in the politico-ecclesiastical situation of the time.<sup>3</sup>

Greater success marked Paul V.'s continuation of the reform of the liturgical books which he brought to completion with the publication of the *Rituale Romanum*. The Popes of the period of the Catholic restoration had already corrected the Breviary, the Missal and the Roman Pontifical.<sup>4</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avviso of December 10, 1605, Vatican Library. From this the exact date may be ascertained for the *votum* of Bellarmine printed by WAHRMUND in the *Archiv. f. kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXII., 221 seq., and again by LE BACHELET (*Auct. Bellarm.*, 526). On p. 528, *ibid.*, a further memorandum of the Cardinal: *An forma eligendi S. Pontificem debeat tolli per adorationem*.

<sup>2</sup> See WAHRMUND, *loc. cit.*, 206. *Ibid.*, 223 seq., the changes which Paul V. wished to make in Clement VIII.'s plans. Cf. also LUZIO, *L'Archivio Gonzaga*, II., 177.

<sup>3</sup> See SENTIS, *Clementis P. VIII. Decretales Proleg.*, XV. seq., and Lämmer, *Zur Kodifikation des kanon. Rechtes*, Freiburg, 1899, p. 21. Cf. our notes, Vol. XXIV., 229 seq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. our notes, Vol. XVII, 193 seq.; XXIV., 227 seq. A \*brief of Paul V. for "electus, canonici ac capit. eccles. Sedunensis hortatur ad recipiendum Breviarium atque Calend. Romanum," December 2, 1605, *Epist.* I., 356. *Ibid.*, 475, a \*brief to Adrian II. of Riedmatten, bishop of Sitten: "laudat eius pastorem diligentiam et hortatur ad introductionem generalem apud suos Brevarii Pii V. et Calend. Gregorii XIII." dated March 3, 1606, in *Arm.*, 45. Papal Secret Archives. For the amended Breviary of Paul V. printed in 1608, see DELAPORTE in the *Rassegna Gregor.*, VII. (1908), 244 seq.



Borghese Pope now carried out a similar work on the liturgical book which contains the formularies of the functions appertaining to the cure of souls. In this instance there was no question of producing a revised and improved edition of an existing volume but rather of compiling a new set of formularies for use by the pastoral clergy in the administration of the sacraments (Baptism, Eucharist, Extreme Unction, Matrimony), and for various blessings, especially those distinct from the Office, as at funerals, processions and other extra-liturgical services. At one time priests themselves were wont to compile such books. It was only in the course of the twelfth century that a fixed type of ritual books for such purposes took shape and at first chiefly for monasteries. Since the invention of the printing press many such manuals had been published.<sup>1</sup> Samples of private collections of this kind, which contain the formularies in use in the Roman Church, were the *Sacerdotale* of the Dominican Alberto Castellani and that of Francesco Samarino, a prebendary of the Lateran.<sup>2</sup> To these must be added a similar work by Cardinal Santori, undertaken at the instigation of Gregory XIII. and printed during his pontificate and that of Gregory XIV. at the expense of the Holy See. However, the book was never published owing to the death of the Cardinal in 1602.<sup>3</sup> Paul V. took up the task once more. Baronius'

<sup>1</sup> A summary may be found in the monumental work of A. FRANZ: *Die kirchl. Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, I., Freiburg, 1909, XXX seq. Cf. FRANZ, *Zur Gesch. der gedruckten Passauer Ritualien*, in the *Theol-Prakt. Monatschrift*, IX. (Passau, 1899), 75 seq.; JUNGnitz, *Die Breslauer Ritualien*, Breslau, 1892; FRANZ, *Das Rituale von St Florian aus dem 12. Jahrh.*, Freiburg, 1904; THALHOFER-EISENHOFER, *Handbuch der kath. Liturgik*, I. (1912), 83 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See ZACCARIA, *Biblioteca ritualis*, I., Romae, 1776, 144; BÄUMER, 500.

<sup>3</sup> See SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, in *Arch. Rom.*, XII., 154 seq., 157, 197, and with this the explanation of G. MERCATI, in the *Rassegna Gregor. V.* (Rome, 1906), 269, 443 seq. Cf. now also BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 52 seq.

counsel was to be asked for,<sup>1</sup> but the Cardinal died on June 30th, 1607.<sup>2</sup> In 1612 the Pope appointed a commission of Cardinals and scholars<sup>3</sup> which made great use of the excellent work of Santori, a fact expressly mentioned in the brief of June 20th, 1614, concerning the new Ritual.<sup>4</sup> A wise self-restraint prompted the Pope to refrain both from enforcing the universal adoption of the new Ritual under threat of penalties as well as from abrogating the existing Rituals peculiar to certain dioceses and religious Orders; he contented himself with the expression of a keen desire to see the new book made use of by all bishops, parish priests and abbots.

The excellence of the *Rituale Romanum* is sufficiently proved by its rapid diffusion.<sup>5</sup> It has remained unsurpassed to this day. By its means many abuses, more particularly certain superstitious practices, were removed and in the administration of the sacraments, in the blessings and consecrations which are the province of priests, as well as in a number of ecclesiastical functions, processions and other services, greater uniformity and dignity as well as a noble simplicity were realized.<sup>6</sup> A prescription of the *Rituale*

<sup>1</sup> See CALENZIO, 735.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.*, 57-8.

<sup>3</sup> See MERCATI, *loc. cit.*, 443 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See *Bull.*, XII., 266 *seq.* In the older collections of *Bulls* the brief is dated June 17.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ZACCARIA, *Bibl. rit.*, I., 147. The oldest editions of 1614 and 1615 are very rare; see BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.*, 65.

<sup>6</sup> See BÄUMER, 500. Cf. GUÉRANGER, *Inst. lit.*, I., 2, 508 *seqq.* For the abuses in the blessings, which the authorities had difficulty in remedying, as they arose from private collections of formulae which were disseminated in MSS., see A. FRANZ, *Die kirchl. Benediktionen im Mitellalter*, 2 vols., Freiburg, 1909. Paul V., who was a great lover of music (see ORBAAN, *Documenti*, LIII., for the contemporary singers of the papal chapel, cf. CELANI in the *Riv. music.*, XIV. (1907), 768 *seq.*), adopted in 1608 a plan for reform of liturgical choral music which had been considered by Clement VIII. It was a new edition of the

*Romanum*, which binds every parish priest to make a census of the faithful entrusted to his care, indicating those who had received the sacraments of the Eucharist and Confirmation, had been previously observed in Rome. At Milan it had been enforced by Carlo Borromeo.<sup>1</sup> These census books, which henceforth came increasingly into use, supply valuable information as regards statistics and in large cities, such as Rome, even about family history and topographical details. These catalogues are not only important for the history of civilization in general, they also give us more than one interesting glimpse into the administration of a parish in those days. If a parish priest conscientiously kept these registers he had perforce to visit every household at least once a year. In this way an opportunity offered itself of getting to know every member of his parish and their different needs. Thus the prescriptions of the *Rituale Romanum* met one of the most strongly felt needs of our own time—that is, contact as extensive and as intensive as possible between the priest and individual households.<sup>2</sup> An extraordinary

melodies of the liturgical chants, see MOLITOR, *Choralreform*, II., Leipzig, 1902, 71 *seq.*, who first pointed out how this whole undertaking finally came to nothing. The Pope had very good reasons for withholding, at the last moment, his approval of the edition of the *Graduale de tempore*, Romae ex typographia Medicaea, 1614, so that it appeared on the sole responsibility of the publisher Raimondi, with a mere *superiorum permissu* (see MOLITOR, 117 *seq.*). Among these, as Molitor has shown (*loc. cit.*), was the blameworthy misuse which Iginio Palestrina had made of his father's name which was held in the highest esteem. Cf. H. NIEMANN in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1905, 824 *seq.*, with whom Molitor entirely agrees.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Acta eccles. Mediol.*, IV., 790 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See W. BURGER, *Die Status-animarum Berichte der Pfarrei S. Maria in Cosmedin zu Rom während des 17. Jahrhunderts in the Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIII., 166 *seq.* The eight volumes referred to are housed in the Vatican Library. It must not be deduced from the gaps they show that the *Status animarum* was not kept up during the missing years. BURGER (*loc. cit.*, 167)

Congregation of Cardinals undertook the examination of all indulgences. It consisted of Cardinals Baronius, Arigoni, Bellarmine and Pamfili.<sup>1</sup>

During the last years of the pontificate of Clement VIII. the controversy concerning the efficacy of divine grace had dragged on without leading to a peaceful solution. Paul V. must have been all the more inclined to end, by a papal decision, discussions which so laboriously succeeded one another because, whilst still a Cardinal, he had been obliged to be present at nearly every congregation which dealt with the question of grace and at his election he had been pressed to issue a decision in the matter.<sup>2</sup> The Spanish envoy, at the bidding of his sovereign, urged the Pope in this direction, but he did not immediately succeed in persuading the Pope to overcome his hesitation. It was one thing, Paul V. insisted, to take part in the sessions as a Cardinal and another, to feel justified, as Pope, in pronouncing a final judgment.<sup>3</sup>

It would seem that soon after Paul V.'s accession, both parties to the dispute sought to influence the Pope in their favour. The Dominican Lemos relates that on August 4th, 1605, he was summoned before Paul V. who commissioned him to draw up a list of those propositions in this difficult matter which he deemed to be heretical and those which he held to be Catholic. On August 10th Lemos handed in the desired list as well as a memorandum in which he enlarges upon the necessity and antiquity of the expression "physical

would not have drawn this conclusion, if he had not overlooked the MSS. quoted by Cerasoli in the *Studi e documenti*, XII., 169 *seqq.* belonging to the Collegio Romano (now Library Vittorio Emanuele) and those of the Barberini, Casatanense and Corsini Libraries. From these MSS. it is evident that, since 1600, the registers of the *status animarum* have been accurately kept in Rome.

<sup>1</sup> See \**Relazione di Roma* of B. CECI, *Urb.* 837, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> SCORRAILLE, I., 450. "Il Papa lascia intendere che in tre congregazioni vuol finire il negotio de auxiliis," writes F. M. Vialardo to Mantua on June 4, 1605. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>3</sup> The Duke of Escalona to Philip III. on July 3, 1605. SCORRAILLE, I., 451.



predetermination"; as for the thing itself, he thought there was no need of further discussion for there was no longer any doubt about it. But during three months Lemos endeavoured all the more energetically to convince, by word of mouth, the Pope, the Cardinals and the bishops of the truth of the Dominican view.<sup>1</sup> As for the Jesuits, towards whom Clement VIII. had shown himself so unfavourable in this matter, they felt a new confidence under his successor. Not long after his election Paul V. gave them a token of his goodwill when he consented to the introduction of the Apostolic process for the beatification of their founder and by recalling Cardinal Bellarmine to Rome as one of his advisors. Another favourable omen for them was the fact that Cardinal Du Perron, one of the most respected theologians of his time and an ardent adversary of Protestantism, was in residence in Rome since several months. In the question of the doctrine of grace Du Perron stood wholeheartedly on the side of the Jesuits.<sup>2</sup>

A survey of the points in dispute similar to that which Paul V. had demanded from Lemos was presented to the Pope by the other side. The points on which Dominicans and Jesuits agreed and those on which they differed were set out in two columns; a third list recorded the propositions rejected by both parties, but which, the Jesuits complained, were quite wrongly ascribed to Molina.<sup>3</sup>

Another memorial presented to the Pope on June 26th and drawn up by Fernando de la Bastida, who had been the mouthpiece of the Jesuits in the last discussions in presence of Clement VIII., summed up under twelve headings the reasons for which the champions of Molina felt justified in protesting against the censures to which he had been subjected by the Roman congregation.<sup>4</sup> Bastida's objections to the

<sup>1</sup> ASTRÁIN, IV., 361. For rumours which were disseminated to the discredit of the Jesuits, see SCORRAILLE, I., 450.

<sup>2</sup> ASTRÁIN, IV., 360.

<sup>3</sup> A copy of the three lists is in ASTRÁIN, IV., 799-804.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 254-6.

competence of the members of the commission as well as to their procedure had been, to a large extent, urged before. He now begs the Pope to have inquiries made whether or not it was true that the first censure was pronounced against Molina without his having been heard in his own defence, or someone else having spoken in his defence; whether it was true that the commission discovered more than sixty erroneous propositions in a book in which men of great learning and even whole universities failed to find as much as a single one; whether it was true that the censure of the whole work was drawn up in less than two months, a hardly long enough period in which to read the book, whereas the ensuing discussions, though spread over several years, had not led to a conclusive judgment on even a fraction of the questions that arise from the book. Likewise, in the form of a petition for an inquiry, further grievances were brought forward, namely that erroneous propositions were ascribed to Molina which he had never taught; that theses were styled erroneous which are universally accepted by theologians; that the commission had been entrusted with the examination of its own censures and thus was judge in its own cause.<sup>1</sup>

Besides these grievances and accusations, which had been raised before, this document tells us much that is new and surprising. The Pope should cause an inquiry to be made, so we read, whether the whole censure was not the work of one individual who never held a chair of scholastic theology and never wrote a thing that would show the expert; and whether it was true that in the country of his birth, Spain, he would not be thought capable of dealing even with such things as suits of the Inquisition, or that according to common law, he would not be allowed to appear, were it only as a witness, in a civil process.<sup>2</sup> The last three points of the memorandum throw fresh light on Clement VIII.'s judgment on the commission and on his attitude towards the Jesuits. It is also stated that Clement VIII. expressed his dis-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the points 1-3, 5-9 in that document.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Point 4.

pleasure with the dishonest procedure of the commission with such vigour that there were those who saw a connection between the Pope's dissatisfaction and the death of the chairman of the commission, the bishop of Cariati.<sup>1</sup> For these and "for other considerations on which it is difficult to dwell here but which we could communicate by word of mouth should your Holiness wish it", so the memorandum proceeds, "we have often protested in the life-time of our holy Father Clement VIII. both in writing and orally, against the aforesaid censors; we warned his Holiness, and we now renew our protest, that in a matter of such importance we do not consider these men to be judges possessed of the necessary knowledge and impartiality; rather do we hold them to be more biased than the Dominicans themselves, and men who obstinately cling to their opinions as they have done in the past."<sup>2</sup> De la Bastida winds up with a request that Paul V. would order an immediate inquiry in order to ascertain whether it was true that Clement VIII. "gave us an assurance, not once but many times, that these people would not be allowed to judge this question and that the decision would not be based on their memorandum—that in this matter we could trust him. This we did in the sure expectation that the discussions would lay bare the arguments on which both parties build up their system; these would then be submitted to persons possessed of the necessary competence and impartiality."<sup>3</sup> These sharp accusations de la

<sup>1</sup> "Si en el modo de tratar esta causa usaban con nosotros de tanta infidelidad, contra espresa orden de la buena memoria del Papa Clemente, que obligaron a Su Santidad a hacer tantas demonstraciones de sentimiento, que fué fama haber sido ésta la ocasión de la muerte del obispo de Cariati, que era la cabeza de esta congregación." (*Ibid.*, n. 10.) Resta, bishop of Cariati, died in 1602.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 11.

<sup>3</sup> "Si Su Santidad el Papa Clemente VIII. nos aseguró uno y muchas veces, diciéndonos que no serían ellos los jueces de esta causa, ni se tomaría la resolución de ella por su parecer, y que en esto nos fiásemos de su palabra. . ." *Ibid.*, No. 12.

Bastida declares to be "true, down to the smallest detail"<sup>1</sup> and he offers to substantiate them by documentary evidence.

The Jesuits were unsuccessful in their demand for the removal of those who had hitherto acted as their judges. On September 2nd, 1605, Paul V. convened the former Roman Congregation as well as a few Cardinals in his presence in order to deliberate on the means of settling the dispute once for all. It was resolved to pick up the thread where it had been allowed to drop under Clement VIII. There still existed an ordinance of that Pope concerning the dispute, but his death had prevented its being given effect. In fifteen theses the document summed up St. Augustine's teaching on grace. Paul V. ordered this exposition to be examined at the next disputation which was to be held on September 14th, 1605.<sup>2</sup>

On the appointed day a meeting took place of the members of the Roman Congregation and a few Cardinals, among whom were Du Perron and Bellarmine, the Pope himself presiding. However, no sooner had the document of the fifteen propositions been read than the old difficulties raised their heads. Bellarmine granted that most of these propositions were indeed in harmony with the teaching of St. Augustine, but some of them needed further elucidation and, considered as a whole, they did not fully represent the views of the great Doctor of the Church. He himself then submitted another paper which, in his opinion, was free from the blemishes he had pointed out.<sup>3</sup> In the next Congregation, on September 20th, the identical difficulty reappeared. The speaker for the Jesuits, Fernando de la Bastida, unreservedly adopted the view of Bellarmine; in his opinion it was necessary to complete and elucidate the fifteen points. However, on the representation of the Dominican, Thomas de Lemos, these self-same fifteen points

<sup>1</sup> "Lo que en ellos digo es puntual verdad." ASTRÁIN, IV., 256.

<sup>2</sup> ASTRÁIN, IV., 362. The document with the fifteen points is in ELEUTHERIUS, 552; ASTRÁIN, 364.

<sup>3</sup> Copy in ELEUTHERIUS, 553; ASTRÁIN, IV., 365 *seq.*



were an irreproachable presentment of the teaching of the great African. Thus there appeared no way out of the impasse and they needs must once again plunge headlong into a wearisome discussion of the texts of St. Augustine.<sup>1</sup>

However, one thing at least was clearly established : if they were going to tread anew the path by which Clement VIII. had sought a solution of this most complicated question they were faced by the prospect of endless discussions. If on a previous occasion, the examination of the teaching of Cassian had occupied seven whole months, how many months would it take before they could hope to arrive at a clear understanding of the opinions of St. Augustine? Paul V. may well have quailed before the prospect. So he left St. Augustine alone and gave orders to turn to the main point of the controversy, the one on which minds were divided, the question, that is, whether grace moves us to free good acts not only by a moral influence, as if exhorting or prompting us, but also by an immediate influence, and whether this influence may properly be called physical predetermination.<sup>2</sup>

Thus a decisive turn in the controversy seemed to be at hand. Until then the influence of the Dominicans had exclusively determined the progress of the discussions ; but the Jesuits had now obtained what they had so long prayed for and insisted upon, viz. the discussion of physical predetermination. Accordingly, in the very next Congregation, on October 12th, 1605, Fernando de la Bastida prefaced his dissertation with an expression of his satisfaction that at last, after forty sittings, they had reached the very heart of the controversy. But it must be admitted that this was the view of the Jesuits only. In the opinion of the Dominicans, the situation was quite different ; it was merely a matter of form, they thought, that physical predetermination should be discussed at all, seeing that for years the commission had acknowledged that doctrine as part of the deposit of the faith.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ASTRÁIN, IV., 366.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 367 ; SCORRAILLE, I., 452.

<sup>3</sup> ASTRÁIN, IV., 367.

In eight congregations<sup>1</sup> Bastida then expounded the question in detail.<sup>2</sup> In the first session he sought to define the nature of physical predetermination; at the next two meetings he refuted it with scriptural arguments. This he followed up, in three sessions, with reasons drawn from the Councils, St. Augustine and the rest of the Fathers. He seems to have taken particular care, in the session of January 12th, 1606, to set side by side quotations from the writings of the defenders of the thesis he was attacking and from those of Calvin, with a view to showing their resemblance. The last two sittings were devoted to a discussion of the opinions of St. Thomas Aquinas, the Scholastics and the more recent theologians. In the session of February 22nd, 1606, which was the last disputation between Dominicans and Jesuits, the latter submitted a short account of their teaching as well as testimonials from universities and individual scholars who had pronounced in their favour. By order of the Pope copies of this exposition were distributed to the Cardinals, one copy being filed with the Acts.<sup>3</sup> Paul V. assisted in person at the disputations; everybody praised the patience and attention with which he followed the interminable dissertations.<sup>4</sup> What is more, the Pope even found time for a personal study of the intricate question.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On October 12 and 26, November 9 and 22, December 14, 1605, January 12 and February 15 and 22, 1606.

<sup>2</sup> ASTRÁIN, IV., 367. Paul V. is said to have declared, in the Congregation of November 22, that he would end the transactions: the Jesuits were dissatisfied with this (\*Avviso of November 23, 1605, Vatican Library). Apart from the Disputations other Congregations were held, in which only votes were taken, e.g. January 3, 1606 (\*Avviso of January 4, *ibid.*), or, where only Cardinals were present, e.g. March 8, 1606 (\*Avviso, March 11, 1606, *ibid.*).

<sup>3</sup> ASTRÁIN, IV., 368.

<sup>4</sup> \*Avviso of January 11, 1606 (about the Congregation of 10th inst.), Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> They said in Rome that in good weather he went driving and in bad he studied the dispute about grace. \*Avviso of October 19, 1605, *ibid.*

The Commission then received the following command from the Pope : each of its members was to give an answer in writing to the following four questions : which questions concerning grace should be defined and which should be condemned ? In what do the Catholic and the heretical views differ ? Lastly was it expedient to publish a Bull on the subject, and if so, what form should it take ?

The consultors were at work from March to September, 1606. Some of them knew how to compress their opinions, others were so diffuse that the memorandums made a volume of five hundred pages in folio.<sup>1</sup>

There could be no question of the Pope perusing all this literary output. So the whole pile went to join the stock which had accumulated in the course of the dispute and which reposed, unread, in the dust of the archives. The consultors were then commissioned to take counsel among themselves and to present a joint memorandum. Between October 5th and November 23rd, nine deliberations were held, with the result that forty-two propositions from the writings of Molina were submitted to the Pope for condemnation.<sup>2</sup>

Three of four of the consultors did not at once agree with their companions,<sup>3</sup> but in the end only one clung obstinately to his divergent opinion, namely the Carmelite Antonio Bovio, who had recently been preconized as bishop of Molfetta.<sup>4</sup> His answer to the four questions of the Pope point to the path which Paul V. eventually took and for that reason it deserves special notice.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ASTRÁIN, IV., 369.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Pinelli, in SCHNEEMANN, 285 ; *cf.* 281.

<sup>4</sup> It appears that he was only raised to the episcopate subsequently to delivering his opinion (*ibid.*, 281).

<sup>5</sup> Reproduced (with omissions) in SERRY, App. 141-156. An extract from the complete text in ASTRÁIN, IV., 370 *seq.* In the title of the "Opinion" Serry calls Bovio a quondam Jesuit, and on p. 163 (*cf.* 213) he adds : "Quem mihi quondam olim Iesuitam narrat viri Carmelitae primae notae." ASTRÁIN (IV., 373, note 1) failed to discover any information on the point.

Bovio roundly declares that he cannot see in what way the doctrine of physical predetermination differs from the heresy of Calvin. Nevertheless he does not venture to advise the Pope to condemn that opinion, for it may be that there are those who are able to see in what it differs from Calvinism. As a general rule, one should not too quickly condemn an opinion which is defended by learned Catholics. In this respect St. Thomas Aquinas gave them an example of modesty; it was regrettable that at this time, especially in Spain, there was so marked a departure from his example.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, to the first two questions of the Pope, namely which propositions should be defined and which condemned, Bovio's answer is that in respect to the main point in the dispute the Pope should neither define nor condemn anything, for all the universities and the majority of scholars had decided in favour of either the one or the other opinion. The prestige of Catholic divines would be grievously injured if a definition were to show that nearly one-half of them were in error. In addition to this the honour of the two contending Orders must be considered. The Dominicans are usually consulted in the affairs of the Inquisition and whenever there is question of points of the faith, whilst in northern countries the Jesuits are the chief opponents of heresy. What would be the impression, for instance, in England, if the Jesuits were condemned for holding the opinion which they have hitherto defended, because it is directly opposed to the chief error about human free-will? If errors are to be found everywhere, so the heretics would say, it is better to err in company with one's own king and one's own countrymen than with foreigners, and that at the risk of life and goods.<sup>2</sup> If on the other hand physical predetermination is proclaimed as a dogma of the faith, however much that doctrine may really

<sup>1</sup> " Ut certe et miranda et dolenda sit nostrorum temporum, praecipue in Hispaniis, licentia, qua sibi quisque praesumit aliorum catholicorum sententiis temeritatis aut haeresis notam inurere." (In SERRY; 142.)

<sup>2</sup> SERRY, 143.



differ from the teaching of Calvin, in their ears it sounds very much like it and at best only scholars would discover the difference. The heretics would raise a shout of triumph over such a definition and spread it abroad that the Pope has revoked the mistaken pronouncement of Trent and has himself gone over to the enemy.<sup>1</sup> It is no answer to say that where there is question of an error in a matter of faith all other considerations must be brushed aside, for this only applies when there is question of a proven error ; now, whatever the consultors may say, there is here no question of an error of this kind. Men of distinction as well as entire universities disagree with the consultors on this matter.<sup>2</sup> Already twenty years ago, in his controversies, Bellarmine had rejected physical predetermination and had maintained the teaching to which the name of Molina was subsequently affixed, yet it entered into nobody's head to see pelagianism there, though it was surely unthinkable that such an error would have remained undetected for twenty years. Since the days of St. Augustine many Fathers of the Church and many scholastics have treated of efficacious grace but previous to Bañes no one hit on the idea of physical predetermination. St. Augustine treats of the working of grace in a hundred different ways : how can it be explained that not as much as once does he say that efficacious grace implies a predetermination of the will ?<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, the question was not ripe for definition. The Church only defines what is taught by Holy Scripture, Tradition and the Fathers, and then only when theologians agree that the proposition is taught by these three authorities. Physical predetermination derives from none of these sources. Its only foundations are metaphysical considerations which even from a philosophical point of view appear very doubtful and which almost drive us to the conclusion that God is the author of sin. If God predetermined the will of Judas to the betrayal whilst he hovered between treason and

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 143 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> ASTRÁIN, IV., 371.

loyalty to his Master, then surely God did not merely permit the traitor's sin. A unanimous opinion of scholars that a predetermination of this kind derives from the above-named sources of the faith, is most certainly non-existent.<sup>1</sup>

Bovio's advice was that the Pope should leave the question for further discussion by the theological schools whilst laying on scholars the duty of moderation. In this way, he hoped, the heat of the dispute would abate, truth would gradually gain ground and the schools would reach a conclusion with which all might agree. Then would the hour for a definition have struck.<sup>2</sup> Bovio also wished to see the secondary questions which had arisen during the discussions to be treated in the same way as the main thesis, for not one proposition of Molina had been attacked which had not, previous to him, found its defenders among theologians of repute.<sup>3</sup>

Bovio's reply to the Pope's first two questions is exhaustive. He is more concise in his answer to the third question, that is, as to how the opinions of the two contending schools differed from the tenets of the heretics? The Dominican teaching differs from that of Calvin in that the former admit the existence of free-will whereas Calvin denies it. However, Bovio confesses himself unable to understand how free-will can be saved in the Dominican conception of it, whereas it was easy to point out in what way the opinion of the Jesuits differed from pelagianism.<sup>4</sup>

The fourth point on which Paul V. had sought information was in reference to the Bull to be issued on the subject. Bovio had previously presented a draft of such a Bull.<sup>5</sup> He suggested the definition of such propositions only as were held by all Catholics. On the present occasion he advised the Pope<sup>6</sup> to leave all mention both of Dominicans and

<sup>1</sup> SERRY, 144 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 146 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 147 *seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Reproduction, *ibid.*, 152.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

Jesuits out of the Bull, and to make no allusion to Molina : " let us do all we can to blot out the memory of a strife which all well-disposed persons wish it had never arisen."

Bovio's memorial was in the hands of the Pope about the end of 1606, that is, simultaneously with the verdicts of the other consultors. The final decision was delayed for another eight months, though in the meantime there was no abatement of the dispute. Cardinals Arigoni and Marzato were detained in Rome until the affair should be settled.<sup>1</sup> The Pope attached particular importance to the verdict of Cardinal Du Perron. By his command the Acts of the Council of Trent were taken from the castle of Saint Angelo to the house of the Cardinal, though illness prevented Du Perron from making much use of them.<sup>2</sup> Anastasio Germonio wrote to Francis de Sales, to ask him for his view as to what should be done. The brief answer of the bishop of Geneva gave the Pope such satisfaction that he asked for a fuller statement of his views. In his memorandum Francis de Sales declared that on the whole he shared the view of the Jesuits<sup>3</sup> ; he added that he had made an exhaustive study of the subject and that he saw considerable difficulties in either opinion. He did not think the time had come for deciding a question on which so many able scholars were unable to agree. He felt it would be better for Dominicans and Jesuits to join forces and to labour in mutual harmony for the good of the Church instead of allowing themselves to be divided by quarrels. The learned and so eminently successful champion of the unity of the Church wrote in a like strain to the nuncio of Savoy.<sup>4</sup> His counsels could only

<sup>1</sup> \*Avviso of March 14, 1607, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> Du Perron to Henry IV. on July 11, 1606, in ELEUTHERIUS, 702 (cf. 723) ; SCHNEEMANN, 286 seq. ; SCORRAILLE, I., 455.

<sup>3</sup> In his *Theotimus* (II., ch. 10, 12 ; IV., ch. 5) Francis of Sales teaches the same doctrine. SCHNEEMANN, 325 seqq.

<sup>4</sup> M. HAMON, *Vie de St. François de Sales*, I., nouv. éd., Paris, 1909, 590. The letters referred to are only known through the extracts which Charles-Auguste de Sales quoted in the life of his uncle ; a vain search was made for the originals. ASTRÁIN, IV.,

strengthen the impression which Bovio's moderate and balanced statement had apparently made upon the Pope.

Paul V. was likewise desirous of ascertaining the views of the university of Paris. To this end the French nuncio, Maffeo Barberini, the future Pope Urban VIII., was instructed to seek information on the subject, though in complete secrecy. Accordingly the nuncio called on Duval, the most famous among the theologians of Paris of that period, and, as it were, casually turned the conversation on to the controversy on grace. Duval told him that personally he felt inclined to side with the Jesuits; others also, and they were not the least distinguished, shared his view. But two doctors of the faculty—viz. the members of the Roman Commission, Le Bossu and Creil—sided with the Dominicans and they warned their Parisian colleagues against hasty expressions of opinion seeing that the Pope was expected to give a decision. In Spain some excellent theologians favoured the Dominicans, but in France, where they had to deal with heretics who denied the existence of free-will, they were inclined to take their stand by the side of the Jesuits. Two months later Barberini wrote that, at his request, Duval had made further inquiries and that everywhere he had met with uncertainty. If the faculty were asked for a decision it was possible that, owing to the influence of the dean who was suspected of Lutheran leanings, it would pronounce in favour of the Dominicans. Of the two principal Colleges, the Sorbonne was for the Jesuits, that of Navarre for the Dominicans; a

373; *Œuvres de St. François de Sales*, XIII., Annecy, 1904, 417. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the letters seem still to have been known; see MICHAEL A PORTILLA, *Vida del glorioso S. Fr. de Sales*, Madrid, 1695, 427 seq.; *Analecta iuris pontif.*, XVII. (1877), 388. The reply of Germonio to de Sales is in the Acts of Canonization of the latter: "Lessi la lettera ch'ella mi scrisse alla Santità di N. S., e la gustò di maniera che mi ordinò doverla mostrare al sig. card. Pinelli come capo della S. Congregazione del S. Ufficio ed in conseguenza di quella De Auxiliis, e di più che le ne dessi copia volendo la far leggere alla Congregazione sudetta. . . " (*ibid.*, 388).



Jesuit had written from Rome that under the new pontificate things looked well for his Order.<sup>1</sup>

In these circumstances Barberini gave the same advice as Francis de Sales,<sup>2</sup> and according to the biographer of Urban VIII., Barberini's report had a decisive influence upon Paul V.'s subsequent action.<sup>3</sup>

It would seem, seeing that he looked for information in so many quarters outside Rome, that Paul V. did not rely over much on the opinion of the Roman Consultors. Their finding, as a matter of fact, was not calculated to lead to a definitive result. It so happened that in the very first of the forty-two propositions condemned by them they found fault with Molina on a point in which the Jesuit merely sums up the teaching of St. Thomas; still worse for them was it that in this they unwittingly took the same point of view as Bajus.<sup>4</sup> In a memorandum on the last pronouncement of the Commission, Cardinal Pinelli remarked<sup>5</sup> that he did not profess to be a theologian, hence others must judge whether or no the forty-two condemned propositions were to be found in Molina, but in his judgment the course of the dis-

<sup>1</sup> The letter of Barberini of November 24, 1605, and January 24, 1606, in SCORRAILLE, I., 456 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> \*Questa è una questione inestricabile, da non risolverla se non con la risposta: O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei (Rom. II, 33). E se Sua Santità se ne sbrigasse come fu fatto circa alla disputa della concettione della beatissima Vergine, questa sarebbe la più sicura. To Borghese, January 24, 1606, in NICOLETTI, \**Vita d'Urbano VIII.*, I., ch. 20, p. 329, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> \*Questa relazione di Maffeo fece tale impressione nella mente di Papa Paolo, ch'essendosi già terminate tutte le dispute deliberò nel concistoro delli 28 d'agosto, giorno dedicato al gran dottore della chiesa s. Agostino, nell'anno 1606 [*sic*] . . . con un decreto provisionale di terminar la controversia, pronuntiando che la dottrina dell'una e dell'altra religione de'Domenicani e di Gesuiti . . . si potesse liberamente leggere etc. *Ibid.*, 329 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> SCHNEEMANN, 282 *seq.* Cf. ELEUTHERIUS, 708 *seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> SCHNEEMANN, 285.

putation had brought to light the fact that the consultors were not scholars of such outstanding ability that the whole affair might be safely left to their judgment. Hence the opinion of theologians and universities should be sought, secretly and without attracting attention; as for the consultors, they might as well go home. In the meantime the reading of Molina's work should be forbidden until it had been amended.

Against the latter proposal Aquaviva urged the oft-repeated argument<sup>1</sup> that Molina's book had the approval of the experts; that many propositions were wrongfully ascribed to him whilst some of them were equally held by other theologians; in the given circumstances a condemnation of Molina would be construed into a condemnation of the entire Society of Jesus. The result was that thereafter Pinelli never again proposed the condemnation of Molina.<sup>2</sup>

At this time another name famous in the story of the controversy on grace appears beside those of Francis de Sales, Bellarmine and Du Perron. As early as the beginning of 1603, Cardinal Baronius had taken sides in the controversy in two documents<sup>3</sup> which ever since had been passing from hand to hand in Rome. In them the great theologian declared himself a friend of the Jesuits but a decided opponent of Molina; no less than fifty-five propositions in the latter's writings seemed to him to deserve condemnation. Baronius had been Clement VIII.'s confessor, so it may well be that he confirmed the Pope in his opposition to Molina. However, his writings could have but little bearing on the issue of the dispute for Baronius had never specialized in scholastic theology.<sup>4</sup> Even his historical data about the origin of

<sup>1</sup> SCHNEEMANN, 286.

<sup>2</sup> In his advice of August 28, 1607; see below, p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> To DR. LOMATA (*cf.* LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 384) and to Pierre de Villars, bishop of Vienne (SERRY, 75; *Analecta iuris pontif.*, XXVII. (1887-8), 1162 *seq.*); Italian translation in CALENZIO, *C. Baronio*, 592 *seqq.* *Cf.* SCHNEEMANN, 276; ASTRÁIN, IV., 373.

<sup>4</sup> To his father's request that he should study scholasticism the young Baronius answered, January 7, 1562: \*" Son già al

the quarrel were quite wrong, a fact that seems almost incredible.<sup>1</sup>

If the end of the strife appeared at last to be in sight, credit for it was given, in Rome, to the King of Spain who pressed for a decision and assured the Pope that he would see to its strict execution.<sup>2</sup>

On the feast of St. Augustine, August 28th, 1607, the day came which was to see the end of discussions that had dragged their weary course through so many years. When the following nine Cardinals, Pinelli, Bernerio, Givry, Bianchetti, Arigoni, Bellarmine, Du Perron, Bufalo de Cancellieri and Taverna were gathered in his presence, the Pope asked for their opinion as to what should be done.<sup>3</sup>

tutto risoluto di starmene con queste lettere ch'io ho, quali mi bastano ad sobrietatem (*Romans*, 12, 3) et per me e altri, che qui addit scientiam, addit dolorem (*Eccles.*, I. 18) Bastami veder la scrittura positivamente, cioè, le cose di santi dottori, senza travagliarmi nella philosophia et nella theologia speculativa, sicchè non ne habbiate piccolo pensiero." (*Cod.*, Q. 46, f. 19, Valli-celliana Library, Rome.) Cf. CALENZIO, 59.

<sup>1</sup> According to him, Molina's work was first printed in Spain and immediately condemned by the Cardinal of Toledo; nevertheless it was at once published afresh in Portugal; the conflict spread from Spain to France, where the Sorbonne decided against Molina; in 1596 the Pope called the litigants before his judgment seat.

<sup>2</sup> \*Avviso of September 1, 1607, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> We are informed about the meeting of August 28 through a memorandum drawn by Paul with his own hand, in SCHNEEMANN, 287 *seqq.* Facsimiles of this important document, *ibid.* For the suggestion by the author of a dissertation published at Berne (1921) that Schneemann had forged the document, as he did not give its description, cf. W. HENTRICH in the periodical, *Scholastik*, I. (1926), 263-7. The description is: *Borghese*, sez. I., No. 370A, carta 94. SCORRAILLE, I., 457. For the cardinals present cf. CORONIL, who adds to Du Perron's name: "cum D.D. cardinalibus generalibus Inquisitoribus specialiter vocatus" (in SERRY, 586). Marzato, who would probably have spoken at length against the Jesuits, had died on August 18, 1607 (*ibid.*, 586).

Of the nine opinions which were now given two were not likely to influence the papal decision. Taverna opined that if one of the two views was erroneous, a papal condemnation should ensue ; if not, no decision should be taken. Bufalo wanted a papal decision in any case ; either the one or the other opinion should be condemned or both should be declared probable. He was against a continuation of the disputations for they could only create universal confusion nor were they in keeping with the dignity of the Apostolic See.

On the other hand, four of the nine Cardinals expressed themselves in favour of further discussions. Pinelli repeated his advice that to this end scholars should be summoned from France, Spain, and Germany, and the universities also should be consulted, for though some of the members of the Roman Commission were men of ability and learning, the others did not inspire confidence. For the time being the main question might be left in abeyance ; they might be content with the definition of a few points about which no doubt existed. Further discussions were also favoured by Givry, Bianchetti and Arigoni. Givry and Bianchetti leaned towards the opinion of the Dominicans, the former because in this view greater power was attributed to God, whereas the latter founded his preference on the declaration of the Council of Trent that without God we are incapable of a good act. He added that further investigation should be conducted by a new commission of Cardinals and consultors and the censors should make sure whether or no Molina really taught the forty-two condemned propositions. Cardinal Arigoni supported Bianchetti ; he deprecated, however, the suggested prohibition of Molina's book, pending its revision. He did not wish that any definite, clearly outlined propositions should be laid down by papal sentence ; there would be no corresponding advantage in this and the heretics would be given a pretext for writing against them.

The memorials of Cardinals Bernerio, Bellarmine and Du Perron alone express a clear and definite judgment on the central question of the long-drawn controversy.

Bernerio is decidedly in favour of a papal definition and that



in the sense of the Roman Congregation and the condemnation by it of the forty-two propositions. The propositions should be expressly described and condemned as the teaching of Molina. A special Bull should be issued on the subject of physical predetermination ; to safeguard the honour of the Society of Jesus its name should not be mentioned in its pages. That is how Pius II. acted when a controversy arose between Dominicans and Franciscans concerning the precious Blood of Christ. Though all the Cardinals were in favour of the Friars Preachers, the Pope refused to pronounce against the Franciscans whose services were required for preaching the crusade against the Turks.<sup>1</sup>

If the Dominican Bernerio pronounced himself most decidedly in favour of the opinion held by his Order, Bellarmine and Du Perron defended the opposite view with no less energy. Physical predetermination, Bellarmine observed, was the opinion of Calvin and Luther. The Dominicans may be excused inasmuch as they do not read the works of the heretics. Bañes' language was worse than that of Molina for he found fault with St. Augustine's view on reprobation. Molina's work had received the approval of two universities. A few indubitable propositions, on which both parties agreed, might be defined in a Bull but the more difficult points should be left alone.

Du Perron spoke in the same strain. The innovators would gladly accept and subscribe to the doctrine of physical predetermination. Calvin had taught it, precisely in the sense here in question and in this sense it had been condemned by the Council of Trent when that assembly declared that it was possible for man to reject grace. The opinion of the Jesuits differed widely from that of Pelagius. The book of Molina should not be prohibited, but rather that of Bañes. Du Perron does not desire a solution of the dispute by papal definition. The best is to let the affair drag on and die a natural death. Maybe Providence will bring the two parties together in a mutual understanding.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. our notes, Vol. II, 186 *seq.*

The Pope was thus left without adequate data on which to base a definitive pronouncement. He could not lean on the verdict of his Roman Commission ; with the exception of Bernerio, not one of the nine Cardinals attached particular significance to its report ; in fact some of them openly expressed their misgivings. Nor did the memorials of the Cardinals provide him with a firmer basis. These documents advocate the most contradictory proposals : they advise the Pope to define and not to define ; to prohibit Molina's work and not to prohibit it. As regards the central point of the whole controversy, six out of the nine Cardinals, notwithstanding interminable discussions, had not yet got a clear idea of the question, and when two of their number showed a leaning towards the Dominican theory, the arguments brought forward by them made it plain that they had no real grasp of the problem. Of the remaining Cardinals, Bernerio on the one hand, Bellarmine and Du Perron on the other, stood in sharpest opposition. It was therefore impossible to decide the question by a majority of votes. Were Paul V. to weigh the votes, instead of counting them, either Bellarmine or Du Perron would outweigh, singly, all the others taken together ; however, as a Jesuit, Bellarmine was just as much liable to be suspected of partiality in the affair as was the Dominican Bernerio and on two votes only, however great their weight, it was utterly impossible to base a definition in a question of faith.

Without allowing the strife of parties to trouble his judgment, with wonderful calm and serenity of mind, Paul V. summed up his own ideas in a final review of the memorials of the nine Cardinals : Since the Council of Trent declared that our free-will can only take decisions tending unto salvation if God acts on it, a controversy has arisen as to whether this action is a physical or a moral one. From controversy to error it is but a short step, hence it is most desirable that the question should be clarified. However, there is no immediate need of a definition for the Dominican opinion differs widely from the teaching of Calvin, since in their view grace does not take away freedom but perfects it,

and thus enables man to act in a human way, that is, freely. On the other hand, the Jesuits differ from the Pelagians; the latter attribute the first step towards salvation to ourselves whereas the former maintain the exact opposite. Hence a definition is not needed for the moment and the affair may be put off so as to give time a chance to do its work. There was no need for a Bull which would deal with matters that were not controverted; it would only give the innovators an opportunity for a display of their sophistry; it was the province of the Inquisition to take action against people who disseminated really false theories. Many points may be left for further discussion and the universities as well as individual scholars may be consulted. Accordingly the congregations dealing with the controversy on grace are dissolved and their members bound to keep the strictest secrecy about the discussions; all they were to say was that the Pope would decide the affair at some future date.

A few days later the Pope's decision was communicated to the Dominicans and to the Jesuits. His Holiness, so the General of the Jesuits, Aquaviva, wrote on September 3rd, 1607, to the Provincials of his Order,<sup>1</sup> has informed both the theologians and the consultors that they may go home; at the appropriate time he would make known his view and his decision concerning the matter in dispute. Until then no one must presume, when the subject is discussed, to pass any strictures on those who hold a different opinion. If anyone either of the party of the Jesuits or of that of the Dominicans contravenes this command, let him be severely punished: the present ordinance is to be held inviolable.

When the Jesuit historian of the controversy on grace published his account of the matter as against that of the Dominican Serry, he headed each section of his voluminous work with characteristic illustrations. The wide head-piece shows Christ carrying His cross and saying to St. Ignatius of Loyala: "I will be favourable to you in Rome!"<sup>2</sup> As a

<sup>1</sup> In SCHNEEMANN, 292. Another copy in ASTRÁIN, IV., 380, bears the date September 18.

<sup>2</sup> MEYERE, I., 113, 240.

matter of fact the Society was about to tread once more the *Via Dolorosa* portended by the vision of its holy founder. The Jesuits had failed to secure a definitive judgment ; so had the Dominicans ; but apart from this the issue had been as favourable to them as could be expected in the circumstances. Every attempt had been made to call down upon Molina's work a sentence of condemnation by the highest authority in the Church,<sup>1</sup> yet all these efforts had failed. During the discussions the entire Society of Jesus had been, as it were, arraigned ; now it was acquitted. The opposition had constantly represented the Jesuit teaching as contrary to the faith ; henceforth no one was to presume to bring forward charges of this kind. The Dominicans held that physical predetermination was alone true and a proven article of the faith ; it was now clear to all that they were mistaken in that claim.

The protracted strain from which the Jesuits had suffered whilst the controversy lasted, sufficiently accounts for the strange ways in which joy over the outcome expressed itself in many places in Spain. Thus, at Salamanca, posters were stuck on the walls with the legend : Molina triumphs ! Elsewhere there were masques and displays of fireworks ; at Villagarcia, in typical Spanish fashion, they went so far as to get up a bull fight for which, however, Aquaviva insisted that the Rector of the College should be severely reprimanded in presence of all his subjects and punished with temporary suspension from his office.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand the Vice-

<sup>1</sup> A Bull to condemn the Jesuit's opinion was already drawn up ; the document was declared to be spurious by a decree of the Inquisition of April 23, 1654 ; cf. ASTRÁIN, IV., X., 381 ; SCORRAILLE, I., 461 ; LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengeschichte*, 107 ; Reusch, II., 306 seq., cf. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to the Provincial of Castille of December 11, 1607, in ASTRÁIN, IV., 382. Cf. SERRY, 596 seqq. : At other times, too, in Spain the unfortunate horned beasts had not infrequently to bear the cost of scientific triumphs ; the moral theologian Azpilcueta, known as DOCTOR NAVARRUS, one of the best known specialists in his subject, and the reformer of the canonical



Provincial of Toledo was able to report that in his province no outward manifestations of joy had marked the favourable termination of the dispute.<sup>1</sup> From a petition in which the Dominicans of Valladolid invoked the Pope's protection, we gather that at the termination of the controversy a number of scholars openly took the part of the Jesuits and that public opinion turned against those who until then had played the rôle of accusers.<sup>2</sup>

In view of the high tension of spirits on both sides it was to be expected that the controversy would not abate at once. On the part of the Jesuits, Acquaviva, with characteristic moderation, instructed his subjects to refrain from any reference to the burning topic. A book in which Lessius dealt with the matter and which had been completed and approved already in 1608, was only allowed to appear in 1610, at Antwerp,<sup>3</sup> subsequently to the publication, in the same year, of a voluminous work in which Diego Alvares gave a defence of the Dominican view which was to remain classical for years to come.

studies at Salamanca, could not prevent the customary bullfight from being held in celebration of his promotion to the degree of Doctor; he only succeeded in obtaining that the horns of the creatures should be sawn off so that the fight might be less dangerous. EHRLE, in *Katholik*, 1884, II., 517.

<sup>1</sup> SCORRAILLE, I., 463.

<sup>2</sup> *Ex quo ingens scandalum in ecclesia pullulat, multique ex fidelibus turbari incipiunt. Nos etiam rubore suffundimur, et intra privatos parietes delitescere cogimur, plurimique catholici sapientissimi deficientes animo ab incocepto tramite defendendi veram salubremque doctrinam pedem avertunt.* Petition from the Dominican College at Valladolid, November 26, 1607, in SERRY, 598. Cf. SCHNEEMANN, 294.

<sup>3</sup> SCHNEEMANN, 293. For the objections made in Rome against the treatise and its connection with Acquaviva's Decree of December 14, 1613, cf. LE BACHELET, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 27 seqq., 185 seqq., and in the *Recherches de science religieuse*, XIV. (Paris, 1924), 46-60, 134-159. See further, B. LEMMENS, *Schreiben von Lessius an Paul V.* of August 25, 1611, in the *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XIII. (1899), 373.

Lest by a reopening of the controversy spirits should be still further excited the Inquisition published a decree on December 1st, 1611, which forbade the publication of further writings on the doctrine of grace unless they had received the special approbation of the Holy Office.

For all that, Lessius' book was not without effect. It prompted Philip III. to instruct his Roman envoy, in agreement with the Roman Dominicans, to press for a definite settlement of the dispute. On its part also the General Chapter of the Friars Preachers, held in 1612, petitioned the Pope in the same sense.<sup>1</sup> However, Paul V. persisted in his opinion that there was no need of a papal definition of the question. In a memorandum drawn up for his own personal use,<sup>2</sup> the Pope briefly recapitulated the grounds for this attitude of his. He writes that he would keep the affair in mind and he records his keen displeasure at the heat which both sides displayed in debate. Aquaviva, whose opinion Paul V. sought, answered that he thought it would be premature to make a pronouncement on the question; the issue of the Congregations was there to prove it.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> SCHNEEMANN, 293 *seq.* The decree of the Inquisition is in SERRY, 615; ELEUTHERIUS, 729. The memorial of the General Chapter, in SERRY, 625. An \*essay by Thomas de Lemos of April 12, 1612: "que sea necesario determinar la causa de auxiliis," in *Vat.* 6532, p. 127 *seq.*, of Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> In SCHNEEMANN, 295 *seqq.* A Spanish theologian, Rua, was actually imprisoned, for publishing a treatise on the question of grace, and that although Clement VIII. had had the treatise sent to him in Rome. \*Avviso of August 1, 1615, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> In SCHNEEMANN, 294 *seq.* The \*reply of Paul V. to the Dominican Aloysius Aliaga, Philip III.'s Confessor, of June 22, 1612, speaks of the king's keenness for the decision of the matter, which the Pope praises. "Sed Regiæ maiestati persuasum esse cupimus, quod sicut nemini magis quam Nobis negotium hoc curæ esse debet," we therefore pray for enlightenment on it, and take counsel with wise and unprejudiced men." "Nihilominus difficultates non cessant. Sollicitat quidem Nos vehementer et assidue hæc cura." *Pauli V. epist. anno 8*, Papal Secret Archives.

The book of Lessius had yet further repercussions. Bellarmine and other Jesuits in Rome thought that some of its assertions went too far and that they gave ground for the opponents' objection that in the Jesuit conception efficacious grace and sufficient grace differed only in their effect, inasmuch as the free-will corresponds with the one but not with the other—hence the difference is due solely to the free-will. For this reason, on 14th December, 1613, Aquaviva drew the attention of his subjects to the fact that a grace with which, in God's prevision, the assent of the free-will is linked, was precisely for that reason a special favour, one more precious than any other; that such was the teaching of the Order and by it all should stand. As against Lessius' view that predestination to salvation was consequent on the prevision of our good works the decree takes the opposite view, but this was subsequently revoked by another General, Vitelleschi. Lessius lived to see Francis de Sales come round to his opinion.<sup>1</sup>

A papal decision was similarly invoked, and likewise in vain, in yet another theological problem of several centuries' standing.<sup>2</sup> At Christmas time, 1614, when according to custom the people of Spain sing hymns and religious rhymes in honour of the feast, three priests of Seville conceived a plan for honouring the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God in like manner. In the following year, 1615, they successfully taught the children and the grown-ups suitable hymns and rhymes. A protest by the Dominicans only met with an increase of enthusiasm. True, exception could at times be taken to some of these outbursts of fervour. Now already by 1613, devotion to the Immaculate Mother as well as opposition to it, had reached a certain liveliness. These divergent feelings now grew to such proportions<sup>3</sup> that the hard-pressed Dominicans,

<sup>1</sup> SCHNEEMANN, 303; ASTRÁIN, IV., 383; LE BACHELET, in the *Recherches de science religieuse*, XIV., 155 *seqq.*; FR. DE SALES, *Œuvres*, XVIII., 372.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. L. FRÍAS in *Razón y Fe X* (1904), 28 *seqq.*, and ASTRÁIN, V., 127 *seqq.* See too THOMAS DE LEMOS, \**De immaculata conceptione*, Barb., 1079, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> Details in *Frías*, 27 *seqq.*

as well as the archbishop, appealed to the king begging him to obtain a papal decision on the disputed point with a view to putting an end to the scandalous strife.<sup>1</sup> The nuncio in Madrid, on the other hand, desired no more than a fresh confirmation and enforcement of the edicts by which Sixtus IV. and Pius V., whilst avoiding a final decision, had previously endeavoured to allay the dispute. In effect a Bull in this sense was published on 6th July, 1616. It forbade once more all mutual accusations of heresy as well as the discussion of the question before the people, additional penalties being laid down for such as proved recalcitrant.<sup>2</sup>

Now Philip III., on the advice of an extraordinary Junta, had already decided to send to Rome a former Abbot-General of the Benedictines with mission to obtain a definition of the Immaculate Conception as a dogma of the faith, or at least a prohibition for anyone to maintain the opposite view in public. When the Bull arrived it was decided not to open it for the time being but to await the issue of the embassy.<sup>3</sup> The king had written<sup>4</sup> in support of the efforts of his envoy. However, Paul V. was not disposed to listen favourably to the request. Scandal, he declared, must of course be stayed, seeing that the Dominicans have gone the length of accusing of heresy those who maintained a view which was not theirs. His predecessors had refrained from issuing a dogmatic definition; neither orthodoxy nor the salvation of souls necessitated it; the Protestants desired it in order that they

<sup>1</sup> The archbishop was also so very keen in the matter because he thought the lead tablets, found at Granada, in 1595, in Arabic writing and apparently dating back to primitive Christian times, to be genuine (*cf.* on this STROZZI, S. J., *Controversia della concezione della B.V.M. descritta istoricamente*, Palermo, 1700, I, 8, ch. 15). The Immaculate Conception was described therein in scholastic terms (!); see FRÍAS, 145. Innocent XI. declared the tablets to be spurious.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull.*, XII., 356 *seq.* For Sixtus IV. and Pius V. *cf.* our notes, Vol. III, 394 *seq.*, XVII., 205.

<sup>3</sup> FRÍAS, 151-3.

<sup>4</sup> May, 1617, *ibid.*, 229 *seq.*



might have fresh grounds for an attack on the Church. When a congregation of Cardinals had expressed similar views, a decree of the Inquisition was issued by which all public attacks against this pious opinion were forbidden, but for the rest it left the situation unchanged.<sup>1</sup> In Spain the decree was hailed with loud manifestations of joy,<sup>2</sup> for it surely meant a big step forward.

The king, however, was not satisfied. Even before the decree reached Spain he had decided to send yet another envoy to Rome in the person of a distinguished prelate, the bishop of Osma, who was to push with greatest energy this affair of the "pious opinion".<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding the representations of the nuncio and though Paul V., in an autograph letter, had deprecated the despatch of a further embassy,<sup>4</sup> Philip III. believed the Pope was insufficiently informed; hence, after the demise of the bishop of Osma, he appointed a third envoy in the person of the former General of the Franciscans who was now bishop of Cartagena.<sup>5</sup>

All these efforts were in vain. The ceaseless pressure on the part of Spain in this and other matters ended by causing great annoyance to Paul V. The Pope went so far as to declare that he would sooner resign than allow himself to be treated in this fashion.<sup>6</sup> In April, 1620, the bishop of Cartagena was ordered to return to Spain.<sup>7</sup>

Of all the princes the archdukes of Austria alone supported the efforts of Philip III. Even the Spanish viceroys displayed but little keenness.<sup>8</sup> Philip's ambassador to France wrote that not much was to be expected from that country, were it only by reason of France's dislike of Spain; besides that,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 301-5. The decree of August 31, published on September 12, 1617, in *Bull.*, XII., 396 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> FRÍAS, 307 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> FRÍAS, XI. (1905), 181 *seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> November 24, 1617, *ibid.*, 195.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 198; XII. (1905), 323.

<sup>6</sup> The Spanish ambassador in Rome, Cardinal Borgia, to Philip III. on March 12, 1616, in FRÍAS, XIII. (1905), 66.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 63 *seq.*

their Gallican views led the French to maintain that only a General Council would be competent to decide such a matter ; they would refuse to accept a definition by the Pope. The theological schools did, indeed, teach the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, but if freedom of discussion in this matter were interfered with, it was to be feared lest opinion should swing round in the opposite direction, out of hatred for the Pope's authority and for Spain.<sup>1</sup>

Strangely enough the Spanish Dominicans, at the suggestion of the king, and whilst the pourparlers were still in progress, sent a petition to Rome,<sup>2</sup> to beg the Pope that he would lay a command on them to preach the Immaculate Conception and to honour it in the liturgy, according to the universal practice of the Church.

Paul V. was of a strictly ecclesiastical bent of mind. A characteristic manifestation of this disposition can be seen in his great zeal for the honour of the Saints. Not only did he raise the rank of certain existing feasts, or extend them to the universal Church,<sup>3</sup> he likewise added new and illustrious

<sup>1</sup> January 30, 1619, *ibid.*, 64.

<sup>2</sup> June 24, 1618, *ibid.*, XII. (1905), 324 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Cf. Bull.*, XI., 238 *seq.*, XII., 428 *seq.* ; NOVAES, IX., 106 ; BZOVIVS, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 16 ; GAVANTUS, *Thesaur. ss. Rituum*, II., Aug. Vindel. 1763, 224 ; BÄUMER, 506. The feast of St. Louis was made universal for all France by Paul V. ; see GOUJET, II., 207 *seq.* The claim frequently made that Paul V. canonized Pope Gregory VII. (REUSCH, II., 788) is false, for the archbishop of Salerno, Giov. Beltramini, obtained a Brief from Paul V., July 28, 1609, in which the office of this Pope is prescribed for Salerno *only, sub ritu duplici*, see *Acta SS. Maii*, VI., 103. The veneration of Gregory VII. at Salerno, dates back to the Middle Ages ; his name appears in the Roman Martyrology of 1584. Devotion to the great Pope took new life when his grave was opened under Gregory XIII. The *Acta SS.*, *loc. cit.*, say this occurred in 1577. This, however, is contradicted not only by the inscription preserved in the Cathedral of Salerno, but also the deposition of the opening of the tomb. As this is of the greatest interest, it is reproduced here. It is as follows : \*In nome di Dio e così sia. Per mezzo di questo testimoniale istru-

names to the list of those who were to be honoured everywhere ; however, he did this only after a conscientious and

mento sia a tutti noto che l'anno dalla Natività del Signore millesimo quingentesimo settuagesimo ottavo, e nel giorno di lunedì, trigesimo del mese di giugno, sesta Indizione, entro la chiesa metropolitana di Salerno, ed essendo Pontefice Massimo Gregorio per divina provvidenza Papa decimoterzo, nell'anno suo settimo, e scoccata l'ora sedicesima, verificati i testimonii da me infrascritto notaio, presente l'Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Signore Marco Antonio Marsilio Colonna per grazia di Dio e della Sede Apostolica arcivescovo Salernitano e Regio Consigliere : Acciò per cura dell'Illustrissimo Signore la memoria ed il sepolcro della felice ricordanza di Gregorio Papa VII, che, defunto in Salerno, rimaneva seppellito al coro sinistro della superiore basilica, presso alla cappella che dicesi della Crociata, fosse costituito più degnamente in maggiore ampiezza ed in più ferma testimonianza di tanto Pontefice, il prefato illustrissimo signore comandò che il detto sepolcro alla presenza dei cennati testimonii fosse aperto. E esso era marmoreo, ed essendo stato diligentemente ispezionato tanto dal predetto Illustrissimo Signore quanto dai testimonii e da me ancora notaro infrascritto, fu ivi ritrovato il corpo del predetto Pontefice quale era, del tutto integro, con il naso, i denti e le altre membra del corpo. Aveva una mitra semplice pontificale alle cui bende erano apposte delle croci. Parimenti avea una stola serica tessuta di oro, con ornamenti aurei, nei quali erano iscritte delle lettere, cioè PAX NOSTRA. Aveva guanti serici, tessuti con mirabile bellezza di oro e perle con una croce sopra, e nel dito anulare avea un anello di oro senza gemma. Portava pianeta rossa tessuta in oro, una tunicella serica, i calzari corrosi, tessuti anch'essi di oro e seta con croce sopra i piedi, giungevano presso alle ginocchia. Aveva cingolo di oro, ed al viso sopra posto un velo. Apparivano ancora vestigi del pallio, e molti croci erano apposte alli vestimenta, di guisa che niente, di quanto era necessario agli indumenti pontificii, mancasse. Le quali cose tutte osservate diligentemente e lasciate al loro proprio posto, di modo che niente ne fosse trasportato altrove, l'Illustrissimo Signore ordinò che si chiudesse il sepolcro. In fede della qual cosa lo stesso Illustrissimo arcivescovo volle sottoscrivere con le sue proprie mani." Archiepiscopal Archives. Salerno.

searching inquiry and with most scrupulous regard for existing rules.<sup>1</sup> Eugene IV. and Nicholas V., in their time, had taken up the preliminary work for the canonization of Francesca Romana, one of Rome's noblest women,<sup>2</sup> and whom the voice of the people had proclaimed a Saint as soon as she was dead. In 1604, Clement VIII. took up the process once more. Paul V. gave it close attention from the first year of his accession. His first act was to order an accurate review of the process up to date. On 11th April, 1606, Francisco Peña, dean of the Rota, reported favourably.<sup>3</sup> The Romans undertook to defray the not inconsiderable expenses connected with a canonization.<sup>4</sup> As soon as the Congregation of Rites had given its consent, the question was discussed and concluded, as prescribed, in three consistories held on 28th April and 6th and 21st May, 1608.<sup>5</sup>

Cardinal Bellarmine supplemented his favourable vote by pointing out that, forasmuch as she had begun by practising virginity, and then lived for many years in chaste matrimony, had subsequently borne the burdens of widowhood and finally led a life of perfection in the cloister, Francesca Romana was all the more deserving of the honours of the altar as she could be set up as a pattern of virtue for every age, sex and condition.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The \*transactions of the *Constantini Caetani congregat. Casin. decani de sanctorum canonizatione assertio ad S.D.N.* was dedicated to Paul V., V. Non. Aug. 1611, *Barb.*, XVII., 17, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> For Francesca Romana, see our notes, Vol. I, 5-7, 248 *seq.* For the earlier efforts to promote canonization, see RABORY, *Vie de St<sup>e</sup> Françoise Romaine*.

<sup>3</sup> See *Acta SS. IX., Martii*, II., 212\* *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the \*Avvisi of September 7, 1605, August 2, 1606, and April 30, 1608. Vatican Library. The summary of the account of costs are in *Arch. Rom.*, XVI., 236 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> See \**Acta consist.*, Vatican Library. Cf. DUDIK, *Iter Rom.*, I., 187. The \*votes of the cardinals and others questioned are in *Cod.*, S. 4, 16, of the Angelica Library, Rome. Cf. NARDUCCI, 483 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> See LE BACHELET, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 477.



Paul V. fixed on the anniversary of his own coronation (29th May, 1608), as the date of the solemn function. It was carried out in St. Peter's, amid the jubilation of the Roman people.<sup>1</sup> In the Bull of canonization the Pope extols the power of grace in a weak creature and congratulates Rome, the city of his birth, for in it more than in all the other cities of the earth, has this power been shown forth. Rome, the Bull declares, was like a queen crowned with a diadem sparkling with many jewels, not only because of a host of Martyrs adorned with the purple of their own blood, and of blessed lines of venerable pontiffs, but also by reason of its choirs of chaste virgins and a multitude of matrons adorned with every heavenly grace.<sup>2</sup> During the days following the function in St. Peter's, great processions escorting the image of the new Saint wended their way to the Convent of Tor di Specchi, to her tomb in St. Maria Nuova and to St. Maria in Ara Coeli as being the church of the Roman Senate.<sup>3</sup> The Pope himself paid several visits to the tomb of Francesca and said Mass there.<sup>4</sup> He repeated his visit in the following year, on 8th March, the Saint's feast day.<sup>5</sup> In 1616, the Trinitarians erected a new church in her honour in the via Felice.<sup>6</sup>

If the memory of Frances of Rome lived thus in the hearts of the Romans, that of Carlo Borromeo was no less alive in those of the people of Milan. They looked on him not only as an ideal bishop, but likewise as a pattern of every virtue. On 4th May, 1604, a deputation of the clergy and people of Milan had petitioned Clement VIII. for Borromeo's canonization. The Pope referred the matter to the Congregation of Rites, from whence it went on to the Rota. Owing to the fact that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. \**Acta consist.* of May 29, 1608 ; \**Avvisi* of May 28 and 31, 1608. After the \**Avviso* of April 19, 1608, the preparations in St. Peter's had already been begun, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull.*, XI., 491 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See \**Avviso* of June 4, 1608, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See the \**Avvisi* of June 14 and 18, 1608, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> See \**Avviso* of March 11, 1609, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> See ARMELLINI, *Chiese*, 242.

the inquiries at Milan had been held without a mandate from the Holy See, Paul V. ordered a fresh investigation.<sup>1</sup> The thoroughness with which the Pope insisted that they should be carried out is shown by the fact that more than three hundred witnesses were examined.<sup>2</sup> Petitions were presented to the Pope by all manner of persons; among others by Philip III.<sup>3</sup> and by the whole College of Cardinals.<sup>4</sup> To the same end the seventh provincial council of Milan sent bishops Bascapè of Novara and Carretto of Casale as its special delegates to Rome. However, the Pope insisted on a most rigorous inquiry lest anyone should suspect the least shadow of partiality in an affair in which there was question of honouring a Cardinal of the Roman Church. Three auditors discussed the matter in no less than eight sessions. After the presentation to the Pope of their favourable vote, on 7th December, 1609,<sup>5</sup> the affair came before the Congregation of Rites on 12th December. Although that Congregation had already expressed its assent in the spring of 1610,<sup>6</sup> Paul V. had the report of the Rota controlled by twelve Cardinals, Bellarmine being one of them. Only when this had been done in eleven sittings, between 26th January and 26th June, 1610, was the discussion concluded in the consistories of 30th August, 14th and 20th September.<sup>7</sup> On 1st November,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SALA, *Biografia di S. Carlo*, 225.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*Acts of Canonization in *Cod.*, I., 132, of the Ambrosian Library, Milan, used by SYLVAIN, III., 382 *seq.* The \**Oratio legatorum Mediolan. ad Paulum V. pro canonisat. C. Borromaei* is in *Urb.* 1028, p. 526 *seq.*, of the Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> The \*reply of Paul V. to Philip III., dated December 10, 1607 " (mandasse ut examen sanctitatis C. Borromaei card. expediretur) ", in *Epist.*, III., 304; *Arm.*, 45. Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> See \**Acta consist.*, of April 28, 1608. Cf. \**Avviso* of May 17, 1608. Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> See \**Avviso* of December 12, 1609. Vatican Library.

<sup>6</sup> See \**Avvisi* of February 20 and March 3, 1610, *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> See \**Acta consist.*, Vatican Library. Cf. SALA, *loc. cit.*, 227, and NARDUCCI, 484 *seq.* The vote of Bellarmine of September 20, 1610, in LE BACHELET, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 477 *seq.*

1610, the apostolic bishop in whom, together with Pius V., the spirit of the Catholic reform shines most brightly, was numbered among the Saints.<sup>1</sup> Three churches were erected in his honour in the Eternal City, during the life-time of Paul V.: the magnificent church of San Carlo ai Catinari, by the Barnabites; that of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, by the discalced Trinitarians, and that of San Carlo al Corso, by the Lombards.<sup>2</sup> On the occasion of the translation of the Saint's heart into the last-named church, on 22nd June, 1614, twenty-five Cardinals and nearly a hundred bishops took part in the solemn function.<sup>3</sup> Guido Reni honoured the new Saint with the magnificent Pietà which adorns the gallery of Bologna.<sup>4</sup>

Paul V. carried out a number of canonizations in which he paid homage to the most diverse conditions. Besides the admirable archbishop of Valencia, Thomas of Villanova, who died

<sup>1</sup> *Bull.*, XI., 643 seq. Cf. the *Relation de la canonisation de S. Charles Borromée*, Paris, 1615; ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 165. For the considerable expenses of the Bull, see *Gli Archivi ital.*, IV. (1917), 27.

<sup>2</sup> An \*Avviso of November 25, 1609, records that Cardinal F. Borromeo was seeking to buy a site, so that, if his uncle should be canonized, he might build him a church in Rome. As to the church of S. Carlo "alle Quattro Fontane", consecrated on June 8, 1612, see the archivist's note in SYLVAIN, *Charles Borromée*, III., 391, note. He is, however, mistaken in thinking that this was the first church dedicated to St. Charles in Rome, for an \*Avviso of November 5, 1611, about the celebration of the feast of the holy archbishop of Milan, mentions that Cardinal Joyeuse said the first Mass in the new oratory of the Barnabites, whither the Presbyteral title of S. Biagio dell'Anello had been transferred. But this is S. Carlo ai Catinari, though it was completed at a later date. The preparations for the building of S. Carlo al Corso are treated in an \*Avviso of December 17, 1611. Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of June 28, 1614, Vatican Library. Cf. *Studi e documenti*, XV., 273, and FATTORIO PATRITIO, *Amplia e diligente relatione degli honori fatti al cuore di S. Carlo*, Rome, 1614.

<sup>4</sup> See BÖHN, *G. Reni*, 76 seq.

in 1555,<sup>1</sup> and Cardinal bishop Albert of Liège, who had been murdered in 1192 by some adherents of the emperor Henry IV.,<sup>2</sup> he beatified two Spaniards of whom the world had never heard until then. One of them, Isidore (died 1305),<sup>3</sup> for whom Philip III. cherished a special regard, was a simple husbandman; the other, Pascal Baylon, had spent his whole life as a lay-brother in the Order of the discalced Friars Minor of the strict observance.<sup>4</sup> The Servites were given a new Beato in the person of Joachim Piccolomini (died 1305).<sup>5</sup> For the Silvestrins the Pope approved the *cultus* of their founder, Silvestro Gozzolini,<sup>6</sup> and for the Dominicans that of Louis Bertrand (Beltram), whose burning zeal had spread Christianity in New Granada between the years 1562 and 1569.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Acta SS. Sept.*, V., 799 seq. The *Relatio Bapt. Coccini, S. Rotae decani*, to Paul V. is printed in F. CONTELORIUS, *Tract de Canonizat. Sanctorum*, Lugduni, 1634, in the Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> See NOVAES, IX., 105, where the documents are given which appeared in the Netherlands in 1613, by the authority of the Archduke Albert, on the occasion of the translation of the new Beato.

<sup>3</sup> See *Acta SS. Maii*, III., 512 seq. Cf. the \*Briefs to Philip III., July 6 and October 15, 1618 (*Epist.*, XV., 295), and \*that to the Governor of Madrid, January 13, 1621 (*Epist.*, XVI., 295), *Arm.*, 45, Papal Secret Archives. According to the \*Avviso of October 14, 1620, the process had then been concluded. The \*report of the Rota to Paul V. *de sanctitate Isidori agricolae*, is in *Barb.*, 2776, Vatican Library. Cf., too, F. FITA, in *Boletín de la hist.*, IX. (1886), 99 seq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Acta SS. Maii*, IV., 48 seq.; A. GROETEKEN, *P. Baylon*, Einsiedeln, 1909, where the *Acta beatificationis* are used. The \*report of the Rota addressed to Paul V. is in *Barb.*, 2768, Vatican Library. In 1897, Pope Leo XIII. declared Pascal Baylon, who had a special devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, patron of all Eucharistic sodalities.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Anal. Boll.*, XIII. (1894), 383 seq.

<sup>6</sup> *Bull.*, XII., 400 seq.

<sup>7</sup> See *Bull.*, XI., 534, and the \*Avviso of October 19, 1611, Vatican Library. According to the \*Avviso of July 27, 1616 (*ibid.*), the Dominicans were then pressing for the beatification of Beltram.



With what circumspection Paul V. proceeded before assenting to the public cult of any servant of God is shown by his action in regard to several of the heroes of the Catholic Restoration who had long been the objects of popular veneration. In the very first year of his pontificate urgent requests reached the Pope from various quarters for the beatification of Ignatius Loyola for whom the diocesan processes had already been completed in 1595.<sup>1</sup> Clement VIII. had not given effect to a request for the introduction of the Apostolic process; Paul V., on the other hand, made no difficulties. The discussions terminated in 1609; December 3rd of that year witnessed the beatification of the founder of the Jesuits. Bellarmine had done yeoman's service to bring this about.<sup>2</sup> Thereafter the canonization of Loyola was repeatedly mooted. However, even when on 3rd March, 1617, the three auditors of the Rota who were in charge of the preliminary inquiry presented their report, Paul V. answered as before, that an affair of this kind demanded a thorough investigation and mature consideration.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the \*Briefs to Henry IV. of France, September 1, 1605; to Duke William of Bavaria, November 25, 1605; to the Viceroy Duke Feria, December 9, 1605. *Epist.*, I., 169, 346, 371, *Arm.*, 45. Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> See ASTRÁIN, III., 676 *seq.* The Decrees of the Congregation of Rites and Paul V.'s are in *Acta SS. Iuli VII.*, 618, 620. The \**Relatio Rotae ad Paulum V. super vita et miraculis Ignatii de Loyola* in Cod. H. 3 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, and in *Barb.*, 2786, Vatican Library. *Ibid.*, 1709. \*Poems of Jesuits in honour of the beautification of their Founder. Here belongs, too, the rare work, *Brieve relatione delle feste fatte nella città di Sassari ad honor del B. Ignazio a'31 di Luglio 1610*, Napoli, 1610.

<sup>3</sup> See the \*Briefs to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, March 27, 1610; to Archduke Leopold, Bishop of Strassbourg, December 27, 1614; to Genoa, April 20, 1617; to King Ferdinand of Bohemia, August 11, 1617, in *Epist.*, I., 353, X., 229, XI., 251, XIII., 107, *Arm.*, 45, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., *Dokumente*, p. 353, and *Zeitschr. f. kath. Kirchenrecht*, XV., 277 *seq.*

Information about the life of Francis Xavier had been gathered in India as early as 1556.<sup>1</sup> In 1614, the process was taken up once more,<sup>2</sup> but the beatification of the apostle of India only ensued on 25th October, 1619.<sup>3</sup> The cause of his canonization, though introduced in 1617,<sup>4</sup> only concluded under Gregory XV.

In Rome none of the great reformers of the sixteenth century enjoyed, after his death, a veneration at all comparable to that of which Philip Neri was the object.<sup>5</sup> In 1609, the Romans resolved to offer annually on the tomb of the apostle of their city a chalice and paten of gold, together with wax candles, as was done for the other Saints.<sup>6</sup> Paul V. still maintained his reserve. A document has come down to us which prays the Pope not to forbid the private veneration of Neri.<sup>7</sup> All obstacles in this respect were only removed when the founder of the Oratorians was beatified on 25th May, 1615.<sup>8</sup>

Even in regard to the canonization of his great predecessor, Pius V., which was especially urged by the Dominicans,

<sup>1</sup> Inquiries were instituted in Goa, Bazain and Malacca in 1556, in Cochin in 1557, in virtue of a royal letter; see *Monum. Xavier*, II., 175 seq., 221 seq.

<sup>2</sup> For the process in Pamplona, 1614, see *ibid.*, 643 seq. *Ibid.*, 449 seq., for the Indian process.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 680 seq.

<sup>4</sup> See the \*Brief to the Duke of Lerma, April 20, 1617, in the *Epist.*, XI., 252, Papal Secret Archives. \*The report of the Rota *ad Paulum V. de sanctitate F. Xavier* (in *Barb.*, 2774) was, according to \*Avviso of July 10, 1619, delivered to the Pope on July 6, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> See CAPELCELATRO, *F. Neri*, II.<sup>3</sup>, 671 seq. (Engl. transl. [1882], Vol. II.)

<sup>6</sup> \*Avviso of February 28, 1609, Vatican Library.

<sup>7</sup> \**De Veneratione privata b. Philippo Nerio (nondum canonizato) non prohibenda discursus ad Paulum V.*, *Barb.*, 1015, No. 2, *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> See \*Avviso of May 27, 1615, *ibid.* Cf. LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 334. The \*report of the Rota, *ad Paulum V. de canonizat. Ph. Neri*, is in *Barb.*, 2790, Vatican Library.

Paul V. proceeded with extreme caution. He granted leave for the introduction of the cause but would give no more than verbal permission for the setting up in the churches of the likeness of the holy Pontiff by the side of votive tablets.<sup>1</sup>

Permission for the opening of the canonical process of Francis Borgia had been granted by the nuncio Decio Carafa and this was proceeding since 1610, in Madrid, Valencia, Barcelona, and Saragossa. The acts reached Rome in 1615, and in August of the same year the Congregation of Rites declared that the documents could be handed over to the Rota.<sup>2</sup> Paul V. came to no decision. Cardinal Maurice of Savoy presented a petition in behalf of his ancestor, duke Amadeus IX., who had died in 1472. Paul V., in 1613, entrusted the affairs to a committee which discussed it for a considerable time and on 15th June, 1615, ordered further inquiries to be made in Savoy.<sup>3</sup> In 1610, the Grand Duke of Tuscany took steps for the canonization of Andrew Corsini who had been beatified by Eugene IV<sup>4</sup>; however, during the pontificate of Paul V. the matter did not get beyond the report of the Rota.<sup>5</sup> The request of the Commander of the Swiss Guard for the beatification of Nicholas von der Flüe the Pope met with the remark that an affair of such importance demanded time and mature deliberation.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the \*Avvisi of July 27 and October 12, 1616, Vatican Library. According to the latter, the Dominicans brought the *Sommario* after the process was concluded, to the Pope at Frascati. The \*report of the Rota to Paul V. *de sanctitate Pii V.* is in *Barb.*, 2780, Vatican Library. Cf. BZOVIVS, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 16.

<sup>2</sup> See *Acta SS. Oct.*, XV., 229.

<sup>3</sup> See *Acta SS Mart.*, III., 889. Cf. the \*Brief to the Duke of Savoy, of July 4, 1615, *Epist.*, XI., 18, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> See the \*Brief to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, November 6, 1610, *Epist.*, VI., 170, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> The \*report of the Rota to Paul V. is preserved in *Barb.*, 2769, Vatican Library.

<sup>6</sup> See the instruction to the Swiss nuncio of March 15, 1614, in *Bollet. stor. per la Svizzera*, 1903, 72

The process of beatification of Teresa of Jesus had been initiated, in 1604, by Clement VIII. Paul V. ordered its continuation,<sup>1</sup> but even in the case of so outstanding a personality nothing was rushed, however pressed the Pope may have been even by princely clients of Teresa.<sup>2</sup> It was only on 24th April, 1614, that he beatified the extraordinarily favoured reformer of Carmel.<sup>3</sup> On 25th May, 1607, the death occurred at Florence of the Carmelite, Magdalen di' Pazzi, whose motto had been 'To suffer, not to die'! The process of her beatification opened as early as 1610.<sup>4</sup> Some time later Paul V. wrote to the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, reporting progress,<sup>5</sup> but he came to no final judgment, just as he refused to decide anything in the question of the beatification of the Theatine, Andrew Avellino, who died in 1608, and the examination of whose cause the Congregation of Rites had begun in 1612.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to the Jesuits, the beatification of Aloysius Gonzago was also strongly urged by the Saint's family. Paul V. gave leave to Cardinal Dietrichstein to put over Aloysius' tomb a picture of the holy youth, surrounded by votive tablets, and on the termination of the diocesan process

<sup>1</sup> See *Acta SS. Oct.*, VII., 351-2. The \**Relatio trium Rotae auditorum* (Fr. Sacrati, I. B. Coccini, and Alph. Manzanedo de Quiñones) *deput. a Paulo V.*, in *Borghese*, I., 309, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the letter of Borghese to Ubaldini, of December 7, 1611, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 306 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See *Acta SS. Oct.*, VII., 352. Paul V. \*informed the Spanish king on the very day of the beatification. *Epist.*, XV., *Arm.*, 45, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> See *Acta SS. Maii*, VI., 312. For Maddalena cf. REUMONT, *Briefe heiliger Italiener*, Freiburg, 1877, 263 *seq.*, and *La Santa di Firenze*, Florence, 1906. For the memorandum addressed by Maddalena de Pazzi to the Cardinals on church reform, see *Rev. ascét. myst.*, 1924.

<sup>5</sup> See the \*Brief of May 2, 1614, *Epist.*, IX., 320, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>6</sup> See the \*Avviso of January 21, 1602, Vatican Library.



the acts were passed on to the Congregation of Rites.<sup>1</sup> In consequence of further pleadings<sup>2</sup> the Pope, having previously consulted the Cardinals, by a Brief of 10th October, 1605, allowed Ceparì's life of Aloysius, with the title of 'Blessed', to be published in print.<sup>3</sup> A Brief of 31st August, 1607, instructed the Congregation of Rites to inquire into the life and miracles of Aloysius. When this was done the Congregation expressed the opinion, in 1612, that an Office and Mass in honour of Aloysius might be granted to the Jesuits. To this the Pope would not consent because he wished to avoid the semblance that his approval was given out of consideration for Cardinal Ferdinand Gonzaga who had assisted at the sitting of the Congregation. By decree of the Congregation of Rites dated 20th May, 1613, the process was submitted to the control of the Rota.<sup>4</sup> The tribunal discussed the subject during several years. Meanwhile new petitions came in, praying for a formal beatification of Aloysius.<sup>5</sup> Cardinal Ferdinand Gonzaga renewed his request in respect to the Mass in Aloysius' honour. On 27th December, 1617, the Pope told him he would speed up the affair.<sup>6</sup> The discussions were protracted until the following spring. Only in March, 1618, would the Pope at last grant such a Mass for the territory of the Gonzagas, and at the request of Bellarmine, also for his mortuary chapel in Rome. The further request of the Cardinal,

<sup>1</sup> See *Acta SS. Iunii V.*, 745 seq. On May 13, 1605, the translation of the relics of Aloysius to another chapel had taken place; see *ibid.*, 746.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the \*Briefs in reply to Margherita Gonzaga, the widowed Duchess of Ferrara, and to Ranuccio Farnese, Duke of Parma, September 17, 1605, *Epist.*, I., 200, 202. Papal Secret Archives. For Rudolph II.'s recommendation, see MEYER, 534.

<sup>3</sup> See *Acta SS.*, *loc. cit.*, 748 seq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 753 seq., 757 seq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the \*Briefs to the Duke of Mantua, of March 17, 1617, to Genoa of April 20, 1617, and to Pázmány, archbishop of Gran, of August 17, 1617, *Epist.*, XI., 237, 251; XV., 199, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>6</sup> *Acta SS.*, *loc. cit.*, 759.

that he would concede it to the whole Jesuit Order, Paul refused to grant. Nevertheless he allowed the Congregation of Rites to take a vote on the matter and to report to him on the result. Although this was favourable, Paul V., on 30th April, 1618, gave leave for the celebration of Masses in honour of Aloysius only for the Jesuit houses in Rome.<sup>1</sup>

The spread of the Forty Hours' Prayer, an exercise introduced in Rome by Clement VIII., was greatly furthered by a Brief of 10th May, 1606, which eased the conditions for gaining the indulgences attached to it. These indulgences Paul V. also granted, on a generous scale, to people living outside the Eternal City.<sup>2</sup> The Capuchins, more than anyone else, deserved well of this devotion, above all the famous popular preacher, Giacinto da Casale, whose Lenten sermons at Milan, in 1613, daily drew a crowd of twenty thousand persons.<sup>3</sup>

Five years earlier another Capuchin, Fedele da San Germano had preached with extraordinary success in the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso both during Lent and during the Forty Hours' Prayer. In 1614, Giacinto da Casale preached in the same church. Numerous conversions and reconciliations were the fruit of his discourses.<sup>4</sup>

A splendid example of the renewal of piety in the Eternal City may be seen in the *Oratorio della comunione generale* founded in 1609, by the Jesuit Pietro Gravita and furthered

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.* Paul V. answered the Duke of Mantua, who renewed Bellarmine's request, in a \*brief of June 15, 1619, that he would consider the matter further. (*Epist.*, XIV., 167, Papal Secret Archives.) Paul V. maintained the same precaution with regard to the petition which reached him from Poland for the beatification of the Jesuit Stanislaus Kostka; see D. BARTOLI, *De vita et miraculis St. Kostkae* (lat. by J. Juvencius, Romae, 1855), 165 seq.; *Anal. Boll.*, IX., 360 seq., XV., 291 seq. Cf., too, LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 336, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See DE SANTI, *L'orazione delle quarant'ore*, 261 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. VENANZIO DA LAGOSANTO, *Apostolo e diplomatico o il p. Giacinto dei Conti Natta da Casale Monferrato*, Milan, 1886.

<sup>4</sup> See DE SANTI, 279 seqq., 282 seqq.

by Paul V.<sup>1</sup> With a view to withdrawing the people from the noisy amusements of the carnival, the scene of which was the Corso, close to the *Oratorio*, a custom was introduced there which the Capuchins had spread elsewhere, for instance at Milan. This consisted of transforming the chancel of the church into a real *Teatro Sacro* by means of painted architectural *motifs* and pictorial representations. In the centre of this décor, and surrounded by hundreds of burning tapers, the Blessed Sacrament was exposed.<sup>2</sup> The Guild of the Blessed Sacrament attached to St. Peter's obtained from Paul V. fresh indulgences for the Eucharistic Triduum which this confraternity was one of the first to hold during the carnival.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See MEMMI, *Notizie stor. dell'Oratorio della ss. comunione generale*, Roma, 1730, and L. Ponzileone, *Della comunione generale detta volgarmente del Gravita*, Roma, 1822. For Paul V.'s furtherance of the custom of monthly general communion, see SYNOPSIS, II., 268, 275; DUHR, II., 2, 49.

<sup>2</sup> See DE SANTI, 288 *seqq.*, where there are several reproductions of sketches of these *Teatri sacri*, often by celebrated artists, such as Bernini and Pozzo. These would hardly be sanctioned by ecclesiastical authority to-day. Cf. TACCHI VENTURI, *Vita relig.*, I., 206, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See DE SANTI, *loc. cit.*

## CHAPTER VII.

### PAUL V FOSTERS THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS.—GALILEO AND THE ROMAN INQUISITION.—NOMINATION OF CARDINALS.

The religious Orders were the object of Paul V.'s constant solicitude and the care he bestowed on them bore abundant fruit. That which he had especially at heart was the appointment of good Superiors and the preservation of discipline.<sup>1</sup> A papal decree of 4th December, 1605, stressed anew an ordinance already passed by the Council of Trent and renewed by Clement VIII., by which monasteries were forbidden to admit more members than their revenues could support.<sup>2</sup> Another general ordinance of 1st September, 1608, laid great

<sup>1</sup> See BZOVIVS, *Vita Pauli*, V., ch. 23, whose facts are substantiated by numerous documents. A number of them are printed in *Bull.*, XI., 437 seq., 457 seq., 510 seq.; XII., 202 seq., 263 seq., 289 seq., 314 seq., 377 seq., 450 seq., 470 seq. For the reform of the Celestines see *Studien aus dem Benediktinerorden*, XII., 70. In the \**Epistolae Clementis VIII.*, many items are found that belong here; we mention: I., 394, \**Chrysostomo abbati Montis sancti O.S.B.* (he praises his activity; he is to exhort his monks, *ut veluti luminaria in domo Domini accensa quotidie magis bonorum operum splendore fulgere studeant*), December 24, 1605; III., 555: \**Duci Ascalonae, Siciliae proregi* (he praises his zeal against bad monks), May 23, 1608; XV.: \**A de Wignacourt, hospit. s. Ioannis de Hierusal. magno magistro* (he is to proceed against "*abusus et scandala*" in the Order), July 17, 1618. Papal Secret Archives. \*Letter of the Minister-General of the Franciscans Conventual, Giov. Giacomo Montanari da Bagnacavallo; to Paul V. on his visitation of the Order, 1618, in *Cod.*, E. 55, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Further references on this subject in the Bullaria of the Orders; see especially, RIPOLL, *Bull. Ord. Praed.*, V., 678 seq.; *Bull. Capuc.*, I., 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull.*, XI., 249 seq.



stress on the rule of enclosure, especially as regards convents of nuns.<sup>1</sup> A Bull of 23rd May, 1606, revoked all particular indulgences which, up to that time, had been granted to individual Orders and Congregations. It gave an accurate list of the indulgences which members of Religious Orders properly so called, that is Orders with solemn vows and strict enclosure, might gain from that time onwards.<sup>2</sup> Between 1608–1612, the Pope appointed a special commission for the purpose of revising the Benedictine Breviary. By a Brief of 1st October, 1612, the entire Benedictine Order was granted permission to use the reformed Breviary, and in 1616 the Congregation of Rites changed the permission into a command.<sup>3</sup>

For the better preservation of discipline, the Benedictine Congregation of Monte Cassino, which held so important a position in the monasticism of Italy, was divided by Paul V. into seven Provinces, namely the Roman, Tuscan, Neapolitan, Sicilian, Venetian, Lombardic, and Ligurian provinces. For their government new statutes were laid down and these were repeatedly altered in subsequent years.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bull.*, XI., 548 *seq.* A second decree, belonging to this place, of July 10, 1612 (*ibid.*, XII., 184 *seq.*), was sent by Mgr. Aurelio Recordati in his \*letter of August 4, 1612, to Mantua (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the execution of the obligation of enclosure in all the convents of nuns in Foligno, 1615–1618, see L. JACOBILLI, \**Croniche di Foligno*, MSS. in the possession of Msgr. Faloci Pulignani at Foligno.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull.*, XI., 315 *seq.* Cf. *Collectio indulgentiarum theologice, canonice et historice digesta auctore P. Petro Mocchegiani a Monsano*, Quaracchi, 1897, 579 *seqq.* For the resistance of the Portuguese Carmelites to Paul V.'s decree, see NOVAES, IX., 101 *seq.*, where the special literature is given. Paul V. proceeded at other times against abuses respecting indulgences, see REUSCH, *Selbstbiographie Bellarmins*, 136 *seq.* Cf. above, p. 228 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See BÄUMER, 500; D. BUENNER, in *La vie et les arts litt.*, XI. (1924–5), 492 *seqq.*, 538 *seqq.* Bellarmine had informed the Pope of the results of the Commission's findings. See \*Avviso, of April 4, 1612, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See *Bull. Casin.*, I., 278 *seq.*; *Heimbucher*, II., 390 *seq.*, 395 *seq.*

Paul V. approved the union of the Basilians of Italy which had been effected by Gregory XIII. The Spanish branch of the Order was authorized to make five new foundations, one of them at Madrid.<sup>1</sup> On 19th April, 1616, the Cistercian monasteries of the provinces of Aragon, Valencia, Mallorca, Catalonia, and Navarre were united in a new congregation which was to be subject in all things to the General of the Order though it was also to have a Vicar-General of its own. Distance and other obstacles had prevented the Cistercian Abbots from holding regular visitations. By the appointment of a Vicar-General it was hoped to remedy this disadvantage.<sup>2</sup> Similar considerations led to the separation of the reformed Congregation of Dominicans founded at Toulouse, in 1596, from the other provinces of the Order.<sup>3</sup>

Paul V. watched with particular care over the Institute founded by Philip Neri. On 24th February, 1612, he solemnly approved the Constitutions of the Oratorians. Shortly afterwards a decree was published which forbade the issue of further statutes under the name of the great apostle of Rome and the foundation, in the Eternal City, of other Oratories, without the leave of the Superior of the Roman Oratory.<sup>4</sup> The new foundations, in Italy, which marked the pontificate of Paul V. were those of Aquila, Casale, Bologna, Perugia, Ripatransone, and Fossombrone.<sup>5</sup> For the Congregation of the reformed Camaldolese hermits of Montecorona Paul V. founded a house near Frascati.<sup>6</sup>

To the Theatines Paul V. not only granted the confirmation of all their privileges, but he also helped them to make new foundations at Ravenna and Bergamo.<sup>7</sup> The Pope shared

<sup>1</sup> *Bull.*, XI., 294 seq., 549 seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, XII., 347 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See NOVAES, IX., 108.

<sup>4</sup> See *Bull.*, XII., 36 seq., 58 seq., 182 seq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. CAPECELATRO, *F. Neri*, II<sup>3</sup>., 701 seq. [Engl. transl. [1882], Vol. II., 492.]

<sup>6</sup> See NOVAES, IX., 143.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the \*acta in the general archives of the Theatines at Rome, especially CASSETTA, 43. According to this the foundation at Ravenna took place in 1607, that at Bergamo in 1608.

the grief of the Order at the death, on 10th November, 1608, of one of its most deserving members, Andrew Avellino, who for half a century had been indefatigable in the confessional, in visiting the sick, and in his efforts for the reform of the clergy and the spread of his own Institute.<sup>1</sup> Lorenzo Scupoli, a disciple of Avellino, died two years after his master. Scupoli is the author of one of the most famous ascetical works of the period, the 'Spiritual Combat' (*Il Combattimento spirituale*). In the original Italian this golden book was published in innumerable editions and it has been translated into many languages. St. Francis of Sales ranked it with a Kempis' 'Imitation of Christ'.<sup>2</sup>

In 1610, Barnabites, whom Henry IV. had summoned into Béarn, in 1608, to labour for the conversion of the Huguenots, were authorized by Paul V. to found colleges everywhere with the consent of the ordinaries. Subsequently the Pope eased the conditions for the reception of new candidates into this Congregation of regular Clerics.<sup>3</sup> In 1608, the Institute possessed twenty-six colleges in Italy so that a division into three provinces became necessary.<sup>4</sup> The privileges of the

The Theatines settled in Modena in 1613. *Ibid.*, a \*brief of Paul V. of 1609, *Che li Gesuiti non possino fabricare collegi nelle vicinanze di S. Siro at Genoa.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. STELLA, *Oraz. in lode di A. Avellino*, Napoli, 1621; G. MARIA, *Vita di s. A. Avellino*, Venezia, 1714; EDELWERK, *Leben des heiligen A. Avellino*, aus dem Italien., München, 1765; *Acta Sancti*. Nov. VI., 609-622. Avellino's grave is in the Theatine church at Naples; cf. *Notizie del soccorpo di S. Gaetano e dei primi Teatini ivi sepolti con un cennq della morte del s. A. Avellino*, Napoli, 1871.

<sup>2</sup> See VEZZOSI, *I scrittori dei Chierici Reg.*, II., Roma, 1780, 276 seqq. (*ibid.*, 280-301, there are 258 editions of the *Combattimento* published before 1775); HURTER, *Nomenclator*, III<sup>3</sup>., 616; STEINER, in the *Stud. u. Mitteil. aus dem Bened. u. Zisterz.-Orden*, 1896, 444-462; PAULUS in *Der Katholik*, 1897, I., 390; S. BONGI, *Annali di G. Giolito*, II., Roma, 1897, 438-442.

<sup>3</sup> See *Litt. et constit. s. pontif. pro congreg. cleric. S. Pauli Apost.*, Romae, 1853, 62 seq., 64 seq.

<sup>4</sup> See PREMOLI, *Barnabiti*, 394.

Somaschans were also confirmed anew.<sup>1</sup> Papal approbation was likewise bestowed upon the Spanish Recollects, the Italian Congregation of the *Fratelli Ambrosiani*, the Regular Clerics Minor, the *Annunziate*, founded in the neighbourhood of Geneva by Maria Vittoria Fornari (died 1617), and the monastery of Hermits of St. Augustine of the Strict Observance, founded by Andrea del Guasto, at Centorbi.<sup>2</sup> The Italian Servites were also the objects of various favours.<sup>3</sup> Paul V. likewise supported the generous efforts of Anna Juliana Caterina of Gonzaga, widow of the archduke Ferdinand, to introduce into Innsbruck first the Servite nuns and later on the friars.<sup>4</sup> The reformed Congregation of Spanish Trinitarians, founded in 1594 by John Baptist de la Concepción, was erected into a regular Order divided into two provinces but with only one provincial.<sup>5</sup>

The Borghese Pope bestowed particular care upon the new Orders and Congregations which devoted themselves to teaching and to the care of the sick. The Congregation of nursing Brothers founded in Spain by John of God received divers privileges from Paul V.<sup>6</sup> and was by him erected into a canonical Order under the rule of St. Augustine, a fourth vow, concerning the care of the sick, being added to the three essential vows of religion. The ordinances laid down, in 1611, for the Spanish houses, were extended, in 1617, to the German, French and Polish foundations.<sup>7</sup> In 1617, the Pope approved the Constitutions which a General Chapter, held in the Roman house of San Giovanni Calabita, had drawn up for this, the most important of all male nursing

<sup>1</sup> See *Bull.*, XI., 449 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See HEIMBUCHER, I., 453, 466, 489, 521; II., 269.

<sup>3</sup> See *Bull.*, XII., 191 *seq.*, 426 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See HIRN, *Maximilian*, I., p. 306 *seq.* Cf., too, \**Barb.*, 4455 (*Regole et vita delle suore Servite a Innsbruck*) Vatican Library; *Catalogus frat. Ord. S.B.M.V. almae prov. Tirolens. praemissis notis hist.*, Oeniponte, 1884, 8 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Bull.*, XI., 608 *seq.*, 611 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 570.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, XII., 3 *seq.*, 379 *seq.*, 385 *seq.* Cf. GOUJET, II., 174 *seq.*



Orders.<sup>1</sup> In 1605, the philanthropic Order was introduced into Austria by Prince Eusebius of Liechtenstein ; its first hospital and Convent were erected at Feldsberg.<sup>2</sup>

A no less noble fruit of the Church's vitality in the period of the Catholic restoration was the Institute founded by Camillo de Lellis, who proved a pioneer in the nursing field. Sixtus V. approved it in 1586 ; five years later Gregory XIV. formally erected it into an Order.<sup>3</sup> In 1605, Paul V. divided it into five provinces, those of Rome, Milan, Naples, Bologna, and Sicily.<sup>4</sup>

Camillo de Lellis lived to see his institute attain to a membership of three hundred religious. Paul V. greatly esteemed the saintly man and was always ready to fall in with his wishes.<sup>5</sup> However, the strength of the indefatigable labourer was exhausted. The growth of his Order had been rapid and it was now spread over the whole of Italy : in addition to the house at Rome there were other establishments at Naples, Milan, Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Ferrara, Mantua, Messina, Palermo and at various places in the Abruzzi. All this had required numerous and exhausting journeys, which had undermined the health of Camillo who had never been a robust man. For this reason, and with the consent of Paul V., he resigned his office of Superior General on 2nd October, 1607, at the residence of the Cardinal Protector Ginnasio. But even then he would not rest. In 1609, he visited the hospitals at Naples, Milan, and Genoa, and the year 1612 was spent in the Abruzzi where he assisted in practical and energetic fashion the people of his native place, Bucchianico, during a period of famine. In 1613 he accompanied the Superior General on a visitation of the houses of Lombardy. A serious illness contracted at Genoa forced him to return to Rome. There he

<sup>1</sup> See *Bull.*, XII., 385 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. FALKE, *Gesch. des fürstl. Hauses Liechtenstein*, Vienna, 1868.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. our notes, Vol. XXII, 399.

<sup>4</sup> See HEIMBUCHER, II., 266.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Bull.*, XI., 314.

died, in the Mother house of the Order, near St. Mary Magdalen's church, on 14th July, 1614, at the age of sixty-four. Paul V. sent him, through his secretary, the apostolic blessing and a plenary indulgence. Camillo was buried near the high altar of the church of St. Magdalen. A plain cross of bricks marked the spot for a time. After his beatification by Benedict XIV., the precious remains of the servant of God were given a resting place in a specially erected chapel on the right hand side of the church.<sup>1</sup> Not long afterwards Sanzio Cicatelli, a disciple of Camillo, published a life<sup>2</sup> of the founder of "the Fathers of a good death", as the sons of Camillo were called because, whilst they cared for the bodies of the sick, they also strove to help their souls.<sup>3</sup> The biography was dedicated to Paul V. who thereafter continued to favour an Order in which the spirit of Christian charity and self-sacrifice was ever kept alive as the most precious inheritance bequeathed by the holy founder to his children.<sup>4</sup> The Romans could never forget what Camillo de Lellis had done in the hospitals and how, during the very last days of his life, he had dragged himself from bed to bed to make quite sure that nothing was wanting to the sick. Together with Philip Neri he was revered as a Patron of the Eternal City.

Other contemporaries of Camillo de Lellis were the saintly and learned John of Jesus and Mary, of the Order of Discalced

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. AMICI, *S. Camillo e la Chiesa d. Maddalena a Roma*, Rome, 1913; J. GRAUSTÜCK, *Die Grabstätten des hl. Kamillus*, in the *Kamillusblatt*, Jubiläumsnummer, Aachen, 1914, p. 163 seq., in which the different translations and the actual tomb are described. Cf., too, M. AMICI, *Mem. stor. intorno S. Camillo de Lellis*, Rome, 1913, 33 seq., 42 seq., 53.

<sup>2</sup> S. CICATELLI, *Vita del P. Camillo de Lellis*, Viterbo, 1615. For other biographies, see Vol. XXI, 140, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M. ENDRIZZI, *Bibliografia Camilliana ovvero memorie degli scrittori dell'ordine dei Ministri degli infermi*. Verona, 1910.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Pauli V. approbatio et confirmatio decreti cardinalium negot. regul. clericor. ministr. infirmis, 1620, Bandi, V., 15, p. 337. Papal Secret Archives.

Carmelites,<sup>1</sup> who lived at Frascati, and Joseph of Calasanza, who laboured in Rome.<sup>2</sup> Following the example of Clement VIII., the Borghese Pope assisted with an annual gift of two hundred scudi the school founded by that friend of the people, which, because it was a gratuitous one, proved an immense boon for the Eternal City.<sup>3</sup> With the assistance of several Cardinals and other benefactors, Calasanza, in 1611, secured the Palazzo Torres for his establishment. The fusion of Calasanza's foundation with the Congregation of the Clerics Regula of Mary, of Lucca, which had taken place in 1614, proved unsuccessful.<sup>4</sup> Paul V. suspended it on 6th March, 1617, at the same time declaring the Society of Calasanza an autonomous, independent Congregation whose scope it was to give gratuitous instruction to children, especially to the children of the poorer classes.<sup>5</sup> Calasanza became the Superior of the new "Congregation of the Poor Clerics of the Mother of God of the Pious Schools", also called, after the Pope, the Pauline Congregation. He now changed his name into Joseph *a Matre Dei*; his companions likewise assumed new names. To the usual simple vows they added a fourth, namely, gratuitously to instruct the young, more especially the children of the poor. Paul V. founded a house of the new Congregation at Moricone, in the Sabine country, a property of the Borghese. Their church in Rome was that of San Pantaleone, near the Palazzo Torres, which had been bestowed on Calasanza in 1614, and was subsequently restored by him.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The ven. Giov. di Gesù e Maria, a native of Spain, died at San Silvestro in 1615, where many memories of him are still preserved. He well deserves a monograph.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. our notes, Vol. XXIV., 161 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See in the Appendix Vol. XXVI, n. 14, the \*memoranda of *Costaguti*, Costaguti Archives, Rome. Cf., too, GROSSI-GONDI, 97 seqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Bull.*, XII., 243 seq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 383 seq.

<sup>6</sup> See MORONI, LXII., 92, 97. The assigning of S. Pantaleone in *Bull.*, XII., 226 seq. For Pietrasanta's visitation see the references in SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibl.*, I., 1573, IV., 1373, VI., 742.

In many other ways also Paul V. gave proof of his solicitude for the Christian education of youth in Rome<sup>1</sup>; thus he assisted the Congregation of Christian Doctrine with an annual alms of two hundred scudi,<sup>2</sup> and approved their privileges and constitutions.<sup>3</sup> In 1607, he raised the Association into an archconfraternity with its seat at St. Peter's.<sup>4</sup> For the purpose of combating Calvinism by means of solid instruction, César de Bus, a Canon of Avignon, founded in that city, in 1592, a special Society whose untiring Superior he remained until his death in 1607. His successor, Père Vigier, greatly desired to transform the Society into a formal and regular Congregation with solemn vows. This Paul V. granted in 1616, but only on condition that the Society amalgamated with the Somaschans.<sup>5</sup>

After the long-drawn party strife of Huguenots and Leaguists, France was enjoying the blessings of tranquillity. Many new religious associations sprang up in that country, most of which devoted themselves to education or to tending the sick. To all these institutes Paul V. showed himself a generous patron and supporter. However, their action is so closely linked with the Catholic revival in France that it must be described when the story of this great movement comes to be told. In like manner the activity of the two principal Orders of the period, the Jesuits and the Capuchins, both in France and in Germany, will be duly appraised when certain developments of the Church in these two countries come to be described.

Two decrees of the Borghese Pope contributed greatly to the consolidation and to the spread of the Capuchin Order, which, besides Cardinal Anselm Marzato, included a great

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BZOVIVS, *Vita Pauli*, V., ch. 24.

<sup>2</sup> See in Appendix, Vol. XXVI., n. 14, the \*memoranda of Costaguti, Costaguti Archives, Rome.

<sup>3</sup> \**Pauli V. confirmatio et approbatio privilegiorum et constitut. congreg. PP. Doctrinae christianae*, May 20, 1606. BANDI, V., 15, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> See *Bull.*, XI., 442 seq.

<sup>5</sup> See *Ibid.*, 353 seq. Cf. HEIMBUCHER, II., 340. For C. de Bus, cf. Vol. XXV., ch. 1.



many distinguished men in its ranks.<sup>1</sup> In the first decree, dated 17th October, 1608, the Pope declared the Capuchins to be true and authentic members of the Order of St. Francis and that their rule was in harmony with that of the Saint of Assisi. The second decree, dated 23rd January, 1619, made them completely independent of the Conventuals. The Society was raised to the rank of an autonomous Order, with its own General, who was to be styled *Minister Generalis fratrum minorum Sancti Francisci Capucinatorum*.<sup>2</sup> Paul V. also furthered, by means of many privileges, the spread of the Capuchins and their activity in the home mission.<sup>3</sup> The missionary activity in heathen lands on which they then entered, was furthered by an authorization granted to them on September 5th, 1606, whereby they were empowered, due regard being had to the ordinances of the Council of Trent, to make new foundations throughout Spain.<sup>4</sup> The story of the Church of Spain, and in no less a degree that of France, Switzerland, and the holy Roman empire, bears witness to the amazing activity displayed by the Capuchins in assisting the pastoral clergy by means of missions and retreats, by the introduction of the Forty Hours' Prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, by tending the sick during epidemics, and lastly by bringing heretics back to the fold. What heroic spirit animated the Order of the Capuchins at that time is best shown by the fact that the Church has raised to her altars no less than six of its members all belonging to that period,

<sup>1</sup> See BOVERIUS, II., 502. Cf. *Bonifazio da Nigra Cappuccino, Ritratto degli uomini illustri dell' Istituto de Minori Cappuccini promossi o destinati a dignità ecclesiastiche*, Roma, 1804. For Marzato, I., see Vol. XXIII., 257 and SCHMIDLIN, *Anima*, 491.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. Cappuc.*, I., 57 seq., 62 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, I., 52 seq., 54, 55 seq., 60 seq., 61 seq., 63 seq.; II., 24 seq., 27, 117 seq., 180, 226 seq., 260 seq., 283 seq., 320 seq., 350 seq., 411 seq.; III., 23 seq., 101 seq., 122, 179, 208, 238; IV., *passim*. Cf., too, SISTO DA PISA, *Storia d. Cappuccini Toscani*, Firenze, 1906. By a \*Brief of June 6, 1615, Paul V. advises the bishop and chapter of Sitten to call in the Capuchins, *Epist.* XI-XII., 4, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> *Bull.*, XI., 351 seq.

namely Joseph of Leonissa (d. 1622), Laurence of Brindisi (d. 1619), Fidelis of Sigmaringen (d. 1622), Benedict of Urbino (d. 1625), Agathangelus of Vendôme (d. 1638), and Cassian of Nantes (d. 1638).<sup>1</sup> It was precisely during the pontificate of Paul V. that the Capuchins were extraordinarily successful as popular preachers. In this respect the following were especially famous: Melchior of Orihuela (d. 1614), Francis of Seville (d. 1615), and Angelicus of Tudela (d. 1633) in Spain, John of Angers (d. 1620) and John Baptist of Avranches (d. 1629) in France; in Austria Thomas of Bergamo (d. 1631) and Father Valerian, known as the "tall monk" (d. 1661).<sup>2</sup>

But the most renowned preachers were sons of Italy. One of these, Giambattista Aguggiari, of Monza, was the inspirer of a religious work of art of extraordinary originality. Whilst he held the office of preacher at the famous shrine of the Madonna del Monte, near Varese, in upper Italy, he suggested that the mountain track leading up to the sanctuary should be embellished with fourteen chapels adorned with frescoes and painted stucco statues representing the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary. As in the *Sacro Monte*, near Varallo, which was embellished in this fashion in the life time of St. Charles Borromeo, in the lay-out of the road nature and art form an admirable blend, expressive of a common religious inspiration.<sup>3</sup> In 1614, the Franciscan Agostino Cassandra, a famous preacher, was appointed by the Pope to the see of Gravina.<sup>4</sup> The Pope also greatly esteemed the Capuchin,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LECHNER, *Leben der Heiligen aus dem Kapuzinerorden*, München, 1863.

<sup>2</sup> Compare with the historians of the Order, ILG, *Geist des hl. Franziskus Seraphicus, dargestellt in Lebensbildern aus der Geschichte des Kapuzinerordens*, 2 vols., Augsburg, 1876 and 1879.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the description of J. GRAUS, in the *Grazer "Kirchenschmück"*, XXVII. (1896), 65 seqq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. UGHELLI, VII., 124 seq. A. Cassandra's treatises, \*"*Modo di comporre le prediche e lezioni 31 sopra il salmo Dixit Dominus*," in *Cod.*, 434, of S. Antony's Library, Padua. \*"*Sermoni di Magno Perneo in varie chiese di Roma*" (Advent, 1592 to 1629), in *Barb.*, XLI., 29 and 30, Vatican Library.

Hyacinth of Casale.<sup>1</sup> He was likewise on terms of special intimacy with yet another Friar, Jerome of Narni.<sup>2</sup> This scion of a noble family had been a member of the Capuchin Order since 1578. He was a pupil, and inherited the eloquence of Mathias Bellintani whom Charles Borromeo had extolled as a truly apostolic preacher.<sup>3</sup> No less a personage than Cardinal Bellarmine passed the following judgment on Jerome of Narni: "If the Apostle Paul were to come back to preach the Lenten sermons at the same time as Father Jerome, I should listen to the Apostle on one day and on the other to the Capuchin." Paul V. confirmed this judgment when he appointed Jerome of Narni preacher of the Apostolic palace.<sup>4</sup> The devout Capuchin discharged his office with the utmost freedom. "When this mighty trumpet of the word of God resounded from the pulpit of the Vatican," a chronicler wrote, "the Cardinals were seen to tremble." After a sermon by Jerome on the duty of residence, Paul. V. could not cope with the requests of the Princes of the Church for farewell audiences, so bent were they on returning to their sees. The Pope wished to make him a Cardinal but Jerome declared he preferred his poor Capuchin habit to the purple. "It

<sup>1</sup> For Giacinto's sermons see *Bollet. stor. Piacentino IX.* (1914), and *Riv. di storia d. prov. d'Alessandria*, 3, series I. (1917). For Giacinto's other activities, see Vol. XXVI., ch. IV.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. MARCELLINO DE PISA, *Vita fr. Hieronymi Narniensis*, Rome, 1647, and *Annales*, III., Trento, 1708 seq.; BERTANI, *Annal. Capuc.*, 118; MARCELLINO DA CIVEZZA, II., 240. \*Letters of Lelio Guidiccioni to Girol. da Narni, in *Barb.*, XXXVII., 27, Vatican Library; \*Inscriptions and poems in praise of Girol. da Narni, in *Barb.* 4508, p. 17 seq., *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> For M. Bellintani (d. 1611) cf. M. FALOCCHI PULIGNANI, *Miscell. Francisc.*, III. (1888), 22, 39, 85, and VITELLI, 59 seq.

<sup>4</sup> \**Prediche fatte nel Palazzo Ap. dal P. Girol. da Narni in tre avventi e due quaresime*, Vat., 7020; \**Predica del Fra Girol. da Narni in Vaticano*, Marzo, 1609, preached in the hall of Constantine before the Pope, *Barb.*, L., 51; *ibid.*, L., 72; \**La settimana grande del mondo redento*, by Girol. da Narni, Vatican Library.

grieves me," Paul V. said, "that the Sacred College should be deprived of such a man, but I rejoice at such an example of humility."<sup>1</sup> Laurence of Brindisi similarly enjoyed a wide reputation as a preacher.<sup>2</sup> By his influence the Capuchins were enabled to enter Austria whilst the imperial army owes to him its victory before Stuhlweissenberg, in 1601. In 1602 he was made General of his Order. He invariably journeyed on foot when making the canonical visitations of the Capuchin houses in Italy, Spain, France and Germany, and everywhere he was revered as "the holy General". On the completion of his term of office, shortly after the elevation of Paul V., the saintly man was at once entrusted with a fresh and difficult mission in Germany. In 1612 there was question of his reappointment as General but the lowly son of St. Francis succeeded in persuading the electors to bestow their votes on Paul of Cesena. But he could not escape being appointed Definitor-General. In 1617 Laurence mediated, on behalf of the Pope, between Savoy and Mantua and in the following year he was once more named Definitor-General. The people of Naples ardently longed to have their crushing taxation eased. Such was their confidence in the old man that, though his health was beginning to fail, they sent him on a deputation to the court of Philip III., in October, 1618.<sup>3</sup> His mission was crowned with success but Laurence was unable to return to his own country. He died in Lisbon, July 22nd, 1619. Already under Urban VIII. the rulers of Austria and Bavaria pressed for his beatification and

<sup>1</sup> See MARCELLINO DA PISA, *loc. cit.*, 173 seq., 176. Cf. the \**Schreiben eines Ungenannten aus Rom an den Bischof von Novara*, of March 21, 1611, in *Barb.* 4508, p. 1 seq., Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. our account, Vol. XXIII, 383 seq. The \**Remains of Lorenzo of Brindisi*, in the Capuchin Archives, Venice, deserve detailed study.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. RANKE'S monograph about the conspiracy at Venice in 1618: *Werke*, XLII. (*Zur venez. Gesch.*, Leipzig, 1878), 225 seq., and BONAVENTURA DA SORRENTO, *Il cappuccino S. Lorenzo da Brindisi al cospetto di Napoli e dei Napoletani*, Sorrento, 1881.



Cardinal Borghese had displayed special activity in the matter.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst the term of office of the Superiors of the Capuchins was at first limited to three years, to five after 1608, and after 1618 to six years, the General of the Jesuits was appointed for life. The Society of Jesus was particularly fortunate in that at this period the generalship was held by a man who was eminently equal to his task, viz. Father Claude Aquaviva.<sup>2</sup> Despite all attacks from within and without, his tenure of office during close on thirty-four years, was a period of wonderful development for the Society of Jesus. This is shown, even if we leave on one side its missionaries and ascetics, by the great number of scholars and writers which it counted in its ranks at that period. Only the names of outstanding men can be mentioned here. They include Gabriel Vasquez (d. 1604), Nicolas Orlandino (d. 1606), Thomas Sanchez (1610), Possevino (d. 1611), Skarga (d. 1612), Christopher Clavio (d. 1612), Francis Suarez (d. 1617), Lessius (d. 1623), Becanus (d. 1624), Gretser, Tanner, Layman and, towering above them all, Bellarmine. The geographical expansion of the Order was likewise amazing. According to a survey of 1616, during the sixty years that had elapsed since the founder's death, the Society had spread over the whole world. It numbered thirty-two provinces, viz. five in Italy and as many in France; in Spain four; three in Germany (the Upper-German, the Rhenish and the Austrian provinces); two in Flanders and one in Portugal, Poland, and Lithuania. To the Portuguese province four others were adjoined, namely those of Goa, Malabar, Japan and Brazil, whilst six provinces were united to that of Spain, namely those of Sardinia, Peru, Paraguay, New Granada, Mexico and the Philippine Islands. These thirty-two provinces counted twenty-three

<sup>1</sup> The beatification did not take place until 1783, and the canonization in 1881 under Leo XIII.

<sup>2</sup> What significance Sarpi, that most embittered enemy of the Jesuits, attached to Aquaviva is shown in his comments, in CASTELLANI, *Lettere*, II, 37.

professed houses, three hundred and seventy-two colleges, forty-one noviciate houses, one hundred and twenty-three residences and a personnel of 13,112 members.<sup>1</sup>

It is easy to realize the slight significance, among such a crowd, of the band of about thirty discontented men of whom there is frequent mention in the story of the generalship of Aquaviva.<sup>2</sup> If these people were able to kick up so much dust, it was due solely to the backing of Philip II. and the Spanish Inquisition, and because their everlasting complaints and memorials ended by making some impression on Sixtus V. and Clement VIII.

The disturbance was only superficial—that is why it disappeared so rapidly and without leaving any traces behind. The fifth General Congregation of the Order, though it was occasioned by the discontented, did more than disappoint them, for it greatly helped to put a stop to their machinations,<sup>3</sup> and even more so in that it was crowned by yet another approbation by the Holy See. It had been the intention of the Congregation to petition Clement VIII. for such a confirmation<sup>4</sup>; it was Paul V. that granted it. The papal brief begins as follows: "What great things the Society of Jesus has achieved in the service of the Church, by spreading the faith, piety and religion, and what it still daily accomplishes with ever growing success, is known to us and to the whole of Christendom."<sup>5</sup> "Hence the devil" the Pope goes on, "daily strives to sow discord within it. However, the Popes have made it their business to further and assist the Society in every way, to the end that it may ever retain the purity and the primitive splendour of its institute." The purpose of the Brief is sufficiently shown in the preamble itself: the

<sup>1</sup> IUVENCIUS, P. V., 2, 351 seq.; L. CARREZ, *Catalogi sociorum et officiorum provinciae Campaniae Societatis Iesu ab a. 1616 ad a. 1773*, IX. (1692-1703), X., (1703-1714), Châlons-sur-Marne, 1911, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. our account, Vol. XXI., 151 seq.; XXIV., 169 seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV., 172 seq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> September 4, 1606. *Instit. Soc. Iesu*, I., 131 seqq.

machinations of the agitators are not from the good Spirit ; the well-being of the Order, or as the Pope goes on to say, "the strength and the growth of this holy Society—which it is impossible to praise sufficiently, depend wholly on the maintenance of the constitution given by Ignatius of Loyola, and on the decrees of the General Congregations." Three ordinances of the fifth General Congregation are then textually quoted, viz. the one dealing with the agitators ; that which forbids meddling with secular business and politics, and the decision that Superiors should remain in office for an unlimited period. By his confirmation of these decrees, the Pope annuls Clement VIII.'s ordinance which limited the tenure of office to three years. The Brief concludes with an approbation of the entire Institute and all its privileges and spiritual powers or faculties. Stress is laid on the life-tenure of office by the General ; in fact the opening paragraphs of the document had already condemned the machinations of the discontented against this point of the Constitutions.

The Brief addressed to the General admonished him to proceed with energy against the disturbers of the peace. With this injunction Aquaviva complied in an allocution at the next General Congregation. As he had declared at the opening of the Congregation of 1608,<sup>1</sup> the assembly had been convened for the purpose of renewing the interior spirit and religious discipline.<sup>2</sup> The decrees that had been drawn up had no other aim. The provincials must deal energetically with all agitators. Like his predecessor Clement VIII., Paul V. in his turn exhorted the assembled Fathers to practise humility and, following in this also the example of his predecessor, he insisted on the election of new Assistants of the General.<sup>3</sup>

For the rest Paul V. showed himself well-disposed towards the Jesuits.<sup>4</sup> The whole Order rejoiced and deemed it a very

<sup>1</sup> ASTRÁIN, III., 667 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 666.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 666, 668.

<sup>4</sup> \*Avviso of June 13, 1607, Vatican Library ; a papal visit to the Jesuits, *ibid.*, June 9, 1607.

signal favour when, at the very outset of his pontificate, the new Pope gave leave for the opening of the process of the beatification of its founder and when, in 1609, he placed him in the ranks of the Blessed.<sup>1</sup>

The pontificate of Paul V. is memorable by reason of the first, much discussed collision, between the Roman divines and the spokesmen of the new natural sciences then in process of formation.

Just as the beginnings of modern astronomy are linked with the name of Copernicus, so were the foundations of modern physics chiefly laid down by Galileo Galilei. Galileo was born at Pisa, in 1564. From 1589 he taught in his native city until the year 1592, when he went to Padua.<sup>2</sup> Whilst the belief prevailed that all the subjects discussed in Galileo's works were his own exclusive intellectual patrimony, the Pisan genius was simply hailed as the sole creator of the new science of nature, as one who had, so to speak, created it out of nothing. However, in the light of modern research, his position is not quite so brilliant. Galileo had been anticipated; he made use of the labours of those that had gone before him, though he fails, for the most part, to acknowledge his sources. On the other hand, if he took up a thing, it seemed to grow and mature under his fingers. In the story of the discovery of the thermometer and the pendulum clock, the telescope and the microscope, his name must always be mentioned though his share in their invention cannot be accurately ascertained in every instance. His highest and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 262 *seq.* For the festivities on the occasion of the beatification, see above, p. 262, note 1, and *Litt. ann.*, 1609.

<sup>2</sup> A. FAVARO, *Opere di Galileo Galilei*, ediz. naz., Firenze, 1890-1913; HARTMANN GRISAR, *Galileistudien. Historisch-theologische Untersuchungen über die Urteile der Kongregationen im Galilei-Prozess*, Regensburg, 1882; ADOLF MÜLLER, *Galileo, Galilei und das Kopernikanische Weltssystem*, Freiburg, 1909; WILLEMS, *Die Galileifrage* (1919); EMIL WOHLWILL, *Galilei und sein Kampf für die Kopernikanische Lehre*, Hamburg and Leipzig, 1909, 1926; CARLI-FAVARO, *Bibliografia Galileana*, 1568-1895, Roma, 1896.



unquestioned claim to fame is the impetus he gave to physical mechanics. The laws to which a falling body, or one propelled into space, are subject, as well as those of the pendulum, were definitely formulated by him. One notable fruit of his observations was an accurate conception of the so-called law of inertia. It was only in 1638, when already advanced in years, that he published the results of his observations in the most mature of all his works. The book was the fruit of the labours of a life-time, for these things had profoundly roused his interest whilst he still lived in Pisa and Padua. Galileo established for all time the axiom that only by observation and experiment may we trace the phenomena of nature to their causes. Within these limits Galileo may deservedly be called the creator of modern physics.<sup>1</sup>

In 1609, news reached Italy that a Dutchman had constructed an optic glass by means of which it was possible to see distant objects as distinctly as if they were in immediate proximity. Thereupon, so he himself relates, Galileo invented the telescope anew, constructed one that surpassed all similar instruments of the period and forthwith pointed it to the starry heavens. From now onwards discovery after discovery, so to speak, fell into his lap; the radiant sun, so he was able to inform an astonished world, has its spots; the moon is not a flat orb, on the contrary, it is covered with mountains; the Milky Way and the nebulae are clusters of numberless stars; as for the planets, Jupiter is accompanied by four moons; Mars appears now larger, now smaller; like our own moon, Venus is seen at one time sickle-shaped, at another as a full disc. He also saw the ring of Saturn even though he failed to identify it as a ring.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> GERLAND, 312 *seqq.*; E. WOHLWILL, *Galileistudien*, in the *Mitteil. zur Gesch. der Medezin u. Naturwissenschaften*, IV. (1905) and V. (1906).

<sup>2</sup> For his priority conflict with *Marius* concerning the moons of Jupiter, see OUDEMANS ET BOSSCHA, in *Archives Néerlandaises*, 2. série, VIII., 1903 (against Galileo); KLUG in the *Abhandl. der bayr. Akad. der Wissen.*, 2. Kl., XXII., 2 Abt., 1904, (for Galileo). For a similar conflict with SCHEINER on sunspots, see MÜLLER, *Galilei*, 106 *seqq.*

These discoveries proved decisive factors in the subsequent career of Galileo. What he had written until then could only be understood by scholars, but as a result of those unheard of discoveries in the sky the name of Galileo was on everybody's lips. Kepler spoke enthusiastically; Clavius expressed high esteem.<sup>1</sup> The Grand Duke of Florence, whom Galileo had informed of his successes, bestowed on him the title of ducal philosopher and mathematician, with an income of 1,000 gold florins.<sup>2</sup> On the occasion of a visit to Rome in 1611, the savant, who was becoming universally famous, had the highest honours lavished on him. People of repute in the world of learning, or in the State, all clustered round Galileo.<sup>3</sup> This was notably the case at the villa of Cardinal Bandini and at the palace of Federigo Cesi, the founder of the flourishing *Accademia dei Lincei*, of which Galileo was made a member on 25th April, 1611.<sup>4</sup> The Jesuits organized a solemn *accademia* in his honour; it was attended by "a number of the most distinguished people of Rome, by counts and dukes, and by a great many prelates, among whom there were at least three Cardinals".<sup>5</sup> The Pope received Galileo in audience and showed him the utmost favour.<sup>6</sup> True, there were those who refused to believe in the new discoveries; thus a student of Bologna, one Martini Horky and a Florentine nobleman, Francesco Sizzi, wrote against him, but intelligent people paid no attention to them.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MÜLLER, 66 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>3</sup> WOHLWILL, 378. Cf. ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 283.

<sup>4</sup> MÜLLER, 59 *seq.*, 63 *seq.* Cf. B. ODESCALCHI, *Mem. d. Accad. dei Lincei*, Roma, 1806, 100. See also G. GABRIELI, *Il carteggio scientifico ed accademico fra i primi Lincei*, Roma, 1925, 178. Letters of Cesi of 1611 *seq.*, in the *Atti dei Lincei*, 4 series, *Rendiconti*, 38 (1884-5), 846 *seq.* For Cesi see also P. G. POSSENTI, *Sul rinvenimento di una maschera in cera del principe F. Cesi*, Rome, 1912.

<sup>5</sup> WOHLWILL, 365 *seq.* Cf. ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 284.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 379; Galileo on April 22, 1611, in FAVARO, XI., 89.

<sup>7</sup> MÜLLER, 58 *seqq.*, 63 *seqq.* In SIZZI'S treatise the seven planets are compared to the seven-branched candlestick; beyond this it does not give any Scriptural reference as proof (*ibid.*, 64). Clavius scoffs at Sizzi's proofs (*ibid.*).

Galileo had gone to the Eternal City for the purpose of expounding his discoveries before the highest Roman authorities and in order to win them over to the teaching of Copernicus. At first, astronomy had only been incidentally mentioned in his lectures, and even in the first years of the seventeenth century Galileo still taught it according to the system of Ptolemy.<sup>1</sup> But when his discoveries in the sky had brought him fame, he strove to retain and still further to strengthen the reputation he had won, by proving the validity of the Copernican system. He imagined that the elucidation of his own discoveries in the sky would be proof enough. Copernicus had already dealt with the objection that in his system Venus must, from time to time, be seen in crescent shape. He had sought a way out of the difficulty by certain ingenious hypotheses.<sup>2</sup> Galileo's discovery showed that this sickle shape was a fact and the change in Venus' appearance proved beyond controversy that the sun was the centre of the orbit of at least that one planet, as well as of Mercury.<sup>3</sup> Copernicus had seen himself compelled to change the earth's moon from an autonomous planet into a satellite of a planet. For the first time Galileo now demonstrated the fact that planets may have moons. The consequence was that if Ptolemy needed an intricate series of cycles and epicycles in order to account for the orbits of the planets, Galileo's system, as even Clavius admitted,<sup>4</sup> was bound to become even more complicated since the planets also had their own dependent planets. The old assumption that the stars consisted of a peculiar, incorruptible matter was thus confuted, for the change in the appearance of Venus showed that, like the earth, it was a dark body that received its light from the sun.

<sup>1</sup> This at the time when he had already adopted the Copernican system; see A. FAVARO, *Gal. Galilei e lo studio di Padova*, I., Firenze, 1883, 154.

<sup>2</sup> WOHLWILL, 351.

<sup>3</sup> This received immediate recognition. "Venerem circa solem verti manifeste demonstravimus non absque philosophorum murmure," wrote Gregory of St. Vincent S.J. to Huygens (*Civ. Catt.*, 1923, III., 488).

<sup>4</sup> In MÜLLER, 71.

It might have been better for science, as well as for Galileo, if after these first astronomical discoveries he had turned once more to his own special department, that of physics. In this field also—for he mastered it completely—he might have deserved well of Copernicus. He did so, as a matter of fact, at a later date, when he cleared away, in large measure, the objection made in the name of physics against the earth's movement in space.<sup>1</sup> However, the arguments in support of a new system of the universe, which he deduced from his discoveries in the sky, are valueless for the reason alone that everything he discovered can be made to fit harmoniously into the system of Tycho Brahe, whilst his personal contribution went either wholly astray or failed to get beyond Copernicus and lagged behind Kepler. It was only in 1686 that mathematical astronomy chanced upon a real proof, when Newton demonstrated that according to the law of gravitation it was impossible for the mighty ball of the sun to revolve round the diminutive earth as its centre. A decisive proof based on astronomical observation was delayed until 1725, when Bradley showed that all the fixed stars described small ellipses within exactly the duration of a terrestrial year, that the ellipses described by the stars situate towards the celestial poles approach increasingly to the figure of a circle, whereas the stars situate in the neighbourhood of the celestial equator increasingly resolve into a simple straight line, and that this phenomenon is inexplicable except as an effect of the earth's orbit round the sun. Of these real proofs Galileo remained in complete ignorance all his life. The magnificent, yet exceedingly simple way, in which Copernicus accounted for the seemingly intricate motions of the planets, as well as his own observations, no doubt convinced Galileo personally of the truth of the new system, but the provocative manner with which he defended it against its opponents, and that without solid proofs of his own, was bound to lead to grave and disastrous collisions.

<sup>1</sup> A. LINSMEIER in *Natur u. Offenbarung*, XXXVI. (1890), 129 seqq., 212 seqq., 283 seqq., and *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1913, 55-75.



As regards Copernicus' great work, by means of a surreptitiously inserted preface, an impression had been created, and had spread widely, that the book did not represent the new system of the universe as a description of real occurrences in the stellar world but as a mere hypothesis for the purpose of facilitating astronomical calculations.<sup>1</sup> When, on the ground of his own discoveries, Galileo began to maintain the truth of the Copernican system, many people asked themselves how such assertions tallied with certain texts of Holy Scripture, for instance, the words of psalm ciii: "Thou hast founded the earth upon its own bases," whilst of Josue it is related that he commanded the sun to stand still. A dissertation by Lodovico delle Colombe,<sup>2</sup> which only circulated in manuscript and which, in point of fact, speaks of Galileo in terms of high praise, also stresses these theological objections in its concluding paragraphs.<sup>3</sup> Even at the grand duke's table, on 12th December, 1613, the matter was discussed from this angle for two whole hours when the Benedictine Castelli, a pupil of Galileo, took the defence of his master's views. Thereupon Galileo, who could not afford to incur the disfavour of the court, wrote a long letter to Castelli,<sup>4</sup> copies of which were widely circulated. Holy Scripture cannot err, he declared, but its exponents may; it is therefore their duty to bring their explanations into harmony with the indubitably ascertained facts of natural science. It was an abuse to begin by dragging in Holy Scripture in questions of purely natural truths and which touched the faith but very remotely.

Opinions like these are to be found in St. Augustine and other Fathers of the Church<sup>5</sup>; for all that theologians could hardly feel flattered when a layman sought to teach them how to expound Holy Writ, all the more so as the teaching of Luther had met with so much success in Germany precisely because

<sup>1</sup> MÜLLER, *N. Kopernikus*, 109 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> FAVARO, III., 251-290.

<sup>3</sup> MÜLLER, *Galilei*, 81 *seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> December 21, 1613, in FAVARO, V., 279-288; MÜLLER, *Galilei*, 89 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Civ. Catt.*, 1923, IV., 128.

everybody was granted the right to interpret Holy Scripture as seemed best to himself. There was a danger of similar conditions arising in Italy—hence it was desirable not to allow a man of Galileo's reputation to indulge in theological dissertations. At Florence the Dominican, Tommaso Caccini, made an attack on Galileo from the pulpit when, in the course of his lectures on the book of Josue, he came to the well-known passage about the sun standing still.<sup>1</sup> The tactlessness and rashness of Caccini was indeed disapproved by his friends as well as by his brethren in religion, none the less, other Florentine Dominicans began to press for a condemnation by Rome both of the book and of the teaching of Copernicus.<sup>2</sup> Such a turn of events was a serious matter for Galileo ; but, notwithstanding repeated warnings to leave the theological question alone and to confine himself to physical proofs in support of the new system of the universe,<sup>3</sup> he wrote yet another dissertation on the relation between theology and natural science in which he repeated his former assertions.<sup>4</sup> Similar views were expressed by the Carmelite, Paolo Antonio Foscarini. In his pamphlet he hints at the possibility that the opinion of Copernicus may one day be demonstrated as correct. For this reason he insists on the necessity of making a timely compromise with the Scriptural objections.<sup>5</sup>

The grand ducal court preacher, the Dominican Lorini, had at first refrained from expressing an opinion, in the pulpit,

<sup>1</sup> MÜLLER, 91. The fable that Caccini used the text, *Acts*, I., II, to make mock of Galileo : " Viri Galilei, quid statis aspicientes in coelum ? " is first found in the *Lettere inedite di uomini illustri*, Firenze, 1783, 47, note 1. Cf. WOHLWILL, 517, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> MÜLLER, 94.

<sup>3</sup> The successor of the deceased Clavius, Griegenberger, advised this course ; see *ibid.*, 95 ; DINI, 97.

<sup>4</sup> *Lettere a Mad. Cristina di Lorena, granduchessa di Toscana* in FAVARO, V., 307-348 ; MÜLLER, 100 *seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Printed in the *Opere di G. Galilei*, pub. by E. Alberi, Florence, 1842, V., 455-494. Cf. MÜLLER, 98.

on the new system of the world.<sup>1</sup> He now deemed it his duty to bring Galileo's letter to Castelli to the notice of the Congregation of the Index, without, however, lodging a formal accusation.<sup>2</sup> Thereupon the Roman Inquisition examined the document, its judgment upon it being, on the whole, a favourable one.<sup>3</sup> There was nothing in the letter to necessitate a pronouncement on the new system and its bearing on Holy Writ.

In this way the dangers conjured up by Galileo's incursions into the theological field seemed happily averted; however, besides the letter to Castelli, other pronouncements of the troublesome savant very soon claimed attention. These were certain "Considerations upon the opinion of Copernicus".<sup>4</sup> The pamphlet was couched in popular form and bound, from its very nature, to challenge the theologians. Galileo there categorically affirmed that Copernicus had not, in fact, advanced his opinion of the universe as a mere hypothesis, and he proceeded to lay down instructions concerning the interpretation of Holy Scripture, the authority of the Fathers, and the meaning of the Council of Trent. He admonished the theologians not to expose Holy Scripture to the peril of being suspected of falsehood by making it to assent to things which the physical sciences may one day show to be inaccurate.<sup>5</sup> Besides, in 1612, he had published three letters dealing with the sunspots. In these he claims that he first discovered their existence and, incidentally, he defends anew the motion of the earth and the fixity of the sun.<sup>6</sup>

Caccini, who came to Rome in 1615, in order to give an account of his Advent sermons of the previous year, drew

<sup>1</sup> His letter to Galileo in FAVARO, XI., 427.

<sup>2</sup> MÜLLER, 138 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *A semitis tamen catholicae loquutionis non deviat* (in FAVARO, XIX., 305).

<sup>4</sup> FAVARO, V., 349-371.

<sup>5</sup> MÜLLER, 140 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 106-133. Cf. A. MÜLLER, in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LII. (1897), 361.

attention to the book on the sunspots. Galileo, he reported, had dealings with people of ill repute, especially with Sarpi of Venice, and it was a fact that one of the pupils of the Florentine court astronomer maintained opinions which were positively heretical and these he supported with an appeal to the book on sunspots.<sup>1</sup> Thus it came about that the latter work was subjected to an examination and the two propositions concerning the fixity of the sun and the daily revolution of the earth were submitted to the consultors of the Inquisition.<sup>2</sup>

With what preconceptions the theologians of the Inquisition set to work on the two propositions submitted to them may perhaps be gathered from Bellarmine's reply to Foscarini who had presented to the learned Cardinal the book in which he advocated the new system of the universe. It would be a good thing, Bellarmine wrote,<sup>3</sup> to defend the Copernican opinion as a mere hypothesis. If it were maintained as a proven fact it would not only provoke the philosophers and the theologians, but an injury might be done to the faith itself, for it would appear as if one attributed errors to Holy Scripture. Foscarini must surely grant that his interpretation of Scripture texts in a Copernican sense was at variance with all previous exegesis; yet the Council of Trent forbade such interpretations of the Scripture as would run counter to the unanimous opinion of the Fathers of the Church. If he objected that the motion of the sun and the earth was no article of the faith and that according to the Council, the authority of the Fathers was paramount only in matters of faith and morals, it was nevertheless an article of faith that Holy Scripture cannot assert what is false. If, however, a real proof of the new system were forthcoming, it would be necessary to proceed very cautiously in the interpretation of Holy Writ, and to suggest this explanation, for

<sup>1</sup> MÜLLER, 141 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>3</sup> April 12, 1615, in FAVARO, XII., 171 *seq.*; MÜLLER, 104 *seq.* For Bellarmine's relations with Galileo see *Civ. Catt.*, 1923, III., 481 *seq.*; IV., 118 *seqq.*, 415 *seqq.*



choice, namely that we have failed to grasp its meaning. To him it seemed more than doubtful that the opinion of Copernicus was the only correct one and whilst there was so much uncertainty it was not right to give up the traditional interpretation of the Fathers.

Some time before Cardinal Conti had written to Galileo<sup>1</sup> that it was quite possible that when the Bible speaks of the motion of the sun and of the vault of heaven, it was merely using the ordinary language of the people; none the less such an interpretation could not be admitted unless necessity demanded it. Since Galileo's letter to Castelli met with such lenient treatment at the hands of the Inquisition,<sup>2</sup> it was easy to see that similiar ideas were not foreign to its members. Everything goes to show that the theologians of the Inquisition were determined to abide by the interpretation of the disputed Scripture texts which had been handed down from the Fathers, until a decisive proof would be brought forward to demonstrate that the new system was the only correct one.

For a proof of this kind the world had to wait for Newton and Bradley. On the other hand it is possible that the manifestly inadequate arguments by which Galileo endeavoured to support his theories may have convinced the theologians that there was no real proof and that none was to be expected at any future time.<sup>3</sup>

Whilst the discussions were pending Galileo behaved with exceeding indiscretion. He over-estimated the reputation he had won for himself and, in the words of the Tuscan envoy,<sup>4</sup> he seemed to have got the notion into his head that he must needs "break the obstinacy of the Friars and wage a war in which he could only be the loser". The envoy did all he could to bring the matter to a happy issue but, "with

<sup>1</sup> July 7, 1612, in FAVARO, XI., 354; MÜLLER, 86.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 292.

<sup>3</sup> For his proof by ebb and flood, see A. MÜLLER in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LVI. (1899), 534 *seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> May 13, 1616, in FAVARO, XII., 259.

his blustering ways," he writes, Galileo spoilt everything.<sup>1</sup> The very Cardinals of the Holy Office told Galileo that he was free to hold any opinions he liked, only let him refrain from trying to force them on others. It is certain that even in Rome there were those who admired the skill with which Galileo defended his views. He could marshal a whole row of plausible proofs in support of any opinion; if his hearers agreed he would knock down the whole structure with another set of arguments, thereby exposing to ridicule those who had previously fallen in with his views.<sup>2</sup> But the theologians of the Inquisition were not to be impressed by such tricks. Thus, when in a private conversation, Galileo had lightly thrown off the suggestion that the motion of the earth could be proved by the phenomenon of the tides, Cardinal Orsini, who was very well disposed towards him, requested him to set down his statement on paper, with the obvious intention of thereby influencing the discussions of the Inquisition. Galileo's memorandum has been preserved; it is, however, quite unworthy of such a mind as his and altogether inconclusive.<sup>3</sup> To all this must be added the fact that Galileo shocked people by his extravagance. The Tuscan envoy complained of the heavy expenses which his sovereign had ordered him to meet; he begged that Galileo be recalled to Florence as soon as possible, otherwise things might take a bad turn.<sup>4</sup>

The bad turn did come. At a sitting of February 24th, 1616, the consultors of the Inquisition began by expounding their opinion in the matter. Two propositions had been submitted to their consideration: the first of these, namely that the sun was immovable,<sup>5</sup> they qualified as absurd and

<sup>1</sup> March 4, 1616, *ibid.*, 242.

<sup>2</sup> MÜLLER, 151.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 147 *seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 161 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.*, that neither a daily movement round the earth nor a yearly one in the zodiac, is to be ascribed to it. There is no question of the sun's revolution on its own axis. (MÜLLER, 154.)

erroneous from the point of view of philosophy, and as formally heretical, inasmuch as it directly contradicted the literal meaning of many texts of Holy Writ and the interpretation given of them by the Fathers and the theologians. As regards the second proposition, namely that which ascribes to the earth a twofold motion, one round its own axis and another round the sun, their unanimous verdict was that, on philosophical grounds it was to be rejected like the first, and judged from the theological standpoint, the least they could say was that it erred in the faith.<sup>1</sup>

However, for the moment this was only the verdict of the consultors of the Inquisition. On the following day a meeting took place, under the presidency of the Pope, of the Cardinals of the Inquisition whose province it was to give a decisive judgment. We do not know whether they shared the views of the consultors in every detail. At any rate on this occasion the Inquisition did not issue a dogmatic decree concerning the system of the universe. "Though for the time being they wanted to be lenient towards the person of Galileo," Cardinal Bellarmine was nevertheless commissioned to induce him to give up the Copernican theory. To this end the Cardinal invited Galileo to his house where he at first tried to apply gentle persuasion. This proved unsuccessful. Thereupon Seghizzi of Lodi, a commissary of the Inquisition who was present at the interview, communicated to him, in presence of the Cardinal and several other witnesses, a formal injunction not to hold, teach or defend in future, in any way whatsoever, the doctrine of the fixity of the sun and the motion of the earth; if he were to act otherwise, the Holy Office would proceed against him.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MÜLLER, 155.

<sup>2</sup> MÜLLER, 156. Wohlwill tried to prove that the document with this prohibition, which was the basis of the second Galileo trial of 1632, was spurious. Cf. on this, GRISAR, 40 *seqq.*; *ibid.*, 48 on this point, that the absence of signature proves nothing. H. LUDENDORFF, also, who considers the second volume of Wohlwill (Leipzig, 1926) in the *Deutschen Lit.-Zeitung*, 1926, No. 25, is not convinced of its spuriousness.

Other decisions only dealt with the prohibition of certain books, and this the Inquisition left to the Congregation of the Index. The decree of the Index of March 5th, 1616, states that the Congregation had received information concerning "the Pythagorean doctrine, which is erroneous and wholly at variance with Holy Writ, of the motion of the earth and the fixity of the sun". "Lest a doctrine of this kind should spread further, to the injury of Catholic truth" three books were now prohibited; viz. the book of Copernicus and the commentary on Job by Stunica,<sup>1</sup> but only temporarily, that is, until they should have undergone certain emendations. On the other hand the book of Foscarini was unconditionally prohibited. Moreover the prohibition effected all such books as were written in defence of the Copernican system. Subsequent editions of the Index of forbidden books, from 1624 to 1757, contain a general prohibition of all books of this kind.<sup>2</sup> None of Galileo's writings were expressly prohibited, neither his dissertation on the sunspots, nor his letter to Castelli.

As late as 1605, Kepler expressed his admiration for the wisdom of the Roman Church which, he wrote, condemned the superstition of astrology but allowed a free discussion of the view of Copernicus.<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact theological misgivings in regard to the new system of the universe were first publicly expressed in the Protestant camp. Luther began it in his Table Talk<sup>4</sup>; in 1541, Osiander followed him in his preface to the first printed edition of Copernicus' book; in 1549, Melancthon took the field with the Scripture texts which could not be harmonized with the new teaching, and Tycho Brahe followed them in 1578. On the Catholic side the motion of the earth round its axis had been defended in Paris as early as the middle of the fourteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> Stunica's book appeared in 1584, and has not since been placed on the Index.

<sup>2</sup> REUSCH, *Index*, II., 395.

<sup>3</sup> MÜLLER, 168.

<sup>4</sup> June 4, 1539; see GRISAR, *Luther*, III., 533.



In that century, Nicholas Oresme pointed out that in the texts which seemed to bar the way to the new theory, Holy Scripture spoke as ordinary people do. Nicholas of Cusa also allows the earth to revolve round its own axis and the Protonotary Apostolic, Calcagnini, taught even before Copernicus that the sun stood still whereas the earth moved. Christopher Clavius<sup>1</sup> was the first Catholic scholar who, in 1581, urged against Copernicus certain texts of Holy Scripture, though he did so with moderation. The future Cardinal Pázmány, when still a lecturer at Graz, taught that no conclusion unfavourable to Copernicus could be deduced from the well known texts of Holy Scripture.<sup>2</sup> It was the decree of 1616 that changed the face of things. To quote Kepler once more, owing to the ill-advised importunity of some persons, who propounded the teachings of astronomy in the wrong places and in the wrong way, things came to such a pass that the reading of Copernicus' books, which for eighty years had been freely allowed to anyone, was now

<sup>1</sup> PIERRE DUHEM in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1911, 7, "il semble bien," says Duhem (*ibid.*, 4), ". . . que les congrégations romaines aient été fort lentes à s'émouvoir des hypothèses copernicaines ; il ne paraît pas que la moindre menace fût venue, au cours du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, gêner, à cet égard, la liberté de pensée des savants catholiques. L'hésitation de ces derniers à admettre le mouvement de la terre, hésitation que n'éprouvaient pas moins vivement la plupart des protestants, trouve une explication suffisante dans la crainte de ruiner la Physique d'Aristote avant d'avoir rien trouvé qui en pût tenir lieu." *Ibid.*, 8, Duhem thinks: "Il nous paraît donc certain que la lutte menée au nom de la Bible contre l'Astronomie copernicaine fut inaugurée non pas par l'Église catholique, mais par l'Église luthérienne." For Oresme *cf.* DUHEM, in *Rev. gén. des sciences pures et appliquées* of November 15, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> In MÜLLER, *Kopernikus*, 106. By the statutes of the University of Salamanca the books of Ptolemy, Geber or Copernicus were prescribed in 1561, but in 1594 Copernicus and the Pruthenic tables only: "En el segundo cuadrienio léase a Nicolao Copernico y las tablas Pluternicas en la forma dada." (GETINO, O. P., *Historia de un convento*, Vegara, 1904; *cf.* *Theol. u. Glaube*, III., (1911), 311 *seq.*)

forbidden until they should have been revised.<sup>1</sup> The blame for this must be laid at Galileo's door. His persistence forced the Roman Congregations to issue a decision in a matter which was not as yet ripe for a definition, and his indiscreet and excessive ardour is responsible, in the first instance, for the regrettable consequences.

For the time being these consequences did not affect him personally to any great extent. His prestige, even in ecclesiastical circles, suffered no eclipse and nothing had happened to him as far as the great public was concerned. Paul V. personally comforted the disappointed savant. For the space of nearly an hour the two men walked up and down together and all the time the Pope kept assuring the famous scientist that both he himself and the Congregation thought so highly of him that they would not readily lend an ear to calumny. Whilst he himself was alive, the Pope declared, Galileo could rest assured on that score.<sup>2</sup> However, when unfavourable reports begun to be bruited about, Cardinal Bellarmine gave Galileo an attestation<sup>3</sup> to the effect that he had not been compelled to recant or to undergo any kind of penance whatever. He was not forbidden to continue his researches, even in the sphere of astronomy. If an end was put to his irruptions into the theological arena, the measure was in reality a blessing for Galileo.

It is a matter for deep regret that the book of Copernicus should have been the object of a prohibition. There was, however, no question of destroying the work. The report of the Congregation of the Index on the revision of the book opens with the statement that it was absolutely necessary to guard and preserve the work for the benefit of the whole Christian commonwealth,<sup>4</sup> all the more so as in the correction

<sup>1</sup> In MÜLLER, *Galilei*, 54.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 159. Galileo to Picchena, March 12, 1616, in FAVARO, XII., 248; WOHLWILL, 632 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> May 26, 1616, in MÜLLER, *Galilei*, 160; FAVARO, XIX, 384.

<sup>4</sup> "Praedictos libros Copernici omnino pro utilitate Reipublicae christianae conservandos et sustinendos esse" (in HILGERS, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, Freiburg, 1894, 541).

of the Calendar under Gregory XIII., use had been made of the so-called Pruthenic Tables, the reckoning of which was based on the Copernican system.<sup>1</sup> The corrections to which the work of the astronomer of Thorn was to be subjected did not effect the scientific contents of the book ; only those passages were to be struck out, or toned down, in which the new system was put forward as an established fact.<sup>2</sup> Hence even persons who had no authorization to read forbidden books need only take pen and ink and alter these particular passages, when Copernicus' work would be no longer a prohibited book for them. Small importance attaches, therefore, to the fact that only since 1835, when a new edition of the Index was published, the name of Copernicus no longer figures in that list, since his system had long ago prevailed even in Catholic schools.<sup>3</sup>

Far more momentous than the measures thus taken against Galileo and the work of Copernicus was the general prohibition of all writings in support of the new system of the universe. This prohibition remained in the volume of the Index until 1758. It may be that in Catholic countries it damped ardour for the study of astronomy<sup>4</sup>; however, in France the Gallicans, on the plea of the alleged liberties of the French Church, refused to consider the decrees of the Index and the Inquisition as binding, and if no second Galileo, or a Newton, or a Bradley arose in Italy, the blame cannot fairly be ascribed to the decree against Copernicus.

It must be added that even devout Catholics considered these decrees of the Index and the Inquisition as ordinances that must be obeyed, but not as infallible papal decrees. In any case it was always open to astronomers to look for proofs in support of the Copernican system. The decree of the Inquisition against Copernicus at once led the Accademia

<sup>1</sup> GERLAND, 261.

<sup>2</sup> Index of corrections in MÜLLER, *Kopernikus*, 133 seq.

<sup>3</sup> MÜLLER, 145.

<sup>4</sup> For the Spanish Netherlands, cf. on this G. MONCHAMP, *Galilée et la Belgique. Essai historique sur les vicissitudes du système de Copernic en Belgique*, St.-Trond, 1892.

dei Lincei to lay down fresh disciplinary measures. One of its members, the mathematician Luca Valerio, whom Galileo had styled the Archimedes of his time, had publicly asserted that Galileo taught the motion of the earth precisely because he belonged to the Accademia dei Lincei and that he maintained it not as a hypothesis, but as a fact. In consequence of the sentence against Copernicus the academy was afraid of becoming involved in Galileo's fate. Accordingly on March 24th, Luca Valerio was formally reprimanded and deprived of his seat and vote. Nevertheless his name was not struck off the register of the Academy, " though he had merited this punishment and even a severer one." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> \*Essendo egli per altro ascritto all'Accademia dei Lincei, ed in amicizia strettissima unito col principe e con molti membri della medesima, non videro senza molto inquietudine quegli Accademici le persecuzioni a cui soggiaceva il Galilei, e temendo di essere involti essi pure nelle sue disgrazie, le più forti diligenze adoperarono, per allontanare da se lo stesso pericolo. Perciò nell'adunanza tenuta il dì 24 di marzo, alla presenza del principe, del Galilei, dello Stelluti, d'Angelo de Filiis, e di Giovanni Fabri, fu condannato Luca Valerio, ed i termini del decreto contro di lui emanato, furono appresso a poco i seguenti. " Che non si cancellava il suo nome dal catalogo dei Lincei, nel quale si era egli di propria mano sottoscritto, sebbene avesse questo e molto di più meritato, ma che bensì venia egli privato della voce attiva et passiva, e della facoltà di sedere nell'Accademia. E ciò per tre ragioni : Primo, perchè si era egli, senza alcun motivo, assentato dall'Accademia. Secondo, perchè avea egli detto pubblicamente che il Galilei sosteneva l'opinione del moto della terra, appunto perchè era Linceo, come se quella fosse l'opinione generale dell'Accademia. Terzo, perchè essendosi egli sempre mostrato amico del Galilei, lo avea incolpato di sostenere l'opinione che la terra si muova, non come una semplice ipotesi, ma come una vera tesi." Dal qual decreto rilevasi la condotta, per verità, molto imprudente del Valerio, ed il timore grande che aveano i Lincei di essere involuppati nelle traversie del Galilei, quante volte dai più si credesse, che i Lincei, per loro istituto, seguissero l'opinione del Copernico. B. Odescalchi, Memorie istorico-critiche dell'Accademia de'Lincei, Roma, 1806, 129.



The Congregation of the Index was the only one of all the congregations to preserve its individual importance.<sup>1</sup> During the pontificate of Paul V. it had to deal, not with Galileo alone, but also with two other Italian savants, though in the latter instance its proceedings were amply justified. *Cæsar Cremonini*, born at Cento, in 1550, is known as the last exponent of averroistic Aristoteleanism. He taught philosophy first at Ferrara and after 1591, at Padua.<sup>2</sup> As early as 1611, the Roman Inquisition had to busy itself with his exposition of Aristotle. The opinions which he expressed in a book published at Venice in 1613, under the title of *De Coelo*, brought Cremonini in conflict with the local Inquisition of Padua, and eventually with the Roman Inquisition. When, in 1614, that tribunal started proceedings against Cremonini, the Venetian envoy in Rome lodged a protest.<sup>3</sup> As for Cremonini himself, he gave an undertaking to take into account, in a new book, the criticisms passed on the work *De Coelo* by the authorities in Rome. Thus the matter was

<sup>1</sup> Of the Congregations, says B. Ceci, in his *\*Relazione di Roma nel principio del pontificato di Paolo V.* only that of the Inquisition was held " *in quel decoro di prima* ", while the other Congregations waned in importance since the time of Clement VIII., as the Pope decided everything (*Urb.*, 837, p. 440). Ceci names, as being members of the Holy Office: Pinelli, Bernerio, Sfondrato, Aldobrandini, Arigoni (*cf.* *\*Avviso*, May 21, 1605), Bellarmine, Bufalo, Ávila, Taverna, Givry, and Marzato. The Congregation of the Index was composed of the following Cardinals, according to Ceci: Valier, Borromeo, Colonna, Bernerio, Sfondrato, Arigoni, Camerino, Ávila, Baronius, Olivier, and Pamfili (Vatican Library). *Cf. Synopsis*, 250 *seq.*, 276, 281 *seq.*. As to Millini's zeal as a member of the Inquisition, see MEMMOLI, *Vita*, 33. For the Index during the time of Paul V. *cf.* REUSCH, I., *passim*, and also Bellarmine's *Autobiography*, 244 *seq.*, also HILGERS, 549, and BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 233 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> ÜBERWEG-HEINZE, *Grundriss der Gesch. der Philosophie*, III<sup>6</sup>, 18. *Cf.* CANTÙ, III., 146 *seq.*; BERTI, *Di Cesare Cremonini e della sua controversia con l'Inquisizione di Padova e di Roma*, Rome, 1878.

<sup>3</sup> See CECCHETTI, II., 259.

apparently settled. However, when the new book came out in 1616, it was seen that not only had Cremonini not kept his promise, but that he had formulated fresh and equally dangerous theses. Discussions led to no result, hence on January 18th, 1622, the Congregation of the Index prohibited the book *De Coelo* until such time as the author had revised it. The decree added that if this was not done within a year, the book was to be considered as forbidden without further formality.<sup>1</sup> Though Cremonini may have thought that his teaching was not at variance with that of the Church, there can be no doubt that it denied some of the fundamental dogmas of the Catholic faith.<sup>2</sup>

Incomparably greater anxiety than that caused to the Holy See by the philosopher of Padua, was occasioned by Marcantonio de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato.<sup>3</sup> Pride and vanity were the curse of the life of this gifted and learned man. Even the archiepiscopal see of Spalato, to which was joined the dignity of primate of Dalmatia, failed to satisfy the unquiet man. Men who are the slaves of vanity and who lack strength of character, are only too prone to take a line of conduct totally at variance with the principles they may have previously held, if they see a chance that in so doing they may realize the fondest desire of their hearts, namely to acquire world-wide fame. This was all the more easily verified in de Dominis as he was devoid of strong and

<sup>1</sup> See BERTI, *loc. cit.*; REUSCH, II., 408 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See GRUBE in *Freib. Kirchenlex.* III., 1185. Cf. RITTER, *Gesch. der Philosophie*, IX., 726 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. for the following, BZOVIVS, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 32; VEITH, *E. Richeri systema. Ed. nova, access. discursus de vita et scriptis M.A. de Dominis*, Mechlin, 1825; ERNESTI, *Das Recht der Hierarchie auf Zensur nebst Lebensgeschichte des M.A. de Dominis*, Leipzig, 1829; CANTÙ, III., 191 *seq.*; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XXIV., 537 *seq.*; REUMONT, *Beiträge*, VI., 315 *seq.*; LJUBIĆ, *O Marcantonio Dominici*, 2 vols., Zagreb, 1870; RULE, II., 248 *seq.*; NEWLAND, *Life of M.A. de Dominis*, Oxford, 1877; REUSCH, II., 401 *seq.*; HERZOGS, *Realenzyklop.*, IV.<sup>3</sup>, 781 *seq.*; *Annuaire de l'Université de Louvain*, 1908, 291 *seq.*

definite religious convictions. In 1612, the Venetian envoy, Gessi, in a personal interview, sought to restrain him from publishing a treatise against papal authority.<sup>1</sup> His efforts were in vain. In 1614 de Dominis became involved in a controversy with the Bishop of Trau which ended in his passing a sentence of suspension on the latter. De Dominis had hoped for the support of the Holy See in this quarrel. Rome, however, refused to take his side. In his disappointment the passionate man announced his intention to resign his archbishopric. On Gessi's advice, the Holy See agreed, with the proviso that de Dominis should come to Rome to tender his resignation in person. The archbishop's refusal to comply with this demand was obviously inspired by fear of the Inquisition. Whilst the affair was still pending he decided on an open rupture with the Church. Under date of September 20th he caused to be printed at Venice a violent manifesto in which he enumerated the grounds for his apostasy. He then made his escape into the Grisons.<sup>2</sup> At Chur he told two Venetian agents that he intended to go to England, for after the publication of his manifesto he had cause to fear for his personal safety. For all that he meant to remain a practising Catholic. How de Dominis understood this was soon to be seen. When he reached London he met with a hearty reception from James I. He made a public profession of anglicanism at St. Paul's,<sup>3</sup> whereupon the king bestowed several fat prebends on him.<sup>4</sup> As is the usual practice of apostates, the wretched man now made the most virulent attacks upon the Church, the mother he had forsaken. In

<sup>1</sup> Cf. CIOGNA, *Iscrizioni Venez.*, V., 608 seq.

<sup>2</sup> The Spaniards sought to exploit his flight to their advantage as against Venice; see \*Letter of Philipp III. to Cardinal Borgia, dat. Madrid, December 29, 1616: "En buen ocasion deys a entender a Su S<sup>d</sup> el poco respecto con que proceden en aquella republica." Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 32.

<sup>3</sup> A number of English noblemen were present, of whom many did not understand a word of Italian; see REUMONT, *loc. cit.*, 319.

<sup>4</sup> See BENTIVOGLIO, *Nunziat. di Francia*, I., No. 62, 215.

1617 he published, in London, the first part of a book on the Constitution of the Church, in which he denies the Pope's primacy. An anonymous publication of de Dominis, which appeared simultaneously with this book, testifies to a similar mentality. These writings were followed, in 1619, by the publication of Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, together with a dedication to James I., in which the most outrageous charges are made against the Catholic Church.<sup>1</sup> All these writings fell under the ban of the Index,<sup>2</sup> and the papal nuncios were instructed to prevent their diffusion.<sup>3</sup>

Only a very small number of executions for heresy occurred under Paul V. and in almost every instance the people concerned were either obstinate recidivists<sup>4</sup> or persons guilty of sacrilege, especially sacrilege against the most holy Sacrament of the altar.<sup>5</sup> As regards the death sentence, it should be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 211 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See REUSCH, II., 402 seq. Cf. BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 235.

<sup>3</sup> See CAUCHIE, *Instructions*, 70; BENTIVOGLIO, *loc. cit.*, No. 32, 363, 364, 680. Cf. *ibid.*, No. 2144, 2166, the evidence how greatly Rome feared that de Dominis might go to France and spread his ideas there. A literary opponent appeared in the person of the Capuchin, ZACH. BOVERIUS: *Censura paraenetica in IV. libros de republica ecclesiast. M. Ant. de Dominis, nuper archiep. Spalat., nunc vero S.R.E. apostatae et haereticii*, Mediol., 1621.

<sup>4</sup> The burning of a relapsed renegade in April, 1609, is noted by REUSCH, *Selbstbiographie Bellarmins*, 232 seq. Cf. RODOCANACHI, *Réforme*, II., 439 seq. The \*Avviso of July 30, 1611, mentions the burning of a relapsed Jew of Pavia. (Vatican Library.) The Roman Jews were repeatedly protected by edicts of Paul V. against oppression (see GORI, *Archivio An. V.*, Spoleto, 1879, 279); but punishment was meted out in cases of cheating (see \*Avviso of September 24, 1605) and of usury (18 per cent! see \*Avviso of February 18, 1612, Vatican Library) and other misdemeanours (\**Editto contra Hebrei et altri afferenti alle vendite de pegni in Piazza Giudea*, of December 22, 1615, in the *Editti*, V., 10, p. 121, Papal Secret Archives). Cf., too, RODOCANACHI, *Le St.-Siège et les Juifs*, Paris, 1891, 54 seq., 190.

<sup>5</sup> A similar case in ORANO, *Liberi pensatori brucchiati in Roma*, Roma, 1904, 94 seq.



borne in mind that the secular judges often inflicted the extreme penalty for far less grievous offences. In the sixteenth century, in Lombardy, it was no rare occurrence for a man to suffer death simply for taking a piece of bread with violence or for kissing a female in public. Anyone who dared to speak against the government ran the risk of death.<sup>1</sup> Persons who abjured their errors before the Inquisition escaped with a more or less lengthy term of imprisonment, or the galleys.<sup>2</sup> The majority of the cases dealt with by the Inquisition were crimes against morality,<sup>3</sup> profanations of

<sup>1</sup> Examples in *Arch. stor. ital.*, III., 223, 550, 551. Cf. FUMI, *L'Inquisizione Romana*, 301.

<sup>2</sup> Besides BERTOLETTI, *Martiri del libero pensiero e vittime della s. Inquisizione*, Roma, 1891, 117 seq., and RODOCANACHI, *Réforme*, II., 439 seq., cf. the \*Avviso of September 30, 1617 (Sunday, abjuration of six *carcerati*, three *condannati a carcere perpetuo*, two *galera di 5 anni*, one for 10 years), Vatican Library, and \**Summarium processus Francisci Mariae Sagri Ragusin.* (denounced December 22, 1607, at Naples, for declaring, "episcopus sola electione facta a clero absque alia confirmatione habere auctoritatem in sua diocesi," Sagri recanted), *Cod.*, II., 56 and 57, of the Borghese Library, Rome. In 1621 there were forty-three persons in the prisons of the Inquisition at Rome; see *Studie documenti*, XII., 193. For Abbé Dubois, arrested in November, 1611, on suspicion of heresy (cf. vol. xxvi, p. 55, note 4) see the essay of PERRENS in the *Rev. hist.*, LXV. Cf. too SPAMPANATO, *Docum. intorno i negozi e processi dell'Inquisizione*, 1603/24, in *Giorn. crit. di filosofia ital.*, V. (1924).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. \**Istoria di Suor Giulia di Marco* (Napoletana, del Terzo Ord. di S. Francesco) e della falsa dottrina insegnata da lei, dal P. Aniello Arcieri (Napoletano, sacerdote professore della Congr. dei ministri degli infermi nel Convento della Maddalena in Roma) e da Giuseppe de Vicariis (Napoletano, dottore in legge), con il riassunto del processo contra di essi, e con la loro abiurazione seguita in Roma a' 12 del mese di luglio 1615. *Cod.*, X., B. 55, of the Library of the *Soc. di stor. patr.* at Naples. (Cf. *Barb.* 3221, Vatican Library, and *Amabile*, II., 23 seq.) All three received sentences of perpetual imprisonment; see \*Avviso of June 15, 1615, Vatican Library.

graves,<sup>1</sup> and similar offences. There is no known instance of a prosecution for witchcraft in Rome during the reign of Paul V., but at Milan this form of madness had assumed alarming proportions. It is worth noting that the Milanese Inquisitors contented themselves with punishing with banishment or imprisonment persons accused of witchcraft and refused to hand them over to the secular arm, with a view to their execution.<sup>2</sup> In consequence of this conduct the Governor of Lombardy, Velasco, lodged a complaint with the Roman authorities, but Paul V. decided against the application of the capital sentence.<sup>3</sup> The Governor's complaint caused the Pope to send to the Inquisitors of the whole of Italy instructions "inspired by a sense of justice and understanding". These instructions are proof of an earnest resolve to do all that was possible to prevent the injustices and cruelties committed by the judges, and to eliminate precisely the more grievous abuses that had crept in where there was question of a prosecution for witchcraft.<sup>4</sup>

Recent investigation of the methods of the Italian Inquisition has shown that, generally speaking, the current accusations of partiality and cruelty are unfounded.<sup>5</sup> As a

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avviso of April 15, 1609, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> See L. FUMI, *L'Inquisizione Romana*, 115 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

<sup>4</sup> Judgment of HINSCHIUS (VI., 423 *seq.*). RIEZLER (*Gesch. der Hexensprozesse in Bayern*, Stuttgart, 1896, 268) emphasizes "how much earlier a reaction of reason and humanity appeared in Rome than in the Catholic and Protestant territories of Germany". This opinion gains force from the fact that the Instruction was not dated 1657, as this scholar thought, but was disseminated in MSS. twenty years earlier among the courts of the Inquisition in Italy. See CARENA, *Tractatus de officio S. Inquisitionis*, Cremonae, 1641, 246 *seq.*. The date (1620) is ascertained from FUMI, *loc. cit.*, 119.

<sup>5</sup> A. BATTISTELLA (*Notizie sparse del S. Ufficio in Lombardia durante i secoli XVI. e XVII.*, in *Arch. stor. Lombar.*, 3 ser., XVII. (1902), 121 *seq.*) writes after quoting a case: Valga quest'esempio a persuaderci quanto poco fondamento abbiano, in generale, i biasimi e le invettive di cui si suole involgere l'opera

matter of fact the inquisitorial tribunals of the various Italian States which, in 1613 and 1614, were put under obligation of giving an annual account of their activities,<sup>1</sup> had to deal less and less frequently with real heretics,<sup>2</sup> particularly since the failure of the attempt to establish Calvinism in Venice.<sup>3</sup> Thus, by degrees, the Inquisition came to assume the form of a kind of police force, whose object it was to deal with books contrary to the Catholic faith and with pamphlets libelling the Church. In this field also its proceedings were frequently characterized by extreme mildness.<sup>4</sup> Paul V. upheld in every way the rights of the Inquisition.<sup>5</sup> When the republic of Lucca attempted to

del S. Officio (mi restringo di parlare della sola Italia), raffigurandola viziata, ab origine, di crudeltà, di parzialità, di fanatismo cieco e stupido. Certo, i concetti da cui esso moveva sono molto diversi da quelli dei tempi in cui noi viviamo; certo, sono da biasimare gli eccessi derivati dal sospetto elevato morbosamente a sistema regolatore del pensiero e dell'azione; ma io non esito a dire che raramente allora si sarebbe potuto trovare nei tribunali laici un maggior zelo di giustizia, una maggiore onestà di convinzioni, una più scrupolosa diligenza di procedimento.

<sup>1</sup> See BATTISTELLA, *S. Officio*, Bologna, 1905, 65.

<sup>2</sup> It was chiefly a matter of strangers. Thus, on November 4, 1618, a German from the diocese of Münster was executed at Bologna, see (M. GUALANDI), *Un Auto-da-fè in Bologna*. Docum. orig. Bologna, 1860. Cf. RULE, II., 223 seq. and BATTISTELLA, *loc. cit.*, 107 seq. The heretics of Avignon were Huguenots, on whose behalf Paul V. sent a special courier, according to the \*report of RECORDATI of October 27, 1612 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 196 seq.

<sup>4</sup> Thus, a Fra Evangelista da Bologna of the Order of the Observants, who had written sonnets hostile to the Church, was only condemned by the Inquisitor to fasting on bread and water and to the saying of prayers on certain festivals; see *Riv. stor.*, 1900, 490.

<sup>5</sup> See the *Revocatio facult. superioribus quorumcunque ordin. regul. concessar. cognoscendi causas suor. subditor. ad officium s. Inquisit. pertinentes*, of September 1, 1606, in *Bull.*, XI., 346 seq.

establish an Inquisition of its own, he condemned the action, in 1606, as an intolerable usurpation and declared null and void the ordinances emanated from Lucca in respect to forbidden books and the repression of heresy.<sup>1</sup> In spite of opposition on the part of Florence, he insisted, in 1608, on the arrest of a man as distinguished as was Alidosi, even though he had been selected for the post of envoy to the emperor, because he was under accusation of holding heretical opinions. In the end an agreement was come to according to the terms of which the affair was to be settled by a Roman commissary and a Florentine Inquisitor.<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere also similar conflicts were occasioned when inquisitorial causes were called to Rome.

Ecclesiastical affairs of another kind led to far more serious conflicts between the spiritual and the secular power. Like Clement VIII., Paul V. showed himself a rigid guardian of the rights of the Church.<sup>3</sup> In this matter his knowledge of the law stood him in good stead; it enabled him, among other things, to take into account the just complaints of the secular power, especially in regard to the right of sanctuary of churches and monasteries, without in any way tampering with principles.<sup>4</sup> It was, however, imperative that the Pope should

For the Bull of 1615 (*ibid.*, XII., 309) *cf.* HINSCHIUS, V., 682. A \*Brief of Paul V. with indulgences for the *Crucesignati Inquisitionis*, of July 29, 1611, is in *Editto*, V., 31, p. 73, Papal Secret Archives. Decrees of the Inquisition of the time of Paul V. are in *Analecta iuris pontif.*, XXVI. (1886), 676 *seq.* A \**Synopsis decret. s. Congreg. Inquisit. Romanae*, beginning with the year 1617, is in *Cod.*, 980, of the University Library, Bologna.

<sup>1</sup> See *Bull.*, XI., 369 *seq.*, 376 *seq.* *Cf.* REUSCH, I., 194.

<sup>2</sup> See the \**Relazione di Fr. Morosini* of December 5, 1608, in A. SEGARIZZI, *Relaz. degli ambasc. Veneti*, III., 2, 141 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See \*"Relacion general de algunas cosas que el arzobispo de Burgos llevo a España al gobierno de Roma y otros particulares de que conviene estar advertido Marques de Aitona" (1606) in Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, III., 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* REUMONT, *Carafa*, II., 295 and REUMONT, *Toskana*, I., 514 *seq.*



resist the universal and ever growing tendency of the State to encroach on the sphere of the Church.

Paul V. became engaged on numerous ecclesiastico-political conflicts with Charles Emmanuel I., duke of Savoy, who showed as little regard for the rights of the Church, 'as if', according to the mot of the Venetian envoy, Vincenzo Gussoni, in 1613, 'he were lord of the whole world!'<sup>1</sup> The growth of Spanish cæsaro-papalism occasioned the Pope even graver anxiety. True, Madrid complacently fancied that it could obtain from Rome anything it really wished for by just keeping up the good relations that had obtained between Spain and the Pope when the latter was only a Cardinal and by acting on the Pope's nephews and the Cardinals by means of pensions. Outwardly, the Spaniards made a great show of regard for the Pope. Again and again he was assured of their determination to defend both him and the interests of the Church.<sup>2</sup> For all that, they would not renounce any one of their cæsaro-papistic pretensions.<sup>3</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> See BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 534. The advance of Protestantism was the object of the journey which Christoph von Dohna made with the eldest son of Christian of Anhalt in the late summer of 1617 to the Duke Carlo Emanuele of Savoy; cf. REGEL, *Christians II. von Anhalt Gesandtschaftsreise nach Savoyen* (Progr.), Bernburg, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> The banishment of all Moriscos, following on a command of Philip III., 1609-1611, was based on their alliance with Mohammedan princes; see RANKE, *Osmanen*, 113; PHILIPPSON, *Heinrich IV. und Philipp III.*, Vol. II., 121 seq.; PFANDL, *Spanische Kultur*, 12 seq., 264; BORONAT Y BARRACHINA, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión*, 2 vols., Valencia, 1901. Paul V. had taken trouble to promote the conversion of the Moriscos by pastoral care and teaching. See *Bull.*, XI., 284 seq., 336 seq. For Protestant propaganda in Spain at the time of Paul V., see *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, XVIII., 373 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See the accounts of Fr. Priuli (1608), Girol. Soranzo (1611) and P. Contarini (1621) in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Spagna*, I., 358 seq., 471, 585. Cf., too, A. PELLEGRINI, *Relaz. ined. di ambasc. Lucchesi alla corte di Madrid*, Lucca, 1903, 26, 36 seq. For Paul V.'s relations with Spain as a Cardinal, see our account, Vol. XXIII. 197, 271 seq.

became perfectly clear in the decrees of Philip III. of May 3rd, 1605, and December 10th, 1607, by which the nuncio of Madrid was excluded from the discussions in connection with American affairs.<sup>1</sup> If, in this instance, Paul V. yielded to the inevitable,<sup>2</sup> he did not fail to offer resistance on other points. In November, 1605, he expressed his profound displeasure at the outrageous violation of Canon Law practised in Spain by means of the so-called *Recurso de fuerza* (*Appel comme d'abus*).<sup>3</sup> In June of the same year the Pope had found himself compelled to excommunicate a Spanish official at Naples.<sup>4</sup>

In the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, where a discontented population must be kept under at all costs, Spanish cæsaro-papalism showed itself at its worst. It culminated in the pretensions contained in the privileges of the so-called *Monarchia Sicula* which Paul V. also had refused to recognize.<sup>5</sup> It was to be feared that a similar situation would arise in

<sup>1</sup> See SOLÓRZANO, *Politica indiana* (1647 ed.), 722 seq.; LETURIA, *Der Heilige Stuhl u. das Patronat in Amerika*, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XLVI., 30.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. LETURIA; *loc. cit.*, 52.

<sup>3</sup> See the \*report of Franc. Maria Vialardo, November 19, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf., too, the account of the Venetian *obbedienza* ambassadors, in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 67.

<sup>4</sup> See COUZARD, *Une ambassade*, 392. Cf. *Studi e docum.*, VIII., 20. In the \*instructions for the Spanish ambassador, the Marquis of Aytona, drawn up at the beginning of the reign of Paul V., the regular payment of the Cardinals' pensions is sharply emphasized. It is noted, too, that there must always be troops at the Paliano fortress so that, if necessary, the ambassador may bring military pressure to bear on the Pope. "El Duque de Sermoneta tiene en el mismo lugar una fuerza de importancia que es tambien cerca di Roma." He may also count on this fortress "a las puertas de la ciudad (Roma)". *Cod.*, III., 9, Archives of the Embassy, Rome.

<sup>5</sup> See GIROL. SORANZO in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Spagna*, I., 452. Cf., too, G. OLIVA, *Le contese giurisdiz. d. chiesa Liparitana*, in *Arch. stor. Messinese*, V., and VI. (1904-5).

Naples itself inasmuch as the nobility, the freemen and the clergy supported the government's attempt to curtail the rights of the Holy See; indeed, things came to such a pass that the one remaining privilege of the Pope was to be presented with a white palfrey on St. Peter's day.<sup>1</sup> All this made the position of the nuncios at Naples an exceedingly thorny one.<sup>2</sup> They had to complain of endless interference with ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the part of the authorities.<sup>3</sup> Paul V. left nothing undone in the hope of bringing about an improvement. Towards Philip III. he showed himself liberal with all manner of favours.<sup>4</sup> It was all in vain. Politico-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. RANKE, *Osmanen*<sup>4</sup>, 233 seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Giacomo Aldobrandini*, who had been nuncio since 1592, begged Paul V. for his recall (see *Carte Strozzi.*, I., 2, 355 seq.); in his place Guglielmo Bastoni was sent in 1606, Valeriano Muti, 1609, Adeotato Gentile, 1611, and after the latter's sudden death in the same year, Paolo Emilio Filonardo. See NIC. CAPECE GALEOTA, *Cenni storici dei Nunzii Apost. di Napoli*, Napoli, 1877, 46 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See *Arch. stor. ital.*, IX., 451 seq. Cf. RANKE, *loc. cit.*; GALEOTA, 4<sup>8</sup>, 49. There was no lack of secular quarrels as well; cf. the \*Brief of 1609 to the Neapolitan Viceroy, "de nonnullis in praeiudicium eccl. ditionis patris a regis ministris in finibus Beneventi." *Epist.*, IV., 463, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> The *Cruzada*, the *Subsidio di 420,000 Scudi* and the *Excusado*, were granted by Paul V. for six years each, on June 22, 1605, September 7, 1611, November 12, 1614, and October 21, 1619; see \*"*Indice de las concessiones que han hecho los Papas de la Cruzada, Subsidio y Excusado*", Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 9. Cf. PEREZ DE LARA, *Compendio de las tre gracias de la s. cruzada, subsidio y excusado, que Su Sant. concede a la S. Cat. R.M. del Rey Don Felipe III.*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1610. Other favours are recorded in *Bull.*, XI., 224 seq., 439 seq., 531 seq., 574 seq., 590 seq., XII., 280 seq. *Ibid.*, XI., 568 seq., on April 7, 1609, the confirmation of the right of nomination of Neapolitan dioceses granted by Clement VII. to the Emperor Charles V. (see our account, Vol. IX, 437). On July 17, 1618, \**Philippus princeps Hispaniae* and *Isabella principessa Hispaniae* received honours; the Prince received *ensis and pileus*, the Princess, the *Golden Rose*. *Epist.*, XV., Papal Secret Archives.

ecclesiastical conditions in Naples grew worse rather than better.<sup>1</sup> In Spain itself the customary policy in regard to the Church was tenaciously pursued. An edict of Philip III., of October 3rd, 1610, and published on December 17th in Sicily, and in February, 1611, in Portugal and at Naples, was nothing less than a challenge to the Pope. The decree forbade the sale of the eleventh volume of the *Annals* of Cardinal Baronius, which contains an examination of the *Monarchia Sicula*, under penalty of a fine of 500 florins; in case of a second offence, nobles were threatened with five years' banishment and the rest with the galleys.<sup>2</sup> Paul V. vainly sought, through Philip III.'s confessor, the nuncio in Madrid and Cardinal Sandoval of Toledo, to procure the repeal of the decree.<sup>3</sup> The post of nuncio to Spain was at that time held by Decio Carafa, archbishop of Damascus, who in May, 1607, had succeeded Giangarzia Millini when the latter was raised to the cardinalate.<sup>4</sup> When Antonio Caetani,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the account of Borghese to the Nuncio at Naples, January 22 and November 28, 1614, and March 12, 1616, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 327, 332 seq., 338.

<sup>2</sup> See REUSCH, *Index*, II., 380. For the veto of the eleventh vol. in 1605, cf. above, p. 9 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Besides the letter of Paul V. to Philip III.'s confessor, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 300 seq., cf. too the Brief to Cardinal Bernard Sandoval, archbishop of Toledo, of March 29, 1611. "Exponet tibi Decius archiepiscopus, nuntius; ex ipsius rei gravitate facile tibi perspectum, quantopere negotium hoc nobis cordi . . . dignitati S. Rom. ecclesiae, de qua agitur, satisfacies," (*Epist.*, VI., 340, Papal Secret Archives). In a \*Brief to Philip III.'s confessor, of July 12, 1611, Paul V. begged "ut sibi cordi sit, quid ad XI. Annalium tomum pertinere significabit ei nuncius apostolicus" (*Epist.*, VIII., 348, *ibid.*).

<sup>4</sup> The \*Brief of the nomination of Millini is in the *Epist.*, I., 413, Papal Secret Archives. His \*reports are in *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 333, *ibid.* Cf. \**Torbidi insorti in Spagna con Mgr. nuntio Millini*, in *Cod. Bolognetti*, 165, *ibid.* The \*Brief to Philip III. with regard to the sending of Decio Carafa, is in *Epist.*, II., 490, *ibid.*



archbishop of Capua, was sent to Madrid as nuncio, in 1611,<sup>1</sup> he also took up the affair but with similar ill-success.<sup>2</sup>

In Milan conflicts between Church and State arose as early as 1605.<sup>3</sup> In 1615 and 1617, certain agreements were come to between the spiritual and the secular power which eased the situation at least for a time.<sup>4</sup>

In 1607, Paul V. praised the archbishop of Compostella for his zeal in the defence of the Church's rights.<sup>5</sup> In this respect conditions were particularly bad in the kingdom of Portugal, which was at that time subject to Spain. There the violation of the Church's immunity by the secular authorities was the order of the day. The Pope was grievously hurt by an edict of August, 1610, which made the acquisition of monastic or ecclesiastical property dependent on the assent of the royal authorities. The decree stipulated, moreover, that persons who had acquired such property were to alienate it once more within a year and a month, under pain of confiscation. The nuncio at Madrid made energetic remonstrances and he ended by securing at least a temporary suspension of the ordinance. Ottavio Accoramboni, bishop of Fossombrone, who went to Portugal in 1614, in the capacity of a Collector, was instructed to press for a complete repeal of the decree,<sup>6</sup> and to oppose all further attempts on the

<sup>1</sup> Caetani's nomination is announced in an \*Avviso of August 27, 1611, Vatican Library. The Brief accrediting him was not sent until October 27, 1611. In July, 1618, Franc. Cennini, Bishop of Amelia, was sent instead of Caetani.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the letter of Borghese of April 25, 1612, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 316 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Bull.*, XI., 226 seq.

<sup>4</sup> See GALANTE, *Diritto di placitazione*, 81 seq., and *Bull.*, XII., 407 seq.

<sup>5</sup> \*Brief of May 1, 1607, in *Epist.*, II., 436, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. \**Istruzione a Mons. Accoramboni, vescovo di Fossombrone, destinato collettore nel regno di Portogallo della S<sup>ta</sup> di N.S. Paolo V.*, June 1, 1614, in *Cod.*, 33 B., 15, p. 120 seq., of the Corsini Library, Rome, and in *Cod.*, X., IV., 38, p. 13 seq., of the Casanatense Library, Rome. A passage thereof is in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 338 seq.

part of the authorities to meddle with the affairs of the Church. In the summer of 1614, the archbishop of Lisbon lodged a strong complaint with Philip III. against the excesses committed by his officials in Portugal, who cast priests into prison as if they were competent to judge the clergy.<sup>1</sup> The position of Accoramboni became very difficult. On November 8th, Paul V. saw himself compelled to point out to the king of Spain the perils that must ensue from the pretensions of his officials in Portugal.<sup>2</sup> In the following year, Accoramboni found himself constrained to lay Lisbon under an interdict in punishment of certain acts of open violation of ecclesiastical immunity. It was due to Philip III.'s intervention that the dispute, in which Paul V. had taken Accoramboni's part, was settled the year after.<sup>3</sup> In this instance, as in many others, Philip III., for whose personal piety the Pope felt real esteem,<sup>4</sup> showed far better dispositions than his servants. The Pope, in consequence, repeatedly appealed directly to the king, as, for instance, in the spring of 1617, on the occasion of an act of violence by the Spanish governor of Sardinia against the Inquisition of that island.<sup>5</sup>

A typical instance of the mentality of the Spanish bureaucracy may be seen in the instruction given to Francisco de Castro,<sup>6</sup> who was expected to raise the somewhat lowered

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Borghese letter to the Spanish nuncio of August 14, 1614, in LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 89.

<sup>2</sup> \**Epist.*, XV., Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>3</sup> For the Lisbon Interdict, a matter very inadequately described by the Portuguese historians, see the \*documents in *Barb.* 4613, and *Vat.* 5856 of the Vatican Library, and SCORRAILLE, *Suarez*, II., 332 seq. Cf., too, *Bull.*, XII., 405 seq., 415 seq. For the relations with Portugal, which continued to be very unsatisfactory, see the original letters of Accoramboni, from 1620-2, in *Ottob.* 3258 of the Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the \*Brief of Philip III.'s confessor, October 19, 1605, in *Epist.*, I., 261, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. in *App.* No. 5, the \*Brief of March 22, 1617, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. PELLEGRINI in the publication mentioned above, p. 37 ; on p. 310, n. 5.

prestige of Spain, on his appointment, in the summer of 1609, to the Rome embassy, in succession to the Marquis de Aytona who is best known through the great equestrian painting of him by Van Dyck.<sup>1</sup>

To the Italians of to-day, the document declares, the words of Tiberius are applicable: they are born to be slaves! As for his line of conduct in regard to the papal government, de Castro is enjoined to see to it that the Pope, as an ecclesiastic, does not meddle with temporal matters and that, as a temporal prince, he does not disturb the tranquillity of the Church!<sup>2</sup> Here we see plainly revealed Spain's ambition to get the whole of Italy into her power. Is it to be wondered at if a member of the College of Cardinals raised the question whether the moment had not come to drive the Spaniards out of Italy? Paul V. would not go so far; however, he looked with favour on Henry IV. as the only one who knew how to stand up to the Spaniards, and whenever the Spanish envoy represented some of his own wishes as the demands of the whole Catholic world, the Pope would carefully examine whether they were justified and if he found that they were not, he was firm in his refusal.<sup>3</sup>

In view of the difficult conditions of the period, Paul V. was even more strongly convinced than his predecessors of the absolute necessity of an energetic and uniform government of the Church. He gave effect to this conviction by greatly enlarging the powers of his nuncios.<sup>4</sup> The Pope was

<sup>1</sup> Fr. de Castro made his triumphal entry into Rome on June 16, 1609; see \*Avviso of June 6, 1609, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See \**Instruzione a D. Francisco di Castro, amb. del Re catt. circa il modo come si deve governare nella città di Roma*, Barb., 5335, p. 101 seq. Vatican Library. In the \**Memoria de las personas que el Marques de Aitona propone al S. Don Francisco de Castro para informarse de las cosas de Roma*, at the head is placed Franc. Pena, the Auditor and Deacon of the Rota, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, III., 9.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. CHLUMECKY, *Karl von Zierotin*, I., 530 seq.

<sup>4</sup> The nuncios were now, as FRIEDENSBURG (*Das Preuss. Hist. Institut*, Berlin, 1903) rightly points out, no longer mere diplomatic representatives, but as delegates, with both juridical and

determined to keep the reins of government in his own hands. He suffered neither his nephew Scipio Borghese, nor any of the Cardinals, unduly to influence either his internal or his external policy.<sup>1</sup> That this absolutism was justified is granted even by the Venetian envoys who were by no means favourably disposed towards the Pope.<sup>2</sup> The chief reason of this policy, they explain, is the dependence of the Cardinals on the princes by whose intervention they had been created and from whom they accepted pensions.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, those among the Cardinals who aspired after the tiara, allowed this

administrative power, they were the highest authority in regard to the supervision of all ecclesiastical affairs. Paul V., moreover, no longer appointed his nuncios to local sees, for he held that *ordinaries* should remain in residence in their diocese (*cf.* above, p. 218 *seq.*), but made them bishops *in partibus*, 'compensant, says Biaudet (p. 46 *seq.*), la diminution du prestige, qui aurait pu résulter de ce fait, par un grade plus élevé de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique. Au lieu d'être évêques italiens, les grands nonces seront désormais archevêques ou patriarches *in partibus*.' This neutral title helped to diminish the reproach frequently directed against papal diplomats, namely their too exclusively Italian character. In time this policy was also applied to the lesser nunciatures in which, nowadays, the nuncios are all bishops *in partibus*. In a survey made towards the end of 1615 in *Barb.*, 4592, *seq.*, *Nuntiature che si proveggono di N.S. in tempo di Paolo V.*, the nunciatures are described as follows: *Praga per la qualità del principe, appresso di cui il Nuntio reside è in dignità la prima*; *Spagna*: rich incomes; *Carinthia* (Graz): not desirable; then follows: *Colonia, Savoia, Firenze, Venezia, Francia* (Vatican Library). *Cf.* Vol. XXVI, c. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Characteristics of the older Cardinals by B. Ceci, in ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 169, A. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See FR. CONTARINI, *Relazione*, 88-9; MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 102. Compare RANKE, *Popes*, III.<sup>6</sup>, 104\*. The contrast between the attitude adopted towards the Cardinals by Paul V. and that of Gregory XV. is emphasized by A. Possevino in his Report on May 28, 1621, Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

<sup>3</sup> How widespread this practice had become is seen in \**Relacion del s. colegio del a. 1606*, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.



ambition to hamper their conduct. Even on this ground alone Paul V. would have nothing to do with an electoral capitulation.<sup>1</sup>

Not only in respect to the duty of residence, but in other matters also, the Pope showed himself strict with the Cardinals. At the very beginning of his pontificate he earnestly reminded them that no member of the Sacred College could leave the Pontifical States without his permission.<sup>2</sup>

In 1609 he greatly curtailed the indults granted to the Cardinals in respect to the collation of benefices.<sup>3</sup>

In these circumstances it is not surprising that Paul V. acted with complete independence in the appointment of Cardinals. Sigismund III., King of Poland, was one of those who experienced how little the Pope allowed himself to be influenced by the princes when there was question of filling the ranks of the Sacred College. The king had warmly pleaded for the bestowal of the purple on the former nuncio, Rangoni. Paul V. held Sigismund in high regard because of his Catholic sentiments, and readily complied with his wishes but, in this instance, he refused even though the request was made repeatedly and with great earnestness. The grounds for the Pope's action are laid down in the instructions to the nuncio Diotallevi. The cardinalate, so we read, is no mere honorific title; on the contrary, on his admission into the Sacred College, the person so chosen becomes a confidential adviser of the Pope. In the choice of such men the Head of the Church must have complete freedom.<sup>4</sup>

In the first year of Paul V.'s reign the Sacred College lost five of its members.<sup>5</sup> On September 11th, 1606, the Pope

<sup>1</sup> See MOCENIGO, *loc. cit.*, 89.

<sup>2</sup> See *Acta Consist.*, December 12, 1605, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See *Bull.*, XI., 586 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See the *\*Instruzione per Mr Diotallevi vesc. di S. Angelo, destinato da N.S. per suo nuntio al re di Polonia (1614)*, *Ottob.* 2434, Vatican Library. Cf. also the later pronouncements of Paul V. in SIRI, III., 406.

<sup>5</sup> Zacchia, Blandrata, Ávila, Facchinetti, and Valier; see CIACONIUS, IV., 463.

made his first large-scale creation of Cardinals.<sup>1</sup> It had been wholly unexpected. The ambassadors had had no previous intelligence of the event.<sup>2</sup> Of the eight new Cardinals, five were natives of Rome, viz. Lodovico Torres, Giangarzia Millini, Bonifazio Caetani, Marcello Lante and Orazio Maffei.

Lodovico Torres had rendered distinguished service at the time of the revision of the new *Pontificale* and the new Martyrology. In 1588 he had been made archbishop of Monreale: there he fulfilled his duties admirably. He visited his diocese in person year by year; he founded a seminary to which he bequeathed his rich library, embellished the magnificent Cathedral and made himself the father of the poor. The Cardinal, who had been a friend of Tasso, and to whom Baronius dedicated the eleventh volume of his *Annals*, was appointed librarian of the Roman Church in 1607.<sup>3</sup>

Bonifazio Caetani had attracted attention to himself by the splendid way in which he discharged the functions of legate in the Romagna.<sup>4</sup> Marcello Lante, whose whole time was given to the pursuit of ecclesiastical interests, was a man

<sup>1</sup> See \**Acta Consist.*, Vatican Library. Cf. CIACONIUS, IV., 401 *seq.*, and CARDELLA, VI., 120 *seq.*, where further biographical details are found which were utilized for what follows: The special literature is given under the Cardinals named above.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of September 23, 1606; the writer thinks that only Gian Battista Borghese was initiated (Vatican Library). Cf. also the communication from *Gravius* to Archduke Maximilian of September 11, 1606, *Landesregierungsarchiv zu Innsbruck, Gemeine Missiven*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. BOGLINO, 55 *seq.* Torres is celebrated as a "gran letterato" by BENTIVOGLIO (*Memorie*, 115). When, in 1902, I instituted researches in the *Dragonetti Archives at Aquila*, the owner showed me in his palazzo three portraits of Cardinal Torres belonging to him, one of which represents the Cardinal receiving the red biretta from Paul V. Another portrait of the Cardinal is in the Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. our notes above, p. 62 *seq.* Paul V.'s \*reply to Cardinal Caetani *ad grat. actionem de cardinalitia dignitate* in the *Epist.*, II., 196, *Arm.*, 45, Papal Secret Archives.

of great merit. He reformed his diocese of Todi and subsequently made a name for himself in Rome by restoring numerous churches, hospitals and monasteries. Out of humility and imitating in this St. Charles Borromeo, he would not have the memory of his achievements perpetuated by means of any of the inscriptions which were the fashion of the time. His liberality was proverbial.<sup>1</sup>

Orazio Maffei, a scion of the famous Roman family of that name, did not come up to the Pope's expectations. It is not possible for us to decide whether or no the accusations against his conduct are founded in fact.<sup>2</sup> What is certain is that though an apartment was assigned to him in the Pope's palace, as was done for Torres and Lante,<sup>3</sup> he eventually incurred the displeasure of Paul V. It was generally believed that he died of grief in 1609.

The fifth among the Romans who received the purple in 1606, Giangarzia Millini,<sup>4</sup> was an eminent and distinguished man in many respects. He had grown to maturity under the patronage of Cardinal Castagna who was to occupy Peter's chair under the name of Urban VII. His career might have been even more rapid had not the pontificate of his patron been cut short. However, Urban's successor knew how to appreciate so gifted a man. Gregory XIV. made him an auditor of the Rota, and Millini soon became the most important member of that tribunal. He accompanied Clement VIII. on his journey to Ferrara, and when the Pope's nephew, Pietro Aldobrandini, went to Florence to bless the marriage of Henry IV., Millini was in his cortège.

<sup>1</sup> See GIANJACOBO ROSSI, *Vita del Card. Lante*, Rome, 1613 (in the Bibl. Casanatense). Cf. CARDELLA, VI., 133, GARAMPI, *Del Valore*, 329 and the \**Discorso* of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

<sup>2</sup> See CARDELLA, VI., 133.

<sup>3</sup> See \**Avviso* of October 27, 1606, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> For what follows see the statements of *Decio Memmoli*, who was Millini's secretary for over twenty years: *Vita dell'em. sig. card. Gio. Garzia Mellino Romano*, Rome, 1644. Cf. also the \**Discorso* of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

He likewise accompanied Cardinal Caetani on his legation to Poland. It would seem that Clement VIII. had thought of bestowing the purple on him, but he only received it from Paul V., at the time of his nunciature in Spain. He was only thirty-four years of age at the time. His titular church was that of *Santi Quattro Coronati*. The relics of these Saints were found in the course of the restoration of the church initiated by the Cardinal. Paul V. kept Millini in Spain for two more years, after which he dispatched him on an important mission to Germany. On his return to Rome he was appointed Vicar of the Pope and a member of the Inquisition as well as of the Congregations of Rites, of Bishops, and of the Council. He was also the protector of numerous religious Orders. In these offices the Cardinal had ever at heart the cause of the reform. In this respect he had made a start with himself when, in 1611, he spontaneously resigned his diocese of Imola, owing to the impossibility for him to observe canonical residence. The high esteem in which Millini stood with Paul V.<sup>1</sup> made him many enemies; this did not disconcert him; whenever requested to do so by the Pope he gave such advice as in his conscience he deemed best. By his extraordinary industry, his sincere piety, the purity of his life and his liberality towards the poor and the sick, Millini was an ornament of the Sacred College for the space of thirty-eight years. He died in 1644. His resting place is in the second chapel of the left transept of Santa Maria del Popolo, a church he had richly decorated. An excellent and distinctive bust of him by Algardi adorns his tomb.<sup>2</sup> Of the three non-Roman Cardinals created in 1606, the sixty-nine year old Bartolomeo Ferratino was given the purple as a reward for loyal service rendered to nine Popes. He was a dignified personage who had spent his strength in self-

<sup>1</sup> "Il Card. Millini," says the *\*Relatione di Roma* of 1624, exaggerating, "governò Papa Paolo, e Pignatelli e Campora governavono Borghese," Papal Secret Archives, II., 150, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Posse in *Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlung*, XXVI., 185. Here, on p. 183, there is a reproduction of the bust. The inscription is in Ciaconius, IV., 405.



sacrificing toil.<sup>1</sup> He died two months after his nomination. His name was kept alive in Rome by the *Strada Ferratina*, which owed its name to the Cardinal's beautiful palazzo.

Orazio Spinola, a native of Genoa, had likewise held the most diverse posts. As Legate of Ferrara he completed the construction of the citadel. Later on he withdrew to his diocese of Genoa where, as previously at Ferrara, his great severity inspired fear. Like Torres and Caetani, Spinola was believed to be a supporter of Spain. His importance is sufficiently shown by the fact that as soon as he had been created a Cardinal he, as well as Millini, was considered *papabile*.<sup>2</sup>

The most gifted of all those raised to the purple in 1606 was the French nuncio, Maffeo Barberini, who was destined to ascend the papal throne under the name of Urban VIII.<sup>3</sup>

As early as December, 1606, it was rumoured in Rome that a fresh creation of Cardinals was at hand.<sup>4</sup> In the spring of the following year the Spanish envoy drew attention to the gap caused by the death of Ávila and, acting under Philip III.'s instructions, he urged once more that the purple should be bestowed on the king's confessor, Jeronimo Xavier, General of the Dominicans.<sup>5</sup>

Of all the losses suffered by the Sacred College in 1607,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 144.

<sup>2</sup> See the *\*Relacion del s. colegio* of 1606, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

<sup>3</sup> See NICOLETTI, *\*Vita di P. Urbano VIII.*, II., ch. 1 and 2, p. 351 seq., 368, *Cod. Barb.*, 4730, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *\*Avvisi*, December 9 and 16, 1606, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> The ambassador Aytona delivered a \*letter from Philip III. to Paul V. dated S. Lorenzo, July 25, 1607, in which the king taking note of his correspondent's communication of May 29, regarding the Pope's goodwill in this matter, expressed his thanks. In a \*letter to Aytona, dispatched the same day, Philip III. voices his astonishment that, after the death of Ávila, the Pope had not yet granted his request for a Spanish Cardinal and once more recommends for this honour J. Xavier. Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 28.

the heaviest was assuredly the death of Baronius, which occurred on June 30th.<sup>1</sup> Through his stern application to study and his hard and mortified mode of life, the great historian had contracted a disease of the stomach of which the first symptoms showed themselves in an alarming fashion at the beginning of 1606.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless he was still able to see through the press the twelfth volume of his *Annals*, which he dedicated to Paul V.<sup>3</sup> At the close of the same year he had a copy presented to all the Cardinals of the Curia.<sup>4</sup> The volume contained an attack on the authenticity of the Constantinian donation.<sup>5</sup> At that time many canonists and even historians such as Abraham Bzovius still maintained the authenticity of that document.<sup>6</sup> Paul V. shared the opinion and had discussed the matter with Bellarmine. The learned Jesuit made no secret of his being on the side of Baronius. When the Pope had personally read the relevant passages in the *Annals*, he expressed no displeasure. On April 9th, 1607, Bellarmine informed his friend of the fact and advised him to make no change.<sup>7</sup> By that time Baronius was already grievously stricken. Some people connected his illness with the renewed opposition of the Spaniards to his treatment of the *Monarchia Sicula*; others with his having dared to contest Constantine's donation in the *Annals*.<sup>8</sup> The latter surmise was surely false for Bellarmine's letter could not fail to set the Cardinal's mind completely at rest. More-

<sup>1</sup> The veteran Galli, died on February 3, 1607; Marzato, on August 31; see CIACONIUS, IV., 463, in which, strangely enough, Baronius has been omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. \*Avvisi, January 11 and 21, 1606, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See CALENZIO, 814.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Avviso, December 30, 1606, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> Ad a. 1191, n. 52 and 1192, n. 73. Cf., moreover, also ad a. 324, n. 108-110.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. PICHLER, II., 690; HERGENRÖTHER, *Kirche und Staat*, 371.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 364 seq.; CALENZIO, *Baronio*, 802; LE BACHELET, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 567 seq.

<sup>8</sup> See \*Avvisi, May 5 and June 6, 1607, Vatican Library.

over, at that time, Baronius only thought of preparing himself for death, for he realized full well the seriousness of his condition. His physician suggested a visit to Frascati. Though he felt that a change of air could no longer do him any good, Baronius was ready to submit. He made only one request, viz. that his confessor should accompany him.<sup>1</sup> At Frascati, where he took up residence once more in his modest little house near the Villa Piccolomini, his condition grew so much worse that on June 17th it was rumoured in Rome that he was dead.<sup>2</sup> The rumour proved premature, but the condition of the aged scholar was hopeless.<sup>3</sup> He bore with utmost patience the terrible pain which the disease caused him; the serenity of his soul was undimmed; with great joy he looked forward to the dissolution which would unite him with Christ. For him, as for St. Francis, "Brother Death" was a dear friend with whom he had been on familiar terms, every day, for many years.<sup>4</sup> Only one wish did he still cherish: he longed to die among his beloved Oratorians. In this spirit he had long ago applied to himself the words of Job: "I would fain die in my little nest," (Job. xxix, 18) and he had begged the Oratorians to give him a room in their house in which he had spent the happiest days of his life. On June 19th, therefore, Baronius had himself taken back to Rome. In those moments it was not the objections to his *Annals* that hurt him, but rather a feeling that he was unworthy of the purple and the regret that it had not been granted to him to end his days as a simple priest. Repeatedly fortified with the Holy Viaticum he died on the evening of June 30th, 1607, amid the prayers of his Oratorians. His wish had been to be buried very simply, like a poor man, in his titular church of SS. Nereus and Achilleus. However, the Oratorians could not bear the thought of parting with

<sup>1</sup> See BARNABEUS, *Vita C. Baronii*, III seq.

<sup>2</sup> \*Avviso, June 20, 1607, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. \*Avvisi, June 23 and 30, 1607, *loc. cit.* In the latter we read that: "Il card. Baronio ancor vive et è miracolo che campi essendosi ridotto a niente."

<sup>4</sup> See BARNABEUS, II 2.

his mortal remains, so they buried him in their church, in their common burial place to the left of the high altar.<sup>1</sup> A year later, when Cardinal Tarugi died, the two friends were given a joint resting place to the right of the high altar.<sup>2</sup>

Grief in Rome was universal, for the piety and goodness of the Cardinal had won him all hearts. Not a few among the twenty-one Cardinals who took part in the obsequies were unable to restrain their tears.<sup>3</sup> Of opposition to the *Annals* there was no longer any question. The twelfth volume was put on the market,<sup>4</sup> and before long even the defenders of the authenticity of the Constantinian donation held their peace.<sup>5</sup> It is a remarkable thing that even the representative of Venice, Francesco Contarini, could not hide his admiration for the dead Cardinal: he extolled him as "the eye of the Church".<sup>6</sup> Almost the whole of the manuscript material left by "the father of modern Church history", went into the library of the Oratorians, near S. Maria in Vallicella. Here one may still admire to-day the gigantic work which stands alone in the story of ecclesiastical historiography.<sup>7</sup> The same library also houses his sermon plans, his youthful

<sup>1</sup> See BARNABEUS, 113 *seq.*; CALENZIO, 807 *seqq.* Cf. the \*Avvisi, July 4 and 7, 1607, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See CALENZIO, 813. The sarcophagus in the lower church bears the simple words: \*Ossa Caesaris card. Baronii hic reposita a. sal. 1607; see A. GROSSI-GONDI in the periodical *San Filippo Neri III.* (1923), No. 8, who advocates the introduction of the canonical process on the heroic virtues of Baronius.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso, July 7, 1607. "Veramente specchio di bontà et religione et amato di tutti," it is here stated. Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See the second \*Avviso, July 7, 1607, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> See DÖLLINGER, *Die Papstfabeln des Mittelalters*<sup>2</sup>, München, 1863, 106.

<sup>6</sup> See MUTINELLI, III., 32. In Germany also, the death of Baronius was at once much regretted; see RATTI, *Opuscolo ined. del card. Baronio*, 33.

<sup>7</sup> The manuscript of the *Annals* is preserved in the Vatican Library. (Cf. our notes, Vol. XIX, 182 *seq.*, and P. GUILDAY, *Church Historians*, New York, 1926, 168 *seqq.*) *Vat.* 5684-5695; see CALENZIO, 966 *seqq.*



correspondence with his parents and relations, as well as his extensive correspondence with the most important men of his age, with Saints such as Giovenale Ancina, Antonio Maria Tarugi, Giovan Battista Vitelli; with scholars like Guglielmo Sirleto, Justus Lipsius, Stanislaus Rescius, Isaac Casaubonus, Guglielmo Lindanus, Antonio Possevino, Matthaëus Rader, Dioysius Petavius and with Cardinals Bellarmine and Federigo Borromeo. Besides many other Cardinals, princes such as Henry IV. of France, the emperor Rudolph II., Sigismund III. of Poland and Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, likewise figure in this correspondence in which the genius that wrote the *Annals* stands out in a most attractive light, not only as a scholar but as a man and an ascetic.

The library also preserves Baronius' handy edition of Eusebius' *History of the Church*, as well as his Bible, which contains proofs of the Cardinal's devotion to the Mother of God.<sup>1</sup> For a number of years one could see in a small study attached to the library, and over the desk at which Odorico Rainaldi wrote his continuation of the *Annals*,<sup>2</sup> a portrait of Baronius with the beautiful distich:—

Learning and godliness, this twofold flame,  
Casts mingled splendour round Baronius' name.<sup>3</sup>

Two eminent members of the Sacred College were on terms of closest friendship both with Baronius and with Paul V. They were Federigo Borromeo and Bellarmine. Federigo was archbishop of Milan since 1595, and in the discharge of

<sup>1</sup> See LÄMMER, *Analecta*, 65 seq., and *De C. Baronii litterarum commercio*, Freiburg, Breisg. 1903., Cf. also CALENZIO, LXIII. seqq.

<sup>2</sup> Only in these modern times, in which so many Roman memorials have been ruthlessly destroyed, this sacred spot also has suffered desecration. Here no less a man than Joh. Friedrich Böhmer shed tears of pious reverence in 1850; see JANSSEN, *Leben Böhmers*, I., 326. I, too, was privileged to work at Rainaldi's desk in 1879.

<sup>3</sup> Historia et pietate micat Baronius: Alter  
Lumen ab alterius lumine sumit honos.

the duties of his office he successfully modelled himself on his famous predecessor and kinsman, Charles Borromeo, in whose honour he also erected the well-known colossal statue near Arona. Besides a provincial council, Federigo held fourteen diocesan synods. He seemed insensible to fatigue, spending himself on behalf of his vast diocese, especially in the pulpit, the administration of the sacraments, education, and in works of charity. None the less the government of his diocese and the preservation of ecclesiastical authority and immunity involved him in many conflicts with the caesaro-papalism of the Spanish authorities. If these complications led him at times too far, right was, in most instances, on his side and his task it was to defend it against politicians who were always suspicious and who had become familiarized with tyrannical power in their native land. One wonders how a man whose time was so fully taken up by his pastoral duties, could still find leisure for an extensive literary activity embracing biblical studies, dogmatic and moral theology, Canon law, and Church history. The Ambrosian Library, which he founded and inaugurated in 1609, is an eloquent witness to his love of knowledge. To the library he added a printing press as well as a college of doctors, a picture gallery, and an academy of the fine arts.<sup>1</sup>

By his piety and learning the great controversialist, Bellarmine, was a rival of Borromeo and Baronius. After the two conclaves of the year 1605, in which the tiara had come within his reach, Paul V. kept him in Rome where, to the day of his death (September 17th, 1621) he exercised considerable influence in the cardinalitial Congregations.

<sup>1</sup> Contrast the older biography by FR. RIVOLA (Milan, 1656), with the more recent ones by ROBERTI (Milan, 1870), and PIEDAGNEL-QUESNEL (Lille, 1890). See also REUMONT in the *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1125 seq. The decrees of Paul V. concerning the Ambrosiana in *Bull.*, XI., 279 seq., 511 seq. With regard to the Museum see BORROMEO, *Il museo del card. F. Borromeo*, Milan, 1909, and BELTRAMI in *Emporium*, 1918, 3 seq. For the literary activities of F. Borromeo see also RATTI, *Opuscolo*, 53 seq.

Besides the polemical writings, especially those against Sarpi and James I., which he composed by order of the Pope,<sup>1</sup> the most important literary fruit of his mature years is a catechism for the young. This book has had an almost infinite number of editions; it has been translated into a dozen different languages, has been recommended by the Popes, and is in use to this day.<sup>2</sup>

In what esteem Bellarmine was held by the common people was shown at his funeral, which became a triumph. The crowds that surged round his bier knew nothing of his learned writings. But they knew his charity to the poor, and revered him as a real Saint. "I have known, at various times," says Cardinal Valier, "men of high standing as regards learning, goodness, and an exemplary conduct, nay, even men who died with a reputation for holiness, but in all of them together I have not found so many virtues, and those in so high a degree, as in this great soldier of Christ. The humility, kindness, piety, purity, meekness, liberality, contempt of the world, sincerity, obedience to superiors, which had distinguished him as a simple religious, he preserved as a Cardinal, to the end of his life."<sup>3</sup> The judgment passed on him by all Rome, from the Cardinals down to the beggars, was ratified by the highest authority when it ranked him among the Blessed.<sup>4</sup>

The prudent circumspection with which Paul V. was wont to proceed in all things caused the creation of new Cardinals, which had been expected for some time,<sup>5</sup> to be delayed until

<sup>1</sup> Cf. COUDERC, II., 109 *seq.*, 146 *seq.* See too, above, p. 147, and vol. XXVI., ch. III.

<sup>2</sup> See SOMMERVOGEL, I., 1182-1204.

<sup>3</sup> See BARTOLI, I., 4 (IV., 22).

<sup>4</sup> Bellarmine was canonized and declared a Doctor of the Church by Pius XI. in June, 1933. [Transl. note.]

<sup>5</sup> Cf. \*Avviso, September 12, 1607, Vatican Library. The Pope had promised to please the Spanish king by hastening the creation of cardinals. \*Brief to Philip III., dated September 12, 1607 (*Epist.*, III., 164, *Arm.*, 45, Papal Secret Archives).

December 10th, 1607.<sup>1</sup> This nomination was intended to give satisfaction to the wishes of the princes.<sup>2</sup> Out of regard for the emperor, the aged archbishop of Gran, Francis Forgács, primate and grand chancellor of Hungary, was raised to the purple. He was an excellent man and had done good service to the Church. François de Rochefoucauld, bishop of Clermont, had likewise shown great zeal for the Catholic reform, but that humble prelate whose learning equalled his piety, regretted the efforts made on his behalf by Henry IV.<sup>3</sup> On December 10th, Philip III. and his minister, the Duke of Lerma, had at last the satisfaction of seeing the fulfilment of their wishes in regard to Jeronimo Xavier.<sup>4</sup> In addition to these, two Italian princes were likewise admitted into the Senate of the Church: they were Ferdinand Gonzaga, the barely twenty-year-old brother of the reigning Duke of Mantua,<sup>5</sup> and Maurice of Savoy, fourth son of Duke Charles Emmanuel. This prince was only fourteen years old at the time; later on he brilliantly acted the part of a Maecenas towards writers and artists.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See \**Acta consist.*, Vatican Library. Compare the \*report of the Mantuan Ambassador of December 10, 1607, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and MUTINELLI, III., 276 *seq.* With regard to those nominated see CIACONIUS, IV., 410 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VI., 134 *seq.*; *cf.* also the \*Briefs to the Dukes of Savoy and Mantua, *Epist.*, III., 302-323, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* \**Avviso*, December 12, 1607, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See the biographies of Rochefoucauld by ROUVIÈRE (Paris, 1645), P. DE LA MORNIÈRE (Paris, 1646), and FR. DE ROCHEFOUCAULD (Paris, 1926). *Cf.* also the \**Discorso* of 1618 in Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

<sup>4</sup> In a \**Brief* of October 18, 1607, Paul V. promised the Duke of Lerma to hasten the creation, *Epist.*, III., 166, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>5</sup> A letter of thanks from the Duchess to Paul V. is printed in PASSARINI, "Lettere di Donne Illustri" (*Publication for Nozze Borghese-Ruffo*), Rome, 1870, 39 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 415 *seq.* and *Appendix* (Romae, 1791), I *seq.*; *Curios. e ricerche di stor. subalp.*, II., 511 *seq.*; *Mem. d. vita e tempi di Mgr. Gio. Secondo Ferrero-Ponziglione, primo*



In the course of the year 1608, in which five Cardinals died,<sup>1</sup> a new promotion was repeatedly mooted, even in the Pope's entourage.<sup>2</sup> Though the ambassadors were importunate, they failed to get definite information.<sup>3</sup> Once again, when no one expected it, five new Cardinals were proclaimed, on November 24th, 1608.<sup>4</sup> Two of their number, Fabrizio Verello and Giambattista Leni, were natives of Rome.

Verello owed his promotion to his successful nunciature in Switzerland as well as to the recommendation of his kinsman Millini. His was an exemplary life, and he was one of the most rigid of the set of men who were truly animated by the spirit of their state.<sup>5</sup> Since his duties as a member of the Congregations of the Index, of Bishops and of Rites, prevented him from complying with the law of residence, he spontaneously resigned his see of San Severo. In Rome, in his capacity as commendatory abbot of Sant' Agnese, he embellished the church and monastery of that Saint, at whose tomb he ordered eight lamps to be kept burning day and night. During repairs to the floor of Sant' Agnese, eight charming reliefs were found, representing scenes from Greek mythology and legend. These are to-day one of the treasures of the palazzo Spada alla Regola.<sup>6</sup> In the church of St. Augustine, where

*consigli e audit. generale del princ. Card. Maurizio di Savoia, racc. p. G. B. ADRIANI, Torino, 1856; Gött. Gel. Anz., 1858, I., 241 seq.; Arch. stor. ital., N.S.V., 2, 75 seq., 81; F. RANDI, Card. Maurizio di Savoia mecenate dei letterati e degli artisti, Turin, 1891. Cf. also J. DELLA GIOVANNA, Agos. Mascardi e Maurizio card. di Savoia, in the Racc. dedic. ad A d'Ancona, Florence, 1901, 117 seq.*

<sup>1</sup> See the names in CIACONIUS, IV., 463.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the \*Avvisi, March 29, April 26, September 13, 1608, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> It was thought that the Consistory would not be held until Christmas; see \*Avviso, November 12, 1608, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Acta Consist., loc. cit. Cf. CIACONIUS, IV., 416 seq.; CARDELLA, VI., 145 seq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the \*Discorso of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

<sup>6</sup> See HELBIG, II., 382 seq.

Verallo was buried, in the chapel belonging to his family, there is still seen on the adjoining pilaster a beautiful bust of this noble prince of the Church.<sup>1</sup>

Giambattista Leni had been a fellow student, at Perugia, of his cousin Scipio Borghese, to whom, even physically, he bore a striking resemblance. They always remained close friends.<sup>2</sup> In 1611 Leni became bishop of Ferrara: he there held a synod and introduced the Theatines. By his instructions Giovan Battista Soria adorned the church of the Barnabites, San Carlo ai Catinari, in Rome, with a magnificent façade.<sup>3</sup>

Luigi Capponi and Lanfranco Margotti were worthy colleagues of these two Cardinals. The former had earned the red hat by acting as treasurer to Paul V., whereas Lanfranco had been his trusted private secretary.<sup>4</sup>

Michelangelo Tonti, the fifth among the appointments of November 24th, 1608, sprang from a very poor family of Rimini. He began by studying for the law, at Bologna. From there he went to Rome where he saw himself compelled, for a time, to earn his livelihood by officiating as organist in the church of St. Roch. However, he had the good fortune of making the acquaintance of Francesco Borghese, and through him that of Cardinal Camillo Borghese who took him into his service. When Camillo Borghese became Pope he made Tonti, who had proved his loyalty, general auditor to his nephew Scipio. In 1607 he named him *datarius*, in place of Arigoni, and in 1608 he conferred on him the archbishopric of Nazaret. Tonti had succeeded in acquiring immense influence over Cardinal Scipio Borghese. He had likewise won the friendship of the powerful Lanfranco Margotti. For all that, in the autumn of 1611, a serious disagreement arose between the two men. Tonti saw himself forced to withdraw into his diocese of Cesena which had been conferred on him in 1609.

<sup>1</sup> The epitaph is in CIACONIUS, IV., 418.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the *\*Discorso* of 1618, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> The inscription is in CIACONIUS, IV., 419.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 60 *seq.*

He remained there during the whole of Paul V.'s pontificate, for besides Lanfranco there were other Cardinals having the ear of the Pope who were unfavourably disposed towards him, such as Millini, Capponi, Leni and Rivarola, and on the other hand Cardinal Scipio Borghese did not dare to take any steps on behalf of his protégé.<sup>1</sup> At Cesena, Tonti applied himself wholeheartedly to the duties of his office. In his will he bequeathed his house in Rome to his intimate friend, Joseph of Calasanza, to be turned into an educational establishment for destitute youths. Thus originated the Collegio Nazareno which, in course of time, became a flourishing institution.<sup>2</sup>

Tonti's disgrace was connected with his jealousy of Domenico Rivarola,<sup>3</sup> a Genoese, who enjoyed the favour of Cardinal Borghese and Paul V., and who was raised to the purple on August 17th, 1611. The promotion of that day,<sup>4</sup> which also came as a complete surprise,<sup>5</sup> created an entirely new situation in the Sacred College, for no less than eleven

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *\*Discorso* of 1608, *loc. cit.* See also the *Relazione di Roma* of 1624 in Papal Secret Archives II., 150, No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. MORONI, XIV., 178 *seq.* and A. LEONETTI, *Memorie del Collegio Nazareno eretto in Roma da S. Gius. Calasanzio per volontà e per opera di M. Tonti, card. di Nazaret*, Bologna, 1882.

<sup>3</sup> See CARDELLA, VI., 155 *seq.* Cf. BRANCONDIUS DE ULPHIDA, *Oratio de laudibus ill. et rev. Dom. Rivarolae S.R.E. Cardinalis*, Firmi, 1611.

<sup>4</sup> See *\*Acta consist.*, Vatican Library; *\*Avviso*, August 20, 1611, *ibid.*, cf. CIACONIUS, IV., 421 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VI., 152 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> As early as the summer of 1609 there had been talk of a promotion; see *\*Avviso*, August 26, 1609. An *\*Avviso*, April 17, 1610, mentions that it would certainly take place at Whitsuntide. An *\*Avviso* May 22, 1610, names several Cardinals and gives reasons for hastening the appointments. An *\*Avviso*, December 4, 1610, says opinion at court was that Carlo de' Medici, not Francesco, would be made Cardinal (Vatican Library). Philip III., in his *\*letter* to Aytona, mentions a wish of the Duke of Urbino, for the next creation of Cardinals. January 14, 1609. Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

new members were appointed.<sup>1</sup> The majority of them were in close alliance with the Borghese and all were excellent men who had done good work in difficult circumstances.

The Neapolitan, Decio Carafa, had been nuncio in Flanders and Spain. Rivarola happened to be acting as nuncio extraordinary in France during the critical period that followed the assassination of Henry IV. Subsequently he happily composed a dangerous quarrel between the people of Rieti and Cantalice, in the Sabine country. The Siennese, Metello Bichi, had long been a confidant of the Pope who had employed him in a number of difficult affairs. As for Giacomo Serra, he had carried out the delicate task of treasurer so successfully that he retained it for a time even as Cardinal.

Among the Cardinals created in 1611, two were natives of Rome, viz. Crescenzi and Lancelloti. Pietro Paolo Crescenzi was a disciple of Philip Neri and his piety as well as his strong sense of justice had won him the favour of Paul V. Orazio Lancellotti, a nephew of Cardinal Scipio, had so proved his worth as an auditor of the Rota<sup>2</sup> that Tonti met with no difficulty when he suggested his elevation to the Pope, though it was precisely this that eventually led to the breach between him and Millini.<sup>3</sup> It was likewise Tonti who drew Paul V.'s attention to Filippo Filonardi who had been successively bishop of Aquino, governor of Fermo, and lastly, vice-legate at Avignon. The Florentine, Giambattista Bonsi, owed his nomination both to his splendid work as bishop of Béziers

<sup>1</sup> See \**Acta Consist.*, *ibid.*; cf. CIACONIUS, IV., 421 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VI., 152 *seqq.*, and the \**Discorso* of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The great number of nominations is explained partly by the fact that since November, 1608, eleven Cardinals had died (see CIACONIUS, IV., 463); they were: Guevara, O. Maffei, Serafino Olivier, Torres, Cinzio Aldobrandini, Bufalo, Pamfili, Pierbenedetti (cf. FÖRCELLA, XI., 60), Paravicini, Bernerio and Pinelli. The *Index librorum bibliothecae D. card. Pinelli*, dated January 1, 1603, in *Barb.*, XXXIX., 94, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the \**Discorso* of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the \**Avviso* of August 20, 1611, Vatican Library.



and to the recommendation of the Queen of France.<sup>1</sup> The Spaniard, Gaspar Borja, owed his hat to the prayers of Philip III. It is symptomatic of the return to greater seriousness of life at that period that Borja found it difficult to make people forget his descent from the family of Alexander VI.<sup>2</sup>

In compliance with the disposition made by Sixtus V. in respect to the representation of the religious Orders in the Sacred College, the Pope added to the above-named the Franciscan Conventual, Felice Centini, and the General of the Dominicans, Agostino Galamina, a man of strict life and ardent zeal for the reform.<sup>3</sup>

More than four years elapsed before a fresh creation followed the numerous one of August, 1611, which had called forth the displeasure of the Spanish government.<sup>4</sup> In the meantime no less than eleven Cardinals had died, among them the faithful Lanfranco Margotti,<sup>5</sup> hence ten nominations were made on December 2nd, 1615.<sup>6</sup> France was represented by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the \**Discorso* of 1618, *ibid.* Joyeuse had been instructed in April to work for the nomination of Bonsi; see SIRI, II., 512.

<sup>2</sup> The suspicion with which Cardinal Borgia was watched transpires in the \**Report* of RECORDATI, December 1, 1612, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The \**Discorso* of 1618 (*ibid.*) insists on the Cardinal's exemplary moral life. Borgia became Viceroy of Naples in 1620; see BALAN, VI., 698.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. I. CATALANUS, *De magistro s. palatii apost.*, Rome, 1751, 145 *seq.*; BAROZZI-BERCHET, Rome, I., 242 *seq.*; MORONI, XXVIII., 111 *seq.*; *Testamento del F. Agostino card. d'Araceli*, Rome, 1639.

<sup>4</sup> Eight, out of the nine Italian Cardinals, were considered as favouring France. See PERRENS, *L'Église*, I., 511.

<sup>5</sup> See CIACONIUS, IV., 463 *seq.* It is stated there that Lanfranco died on November 30, 1612. It must have been 1611, as appears from the inscription on the tombstone, given by CIACONIUS, IV., 422. The \**Avviso*, November 30, 1611, reports that Cardinal Borghese and Paul V. also visited the dying Cardinal and that the Pope deeply regretted the loss of this faithful and wise man. (Vatican Library.)

<sup>6</sup> See \**Acta Consist.*, *ibid.* Cf. CIACONIUS, IV., 432 *seq.*, CARDELLA, VI., 174 *seq.*, and the \**Discorso* of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

Louis de Guise, who was chosen out of consideration for Louis XIII,<sup>1</sup> but who was soon to give proofs of his utter unworthiness; Spain was represented by Gabriello Trejo Paniaqua and by the devout Baldassare Sandoval<sup>2</sup>; Venice by Francesco Vendramin.<sup>3</sup> The Florentine, Uberto Ubaldini, was justly entitled to the purple by reason of the splendid way in which he had carried out his duties as nuncio in France. The Roman, Tiberio Muti,<sup>4</sup> a distant relative of Paul V., and who had served the Pope for a number of years, justified his election by his magnificent work in the diocese of Viterbo,<sup>5</sup> which had been granted to him in 1605, and which he never left. Giulio Savelli, likewise a Roman, had distinguished himself by his prudence and zeal as nuncio in Savoy. To gratify the Grand Duke of Florence, the purple was bestowed not only upon his pleasure-loving son, Carlo de' Medici, but on another relative as well, the Roman, Alessandro Orsini, of the line of Bracciano, a great friend of the Jesuits.<sup>6</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the \*Brief to Louis XIII., dated December 29, 1615, *Epist.*, XV., *Arm.*, 45, Papal Secret Archives. France urgently requested a second Cardinal, just as Spain had been granted two, but Paul V. would not allow his rights of free choice to be influenced. See SRI, III., 406.

<sup>2</sup> In \*Brief of July 1, 1615, Paul V. informed the Spanish king that he would meet his wishes as to the creation of Cardinals.

<sup>3</sup> It was thought that Paul V. would never nominate a Venetian; see \**Discorso* of 1618, *ibid.* The question of the nomination of new Venetian Cardinals had been discussed for some years before; see \**Discorso se il Papa doveva nell'ultima promozione fatta l'a. 1612 (sic) far cardinali Veneziani*, Urb. 860, p. 185 seq., Vatican Library. A relief by Michael Ongaro in S. Pietro di Castello, Venice, represents the nomination of Cardinal Vendramin.

<sup>4</sup> See the *Relazione di Roma*, 1624, *loc. cit.*, above, p. 332, A. 3, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>5</sup> He restored the episcopal palace in that place as the inscriptions there record.

<sup>6</sup> For Carlo de Medici see G. PIERACCINI, *La stirpe de Medici di Cafaggiolo*, II., 411 seq. A \*Letter of congratulations on his elevation from archduke Albert to Cardinal Orsini. Dated Brussels, January 9, 1616, in the Orsini Archives, Rome.

elevation of Vincenzo Gonzaga was due to his brother having laid aside the purple on November 16th, 1615, to enable him to assume the government of the duchy of Mantua with a view to preventing the line from becoming extinct. Cardinal Ferdinando, as in duty bound, had asked the Pope's consent to his renunciation; it was readily granted.<sup>1</sup> Morally the two Gonzagas had sunk to a very low level; their degenerate life foreshadowed the doom of the ancient princely house. When Vincenzo contracted a secret marriage with Isabella Gonzaga, the widow of Ferrante Gonzaga, prince of Bozzolo, the Cardinals, in a consistory of September 5th, 1616, decreed that he had forfeited his dignity. The Pope confirmed their sentence.<sup>2</sup> Since that time no Gonzaga had been in a position to aspire to the purple.

<sup>1</sup> See \**Acta Consist.*, Vatican Library. As to the permission for Ferdinand's marriage, "poichè non era initiato d'alcun ordine," see SIRI, III., 538.

<sup>2</sup> See \**Acta Consist.*, September 5, 1616, *loc. cit.* Cf. also the report of September, 1616, ADEMOLLO, *La Bell'Adriana*, Città di Castello, 1888, 215 A. I. It is characteristic of Vincenzo that he soon wished to separate from Isabella, to which end he sought to deceive Paul V. with false witnesses. Ferdinando Gonzaga also busied himself to obtain from the Pope an annulment of his brother's marriage, so that the latter might become a Cardinal again! Paul V. had the matter investigated, and it was proved that the secret marriage was valid and therefore could not be annulled. With regard to these disgraceful transactions, in which the Pope always behaved most honourably, cf. a study which corrects in many respects some of the statements of INTRA (Isabella Gonzaga di Bozzoli, Milan, 1897), by G. ERRANTE which rests on sound archival research: *Il processo per l'annullamente del matrim. tra Vincenzo II. duca di Mantova e Isabella Gonzaga di Novellara*, 1616-1617, in Historical Archives of Lombardy, 1916, 645 seq. Cf. also LUZIO, *Galleria Gonzaga* (1913), 53 seq. and *L'Archivio Gonzaga*, II., 176. For the matrimonial transactions of Ferdinand Gonzaga, who tried in vain, in Rome, to obtain the annulment of his secret marriage with Camilla Faà in February, 1616, see F. SORBELLI-BONFÀ, *Camilla Gonzaga Faà* (Bologna, 1918).

In the creation of December 2nd, 1615, Paul V. had reserved one name *in petto*. It was published on April 11th, 1616; it was that of the bishop of Vienna, Melchior Klesl, on whose behalf the emperor had intervened.<sup>1</sup>

On September 19th of the same year the Sacred College received an increase of six new members, all men of merit. They were: Alessandro Ludovisi, since 1612 archbishop of Bologna and mediator of the peace between Spain and Savoy; Ladislao d'Aquino, nuncio in Switzerland and subsequently governor of Perugia; Ottavio Belmosto, vice-legate of the Romagna and subsequently a member of the *Consulta*; Pietro Campori, major-domo to Cardinal Scipio Borghese; Matteo Priuli, son of the doge of Venice, and Scipio Cobelluzio, Secretary for Latin briefs.<sup>2</sup>

Two smaller promotions gave satisfaction to the pressing demands of the French and Spanish governments. On March 26th, 1618, the purple was bestowed upon the all-powerful minister of Philip III., the duke of Lerma, then a widower,<sup>3</sup> and on the excellent bishop of Paris, Henri de Gondi.<sup>4</sup> On July 29th, 1619, the son of the king of Spain,

<sup>1</sup> See \**Acta Consist.*, Vatican Library. Cf. the letter of Philip III. to Cardinal Borgia, dated May 29, 1616, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 32. See also KERSCHBAUMER, 218 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See \**Acta Consist.*, Vatican Library. Cf., \**Avviso*, September 21, 1616, *ibid.* For the nominees see CIACONIUS, IV., 442 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VI., 188 *seq.*; G. FERRARI, *Elogio del card. P. Campori, vesc. di Cremona*, Modena, 1878; \**Discorso* of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. For Sc. Cobelluzio see above, p. 60, note, and BLUME, II., 248, and G. DELL'AQUILA-VISCONTI, *Del prelato abbreviato de Curia*, Rome, 1870, 48 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See \**Acta Consist.*, *loc. cit.* Cf. CIACONIUS, IV., 448 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VI., 195 *seq.* The preliminary negotiations with the French government transpire from the reports of Bentivoglio. Cf. also *Rev. de l'hist. de l'Église de France*, IV., 476.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. RANKE, *Osmanen*,<sup>4</sup> 164 *seq.* The bronze statue of Lerma in the church at Lerma; see JUSTI, *Spanische Reisebriefe*, Bonn, 1923, 329.



Ferdinando, only ten years old, became a member of the Sacred College.<sup>1</sup> In 1620, the Cardinal-Infante was appointed administrator of the archdiocese of Toledo and in that capacity he distinguished himself both as an able administrator and as a defender of ecclesiastical immunity. At a later date he won great popularity for himself as regent of the Low Countries.<sup>2</sup> Soon after the arrival of the new viceroy in Brussels, Van Dyck painted his portrait, in the magnificent robes which he wore at his solemn entry into the capital.<sup>3</sup>

The elevation of the Infante of Spain occasioned a good deal of worry and jealousy in France.<sup>4</sup> Since it was necessary to fill the many gaps made by death in the ranks of the Sacred College in 1618 and 1619,<sup>5</sup> the French ambassador, Coeuvres, began a vigorous campaign in view of the impending nomination. This creation, in which the decisive factor was the prospect of the conclave which, in view of Paul V.'s age,

<sup>1</sup> See \**Acta Consist.*, *ibid.* Cf. the letters of Philip III. to Cardinal Borgia, dated Lisbon, February 22 and July 2, 1619; in Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 28. *Ibid.*, the letter to Philip III. of January 21, 1619, in which Paul V., in view of the extreme youth of the Prince, expressed a desire to defer. Here belongs also the *Breve to Henricus, Dux Lotharingiae*, dated September 17, 1619, with respect to his request that the purple should be conferred on the bishop of Verdun; this is said to be impossible as no creations were planned for the present. (*Epist.*, XIV., 249, Papal Secret Archives.) For the French wishes see SIRI, V., 47 *seq.*, 59.

<sup>2</sup> CIACONIUS, IV., 449 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VI., 197 *seq.*; PIRENNE, *Gesch. Belgiens*, IV., 377 *seq.*, 380 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> The portrait is now in the *Prado* Museum, Madrid; see KNACKFUSS, *Rubens*, 94 *seq.*, in which there is also a reproduction of the magnificent picture. Cf. also JUSTI, *Missellaneen aus drei Jahrhunderten*, II., Berlin, 1908, 275 *seq.*, for the relations between the Infante and Rubens.

<sup>4</sup> See SIRI, V., 34 *seq.*, 47 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> See CIACONIUS, IV., 464. Cardinal Valenti died on August 22, 1618. I here draw the attention of art historians to his superb tomb in the church of the Madonna delle Lagrime.

could not be very distant,<sup>1</sup> took place on January 11th, 1621, only a few months before the death of the Borghese Pope. Coeuvres had done his utmost to secure the nomination of the bishop of Luçon, Richelieu, and to prevent that of Pignatelli, which was also opposed by a court clique supported by Farnese and Montalto.<sup>2</sup> Even at the last hour, on January 10th, 1621, the envoy remonstrated with the Pope with such insistence that a violent scene ensued.<sup>3</sup> However, Coeuvres failed to get his wish. The only concession that France managed to secure was the nomination of Louis de Nogaret de Lavalette, a warrior rather than an ecclesiastic and one who never took orders. As against these, the other princes of the Church proved worthy of their elevation. They were: Eitel Frederick, count of Hohenzollern; the Venetian, Pietro Valier; the Milanese, Giulio Roma; the Genoese, Agostino Spinola, and the loyal assistants of Cardinal Scipio Borghese, namely, Cesare Gherardi and Stefano Pignatelli. To these the Pope adjoined three other men of the very first rank: Francesco Cennini, Desiderio Scaglia, and Guido Bentivoglio.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SIRI, V., 238 *seq.* and the \*Report of Fabrizio Aragona of January 13, 1621, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Not merely at Rome was there much criticism of the last promotion (*cf.* the \*Report of Aragona of January 27, 1621, *ibid.*), but also in Vienna. The Florentine ambassador Altoviti reported from there on January 27, 1621: \*" Questa corte resta maravigliata che essendovi inclusi i Nuntii che sono in Spagna e in Francia sia stato escluso questo che è qua." State Archives, Florence.

<sup>2</sup> See SIRI, V., 238 *seq.*, 249. Cf. CIACONIUS, IV., 461.

<sup>3</sup> See SIRI, V., 242 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See \**Acta Consist.*, Vatican Library; CIACONIUS, IV., 453 *seq.* A rare, large broadsheet contains "*Insignia, nomina, cognomina et dignitates cardinalium a Paulo V. creatorum die 11. Januarii 1621*". For C. Gherardi *cf.* A. ALFIERI, *Fossato di Vico*, Rome, 1900, 88 *seq.* Cardinal Roma was a strict, ecclesiastically minded man, whose qualities were so excellent that at the time of Urban VIII. he was counted one of the "*papabili*". Only one thing went against him, namely that he was a "*creatura di Borghese*" (\**Notes on the Cardinals of Urban VIII.*; Original in my possession.) For Cardinal von Zollern, *cf.* FORST in *Mitteil. des Ver.*

Francesco Cennini, a scion of a noble family of Sienna, was endowed with an extraordinary capacity for work and this he put unreservedly at the disposal of Paul V. At the time of his nomination he held the post of nuncio at the Spanish court. For the Borghese Pope he cherished an attachment so constant and so strong that shortly before his death, in 1645, he made arrangements for his body to be laid to rest at the feet of Paul V. At San Marcello, in the Corso, on the right hand side of the entrance, the monument of Cennini may be seen adorned with his statue, which his nephews erected in his honour.<sup>1</sup>

Desiderio Scaglia likewise sprang from an aristocratic family. At an early age he entered the Order of St. Dominic. His active career began in his native city of Cremona; subsequently he also worked in other parts of Lombardy. In view of his piety and learning, Clement VIII. made him Inquisitor in Upper Italy. Paul V. called him to Rome and entrusted to him the important charge of Commissary General of the Roman Inquisition.

Guido Bentivoglio, born in 1579, at Ferrara, was a man of

*f. Gesch. von Hohenzollern*, 1893-4, and *ibid.*, 1897 seq., B. ALBERS. See also *Mittel. des Hist. Ver. f. Osnabruck*, XIX. (1894); DUHR, II., I, 84; HEBEISEN, 41 seq., 91 seq. In a \**Relazione dei cardinali* of 1623 it is said of Zollern: "Sotto Clemente (VIII.) fu cameriero d'onore irreprensibile nei costumi, honoratissimo nel trattare, amato di tutta la corte, liberale, giocondo, senza niun arteficio, di giudizio molto sano e prudente; conosce le furbarie degli Italiani, ma non le sa fare, dipende assolutamente dell'Imperatore suo fautore e della corona di Spagna" (*Cod.*, CCCCXI. of the Library of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome). Here we must also mention the \*report in cipher of the ABBATE ALFONSO PICO to King Ferdinand II., dated Rome, December 26, 1620: "Il Card Mellino m'ha detto esserci bolle di pontifici rigorosissime, perchè non si promovano al cardinalato ad istanza de principi quelli soggetti che siano stati nuntii alli principi che li domandono." State Archives, Vienna.

<sup>1</sup> The inscription on the tomb is in FORCELLA, II., 315. A bust of the Cardinal shows his ascetic features.

outstanding ability. He began his career as *Cameriere Segreto* of Clement VIII. Under Paul V. he held the nunciature of the Low Countries from 1607 until 1615, and that of France from 1616 till 1621; in all those charges he gave proof of an uncommon aptitude for diplomacy.<sup>1</sup> The famous portrait by Van Dyck, which now adorns the Palazzo Pitti, is a speaking likeness of the shrewd statesman. His features appear small but they are distinguished; the forehead is lofty; the beard thin and pointed; the slender fingers loosely hold a sheet of paper. The portrait may well be described as the world's noblest painting of a Cardinal.<sup>2</sup> The painter Claude Lorrain also found a patron in the art-loving Bentivoglio. His contemporaries vie with one another in their praise of this shrewd and talented man<sup>3</sup> who cast an extraordinary spell on all who came in contact with him. Bentivoglio was a brilliant orator as well as a very able writer.<sup>4</sup> His history of the war

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ch. IX. and vol. XXVI, I. Bentivoglio was to have gone as nuncio to Spain in 1605, but the mission never came off. The *\*Instruizione al arcivescovo di Rodi (Bentivoglio) alla M<sup>ta</sup> Catt<sup>ca</sup>*, dated June 21, 1605, drawn up at that time by Cardinal Valenti, is in the Papal Secret Archives in a codex not as yet filed.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. KNACKGUSS, *A. van Dyck*, 32 seq.; BURCKHARDT, *Beiträge*, 333, and *Vorträge*, 327 seq. Two coloured oil sketches, representing the handing of the decree and the imposition of the red hat by Gregory XV., now in private possession in Berlin, are probably from the brush of Van Dyck, according to the kind information given by Regierungsrat Max Friedeberg (*Unter den Linden*, 42). They have been inherited from the well-known Ulrike von Levetzow (d. 1899), who had inherited them from the collection of her stepfather, Graf Klebelsberg; see *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst.*, LX., 8 (1926).

<sup>3</sup> For an account of the frescoes in his palace at Rome, see *Kunstchronik N.F.*, XXIII., 238.

<sup>4</sup> For what follows cf. TIRABOSCHI, VIII., 323 seq.; WACHLER, *Gesch. der hist. Wissenschaften*, I., Göttingen, 1813, 496 seq.; RANKE, *Popes*, III., 91; REUMONT, III., 2, 700, and in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, VII., 255; FUETER, *Gesch. der neueren Historiographie* (1911), 129, 287; BAUMGARTNER, *Gesch. der Weltliteratur*, VI.,



in the Low Countries, his diplomatic reports, above all, his letters, which were in part published during his lifetime, won him a name in the literary world. Every page of this correspondence reveals the skilled diplomatist, polished by constant intercourse with the most refined society, as well as the mature observer.<sup>1</sup> The history of the defection of the Low Countries which Bentivoglio wrote under Urban VIII., owes its beginning to his prolonged sojourn at the court of Brussels. The same subject was also being treated at that time by the Jesuit Famiano Strado. The intrinsic value of the latter's work far surpasses that of Bentivoglio, though the Cardinal's book met with much greater success. This he owed to his pleasing style more than to anything else, though he did not escape the propensity towards affectation and artificiality of style which were so prevalent at the time. Skilfully written, brilliant and full of interest are the personal *Memoirs* of Bentivoglio; these, however, only appeared after his death. He began them in his sixty-third year and they were planned to cover the whole of his career. Unfortunately, the Cardinal, whose health had never been robust, died before he had completed even the first part, which only reaches the year 1601.

The detailed and attractive account of the court of Clement VIII. and of his Cardinals, of the Jubilee of 1600,

487 *seq.* For the nunciature reports of Bentivoglio *cf.* below, ch. IX and ch. I of vol. XXVI. *Dodici lettere inedite di Bentivoglio ed una di Fulvio Testi con notazioni* (Ferrara, 1869, only 100 copies printed contain documents of the years 1621–1637. The new edition of Bentivoglio's *Memorie*, which appeared in 3 vols., Milan, 1864, contains fifty-eight unpublished pieces. In *Ottob.* 2742 (Vatican Library) is *Alcune lettere del card. Bentivoglio*, especially of the year 1622. I quote the following distich:—

Bentivolus calamo celebris super aethera vivit,  
Unde alios calamos serpere cernit humi.

<sup>1</sup> See WACHLER, *loc. cit.* *Cf.*, also, the essay in the periodical, *Katholische Bewegung*, ed. by Dr. Rody, XVII., Würzburg, 1880, 536 *seq.* For Bentivoglio's controversy with Chapelain about his history of the war in Flanders, *cf.* COCHIN, *H. Arnauld*, Paris, 1921, 25 *seq.*

and of Cardinal Aldobrandini's embassy to France, contains a quantity of very reliable information. The discretion which his position as a Cardinal imposed on Bentivoglio prevented him from relating a great many things which the ambassadors, on their part, were free to report in their secret dispatches. Nevertheless he did not hesitate freely to blame the nepotism of Clement VIII., and he made no mystery of his opinion of Cardinals Aldobrandini, Sforza, and Deti. On the whole, however, Bentivoglio prefers soft to glaring colours. The calm and tranquillity of the last years of his life, which had not been without its fair share of bitter hours, are clearly reflected in his *Memoirs*. It is impossible to read without emotion the preface in which the Cardinal describes the contradictory feelings that fill him as he looks back upon his life. Worn out by the labours of a long life, the old man sings the praises of divine grace which called him to the ecclesiastical state, brought him, as a young man, into the entourage of Clement VIII., and led him, under Paul V., to the courts of Brussels and Paris, and finally into the Sacred College. "When I consider," he adds, "that in spite of the many graces I have received from God, I have not always rendered to the Church proportionate services, I am overcome by a sharp feeling of compunction. By offering to God the sacrifice of a contrite heart I hope to receive pardon in the short time which may still be granted to me." The presentiment of his death was soon to be realized: Bentivoglio died on September 7th, during the conclave of 1644, at the moment when the tiara, for which he had so long striven, was actually hovering over his head. He found a resting place in San Silvestro al Quirinale, but until 1771 no monument, not even as much as an inscription, recalled the memory of a man who had been so long one of the most eminent members of the Sacred College.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN MISSIONARY COUNTRIES.

One of the most striking features of the government of Paul V. is the support he gave to the world-wide activity of the men who were preaching the Gospel in Japan, in China, in India, in the uplands of Ethiopia and the lowlands of the Congo, in Persia, and on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates. No persecution, however bloody, could induce them to give up their apostolic undertakings and the Pope on his part considered it as one of his most sacred duties to give them all the support he could.<sup>1</sup> Of this the events in Japan furnished the most splendid proof.

Of all the princes who, in the island empire of the Far East, were striving for supremacy, the no less ambitious than energetic Tjejasu, who was also the founder of the house of Tokugawa which reigned until 1868, had succeeded in crushing his opponents and in securing from the emperor the title of Shogun. In 1605, Tjejasu passed the title on to his son, though he retained all power in his own hands. Under him the Christian missions enjoyed at first a measure of tranquillity of which full advantage was taken by the Jesuits, the Franciscans, who, in Clement VIII.'s pontificate had come over from the Philippines, by the Dominicans and by the Augustinians. The statistics of the Jesuits for the years 1606-1607 record the conversion of 15,000 adults. Nagasaki was the most important Christian centre. There, in addition to five parishes served by Japanese priests, the Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians had their own churches, so that Nagasaki came to be surnamed "little Rome".<sup>2</sup> The number of the missionaries from the Mendicant

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the communication of Cardinal Borghese to the Spanish Nuncio. LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengeschichte*, 86.

<sup>2</sup> See DELPLACE, II., 64.

Orders increased when, on June 11th, 1608, at the request of Philip III., Paul V. revoked the prescription of Clement VIII. which obliged missionaries to travel by way of Lisbon and Goa.<sup>1</sup> But by that time a fearful storm was gathering against the Christian communities. Dutch and English sailors and merchants contributed to its outbreak. The merchants were not concerned with the spread of the "pure Gospel"; all they aimed at was to capture a lucrative trade and to give vent to their hatred of Catholicism. They represented to Tjejasu that the Catholic missionaries were a danger to the State, inasmuch as they were but the agents of the king of Spain who disguised his intention to turn Japan into a Spanish colony under the cloak of Christianity.<sup>2</sup> Insinuations of this kind were all the more readily listened to inasmuch as Tjejasu, who was a convinced adherent of Buddhism, saw in the profession of a new faith, to which the bulk of his people were strangers, an obstacle to his effort at unifying Japan. The trade which the country needed could be secured by dealing with the English and the Dutch who, unlike the Spaniards and the Portuguese, did not demand liberty for their religion.<sup>3</sup> The persecution broke out in 1613. In the month of August, twenty-nine Christians, and the Franciscan, Luis Sotelo, were arrested at Ieddo (Tokio). The former suffered death, whilst Sotelo was set at liberty through the intervention of Date Masamune, the powerful prince of Osiu, in the North-East of the Island of Nippon.<sup>4</sup> Masamune, an ambitious and enterprising man, bore with reluctance his dependence on the aged Tjejasu. He aimed at making use of the commercial relations with Spain to which Tjejasu could not object, for the purpose of making himself master of the whole of

<sup>1</sup> *Bull.*, XI., 501 *seq.* Cf. JANN, 187 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. DELPLACE, II., 80, 85 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> This is the opinion of the Japanese G. MITSUKURI in the *Hist. Zeitschrift*, LXXXVII., 208. There were many other causes for the outbreak of the persecution besides the agitation fostered by the English and Dutch. This is pointed out also by L. PEREZ in *Arch. Francisc.*, II. (1209), 57 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See MITSUKURI, *ibid.*, 197.



Japan, with the combined assistance of the Japanese Christians, the king of Spain and the Pope. The fiery and eloquent Luis Sotelo, a native of southern Spain, was to be another tool of the prince. Sotelo had the imprudence to fall in with the plan; more than that, he took it up with the utmost enthusiasm and already he saw himself as archbishop of all Japan. Together with Sotelo, Masamune put at the head of the embassy which was to visit the courts of Madrid and Rome, his own vassal, Hasekura Rokuyemon.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a long time we were exclusively dependent for the history of this embassy on information proceeding from L. Sotelo which SCIPIONE AMATI made public in his book: *Historia del regno di Voxu del Giappone, dell'antichità, nobilità e valore, del suo re Idate Masamune . . . e dell'ambasciata che ha inviato alla S<sup>ta</sup> di N.S.P. Paolo V.* (Roma, 1615). This was reprinted by MARCELLINO DA CIVEZZA (*Storia d. miss. francesc. VII., Appendice al II. parte*, Prato, 1891). For Scipione Amati see (TACCHI VENTURI in *Civ. Catt.*, 1904, III., 400 seq.). A number of new documents were brought to light by L. PAGÈS (*Hist. de la religion chrétienne au Japon I. and II.*, Paris, 1869-1870) and BERCHET (*Le antiche ambasciate giapponesi in Italia*, Venice, 1877, 97 seq.). The English biographer of Masamune, C. MERIWELTHER (*A Sketch of the Life of Masamune and an Account of his Embassy to Rome: Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, XXI., 1893) gives some fresh documents but they are spoilt by omissions and errors. This was proved by the Japanese G. MITSUKURI, *Ein Beitrag zur Gesch. der japanischen Christen im 17. Jahrh.*, in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXXVII. (1901), 193 seq. This writer has discovered more material in archives and produced the best account of the embassy. Unfortunately it escaped the notice of both HOLZAPFEL (*Gesch. des Franziskanerordens*, 538) and FR. BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI (*Le prime due ambasciate dei Giapponesi a Roma*, LXV., seq.), and also DELPLACE (II., 190 seq.), though the latter produced much valuable new material. The work of L. TASSO, *Vita del B. L. Sotelo* (S. Maria degli Angeli, 1892) is uncritical in its unconditional glorification of Sotelo; cf. DELPLACE, II., 104, 170. To all this there has now been added a publication of documents by the Japanese: DAI NIPPON SHIRYO (*Japanese Historical Materials*), compiled by the Institute of Historical Compilation, College of Literature, Imperial Univer-

The ambassadors took boat in October, 1613, their plan being to go to Spain by way of Mexico. On January 30th, 1615, Hasekura handed to the king of Spain a letter from his overlord in which the latter prayed for the dispatch of Franciscan missionaries and for the conclusion of an alliance. By word of mouth the envoy conveyed the information that it was Masamune's intention to put both his person and his territory under the protectorate of Philip III. The cabinet of Madrid was too shrewd to allow itself to become involved in so adventurous a proposal. The envoys, of whom several received baptism,<sup>1</sup> Hasekura among them, were entertained with the utmost courtesy, but when, nine months later, they took their departure they had completely failed to achieve their real purpose.<sup>2</sup> From Spain they journeyed to Rome by way of Genoa. The Pope assigned lodgings to them in the Franciscan convent of *Ara coeli*. On October 25th, 1615, Paul V. received them in private audience. On 29th October they made a solemn entry,<sup>3</sup> and on November 3rd they were received in public audience, in presence of many Cardinals.<sup>4</sup>

sity of Tokyo, Part XII., Vol. 12, Tokyo, 1909. For Sotelo, compare also PEREZ in *Arch. Ibero-Americano*, XXI. (1924), 327 seq., XXII. (1925), 59 seq.

<sup>1</sup> Portrait of Hasekura in H. BÖHLEN (*Die Franziskaner in Japan einst und jetzt*), Trèves, 1912, 89.

<sup>2</sup> See MITSUKURI, *loc. cit.*, 202 seq., who rightly emphasizes that the real reason for the persecution of Christians lay in the policy of unity, which at that time was the guiding principle of the Japanese authorities. M. VON BRANDT (in *Helmut's Weltgesch.*, II., 25 seq.) makes too much of the unwise behaviour of the missionaries; this only is correct, namely, that the Mendicant Orders did not proceed with the same caution as the Jesuits, and thus made easier for the opponents of Christianity the attainment of their purpose.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the report of ALALEONE in *Boncompagni-Ludovisi*, App., p. 50 and ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 239 seq., with the rare print: *Relatione della solenne entrata in Roma di Franc. Faxicura con il padre fra L. Sotelo*, Rome, 1615, now printed, with many other documents, in DAI NIPPON SHIRYO, 198-239.

<sup>4</sup> All sources for this in DAI NIPPON SHIRYO, 239-267.

In this assembly a Latin translation of Masamune's letter was read, some further elucidations of the document being given by the Franciscan Gregorio Petrocha. In his letter—now one of the treasures of the Sala Sistina, in the Vatican library—the Japanese prince hinted at his eventual conversion to Christianity; in the meantime, however, and until certain obstacles were removed, he prayed that Paul V. would send Franciscan missionaries, appoint an archbishop, and further his alliance with the "great emperor" of Spain.<sup>1</sup> According to the report of the Venetian envoy, Simone Contarini, Sotelo assured the Pope that Masamune would soon win "the supreme crown", when not only himself would become a son of the Roman Church, but he would also see to it that all his subjects embraced Christianity.<sup>2</sup> In a petition which some Japanese Christians presented to the Pope at this time, they declared: "We expect Masamune will be emperor before long."<sup>3</sup>

The Japanese envoys tarried in Rome until January 7th, 1616. Their presents had been appropriately acknowledged by a return of gifts; in other ways also the Pope had not been niggardly with his attentions, and he bore the expenses of their stay.<sup>4</sup> For all that, as the Venetian envoy clearly

<sup>1</sup> The reception was not at a Consistory, but as the *\*Acta consist.* expressly state, in a *Congregatio semiplena*; cf. ALALEONE, *loc. cit.*, and *Acta audientiae publicae a S.D.N. Paulo V. P.O.M. regis Voxu Iaponi legatis Romae die III. Nov. 1615 in Palatio apost. apud S. Petrum exhibitae*, Romae, 1615. See also the letter of Masamune to Paul V.; reprint in BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, App., p. 50 seq., and in DAI NIPPON SHIRYO, 257 seq., the Japanese text is given in the appendix.

<sup>2</sup> See BERCHET, *loc. cit.*; *Documenti*, n. LXIII. and MITSUKURI, 204.

<sup>3</sup> MITSUKURI first published the text of the petition, preserved in the Papal Secret Archives (210 seq.); recently it has been reprinted in DAI NIPPON SHIRYO, 276 seqq.

<sup>4</sup> Besides the reprints of BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, App., p. 43 seq., cf. also the notes of COSTAGUTI, Costaguti Archives, Rome, and the communications drawn from the State Archives, Rome, quoted in DAI NIPPON SHIRYO, 324 seq. The gifts of Paul V.

perceived, they went away dissatisfied.<sup>1</sup> The Pope had fully considered his line of conduct ; he had even sought the advice of the Congregation of the Inquisition.<sup>2</sup> The granting of the demand that the Pope should extend his protection to Masamune as to a sovereign prince, and that he should grant him the same privileges as were enjoyed by Catholic princes—among them being the authorization to found Orders of chivalry and episcopal sees—Paul V. made dependent on the conversion of the prince. As for the preliminaries of a treaty of commerce with Spain, the Pope undertook to recommend the matter to Philip III. In like manner, in respect to the dispatch of Franciscans, the envoys were told to apply to the king of Spain. The reply to the Japanese Christians was to the same effect : the only thing they obtained was the Indulgences and the relics they had asked for. The appointment of an archbishop was flatly refused—before such a nomination could be made there must be several bishops in Japan—and the canonization of the Franciscan Martyrs could only be granted after an inquiry by the Congregation of Rites.<sup>3</sup>

which Hasekura (who also had himself enrolled in the Brotherhood book of the *Anima* (see SCHMIDLIN, *Anima*, 487), and was made an honorary citizen of Rome) (*cf.* BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, App., p. 44) brought back to Prince Masamune, are still in an excellent state of preservation and are in the possession of the former princely house of Sendai. Among them are a miniature (The Assumption of Our Lady), crucifixes, rosaries, and a portrait of the Pope ; see J. DAHLMANN in *Cölnische Volkszeitung*, 1914, No. 646. *Ibid.*, the original of the nomination as honorary citizen of Rome and a picture representing Hasekura in the garb of a Roman Patrician, in prayer before a crucifix. The reproduction of the letter of honorary citizenship is in DAI NIPPON SHIRYO, 298.

<sup>1</sup> BERCHET, *loc. cit.*, *Documenti*, n. XLVI.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* DAI NIPPON SHIRYO, 305 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Mitsukuri*, 206 *seq.*, 219 *seq.*, who first published the reply of Paul V. to the Japanese Christians. The reply of Paul V. to Masamune in BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, App., p. 55 *seq.* In the same place the letter of introduction to Philip III. Mitsukuri



Paul V.'s caution and reserve in respect to the far-reaching schemes of Masamune and Sotelo were fully justified by events, for it soon became apparent, as the Jesuits had seen from the first, that Masamune's intentions were purely worldly ones. The heart of the licentious pagan had in no way been touched by the grace of faith. The disappointment of the credulous Sotelo was very great. The extreme imprudence of the Franciscan in trusting the astute Japanese is shown by what followed. The ambitious designs of Masamune could not escape so acute an observer as Tjejasu. With a view to diverting all suspicion from himself, the ruler of Osiu decided to expel the Christians from his domain. However, he delayed the execution of this plan until the return of his envoy, Hasekura, in 1620. From that time Masamune openly concurred with the persecution of the Christians which Tjejasu had inaugurated in 1614, and to which, in the end, Sotelo himself fell a victim.<sup>1</sup> As early as 1613, a census of all Christians was taken, and in the following year an open persecution was begun. The death of the chief pastor of the Church in Japan, which at that time numbered about a million adherents,<sup>2</sup> coincided with the crisis. The bishop of Funai, Luis de Cerqueira, died on February 20th, 1614. Before he expired the prelate committed his flock to the care of the vice-provincial of the

and all other writers on the embassy have missed the instructions of Cardinal Borghese to the Spanish Nuncio, dated December 9, 1615, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 336 *seq.*, now newly reproduced in DAI NIPPON SHIRYO, 301, with a second letter of December 30, 1615 (*ibid.*, 303 *seq.*). In this Japanese publication also see the replies of Paul V. to Masamune (p. 313 *seq.*) and to the Japanese Christians, both of December 27, 1616.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. PAGÈS, I., 443 *seq.*; MITSUKURI, 208 *seq.*; DELPLACE, II., 103 *seq.* and 107 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> This total, mainly based on the year books of the Jesuits, is arrived at by STEICHEN (*Les Daimyo chrétiens*, Hongkong, 1904) and DELPLACE (II., 129 *seq.*). The Jesuits possessed in 1614, in different parts of Japan, eleven colleges, sixty-four residences, two novitiates, and two seminaries. See PAGÈS, II., 428.

Jesuits, an arrangement which was subsequently ratified by Paul V.<sup>1</sup>

The era of Martyrs, which opened, in 1614, for the Japanese Church, whose future seemed so full of promise, is in many ways reminiscent of the persecutions of the early centuries of Christianity.<sup>2</sup> Now, as then, the majority of the recent converts displayed wonderful constancy. At Arima a special confraternity of Martyrs was formed, the members of which prepared themselves by prayer and penitential exercises to endure even the most cruel tortures. "All churches and convents are being destroyed," a Jesuit writes in 1614, "our Fathers are banished, but a score of them are in hiding, in order to assist the faithful. Every effort is being made to cause these to apostatize, but all in vain. Already eighty-five persons have shed their blood for Christ."<sup>3</sup>

Tjejasu died in 1616. However, conditions did not improve, for Hidetada, who succeeded him, followed in all things in the steps of his fathers. The persecution constantly grew in violence. The missionaries needed all their ingenuity to evade pursuit. They disguised themselves as Japanese, or as European merchants. Some of them sought hiding places which they only left at night for fear their fair complexion should betray them.

<sup>1</sup> See BULL., *Patron. Portug.*, II., 28; DELPLACE, II., 112. For the schism, which was brought about after the death of Cerqueira by some passionate Spanish monks, see COLIN-PASTELLS, *Labor evangélica*, III., 384, note. The accusation against Cerqueira, that he did not proceed quickly enough with the ordination of native priests, has been sufficiently disproved by HUONDER, 116 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Gioda, Botero*, III., 289, 306. In a document drawn up by a Jesuit, in 1610: *\*Relazione delle provincie orientali (Ottob. 2416, p. 911 seq.)* it is stated: "É la miglior Christianità che habbi l'Oriente per la buona capacità di Giapponesi che hanno abbracciata la nostra s. fede et già molti di loro per la difesa di quella hanno sparso il sangue." (Vatican Library.) See also DAHLMANN, *Neue Urkunde über die Martyrerkirche Japans*, in the *Kath. Missionen*, 1922-3, No. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See DELPLACE, II., 126 *seq.*, 134. Cf. ÉTUDES, 1922, 74 *seq.*

Such an existence, as one of the missionaries wrote, demanded a body of iron and a spirit like that of St. Paul.<sup>1</sup> One of their consolations was that almost every year they were able to baptize a great number of neophytes. This went on even when, in 1618, the persecution spread almost to the whole of Japan.<sup>2</sup>

Jesuits and Mendicants alike had their share in the triumphs and trials of that time. As early as the summer of 1616, the Franciscans, Peter of the Ascension and John of St. Martha ; the Jesuit, John Baptist Machado y Tavora ; the Dominican, Alonso Navarrete and the Augustinian Hernando de S. José, suffered the Martyrs' death. Many Japanese Christians shared a similar fate.<sup>3</sup> From 1619 onwards, mass executions were resorted to. The cruelties which accompanied these butcheries revolted even Captain Richard Cocks, an Englishman, though in other respects the expulsion of the missionaries gave him great joy. In 1619, at Meako (Kioto), Cocks was an eye-witness when fifty-five Christians were burnt alive, among them children from five years of age. "These," he writes, "died in the arms of their mothers who were crying with a loud voice : ' Jesus, receive their souls ! ' " "A great number," Cocks goes on to say, "are awaiting death in prison, for only a very few return to paganism."<sup>4</sup> The sufferings of these prisoners were indescribable. The Jesuit, Carlo Spinola, who has left us a sketch-plan and description of the prison of Omura, was of opinion that a prison of this kind was worse than death.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See DELPLACE, II., 141 *seq.*, 165 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> The *Litterae annuae Soc. Iesu* (gathered as *Rerum memorabilium in regno Iapaniae gestarum* (Litterae), printed at Antwerp, 1625, give these figures for the numbers of baptized : 1619, 1,800 ; 1620, 1,300 ; 1621, 1,943. Cf. too *Synopsis*, II., 276.

<sup>3</sup> See PAGÈS, *Hist. de la religion chrétienne au Japon.*, Paris, 1869-1870, and DELPLACE, II., 182 *seq.* Cf. PROFILET, *Le Martyrologe de l'Église du Japon*, 1549-1649, 3 vols., Paris, 1897.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. DELPLACE, II., 148. According to *Litt. annuae*, *loc. cit.*, 99 *seq.*, one of the children was only two years old.

<sup>5</sup> See PAGÈS, II., 200 *seq.* and DELPLACE, II., 149 *seq.*, where there is a picture of the prison at Omura. Cf. F. A. SPINOLA,

None of the European Powers showed the slightest concern for the victims of the persecution; the Pope alone strove repeatedly to encourage them by various tokens of his goodwill, as well as by letters of sympathy and consolation.<sup>1</sup> He also appointed a new bishop; however, that prelate vainly attempted to enter Japan through Macao.<sup>2</sup> In the land of the Rising Sun, according to the report of a Jesuit, in 1621, hell seemed to have been let loose. "Day and night the persecution rages, but the Martyrs," the Jesuit writes, "set an example which strengthens those even who had grown weak. If Almighty God grants an abatement of the persecution, conversions will be innumerable. Send us more missionaries, but let them be men of small stature, so that our Christians may find it easier to hide them."<sup>3</sup>

In China also a persecution broke out during the pontificate of Paul V., but it only interfered for a short time with the activities of the Jesuit missionaries. The Jesuits owed their strong position to the prudence of Matteo Ricci, who sought to obtain his end by adapting himself as perfectly as possible to Chinese dress and manners, feeling and speech; by frequent intercourse with the learned class as well as by

*Vita del p. Carlo Spinola*, Rome, 1671. A letter of Spinola about the persecution, dated Nagasaki, November 12, 1618, has been published by SFORZA in *Atti d. Soc. Ligure*, XXIII.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Synopsis*, II., 255, 277. In the \*brief for *Valent. Cavaglio*, *praeposit. Soc. Iesu*, dated November 11, 1617, we find: "Tribulationes audivimus quas assidue sustinetis et persecutiones ab infidelibus exposuerunt procuratores Soc. Iesu. Deo gratias, quod fiat cum tribulatur. proventus." Words of praise and comfort follow (*Epist.*, XIII., 153). A \*brief to the Japanese Christians of February 8, 1619, expresses the Pope's sorrow for their oppression, but also his joy at their fortitude: "You are chosen witnesses, as were the early Christians," Papal Secret Archives. See the text in the *App.*, No. 6. The letter of Paul V. to the Christians in Japan, December 27, 1616, is printed in the *Annal. Minorum*, XXV. (Quaracchi, 1886).

<sup>2</sup> See *Synopsis*, II., 281, 317; DELPLACE, II., 160.

<sup>3</sup> See DELPLACE, II., 167.



popular, catechetical instructions.<sup>1</sup> He was by no means discouraged by the fact that not all his brethren agreed with this method of adaptation<sup>2</sup> and that after twenty-five years of toil, the number of Christians did not exceed two thousand souls. Ricci was well aware that his task must of necessity be limited to breaking the ground, to scattering the seed of Christian teaching, whereas the time of the harvest would only come at a later period.<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact, two thousand converts was a goodly number, not only when we allow for the natural difficulty of imparting Christian doctrine to the Chinese mind, but in other respects also. The social status of the neophytes was as distinguished as was their constancy in the newly found faith; in the subsequent persecutions most of them stood firm.<sup>4</sup> Full of hope for the future, Ricci reported the above numbers in a letter to his General, in 1609, and added: "Regard for us grows day by day, especially at the two courts of Peking and Nanking."<sup>5</sup>

In addition to the government of the mission, Ricci had to cope with other exacting tasks. Among these was the erection of a new church at Peking and the ceremonious relations with Chinese officials and savants which took up a vast amount of valuable time. Even so the indefatigable man still found leisure for a detailed record, in writing, of his experiences. But even he could not stand the strain indefinitely. He had inherited the spirit and the virtues of Francis Xavier and, like him, he died prematurely, on May 11th, 1610. The year before

<sup>1</sup> Cf. our notes, Vol. XXIV, 240 *seq.* An example of lay instruction is the Chinese Catechism of 1619, discovered by DAHLMANN in the University Library at Tokyo; see *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXXI., 509 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HUONDER, 8, and K. PIEPER, in *Zeitschr. für Missionswissenschaft*, XIV. (1924), 3 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Letter to P. Girol. Costa, dated Nanking, August 14, 1599; see TACCHI VENTURI, *Opere storiche del P.M. Ricci*, II. (*Le lettere della China*), Macerata, 1913, 243 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See BRUCKER, in *Études*, CXXIV., 776.

<sup>5</sup> Ricci to Cl. Acquaviva, dated Peking, March 8, 1608; see TACCHI VENTURI, *loc. cit.*, II., 339 *seq.*

his death he had erected, in Peking, the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin. On one occasion, some time before he was taken ill, Ricci remarked to his companions that when he pondered by what means he might best spread the faith among the Chinese, he could not think of a more effective one than his own death. The Jesuits remembered his words when the emperor Vanglie bestowed upon the dead missionary the extraordinary distinction of presenting a place for his burial, a thing that was only done for men who had rendered outstanding service to the State.<sup>1</sup>

On his death-bed Ricci had told his colleagues that he left them before an open door that led to great merits, though not without great toil and danger.<sup>2</sup> These words characterized the future of a mission for the government of which Ricci had laid down certain guiding principles and for which he had won the rights of citizenship in the Empire of the Middle.<sup>3</sup> The esteem which the Jesuits enjoyed at the imperial court grew still further when, in 1610, they foretold the date of an eclipse of the moon with greater accuracy than the native astronomers. In the following year they consecrated their church at Nanking. An inscription in the church recorded the

<sup>1</sup> See NIC. TRIGANTIUS, "De christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Soc. Iesu ex P. Matth. Ricci eiusdem societatis commentariis libri V. ad S.D.N. Paulum V.," AUG. VINDELICOR, 1615. Cf. P. M. RICCI, S.J., *Relação escripta pelo seu companheiro P. Sabatino de Ursis S.J.*, Roma, 1910, 50 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See TRIGANTIUS, 613. Cf. SPILLMANN, *Durch Asien*, II., Freiburg, 1898, in which, on p. 215, is a picture of the grave of Ricci in Peking. Better reproductions are in TACCHI VENTURI, *Comment. della Cina I.* and RICCARDI, *M. Ricci*, Florence, 1910. With regard to the inscription on the tomb, see BRUCKER in *Études*, CXXXI., 220. Cf., too, VITALE, *La Tomba del p. M. Ricci*, in *Atti e memorie del Convegno di Geografi-Orientalisti tenuti in Macerata*, 1910, Macerata, 1911, 170 seq.

<sup>3</sup> So much so was this the case that the *\*Relatione delle provincie orientali* (Ottob. 2416, p. 911 seq., Vatican Library) could say that the thirty Jesuits working in China were: "tenuti già come naturali del paese."

fact of its erection by the Society of Jesus.<sup>1</sup> Ricci's successor, Nicholas Longobardo, was able to make three other Jesuit foundations. However, in consequence of some indiscreet remarks in the sermons of the Piedmontese, Antonio Vagnoni,<sup>2</sup> a reaction occurred and hatred of the foreigners was aroused. In 1617, the young Chinese Church had much to endure, especially in Peking and Nanking. Nevertheless a number of Jesuits and a few Chinese Brothers managed to remain at their posts notwithstanding the difficult situation created by the edict of banishment of February 4th, 1617. If the storm soon blew over, it was mainly owing to an invasion of the Manchus which diverted the attention of the government into other channels. In their report for 1620-1, the Jesuits state that they had successfully evaded the danger that had threatened them and that their fears had been excessive.<sup>3</sup>

Even before the outbreak of the persecution of 1617, the Jesuits had considered how, in the event of the Europeans being banished, the Chinese missions could be maintained. They came to the conclusion that it could only be done if they looked for candidates for the priesthood in the ranks of the educated Chinese and thus prepared the ground for the formation of a native clergy. To realize this plan the substitution of Chinese for Latin as the language of the liturgy seemed to them imperative. It was a bold idea ; for all that the concession of so extraordinary a dispensation did not appear altogether out of the question when it was remembered that in order to bring about the conversion of the Slavs, the Popes had granted to them the privilege of using their own language

<sup>1</sup> Cf. IUVENCIUS, V., 553 seq., 555.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C. SFORZA, *Un missionario e sinologo Piemontese in Cina nel sec. 17*, in the *Miscell. di stor. ital.*, 3 series, XI.

<sup>3</sup> RANKE quoted, for this view, a MSS. *Relazione della Cina dell' anno 1621* (*Popes*, II<sup>o</sup>, 324, note 1). But the text quoted by him has long been in print in *Rerum memorabilium in regno Sinae gestarum, Litterae annuae Soc. Iesu*, Antwerp, 1625, 48-9. Cf. for this situation, the letter written by N. TRIGAULT (Trigantius), *Lettera della Cina dell'a. 1621* (*sin. loc.*).

in the liturgy.<sup>1</sup> The Jesuit, Nicolas Trigault,<sup>2</sup> a native of Douai, who had laboured in China since 1610, undertook, with the consent of his superiors, to see the affair through in Rome. In the petition which he presented to Paul V., he begged the Pope to allow the Bible and the Roman Missal, Ritual and Breviary to be translated into Chinese, and to permit the Chinese to use their own language in the liturgy and in the administration of the sacraments. Simultaneously with this petition Trigault handed to the Pope a History of the Jesuit Missions in China. The book—written by Trigault and dedicated to Paul V.—brings the story up to the death of Ricci and is mainly based upon the latter's notes.<sup>3</sup>

Paul V., who took a lively interest in the Jesuit missions in China,<sup>4</sup> did not meet the unusual request with a flat refusal but handed it to the Congregation of the Inquisition for examination ; and since, in the discussion, no less a personage than Bellarmine spoke in favour of the concession, the Congregation passed a favourable verdict, on March 26th, 1615.<sup>5</sup> Basing himself on this resolution, by a decree of June 27th, 1615, Paul V. gave permission for the translation of the Bible and the use of Chinese in the Breviary, at Mass, and in the administration of the Sacraments. The Pope stipulated, however, that the language adopted should not be the ordinary speech of the people but the language of the learned classes, which enjoyed the highest respect throughout the empire and was less liable to change and, though only the cultivated

<sup>1</sup> See HUONDER, 158.

<sup>2</sup> See DEHAISNES, *Vie de N. Trigault*, Tournai, 1864.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above p. 355, n. 2. For the compilation of the *Notes* see TACCHI VENTURI, *Comment. della Cina*, I., Introd.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. SYNOPSIS, II., 243, 247, 249, 254 seq., 260, 266, 276 seq., 286. The Bishop of Cochin, *Andreas de S. Maria* (O.S. Fr.) was censured in a \*Brief, dated IV. Id. Oct., 1609, for persecuting the Jesuits. *Epist.*, V., No. 153, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile the clause had been added : " Si unquam contigit in illis partibus constitui episcopum, ex hac permissione non censeatur praeiudicatum iurisdictioni episcopali." *Synopsis*, II., 271.



classes were fully acquainted with it, the masses would, nevertheless, be able to understand the ordinary prayers in it. At the same time, in consideration of the fact that, according to Chinese conceptions, solemn functions may not be carried out with head uncovered, the Pope allowed the missionaries to wear at Mass a head-dress resembling the biretta worn by the Chinese literati.<sup>1</sup>

Armed with these weighty concessions and accompanied by new missionaries, Trigault was back in China in 1619. However, the only privilege of which the missionaries availed themselves was that of saying Mass with head covered. To this day it has not been possible to throw adequate light on the circumstances which prevented the carrying into effect of the other concessions.<sup>2</sup>

In India, the Jesuit, Roberto de'Nobili, made an even more remarkable attempt to introduce Christianity to the people of one of the richest countries of the world—people tenaciously attached to their own peculiar usages—by the greatest possible adaptation to the manners and ideas of the natives.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, 271–2. Cf. HUONDER, 159 *seq.*, where the picture of a Chinese biretta will be found (Tsin-Kin).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. PAPEBROCH in *Acta SS. Propyl. Maii Dissert.*, XIII; HUONDER, 150 *seq.*; H. BOSMANS in *Anal. Bolland.*, XXXIII. (1914), 274 *seq.* For the Jesuit mission in the Philippines, which prospered so greatly that, in 1606, it was possible to erect it into a new province of the Order, see the great, well-documented work of FR. COLIN S.J., *Labor evangélica de los obreros de la Compañía de Jesús en las islas Filipinas*, nueva edic. por el P. P. Pastells S.J., 3 vols., Barcelona, 1904. The Dominicans vied with the Jesuits and founded the University of S. Thomas in Manila, in 1611.

<sup>3</sup> For what follows cf. IUVENCIUS, V., 2, 493 *seqq.*; BERTRAND, *La mission de Madure d'après des doc. inédits*, II., Paris, 1848; SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, s.v.; MÜLLBAUER, 171 *seq.*, 186 *seq.*; *Die Katholische Missionen*, 1875, 13 *seq.*, 45 *seq.*, 79 *seq.* See also DAHLMANN, *Sprachkunde*, II *seq.*, 17 *seq.*; *Dublin Review*, 1889, No. 44, p. 297 *seq.*; SCHWAGER, *Heidenmission*, IV., 328 *seq.*, 332 *seq.*, which throws the light of criticism upon the present-

Until then Christianity had been preached almost exclusively along the coast and in the wake of the Portuguese. These strangers, who ate flesh meat, drank wine and consorted with people of the lowest castes, were considered as *Pranguis*, that is, as the refuse of humanity, by the inhabitants of the interior who had not yet come in contact with Europeans. This prejudice prevailed especially among the upper classes, who rigidly upheld the caste system. Christianity itself was included in this condemnation, all the more so as the Portuguese missionaries strictly forbade their neophytes to observe the differences of caste. When, in 1606, Roberto de'Nobili arrived in Madura,<sup>1</sup> he realized that these circumstances accounted for the almost complete barrenness of the fourteen years of missionary labour which the Portuguese Jesuit Fernandez had endured. In Madura the situation was aggravated by the fact that the neighbouring Paravanesse fisherfolk, one of the most despised castes, were adherents of the Christian religion. With the approval of the archbishop of Cranganor, Fr. Roz, and that of his provincial, Laerzio, the shrewd Italian decided to adopt an entirely new course of action. He parted with Fr. Fernandez so that he might devote all his energies to the conversion of the higher castes, and just as he severed every connection with Fr. Fernandez, the apostle of the pariahs, so he avoided contact with the Portuguese who were hateful to the natives. To become a Hindu to the Hindus and to expound the Gospel to them in the language and according to the method of presentment of the Brahmins, became the ideal for which de'Nobili strove. To this end he adopted the dress of the noble Brahmins, subjected himself to the mode of life—one that was almost unbearable for a European—of the so-called Saniassi—a sect of Hindu ascetics whom the

ment of *Warneck and J. Richter*. To this must now be added the excellent monograph of DAHMEN (Münster, 1924); also, in French, *Un jésuite Brahmane*, Paris, 1925. \**Letters of NOBILI to his cousin Costanza Sforza, Duchess of Sora, during the years 1606-1615, in Cod., E 6, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.*

<sup>1</sup> Recent research has shown that Nobili was no relation of Bellarmine; see *Civ. Catt.*, October 4, 1924, p. 67.

people held in great esteem—and presented himself as a Guru (teacher) and a rajah (prince) from the North. In a short time he assimilated three native dialects as well as Sanskrit. He succeeded in penetrating very far into the inner world of Hindu speculation. Once the mysterious hermit had attracted general attention, he at last consented to discuss scientific problems with the Brahmins. Starting from philosophical and mathematical truths, he gradually led discussions on to the truths of religion. He showed that the dogmas of Christianity were the necessary development of Hindu speculation, and all the time he adjusted his demands, as nearly he could, to national prejudices. Of the native customs and practices he only rejected those that were incompatible with Christianity, such as the worship of idols and polygamy; on the other hand he suffered many things to stand, particularly the differences of castes, as being purely civil institutions. Accordingly he allowed the neophytes to wear the insignia and ornaments of the higher castes and he himself wore at times the Brahmin's cord.

The wisdom of the method adopted by de'Nobili was demonstrated by his amazing success which stood in glaring contrast to the results attained by other means. The young Christian community of Madura withstood several squalls occasioned by the jealousy of the pagan priests, and de'Nobili was already in a position to plan the establishment of missionary stations in the neighbouring kingdoms when his activity was paralysed for a whole ten years. The peculiar path on which he had entered meant a breach with the procedure hitherto favoured by the missionaries. Nor was it devoid of risks. This explains how certain Fathers, scrupulous, as well as slaves to national prejudices, came to question the lawfulness as well as the usefulness of the new method of work.<sup>1</sup> A dispute arose over the "Malabar practices".

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Roz of Cranganor often says in his letters to Rome that enmity towards Nobili arose from wounded national feeling (DAHMEN, *Un Jésuite Brahmane*, 60). The Portuguese did not want to be treated by Nobili almost as pariahs (*ibid.*).

Misunderstood by his own brethren in religion and by his superiors, and accused of mixing paganism and Christianity, de'Nobili had to undergo an exceedingly severe trial. Humbly trusting in divine Providence, he bore the heavy trial as an exemplary religious, without so much as a momentary hesitation in his obedience. The hardest trial of all was when, by means of the grossest misrepresentations, his enemies succeeded in creating an impression in Rome that he had renounced the faith! He owed it solely to the archbishops of Goa and Cranganor, who were acquainted with the true state of affairs, that in 1615 the baselessness of these accusations came to be recognized. Paul V. entrusted the affair to the bishops of Goa and Cranganor and to the Goanese Inquisition.<sup>1</sup> However, by then the archiepiscopal chair of Goa was no longer occupied by Alexius de Menezes, who had been well disposed towards de'Nobili, but by the Hieronymite, Christopher da Sà, who was hostile to him. De'Nobili's opponents once more got the upper hand. To fill the cup of his tribulation, calumnies were spread against him by a Brahmin whom he had excommunicated. All these things together induced his provincial to transfer him to Cranganor. Whilst there the sorely tried priest wrote an exhaustive apologia<sup>2</sup> which, together with the relevant documents, was sent to Rome where the dispute was pending.<sup>3</sup> But before this an assembly convened at Goa, which at first had been opposed to de'Nobili, ended by coming to a decision favourable to him.<sup>4</sup> The Holy See submitted the whole question to a searching examination; its decision, given by Paul V.'s successor, was in the main favourable to de'Nobili. It granted to the Brahmins and to other neophytes permission to wear the insignia of their castes and contented itself with laying down certain precautionary measures destined to eliminate pagan superstitions.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Synopsis*, II., 274.

<sup>2</sup> See BERTRAND, II., 151 *seq.* Cf. MÜLLBAUER, 191 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Synopsis*, II., 281.

<sup>4</sup> DAHMEN, 66 *seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> See *Bull. de Propag.*, I., 15. Cf. MÜLLBAUER, 195 *seq.*



Other matters connected with the dioceses of Goa and Cochin, which formed the centre of the mission of East India, also claimed the attention of Paul V. In view of the extent of the diocese of Cochin, which was far too great under existing circumstances, and at the request of Philip III., the Pope, in 1606, proceeded to a partition. Meliapur, the presumed resting place of the Apostle St. Thomas, was made the episcopal see of a new diocese.<sup>1</sup> To satisfy the grievances of the so-called Christians of St. Thomas, Paul V. revoked the decisions of Clement VIII. and detached the diocese of Angamale from the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Goa and raised it to the dignity of an archdiocese.<sup>2</sup> In 1609 the episcopal see was transferred to Cranganor. Owing to the fact that that city had at one time been part of the diocese of Cochin, the bishop of that place opposed the plan. When the controversy was submitted to the arbitration of the Pope the latter insisted on the execution of a measure which had been taken in his name by Alexius de Menezes, a man highly esteemed throughout India.<sup>3</sup> In 1612, with a view to a systematic evangelization of the country, and in pursuance of the proposals of Philip III., Paul V. cut off the Portuguese possessions in East Africa from the province of Goa and, together with the vicariate of Mozambique, united them in a separate ecclesiastical province.<sup>4</sup>

The missionary countries assigned to the archdiocese of Goa included the empire of the Great Mogul. Here the highly gifted Akbar had been succeeded, in 1605, by his son Djehangir. That capricious prince at first showed but little goodwill towards the Jesuits; later on, however, he restored his good graces to them; he even went so far as to have the three sons

<sup>1</sup> See *Bull. Patron. Portug.*, II., Olisipone, 1870, 4. Cf. JANN, 130 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bull.*, XI., 558 seq.; *Bull. Patron. Portug.*, II., 8 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Bull. Patron. Portug.*, II., 10 seq.; *Synopsis*, II., 275; JANN, 172 seq. A \*Letter of praise to A. de Menezes, dated 1612. Non. Ian., in *Epist.*, VII, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> *Bull.*, XII., 20 seq.; *Bull. Patron. Portug.*, II., 19 seq.; JANN., 117.

of his brother, whom he had adopted, brought up by them in the Christian religion. The solemn baptism of the princes (1610), to which they came riding on white elephants, was an occasion of unprecedented splendour for the mission in the empire of the Great Mogul.<sup>1</sup> The conversion of the viceroy of Cambodia occurred also at this time.<sup>2</sup> In 1616, as is the way with Asiatic despots, Djehangir's attitude underwent yet another change. As a consequence the situation of the mission became so difficult that the Jesuits thought of giving it up. This step was, however, prevented by an order of their prudent General. In 1612, they were in a position to found a college at Agra and a new house of the Order at Patna.<sup>3</sup>

From the outset of his pontificate Paul V. sought to consolidate the relations which had been established in the reign of Clement VIII. with the Shah of Persia, Abbas the Great. By this means the Pope hoped to further the war against the Turks as well as the Christian mission in Persia.<sup>4</sup> That mission was under the care of the Italian Discalced Carmelites.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See IARRICUS, *Thesaurus rer. Indicar.*, Coloniae Agripp., 1615, 147 seq.; IUVENCIUS; V., 2, 466 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See \**Relazione delle provincie orientali* (drawn up by a Jesuit, about 1610) in *Ottob.* 2416, p. 911 seq., Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See CORDARA, VI., 59 seq., 257, 315; MÜLLBAUER, 282 seq.

<sup>4</sup> The *Epistolae* of Paul V. contains many briefs relating to this subject. Thus, I., 79: \**Regi Persarum*, dated July 20, 1605, (Recommendation of the Carmelites sent by Clement VIII.; the Pope praises the Shah, as being "inimicis nostris communibus formidabilis"); I., 240: \**Regi Persarum*, October 8, 1605 ("respondit ad litteras quas Bastae Colibech oratori suo ad Clementem VIII. dederat; ostendit se cupidum amicitiae et benevolentiae suae; dolet Bastam morte praevenit ad Urbem accedere non potuisse"; cf., I., 464, the same letter again, with the date February 24, 1606); III., 224: \**Regi Persarum*, March 11, 1607 ("commendat Matth. Erasmus archiepiscopum Haxinanensem in Armenia"); IV., 173: \**Regi Persarum*, October 16, 1608 (rejoices at his good disposition), Papal Secret Archives. Cf., also, MEYER, *Nuntiatuiberichte*, 552.

<sup>5</sup> See *Historia generalis frat. discalceat. Ord. B. Virg. Mariae de Monte Carmelo congreg. S. Eliae I. & II.*, Romae, 1668-1671,

Fr. Giovanni Taddeo of St. Eliseus, who had received his commission from Clement VIII., found himself in Poland at the time of the Pope's death. Paul V. ordered him to proceed on his journey, but the war between Poland and Russia delayed him so long that he only reached Ispahan at the end of 1607. He then discharged the commission with which the Pope had charged him for the Shah and exerted himself in various ways for the development of the mission.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the Carmelites, members of other Orders, such as the Dominicans and Augustinians, also repaired to a field of labour which held out so rich a promise. The Shah selected a Portuguese Augustinian and a noble Persian as his envoys. Their mission was to congratulate the Pope on his election and to discuss matters that concerned the Church. The embassy was detained in Russia and only reached Rome on August 27th, 1605. They were met at the Porta del Popolo by the Swiss Guard, to the sound of drums, and papal representatives escorted the visitors to the palazzo Borghese. On August 30th the Pope received them in public audience. To their account of the successes of the Persians over the Turks and the request for the Pope's blessing, Paul V. replied by declaring that he held the Shah in affection and that

and BERTHOLD-IGNACE DE STE-ANNE, *Hist. de la Mission de Perse par les Pères Carmes-Déchaussés, 1604-1612*, Brussels, 1882. Cf. *Zeitschr. f. Missionswissensch.*, V., 208, and STREIT, *Bibl.*, I., 269 seq. See also BACHELET, *Anal. Boll.*, 619 seq. and *Memorie delle Missioni di Persia, 1609-1614*, in *Cod.*, E 24, of Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

<sup>1</sup> The above is according to the *\*Relatione data alla S. Congreg. de Propaganda Fide della Missione dei Carmelitani Scalzi in Persia dal P. Giov. Taddeo di S. Eliseo* in the Archives of Propaganda, Rome, *Visite*, 9, p. 1 seq. The Carmelites were also responsible, in part, for the diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Persia; see the *\*Brief for the Carmelites John and Vincent*, dated October 13, 1608 (The Pope sends them his answer "ad ea quae scripsit rex Persarum per Paulum Simonem eiusdem ord."), *Epist.*, IV., 170, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. *Bull.*, Carmelit., III., 370.

he prayed God to enlighten him. Thereupon the Persian envoy repaired to St. Peter's. After a prayer at the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles, he climbed into the cupola in order to contemplate from there the panorama of eternal Rome. Not only did Paul V. bear the cost of the envoy's entertainment, he also had 1,300 scudi handed to him for his travelling expenses. Cardinal Borghese also made various presents to the Shah's representative who left Rome on September 12th, 1605.<sup>1</sup> A papal letter to the Persian ruler, dated September 9th, 1605, testified to Paul's gratification at the embassy.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly afterwards a second envoy of the Shah arrived in Rome, one who, though he had set out much later, completed the journey more rapidly. He was an Englishman, Sir Robert Sherley, and he discussed not only the dispatch of missionaries, but likewise the Turkish war. On both questions he met with a ready hearing.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. beside the report of the French Ambassador, De Brèves, of September 2, 1609, in *Goujet*, II., 77 seq., the detailed information of the \*Avvisi in ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 148 seq. (cf. 8). The \*Discorso of the Persian ambassador before Paul V., in *Barb.*, LVI., 56, p. 60 seq., *ibid.* For the rare print: *Ambasciata Persiana a Roma*, 1603, see AUSONIA, II. (1908), 298 seq. Cf. also \*Cod. S. 6, 6, p. 90, of Bibl. Angelica, Rome.

<sup>2</sup> \*Epist., V., 105, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 8 seq. and the \*Avvisi of October 3, 10, 14, and 21, 1609 (Vatican Library), according to which Sherley was converted to Catholicism. Cf. about him, SHIRLEY, *The Sherley Brothers* (1848) and *Encyclop. Brit.*, XXIV., II. (11th edit.), 990 seq. Paul V. wrote to the Shah on October 9, 1609: "Discesserat paucis ante diebus Ahali Guli Beig orator, cum Anglus Robertus Sherley alter orator pervenit. Magna populi celebritate ingressus alteraque die deductus ad Nos prae-sentibus nonnullis cardinalibus eum excepimus." He delivered your letter. "Postea privato colloquio fusius declaravit," etc. (*Epist.*, V., 136, Papal Secret Archives). The same day Paul V. wrote to the emperor Rudolph: "Omni benevolentia excepimus Robertum Sherleium Anglum, regis persarum oratorem," recommended by the emperor, "Is peracta sua apud Nos legatione proficiscitur in Hispaniam ad Philippum. . . . Et dum in Urbe



Enjoying as they did the Shah's favour, the Carmelites were able freely to preach the Gospel in Ispahan.<sup>1</sup> Paul V. supported a mission which was developing so gratifyingly by the dispatch, in 1610, of fresh workers.<sup>2</sup> In the following year he gave the Persian Christians a bishop who was likewise to act as papal envoy to the Shah.<sup>3</sup>

The protection which Abbas I extended to the Christian religion throughout his empire<sup>4</sup> raised high hopes in the Pope's breast. In a letter of June 25th, 1619, he expressed his joy that the most powerful ruler of Asia should seek the friendship of the Holy See and extend his protection to the Christian missionaries. "We pray God," the Pope wrote, "to multiply your Majesty's victories over the Turks, and to cause the seed of the Christian faith to spring up in your

mansit, curavimus ut intelligeret, quanti faciamus regis amicitiam" (*ibid.*, 137). Cf., *ibid.*, 141, the \*Letter of introduction for Sherley to the Duke of Savoy. On July 24, 1610, Paul V. wrote to the Shah that Sherley had been in Spain as ambassador, but since he was a Catholic, he could not go to England: he begs the Shah to excuse this (*Epist.*, VI., *loc. cit.*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the \*Brief of thanks to the Shah of July 22, 1610, in *Bull. Carmelit.*, III., 418.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*Brief of praise for *Presbyt. clero et populo ecclesiae s. Dei genetricis Aspahani*, June 22, 1610, in the *Epist.*, VI., 43, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. GIODA, *Botero*, III., 298. A Letter of the *Armeni Christiani della parochia di S. Maria in Ispahan* to Paul V., dated *il dì dell'Annunciata 1609*, in which they beg that an Italian priest and an envoy may be sent to them. In Archives of Propaganda, Rome.

<sup>3</sup> See the \*Brief of September 12, 1611, to "*Antonio episc. Cyrenensi quod creaverit ipsum episcopum, ut apud regem Persarum oratoris munere fungatur et curam habeat fidelium in illis partibus*," *Epist.*, VII., 115, Papal Secret Archives. Cf., *ibid.*, 116 and 276, \*Note to the Patriarch of India and to the Shah of Persia, of the same date. *Ibid.*, VIII., 167, a \*Brief of praise to the Carmelites at Ispahan, dated November 3, 1612.

<sup>4</sup> For the Shah's ferman for the Carmelites Giovanni and Melchiorre of June 5, 1615, see *Riv. illustr. d. esposizione Missionaria Vaticana* (1924), 31.

heart.”<sup>1</sup> On June 16th, 1620, the Carmelites were urged to go on with their missionary work.<sup>2</sup> The reports from Persia which came in from the Franciscans spoke of the sustained favour of Abbas I who had long discussions with the Fathers, not only on the Turkish war, but likewise on such points of Catholic teaching as were contested by the Protestants.<sup>3</sup>

For the purpose of supporting and consolidating the apostolic work of the Discalced Carmelites, Paul V., in 1608, founded a seminary in their Roman Convent near Santa Susanna. To the seminary he added, in 1612; a special higher school for missionaries which he put under the protection of St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles. In this school, and under the banner of St. Teresa, a picked body of soldiers of Christ was to receive special training. They dedicated themselves to their task by a special oath which they took in the hands of the General. The course of studies included two capital branches, viz. languages and controversy or missionary methods. In the whole Order no one surpassed the missionary fervour of Thomas of Jesus who did yeoman service in developing the school. In 1621 he founded at Louvain yet another similar seminary for the training of the heralds of the faith.<sup>4</sup> The men who came out of the Carmelite schools were possessed of the authentic missionary spirit. During

<sup>1</sup> *Epist.*, XIV., 197, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> *Epist.*, XVI., 141, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the very interesting report of the Visitor-General of “Persia and India”, on his audience with Abbas I. on June 5, 1621, in *Spicil. Vatican*, I., 99 *seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kilger's excellent study: *Eine alte Hochschule missionarischer Fachbildung*, in the *Zeitschrift. f. Missionswissenschaft.*, V., 208 *seq.*, where further details will be found about the short-lived *Congregatio S. Pauli*. As to the Seminary for Missionaries, cf. STREIT, *Bibl.*, I., 129, 145, and also the \*Avviso, December 13, 1608, in ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 131 (cf. 286). In *Barb.*, L., 151, p. 110, there is a \*study by GIOV. BATT. VECCHIETTI, *alla S<sup>ta</sup> di N.S. Paolo V. sopra la stampa della Bibbia in lingua Persiana*, Vatican Library.

the pontificate of Paul V. they did an enormous amount of good not only in Persia but in other countries as well. In 1597, Clement VIII. had established a bishopric at São Salvador, for the kingdoms of Congo and Angola. The first bishop was the Franciscan Rangel who, assisted by the powerful support of the king of Congo, Alvarus II, laboured with great success, but succumbed at an early date to the hardships he had had to undergo as well as to the unaccustomed climate.<sup>1</sup> One of the objects of an embassy which Alvarus II. dispatched to Rome in 1604, was the nomination of a new bishop.<sup>2</sup> The king chose for his envoy a kinsman of his, one Antonio Emmanuele, who spoke Portuguese and Spanish. The voyage from Brazil to Spain proved an arduous undertaking. The envoy fell ill at Lisbon. From there he journeyed to Madrid where he made a lengthy stay.<sup>3</sup> He only reached Civitavecchia at the beginning of 1608. In the course of the journey, Antonio Nigrito—so his dark complexion caused him to be surnamed—had lost all his companions by death. Arrangements had been made for his solemn entry into the Eternal City on the feast of the Epiphany, but in consequence of the unaccustomed climate he too was ailing and he had to be carried to Rome in a litter. The Pope assigned him a lodging in the Vatican,<sup>4</sup> and as his condition grew worse, Paul V. not only visited him repeatedly, but assisted him at the moment of death which occurred on the vigil of the Epiphany. A fresco in the Vatican Library records the scene. The funeral of the envoy, in St. Mary Major, assumed the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. V. BAESTEN in the *Précis Hist.*, III., 4 (1895), 473.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the letter of Alvarus II., July 13, 1604, addressed to Clement VIII., in the essay of F. COLONNA in the periodical *Roma*, III. (1925), 118.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 119.

<sup>4</sup> See the \*Avvisi of January 5 and 9, 1608, Vatican Library; MUCANTIUS, *Diarium*, in *Borghese*, t. 721, Papal Secret Archives and the letters of the Jesuits, painted by BAESTEN, *loc. cit.*, 474 seq. Cf., too, ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 6 seq., 92 seq.; Alys de CARAMAY-CHIMAY-BORGHESSE, *Belges et Africains*, Rome, 1916, 17 seq., and the essay of F. COLONNA, *loc. cit.*, 156 seq.

proportions of a solemn function,<sup>1</sup> and in the same church the Pope erected a monument to his memory which faithfully reproduces the envoy's features.<sup>2</sup>

Notice of this issue of the Congolese embassy was conveyed to Alvarus II. by the bishop of São Salvador<sup>3</sup> who, in 1609, transferred his episcopal see to Loanda. His letters give a picture of the state of affairs with which he was faced. Before all else he complains of the bad example of the Portuguese slave traders, but he also criticizes King Alvarus II., who, he says, was indeed well-meaning but inconstant.<sup>4</sup>

Paul V. did not lose sight of the Congolese realm. Under Gregory XIII., four Spanish Carmelites had worked in that country, but they soon succumbed to the climate.<sup>5</sup> In 1608, Paul V. urged the General of the Spanish Carmelites to send a fresh batch of missionaries to that country.<sup>6</sup> When two

<sup>1</sup> See, besides the sources mentioned above, *i.e.* Baesten, *loc. cit.*, Alys de Caramay-Chimay-Borghese (*loc. cit.*, 18 *seq.*), and F. Colonna (159 *seq.*), the detailed \*Avviso of January 9, 1608, according to which the ambassador was to have been buried later in the Capella Borghese *ad perpetuum honorem* (Vatican Library). According to this source, the Congregation of Rites had determined to receive the ambassador in a public Consistory, notwithstanding the opposition of Spain which held that the kingdom of Congo as well as Portugal owed them tribute.

<sup>2</sup> See A. MUÑOZ in *L'Arte*, 1909, 178, and *La Scultura barocca a Roma: L'esotismo*, in the *Rass. d'arte*, 1919, March-April, as well as the detailed account by ALYS DE CARAMAY-CHIMAY-BORGHESE, *loc. cit.*, 19 *seq.* Here we find also a reproduction of the medal commemorating the embassy and a reference to the poem by the Belgian, Justus Ryckius, addressed to Paul V., on the same subject. See, too, F. COLONNA, *loc. cit.*, 162 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> The \*Brief to the REX CONGII, October 13, 1608, giving news of the death of the ambassador is in *Epist.*, IV., 168, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> See DE PAÏVA-MANSO, *Hist. do Congo*, Lisbon, 1877, 158. Alvarus on his side was complaining of the new bishop; see F. COLONNA, *loc. cit.*, 165 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> See DE PAÏVA-MANSO, 129; BAESTEN, *loc. cit.*, 471 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> \*Brief of December 19, 1608, in *Bull. Carmelit.*, III., 397.



years later these set out for their destination, the Pope recommended them to the king of Spain, to the bishop of São Salvador and to the new ruler of the kingdom, Alvarus III., who had come into power in 1614.<sup>1</sup> The new king appointed as his Roman envoy the referendary Giovan Battista Vives, and prayed that Capuchin Friars might be sent to him.<sup>2</sup> On January 13th, 1621, Paul V. was able to inform the king that twelve members of that Order were coming, and that more would follow.<sup>3</sup>

Extraordinarily gratifying developments were reported from the mission which the Jesuit, Pedro Paez, had founded in Abyssinia, in 1603. Notwithstanding a war of succession, thanks to his tact and perseverance, the distinguished Spaniard, who preached in the Abyssinian tongue, succeeded in ushering in a new era of progress for the Christian faith in the ancient land of Ethiopia.<sup>4</sup> A decisive factor in this gratifying result was the goodwill of the Negus, Seltan Segued, who had come into power in 1607, and to whom Paez made himself indispensable by his knowledge of medicine and architecture. To this day the magnificent ruins of the castle of Gondar, which Paez built for the Negus, bear witness to the many-sidedness of the gifted Jesuit. More important still was the fact that Paez was able to act as intermediary in the difficult epistolary correspondence of the Negus with the king of Spain and the Pope<sup>5</sup>; for from Philip III. Seltan Segued hoped for military assistance in his endless wars. He was well aware that a papal inter-

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, 419 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See *Bull. Capuc.*, VII., 192.

<sup>3</sup> See *Ibid.*, 193. Cf. G. A. CAVAZZI, *Istorica descrizione de' tre regni Congo, Matamba et Angola e delle Missioni esercitatevi da Religiosi Cappuccini*, trad. dal F. Alamandini, Milan, 1690.

<sup>4</sup> See ALMEIDA, *Historia de Ethiopia*, ed. Beccari in *Rer. Aethiop. Script.*, VI., 183 *seq.* Cf. *ibid.*, I., 122 *seq.*; XI., 60 *seq.*, the reports of the Jesuits of 1607-1620.

<sup>5</sup> B. TELLEZ has already published several notes of Paul V. to the Negus (*Hist. dell'Ethiopia*, Coimbra, 1660). These have been completed by BECCARI (I., 255 *seq.*; cf. XI., 306).

vention, in this sense, in Spain would considerably further his plans and this was for him yet another incentive to favour Christianity. Paul V. entered into the Negus' plans and repeatedly intervened on his behalf with Philip III.<sup>1</sup> Nor did he forget to send his congratulations to Abyssinia after the defeat by the Negus of the savage Galla tribes.<sup>2</sup>

Prospects for Christianity rose still higher when the brother of the Negus, who was greatly esteemed by reason of his bravery, embraced the Catholic faith. Repeated disputations were held at court with the head of the Abyssinian church and its monks, the chief subject of which was the question of the divine and human nature of Christ. In these discussions the spokesmen of the monophysite heresy were no match for the vastly superior knowledge of the Jesuits. Not only the learning of Fr. Paez and his companions, but their virtuous life also and the dignity of Catholic worship, led to a great many conversions. Mission stations multiplied and the missionaries were beginning to devote their attention to the conversion of the pagan frontier tribes. Successes like these frequently raised counter currents of such violence that at times the Negus himself became hesitant. But at last, after nearly twenty years of toil, the indefatigable Paez saw his wishes fulfilled, for at the close of 1621, the Negus openly declared himself for the Catholic faith and in May, 1622, Paez received him into the Church.<sup>3</sup> With the prayer of the old man Simeon on his lips, the apostle of Ethiopia died at Gorgora, on May 20th, 1622, at the early age of fifty-seven.<sup>4</sup> Paul V. did not live to receive the news of the conversion of the Negus to which he had contributed by means of several letters.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the note of Cardinal Borghese to the Spanish nuncio, November 9, 1615, in LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengeschichte*, 89. This has been missed by Beccari in his collection which is on the whole complete.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*Brief of February 1, 1614, in *Bull. Patron. Portug.*, II., 23.

<sup>3</sup> See ALMEIDA, *loc. cit.*, VI., 353 *seq.*; 359 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, 360.

The condition of the Armenian Catholics had been in Paul V.'s mind at the time of his dealings with the Shah of Persia.<sup>1</sup> Armenians visiting Rome were always kindly received by the Pope.<sup>2</sup> Missionaries labouring in the Persian empire got in touch with Melchisedech, patriarch of Greater Armenia, and induced him to make overtures to the Holy See.<sup>3</sup> In 1610, the Patriarch dispatched an envoy to Rome in the person of Zacharias Vartabied. The latter presented to the Pope a letter written in the Armenian tongue for the translation of which recourse was had to the rector of the Armenian national church in Rome, which was dedicated to St. Mary of Egypt. In emphatic words, such as Orientals love, the letter condemned the errors of Eutyches and Nestorius, hymned the primacy of the Roman Pontiff as the sun in the Church, and ended by expressing a desire for reunion with Rome.<sup>4</sup> In his reply, dated April 28th, 1612, notwithstanding his joy at the step which the Patriarch had taken, Paul V. did not conceal the fact that, if a real reunion was to be brought about, the Armenians must give up two points which separated them from the Church and to which they had hitherto clung with great obstinacy. It had transpired that the Armenians did not mingle water with the wine at Mass and that to the hymn of praise to the Blessed Trinity—to the *trisagium* that is—they added the words: "crucified for us." The Pope also pointed out that, besides the first council, the three subsequent general councils were unknown in Armenia; for this reason he was sending him a document on the subject written during the pontificate of Clement VIII. He expressly demanded the recognition of the Council of Chalcedon and the elimination of the heretical clause of the *trisagium*. In return for the valuable gift of

<sup>1</sup> See MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 272, 317.

<sup>2</sup> See STEPH. AZARIAN, *Ecclesiae Armeniae traditio de Rom. Pontificis Primatu*, Rome, 1870, 141.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. BZOVIVS, *Vita Pauli*, V., ch. 25.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, ch. 27, where the whole of Melchisedech's letter, May 15, 1610, is translated into Latin.

which Zacharias Vartabied had been the bearer, Paul V. presented the Patriarch with a gold cross containing a fragment of the true cross and some ecclesiastical vestments. In addition he recommended the Armenian Christians to the goodwill of the Shah of Persia.<sup>1</sup>

In 1613 Zacharias Vartabied left Rome for Constantinople and from there he forwarded the Pope's letter to the Patriarch Melchisedech.<sup>2</sup> Two years passed, but no reply came. On May 28th, 1615, Paul V., in a reasoned letter to the Patriarch, stated the theological grounds which compelled him to insist on the suppression of the two above-mentioned peculiarities.<sup>3</sup> At the same time he also wrote to Vartabied, praising him for his efforts to bring about the reunion of the Armenian patriarchate.<sup>4</sup> According to Bzovius this did actually take place,<sup>5</sup> but we have no documentary evidence for the statement.<sup>6</sup> Elias, the Patriarch of the Chaldean Nestorians of

<sup>1</sup> See *Epist.*, Pauli V., VII, 361, in *Arm.*, 45, of Papal Secret Archives. The gifts for the ambassadors of Armenia are mentioned in \*Avviso of January 7, 1612, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> This appears from the \*Brief to *Zach. Vartabied*, of October 20, 1613, in which Paul V. insists again upon the necessity of a "correctio duorum errorum". *Epist.*, IX., 123, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>3</sup> See *Epist.*, X., 352 *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> \*Brief *Zachariae praelato Armenorum Perae Constantin. commoranti*: "affectum esse ingenti laetitia ex his, quae significavit de eius progressu pro correctione Trisagii et caeterorum errorum apud Armenos suos," dated V., Cal. Iun., 1615, *Epist.*, X., Papal Secret Archives. The Pope recommended Vartabied to the Rector of the Jesuits and to the French Ambassador at Constantinople; see LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 89, and *Melet.*, 335.

<sup>5</sup> BZOVIVS, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 27.

<sup>6</sup> In the *Epist.*, Pauli V., the following enclosed documents are found here: \*Brief for *Paulo Maria Cittadino, vic. general frat. s. Dominici in Armenia maiori commoranti* (since 1615; cf. *Epist.*, X., 334) ("hortatur ut perseveret in eius ministerio"), dat. May 29, 1618 (XV., 321, *ibid.*, 322 for *moderno archiep. Goano: commendat Christifideles Armeniae mai, d. ut s.*); \*Brief



Babylon, whose residence was at Mossul, seemed also resolved to establish contact with Paul V. At the beginning of September, 1610, there came to Rome, as the Patriarch's representative, the archdeacon and archimandrite of the Chaldean monks, Adam.<sup>1</sup> He submitted to the Pope a confession of faith together with a covering letter in which the Patriarch prayed that if the confession contained any error or deviation from the Roman Mother Church, the Pope would correct it. "Teach us, and we shall obey," he wrote. Adam submitted yet another special document in which he endeavoured to show that the divergences between the Chaldean Christians and the Catholics were only apparent ones. Paul V. passed on this exposition, as well as the confession of faith, for examination by his secretary, Pietro Strozzi, a learned theologian. In his answer the latter discussed in detail the errors of the Nestorians and showed that, contrary to Adam's claim, the differences were more than mere verbal ones. Nevertheless, given goodwill, Strozzi thought that an agreement could be reached. Paul V. entrusted the further examination of the matter to the commissary of the Roman Inquisition, the Dominican Andrea Giustiniani.<sup>2</sup> The Congregation proceeded with such thoroughness that Adam's stay in Rome lasted three years. During that time

for *Zach. Vartabied eccl. Armen. Constant. commoranti Praelato*, dat. March 6, 1617 ("has received his letter of October 7 and therefrom perceives his ardour for the Catholic Faith; remain faithful and carry out what you have in mind; we approve your wish to found 'Armenorum collegia' in Rome and Constantinople, but there is no opportunity for this now," Papal Secret Archives, XIV., 46).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. \**Acta legationis Babylonicae* in *Barb.*, 2690 (with the arms of Paul V.), p. 3 seq., Vatican Library. Cf., also, *Annal. Minorum*, XXV., *Quarachi*, 1886, 157 seq., 238 seq.; PETR. STROZZA, *De dogmatibus Chaldeorum disputatio*, Romae, 1617; ASSEMANI, *Bibl. orient.*, I., Romae, 1719, 543 seq.; S. GIAMIL, *Genuinae relationes inter Sedem Apost. et Assyriorum orient. seu Chaldaeorum ecclesiam*, Romae, 1902, 108 seq., 525 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BZOVIVS, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 26.

all the dogmas about which there was a divergence were subjected to exhaustive discussions,<sup>1</sup> especially those of the Primacy, the divine Motherhood, the two natures, the two wills and activities in Christ, the procession of the Holy Ghost, and the objections of Adam were examined and refuted. In the spring of 1614, a happy issue seemed to have been reached. Paul V. entrusted Adam with a letter to the patriarch in which, after praising Adam, the Pope described the discussions that had taken place between him and the Congregation. The Pontiff specified the dogmatic demands of the Holy See and stressed the fact that the divergences of the Chaldeans consisted not in words only but in facts. This letter was translated into Syrian; so was Strozzi's dissertation which Adam took with him. He was also given presents for the Patriarch, viz. a gold cross set with jewels and containing a particle of the true cross, a translation of the Gospels in Arabic, a gold chalice, a tiara and liturgical vestments and, lastly, some medical books in Arabic.<sup>2</sup> To make the conclusion of reunion even more certain, two Jesuits were assigned as companions to Adam.<sup>3</sup> In March, 1616, the Chaldean Patriarch convened his suffragans in a synod of which we have an account from the pen of Tommaso Obicini, guardian of the Franciscan Monastery of Aleppo.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile the two Jesuits who had returned to Rome towards the end of 1616 brought with them very bad news concerning the unreliability of the archimandrite Adam. There was good reason to fear that they had all been taken

<sup>1</sup> Cf. STROZZA, *ibid.*, 21 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See the Note of Paul V. of March 25, 1614, in GIAMIL, 123 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> See the \*credentials for the two Jesuits to the patriarch Elias, dated March 25, 1614, in the *Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives. Cf., too, *Synopsis*, II., 227, 267, and \**Ragguaglio della missione fatta per ordine di N.S. Paolo V. da due sacerdoti d. Compagnia di Gesù al patriarca Elia di Babilonia*, in *Barb.*, LVI., 71, p. 127 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See *Synodalia Chaldaeorum*, Romae, 1617. Cf. GIAMIL, 147 *seqq.*

in by the wily Oriental.<sup>1</sup> Fresh deliberations took place in which Cardinal Bellarmine also took part. In his memorandum he insisted on the necessity of making sure that no Nestorian views lurked behind Catholic-sounding expressions.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, on June 29th, 1617, Paul V. demanded the acceptance of a fresh profession of faith, the wording of which was as accurate as possible and which contained an explicit rejection of the errors of Nestorius.<sup>3</sup> How justified the Pope's caution was is shown by the fact that Elias' successor in the patriarchal chair openly declared himself a Nestorian.<sup>4</sup>

These embassies from the East were no doubt contributory causes of a decree in which Paul V. once again drew attention to an ordinance of Clement VIII. concerning the study of languages, especially that of Arabic, in the educational establishments of Regulars.<sup>5</sup> In May, 1613, a polyglot meeting was held in San Lorenzo in Lucina at which, in the presence of many Cardinals, pupils of the Regulars preached in various Oriental languages.<sup>6</sup> In the same year, with the encouragement of Paul V., the learned French ambassador, Savary de Brèves, published in Rome a translation in Arabic of the psalms of David and the Roman Catechism.<sup>7</sup>

With the brave mountain folk of Lebanon, the Maronites, Paul V. was on the best of terms for, as he wrote to them, they faithfully kept the Catholic faith, as a rose among thorns. Again and again the Pope sent gifts and spiritual favours to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. IUVENCIUS, V., 2, 425 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the opinion of *Bellarmin* in LE BACHELET, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 570 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See GIAMIL, 160 seqq.

<sup>4</sup> See the \*diary of their journey by the Friars Minor, Francesco and Tommaso, 1629 in *Ottob.* 2536, p. 114 seq., Vatican Library. LÄMMER has utilized this source, *Anelecta*, 43 seq.

<sup>5</sup> *Bull.*, XI., 625 seq.

<sup>6</sup> See \*Avviso, May 29, 1613, Vatican Library.

<sup>7</sup> See *Bibliofilo*, XI. (1890), 33.

this people,<sup>1</sup> and made it possible for young Maronites to pursue their studies in Rome.<sup>2</sup>

In 1606, by the hands of Capuchin missionaries, the Pope sent to the Coptic Patriarch, whose residence was in Cairo, a chalice and sacred vestments.<sup>3</sup> In 1614, a representative of the famous monastery of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai, did homage to the Pope in Rome.<sup>4</sup> Thereupon Paul V. recommended the monastery to the king of Spain<sup>5</sup> and, at a later date, also to Henry IV., at a time when the monastery was hard pressed by its wild neighbours.<sup>6</sup> France took a prominent part in the reopening, in 1609, of the Jesuit foundation in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ANAISSI, *Bull. Maronit.*, 114 seq., 117 seq., 119 seq., 122 seq., 123, 124, 125, 127.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., besides BZOVIVS, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 30, the \*notes cf. Costaguti (Costaguti Archives, Rome; see Appendix Vol. XXVI., n. 14), and the \**Tabella in Tempo di Paolo V. per le paghe da farsi dal Depositario della Camera 1619, Varia 362*, p. 16, in Propaganda Archives, Rome. *Vat.* 7413 contains: \**Victorii Scalach Accurensis Maronitae Quattuor Iesu Christi Evangel. ex Chaldeo idiom. in lat. interpretatio iussu Pauli V. expleta 1617; Vat.* 7414 (*ibid.*): *Ritualis catholici Maronit. ex Chaldeo idiom. in lat. interpretatio iussu Pauli V.*, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See the \**Brief to Marcus, patr. Alex. nat. Cophtarum*, dat. April 3, 1606. Cf. the \**Brief to the Vicarius and Secretarius patr. Alexand. Alcairi commor.*, dated April 3, 1606 (he sends his blessing by *Fr. Hieron. a Castroferretto, Felix Macerat. et Bernardin. de Appignano, ord. S. Franc. Cappuccin.*). *Epist.*, I., 505, 506, 508, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> See the \**Brief to the Archiepisc. et Abbas Montis Sinay* ("accepisse eius obedientiam sibi eius nomine per Ioachimum monachum praestitam"), dated July 26, 1614, *Epist.*, X., 61, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> \**Briefs to Philip III.*, dat. August 8, 1614, *Epist.*, X., 98. Cf. XV., B: to \**Laurentius archiep. et abbas Sinay in Arabia*, August 8, 1614 (he regrets the persecution, praises their fidelity and exhorts them to perseverance), Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>6</sup> \**Brief to Louis XIII.*, dat. July 9, 1620 (he recommends *Monachos Montis Sinay, cum inter immanis. nationes incursionibus expositi*; they are lost without money for endless ransom), *Epist.*, XVI., 135. *Ibid.*, 136. \**Brief to Iosaphat ep. et abb. Montis Sinay* (he has received his messengers and promises help), date as above, *ibid.*



Constantinople which had been destroyed by the plague during the pontificate of Sixtus V. After the death of Henry IV., Paul V. prayed the French government to hold a protecting hand over the missionaries in the Turkish capital.<sup>1</sup> The Jesuits of Constantinople devoted themselves not only to the Christians of the Latin Rite, but to those also who followed the Greek Rite. They also endeavoured, however difficult the thing was, to bring spiritual comfort to the unhappy Christian prisoners condemned to the galleys. At Constantinople, as everywhere, they opened a school in which they taught partly in Latin, partly in Greek. In time the Fathers directed their eyes towards the East. They opened a mission in Mingrelia and in Georgia where they won over one of the princes. At the time when the Armenians were praying for Jesuit missionaries, the Patriarch of Jerusalem also offered them a house in Jerusalem, on condition that they united with the Franciscans. "Thus we have a hope of establishing ourselves all over the East," we read in a report of the year 1619. With the Turks alone were the Fathers unsuccessful. Only by a great miracle could that people be converted, and if it pleased God to change the heart of the Sultan.<sup>2</sup> Paul V. repeatedly acknowledged in laudatory Briefs the good services rendered to the Catholics in Constantinople by the French embassy,<sup>3</sup> and he supported

<sup>1</sup> Cf. besides PRAT, III., 98 *seq.*, 674 *seq.*, the essays by DE MUN in the *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, LXXIV., 1903), 163 *seqq.*, and FOUQUERAY in *Études*, CXIII. (1907), 70 *seqq.*; also FOUQUERAY, *Hist. d. Jésuites*, III., 200 *seq.*, 606 *seq.* \*Some details concerning the years 1609-1616 is also found in *Cod. E 24, Boncompagni Archives, Rome*. For the Jesuit mission in the Ægean Isles (1613-1615) see IUVENCIUS, V., 2, 437. In a \*Brief of December 2, 1617, to *Gaspar Gratianus dux Naxiæ*, the latter is praised for his zeal in spreading the Faith (*Epist.*, XV.). *Ibid.*, other, similar \*Brief to the same, January 30, and March 21, 1618, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> See FOUQUERAY, in *Études*, CIII., 73 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See the \*Brief to Henry IV., March 20, 1607 (*Epist.*, II., 378), and to the ambassador Baron Salignac, March 28, 1608, and February 7, 1609 (*Epist.*, III., 443; IV., 827; cf. X., 46); Papal Secret Archives.

the Jesuit establishment in that city not only with spiritual favours,<sup>1</sup> but likewise with an annual contribution of 600 scudi.<sup>2</sup>

With the support of Paul V.<sup>3</sup> Jesuit missionaries laboured in the island of Chios. In Bosnia and Serbia they worked jointly with the Franciscans.<sup>4</sup> The bishop of the Uniat Serbs, Simeon Vratanja, received his confirmation from Paul V.<sup>5</sup> The Pope also extended his solicitude to the Christians of Moldavia and Walachia.<sup>6</sup> Catholics were still very numerous in Albania. In 1611, the archbishop of

<sup>1</sup> See *Synopsis*, II., 250; *cf.* 267.

<sup>2</sup> \**Al padre generale d. Comp. di Gesù per sovent. delli padri della missione di Constantinopoli scudi 600 moneta l'anno* (Tabella of 1609 in *Varia*, 362, p. 16, of Propaganda Archives, Rome). See also the \*notes of Costaguti (*cf.* App. Vol. XXVI., n. 14), Costaguti Archives, Rome.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* \*Notes of Costaguti, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* *Mon. Slavor. merid.*, XXIII., Zagrabiae, 1892, 342 *seq.* For Paul V.'s relations with Serbia see BALAN, *La Chiesa e gli Slavi*, 208, 246 *seq.* See also HUDAL, *Die serbischorthodoxe Nationalkirche*, Graz, 1922, 14 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Cf.* NILLES, *Kalendarium eccl. orient.*, III., Oeniponte, 1885, and *Arch. Francisc. hist.*, XVII., 498 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> See the \*Brief to the *Princeps Moldaviae and Walachiae*, November 15 and May 2 in *Epist.*, X., 150, 340, Papal Secret Archives. Rome first received more detailed news of the ecclesiastical conditions in Moldavia and Wallachia from Bernardino Quirini, then in Candia, who, having been appointed bishop of Argesch as early as 1590, was not able, owing to political conditions, to proceed to Moldavia until 1597. He settled there, in the Franciscan Monastery at Bacau, and now called himself "*episcopus Argensis et Bachoviensis*". After his death, in 1607, the bishopric of Bacau came into separate existence. Quirini's vicar, Jerome Arsengo, became bishop. He was succeeded, in 1611, by the Pole, Valerian Lubieniecki, who had had a chequered past. Thereafter all bishops of Bacau came from Poland; see EUBEL in the *Röm. Quartalschrift.*, XII., 113 *seq.* and R. CANDEA, *Der Katholizismus in den Donaufürstentümern*, Leipzig, 1917, 53 *seq.*; *cf.* 61 as to the scarcity of priests in Moldavia.

Antivari, Marino Bizzi, reported to Paul V. that there still were 350,000 Catholics among a population of 400,000. He praised their fervour but did not hide the dangers which there, as in Serbia, became increasingly threatening as a result of Mohammedan propaganda. In several districts whole villages went over to Islam, in order to escape the poll-tax.<sup>1</sup> Similar developments occurred also in Bosnia, though there the Turks were still in a minority, and notwithstanding the self-sacrificing efforts of Pietro Salinate, bishop of Sofia.<sup>2</sup> Pressure on the part of the civil power, and other circumstances, particularly the lack of suitable priests, resulted in a general retrogression of the Christian population.<sup>3</sup>

It would be impossible to conceive a sharper contrast to the oppression of Christianity in the Ottoman empire than the situation of the Church in the colonies of the New World.

<sup>1</sup> See \**Relazione della visita fatta da me, Marino Bizzi, arcivescovo d'Antivari nelle parti della Turchia, Albania e Servia alla S. di N.S. Paolo V.*, January 30, 1611, in *Barb.*, LVIII., 13, Vatican Library. Cf. RANKE, *Serbien und die Turkei*, im 19. *Jahrh.*, Leipzig, 1879, 539 *seq.*, and RACKI in the periodical *Starine*, 1888.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the "Relazione (drawn up in 1611), de le cose operate in servizio di Dio e della S. fede cattolica da fra Pietro Salinate, vescovo di Sofia, visitatore apost.," in *Ottob.* 2416, p. 927 *seq.* Pietro Salinate reports that he has been in places in Bosnia where no bishop had been before for fear of the Turks, and has confirmed many; he has converted many Paulicians at Tarnovo and built numerous churches. "Ho quietato molte e pericolose liti fra quelli popoli. Ho levato molti abusi et abominevoli usanze fra quelli genti. Ho tenuto più volte li sacri e altri ordini secondo il s. concilio di Trento et de la S. Romana Chiesa." He visited his diocese and suffered much from Turks and schismatics, more particularly from the Greck schismatic archbishop of Sofia, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See GIOV. BATT. MONTEALBANO, *Relazione a 22 di Maggio 1625 del suo viaggio in Constantinopoli con la descrizione di mille cose mirabili*, in *Cod.*, 6190, p. 132-167, State Library, Vienna. Cf. RANKE, *Die serbische Revolution*, Hamburg, 1829, 233 *seq.*

In 1611, Giovanni Botero estimated the number of Catholics in those countries at ten millions.<sup>1</sup> In Mexico, in Central and Southern America, the Church was solidly established and enjoyed the support of the State. Her wealth, which was due to the liberal donations of the Hispano-Portuguese patrons<sup>2</sup> and which made possible the erection of numerous sumptuous baroque churches,<sup>3</sup> was in many instances so great that abuses began to creep in thus early. Among the missionaries who sailed for the New World there were those who were not impelled by the loftiest motives. With many of them a desire for adventure, liberty, or lucre, outweighed zeal for the salvation of souls. Among the religious there were not a few who, on the interesting voyage to the West Indies, stopped without necessity on the way, or deviated from the direct route. In consequence, on July 8th, 1609, Paul V. issued an ordinance by which all regulars were commanded, under pain of excommunication, to keep to the direct route to the destination assigned to them by their Superiors.<sup>4</sup> On December 7th, 1610, the Pope felt compelled to proceed against certain bishops who had been named by the Spanish crown for West Indian sees but who delayed their departure without adequate grounds though they claimed their revenues whilst they were still in Spain.<sup>5</sup> The existence of grave abuses is hinted at by a decree of May 7th, 1607, which forbids the clergy of the West Indies to indulge in any kind of trade.<sup>6</sup> It was likewise a wholesome measure of Paul V.'s, when he

<sup>1</sup> See GIODA, BOTERO, III., 324.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. DE HERRERA, *Descripcion de las Indias occidentales*, Madrid, 1601, 80 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf., besides Gabelentz, *Die mexikanischen Barockkirchen*, in the *Zeitschr. f. bildende Kunst*, LX. (1926-7), 112 *seq.*, especially CUEVAS, *Hist. de la Iglesia en México*, III., 36 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See *Bull.*, XI., 571 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid.*, 657 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> See P. FRASSO, *De regio patronatu Indiarum II.*, Matriti, 1775, 331 *seq.*; C. MOREL, *Fasti novi Orbis ed ordinat. apost.*, Venetiis, 1776, 349 *seq.*; *Bull.*, XI., 405 *seq.*, 500 *seq.* Cf. also LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 330 *seq.*



decided to suppress all convents in America which could not support at least eight religious.<sup>1</sup>

The interests of the pastoral ministry were served by an ordinance affecting the secular clergy of Mexico,<sup>2</sup> as well as by the numerous alterations which Paul V. effected in the organization of the American hierarchy. To Truxillo, Arequipa, Guamanga, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Durango and Pernambuco he gave their own bishops, whilst La Plata became an archbishopric.<sup>3</sup> Among the American bishops appointed by Paul V. there were many men of outstanding virtue and zeal for souls. Among them must be mentioned Bartolomeo Lobo Guerrero, who having succeeded, in 1609, the saintly Turibius in the archiepiscopal see of Lima, battled indefatigably against pagan superstitions and, in 1613, held a diocesan synod; Domingo de Valderrama, a Dominican who founded a seminary after the Tridentine pattern in his residence of La Paz<sup>4</sup>; Alonso de Peralta, bishop of La Plata, who died in the odour of sanctity<sup>5</sup>; Alonso de la Mota, since 1607 bishop of Pueblo de los Angeles, whom the natives also held in the highest esteem<sup>6</sup> and the bishop of Merida, Gonzalo de Salazar, of the Order of St. Augustine, famous for the holiness of his life.<sup>7</sup> The archbishop of Mexico, Juan Perez de la Serra, received several laudatory letters from Paul V.<sup>8</sup> Among the missionaries engaged in evangelizing

<sup>1</sup> See C. MOREL, *loc. cit.*, 355.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bull.*, XII., 294 *seq.*, 212 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See GAMS, 139, 145, 150, 159, 160, 165, 510; C. MOREL, 353, 356, 365. Cf. BZOVIVS, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 25; *Bull.*, XII., 9 *seq.*, 271 *seq.*; CUEVAS, *Hist. de la Iglesia en México*, III., 107 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See the interesting \*report, "*Status rei ecclesiasticae diocesis Limensis ac Pacensis in Indiis occidentalibus de Peru*," in Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. GAMS, 160.

<sup>6</sup> See *ibid.*, 163. Cf. RANKE, *Osmanen und spanische Monarchie*, 351.

<sup>7</sup> See GAMS, 166.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the \*Briefs of 1615 (*Epist.*, X., 328) and 1618, May 11 (*Epist.*, XV.), Papal Secret Archives. The \*Briefs with regard to the introduction of the *Caeremoniale Romanum* in Mexico are in *Bull.*, XII., 471 *seq.*

the New World, the Pope supported in a particular manner those of the Dominican<sup>1</sup> Franciscan<sup>2</sup> and Jesuit Orders.<sup>3</sup> In 1612 these were joined by the Capuchins. In that year the first four members of that Order left Paris for Brazil; in 1614 more Fathers set out for America, and in 1618, the ruler of Congo also made a request for some Capuchin Fathers.<sup>4</sup> The American missionaries by no means confined their labours to the territories which were already Christian; they were indefatigable in their efforts to carry the banner of the Gospel further afield. Boldly they penetrated into unknown regions in order to bring to the savage natives the blessings of Christian civilization. In their eagerness they shrank from no privation, not even from the Martyrs' death, which as a matter of fact a number of them underwent.<sup>5</sup>

In Canada, in 1611, the French Jesuits Biard and Massé inaugurated a mission among the savage Indian tribe of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. RIPOLI, *Bull. ord. Praed.* V., *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. IZEGUIRRE, *Hist. de las Misiones Franciscanas en oriente del Peru, 1610-1921*, Lima, 1921.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Synopsis*, II., 243, 249, 260, 266; \*Brief to Philip III., May 1, 1607 (*commendat seminarium Salmanticense Soc. Iesu*, as numbers are insufficient for India), *Epist.*, II., 431; \*Brief to archiepsc. Limens. et Platens. in Indiis, June 27, 1608 ("commendat patres Soc. Iesu"); \*Brief to episc. Cilae, Cuzetti et Pacis in Indiis, d. ut s. (same content); \*Consil. regis cath. in Quito & in Panama, d. ut s. (praises their protection of the Jesuits); \*Comiti de Govera, gubernat. prov. Chiquites, d. ut s. (Praise of the Jesuits); to \*Didacus de Velasco, gub. Cartaginis in Indiis d. ut s. (praise of the Jesuit); *Epist.*, IV., 29, 30, 32, 33, 41, 42, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. MARCELLINUS DE PISA, *Annal. hist. ord. min. S. Francisci qui Capucini nuncupantur*, III., Lugduni, 1676, 3 seq., 27 seq., 232. Detailed notes, mostly from letters in \**Narratione delle cose della India (America merid.) occorse alli padri Capuccini della provincia di Parigi mandati per convertire i poveri selvatici infedeli nella terra et provincia Brasiliana*, in *Borghese*, I., 28, p. 424 seq., Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ASTRÁIN, V., 326 seq.

Hurons, but it was soon destroyed by English Protestants.<sup>1</sup> In 1615 French Recollects took up the work once more. Among them Father le Caron particularly distinguished himself by his zeal for souls as well as by his linguistic studies. Since 1619, French Franciscans were devoting themselves to the arduous task of evangelizing the Abnakis of Nova Scotia.<sup>2</sup> The foundation of the Jesuit Colonies in Paraguay, the peculiarities of which have been the object of such lengthy discussions, likewise falls into the pontificate of Paul V. The system hitherto followed of mobile missionaries, had not proved successful in those parts. For this reason, when Aquaviva erected the new Province of Paraguay,<sup>3</sup> the far-seeing General of the Society urged the foundation of strong and stable missionary centres after the model of similar essays in Brazil.<sup>4</sup>

The permanent settlement, freedom and isolation of the Indians who had up till then escaped enslavement was the essential idea of the new system, and as such it was in direct opposition to the system of *commendas*, hitherto followed by the Spaniards, with its consequent oppression of the natives. Philip III.'s guarantee of support made it possible to break the resistance of the selfish colonists. The king ceded to the Jesuits the strip of territory east of the Paraguay, as far as the Uruguay. Here they founded the first of their famous

<sup>1</sup> Cf. PRAT, III., 106 seq.; DE ROCHEMONTEIX, *Les Jesuites de la nouvelle France*, I., 57 seq.; SPILLMANN, II., 372 seq.; HUGHES, *Hist. of the Soc. of Jesus in N. America*, II., London, 1917, p. 213; FOUQUERAY, III., 584 seq.; cf. W. HANNS, *Die Verdienste der Jesuitenmissionare um die Erforschung Kanadas, Ein Beitrag zur Entdeckungsgeschichte, 1611-1759* (Diss.), Jena, 1916, printed also in the *Mitteil der geographischen Gesellschaft zu Jena*, XXXIII-XXXIV (1915-16).

<sup>2</sup> See HOLZAPFEL, 527; JOUVE, *Les Franciscains et le Canada*. I.: *L'établissement de la foi 1615-1629*, Quebec, 1915.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. IUVENCUS, V., 2, 737 seq.; PASTELLS, *Hist. de la Comp de Jésus en prov. del Paraguay*, I., Madrid, 1912, 120 seq.; ASTRÁIN, IV., 631 seq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. HANDELMANN, *Gesch. von Brasilien*, Berlin, 1860, 78 seq.

Reductions, that is, agricultural colonies of convert Indians, exclusively and independently administered by the missionaries, who were themselves immediately subject to the crown. For some time this original creation had to contend with numerous obstacles, of which the greatest were the predatory irruptions of the slave hunters, the so-called Mameluks. In course of time, however, the Reductions developed into an institution of world-wide renown.<sup>1</sup>

As in their struggle for the freedom of the Indians, so did the Jesuits win imperishable renown by their efforts for the mitigation of the cruel lot of the negro slaves. Two resplendent patterns of Christian self-sacrifice on behalf of these unfortunates shed lustre on the reign of Paul V.; namely Alonso de Sandoval and Peter Claver. Burning with heroic charity, these two Spaniards, the latter of whom was sprung from an ancient noble family of Catalonia, had devoted themselves since 1615, with admirable constancy, at Cartagena in New Granada (the Colombia of to-day) to the service of the unhappy negroes who were annually sold in thousands in the great slave market of that town for work in the mines and in the plantations. As soon as a ship arrived, they would hasten to the harbour, accompanied by an interpreter, in order to provide the blacks who, as a rule, were in a most pitiable condition, with food and raiment. The sick were their special care, but they also assisted those that were whole, comforted them and endeavoured to win them over to Christianity. Claver, who had dedicated himself to the service

<sup>1</sup> See PASTELLS, I., 157 seq.; HUONDER, in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, IX.<sup>2</sup>, 1464 seq. With regard to the monograph of GOTHEIN: *Der christlich-soziale Staat der Jesuiten in Paraguay* (Leipzig, 1883), cf. *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXV., 439 seq. We shall return later to this greatly misunderstood creation of Catholic missionary zeal, for which, conclusive information has now been supplied in the works of P. HERNANDEZ (*Misiones de Paraguay. Organización social de las doctrinas guaraníes ae la Compañía de Jesús*, 2 vols., Barcelona, 1913), and ASTRÁIN (V., 519 seq.). See, too, M. FASSBINDER, *Der "Jesuitenstaat" in Paraguay*, Halle, 1926.



of the negroes by a special vow, in many respects even surpassed his master Sandoval who had exercised his apostolate of charity at Cartagena since 1607.<sup>1</sup> Claver's love and tenderness towards the poor slaves knew no bounds. He personally cleansed and bandaged the dreadful sores with which many of them were covered, procured medicaments and stood by their sick bed with words of comfort on his lips. Whilst, like an angel of compassion, he did all he could to induce the negroes to lead a moral and Christian life, he likewise did his utmost to induce their hard-hearted masters to exercise greater mildness in the treatment of their slaves. Claver stuck to his wearisome task at Cartagena for a period of forty years, all the time waging an unending war against cruelty and selfishness on the one hand, and ignorance and degradation on the other. When, in 1654, he succumbed to his exertions, the number of those he had baptized with his own hand was computed as exceeding three hundred thousand. What was done by this one man, who was truly justified in styling himself "the perpetual slave of the negroes", to mitigate the worst of all social evils, is written in letters of gold in the history of mankind.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the reports in ASTRÁIN, IV., 597 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Sommervogel has abridged the older biographers of Claver; among the more recent, cf. HOLZWARTH (Tübingen, 1885); FLEURIAU (Paris, 1751; in German, SCHEKLE, Augsburg, 1st ed., 1833, 2nd, 1873); SOLÀ (Barcelona, 1888); VAN AKEN (Gand, 1888); HÖVER (Dülmen, 1888, <sup>2</sup>1905); ASTRÁIN (V., 479 *seq.*), and G. LEDOS (Paris, 1923).

## CHAPTER IX.

### PAUL V.'S EFFORTS FOR THE PACIFICATION OF WESTERN EUROPE AND ITALY.—RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN SWITZERLAND AND DISTURBANCES IN THE GRISONS.

HENRY IV. entertained great hopes that the election of Paul V. would help him to realize his ambitious schemes. They were no more destined to be fulfilled than were the fears with which the elevation of the Borghese Cardinal filled the cabinet of Madrid.<sup>1</sup>

The French efforts to win over the new Pope to a neutrality hostile to Spain, in fact to an even closer adhesion to France's anti-Habsburg manœuvres, could not make an impression on a man like Paul V., for the Pope was resolved—a fact that did not escape the French ambassador—to govern solely for the good of Christendom, without seeking his own advantage, and with absolute impartiality.<sup>2</sup> To this end peace between the Catholic Powers was indispensable, and Paul V. considered it a sacred duty to collaborate with all who worked for its maintenance.<sup>3</sup> If Henry IV. nevertheless hoped that the Pope would support his plans, his expectation was based, on the one hand, on the political inexperience of the new pontiff, and, on the other, on the prestige which France had recovered in Rome. The last conclaves had

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 38. Cf., also, the report of FR. M. VIALARDO, Rome, June 4, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. COUZARD, *Ambassade*, 392.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the \*Brief to *Petrus comes de Fuentes, status Mediol. gubernat. ac capit. gener.*, August 6, 1605, which says: "Hortamur te, ut in posterum omnem suspicionem omnemque timorem rerum novandarum in Italia ex hominum animis evellere . . . studeas," as we "Italiae pacem prae omnibus rebus desideramus", *Epist.*, I., 117, Papal Secret Archives.

shown the enormous change that had taken place in this respect.

The general favour which Henry's astute envoy, Béthune, had won in Rome was clearly revealed at the latter's departure (June 6th, 1605), for the event became a triumph for France.<sup>1</sup> The Pope, who had learned to esteem Béthune whilst still a Cardinal,<sup>2</sup> showed him extraordinary honour at his departure.<sup>3</sup> Although he also gave tokens of his favour to the Spanish ambassador, the duke of Escalona, at this very time, and granted him, for Philip III., an extension of the heavy ecclesiastical revenues deriving from the *Cruzada*, the *Subsidio* and the *Excusado*,<sup>4</sup> the Spaniards were nevertheless very jealous for they could not help feeling that their ascendancy in Rome had declined enormously. For this result their ambassador, the duke of Escalona, a man of no capacity, was not a little to blame. In 1606 Escalona was superseded by the marquis of Aytona.<sup>5</sup>

With a view to maintaining and increasing France's prestige in Rome, Béthune's successor, Charles de Neufville, *seigneur* of Alincourt and son of the minister Villeroy, made magnificent and sumptuous preparations, such as had never been witnessed

<sup>1</sup> Cf. COUZARD, *Ambassade*, 405.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*Brief to Béthune, December 11, 1605 ("dum cardinalem gerebamus" and as Pope "dexteritatem tuam abunde cognovimus"), *Epist.*, I., 381, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>3</sup> Every town in the Papal States through which Béthune came, had instructions to show him the greatest honour; cf. GOUJET, I., 26. The French Nuncio, Maffeo Barberini, was ordered to make use of the advice of this statesman, who was truly devoted to the Holy See; see the \*Brief to Béthune, December 11, 1605, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> June 22, 1605; see \**Indice de las concesiones que han hecho los Papas de la Cruzada, Subsidio y Excusado*, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 9.

<sup>5</sup> For the incapacity of the duke of Escalona cf. our account, Vol. XXIII., 155 *seq.*; for his hostility towards the Spanish Cardinals see the \*Report of Giulio del Carretto, October 22, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

on similar occasions. He announced his intention to spend forty thousand écus over and above the money put at his disposal by the king.<sup>1</sup> By displaying the utmost pomp, Alincourt hoped to promote a happy solution of the difficult problems which Henry IV. had set him. Among other things there was question of paving the way for an alliance between the smaller Italian States and the Pope, which would be aimed against the Spaniards.<sup>2</sup> Whilst these plans of Henry IV. were maturing, the struggle between Paul V. and Venice broke out which, at one time, threatened to lead to an alliance between Rome and Madrid. As a consequence of the selfish and untrustworthy attitude of the Spaniards, Henry IV. escaped that peril; in fact it became even possible for him to play the rôle of a mediator. Nevertheless, the compromise of June, 1607, which was due to the skill of Cardinal de Joyeuse, was of a kind that satisfied neither Venice nor the Pope.<sup>3</sup> If his mediation in the struggle with Venice added to Henry's prestige, he also lost many sympathies thereby. In Rome this became very evident; it was generally believed that Paul V. had begun to lean rather more towards the Spanish side.<sup>4</sup> None the less, since Charles Emmanuel, duke of Savoy, seemed to draw ever closer to him, Henry IV. hoped that the anti-Habsburg league of the Italian States, which he had fathered, would be further strengthened by the Pope's adhesion. However, it soon became apparent that neither Paul V. nor the republic of St. Mark could be induced to enter into any definite agreement. In September, 1608, the French envoy in Venice reported the existence of a possibility of a close alliance with Spain of the Pope, Venice and Tuscany.<sup>5</sup> Even so when a month later Henry

<sup>1</sup> See PHILIPPSON, *Heinrich IV.*, Vol. I, 357. For the Instruction to Alincourt, see MERCIER-LACOMBE, *Henri IV. et sa politique*, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. GINDELY, *Rudolf II.*, Vol. I., 116.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 172 *seq.*, 179 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See PHILIPPSON, III., 55, 271, 276.

<sup>5</sup> See Letters and documents for the history of the Thirty Years War, II., 567.



tentatively suggested to Venice the formation of a French-Italian offensive alliance, with a view to an attack on Spanish Lombardy, he imagined that he could secure the Pope's concurrence by the promise of a principality for the Borghese family.<sup>1</sup> Calculations of this kind were based on a complete misunderstanding of Paul V.'s character. The duke of Escalona knew by experience how little the Pope was susceptible to wiles of this kind. In 1605, when he wished to secure a certain marriage dispensation, the duke made a promise of territorial possessions for the Pope's nephew. To this suggestion the Pope indignantly replied that he was not prepared to sell the Supreme Pontificate.<sup>2</sup> Nor was there any foundation for the opinion which prevailed at the French court, namely, that Paul V.'s feelings were wholly pro-Spanish. The Borghese Pope was very far from considering the resumption of the political game in which so many of his predecessors of the Renaissance period had become involved. Though politically inexperienced, it nevertheless never entered his mind still further to strengthen the Spanish preponderance in Italy with which all Italians bore most reluctantly, and which the Holy See itself had cause to resent, owing to the constant encroachment of Spain on the sphere of the Church. But if the idea of a complete surrender to Philip III. was far from his mind, that of falling in with the dangerous political aspirations of Henry IV. was no less so. For Paul V., the fulfilment of his duty to the Church and the protection of Christendom stood in the front line, and to this end he sought to eliminate with complete impartiality, the differences between the two chief Catholic Powers which had so long warred against each other, to the very great injury of the Church.<sup>3</sup> Like Clement VIII. he too hoped for a reconciliation of France and Spain by means of a matrimonial alliance. Already by the end of 1605 he took tentative steps towards

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. FOSCARINI in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Francia*, I., 308; PHILIPPSON, III., 567.

<sup>2</sup> See COUZARD, *Ambassade*, 391.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. GINDELY, I., 114.

this end. Owing to the jealousy with which both cabinets watched the conduct of the Holy See, he had to act with the utmost caution, lest he should appear to each of the two Powers as an agent of the opposite party.

In April, 1606, the Jesuit, Père Coton, for whom Henry IV. cherished a high regard, suggested a double alliance between the houses of Habsburg and Bourbon; namely, that of the Dauphin with the eldest daughter of Philip III., and that of the Spanish heir with the eldest daughter of Henry IV.; the latter would have for dowry the succession to Navarre, and the Spanish Infanta the provinces of Flanders. However the Spanish cabinet could not be induced to approve an arrangement the realization of which was greatly desired by the king of France. The discussions came to an end in July, 1607. Nevertheless Paul V. went on making propaganda in favour of an understanding between Paris and Madrid by means of matrimonial alliances.<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Barberini who, during his term of office as nuncio in Paris, had devoted his energy to the elimination of the Franco-Spanish rivalry,<sup>2</sup> rightly interpreted the feelings of Paul V. by making a supreme attempt towards that end shortly before his departure. In September, 1607, on the occasion of the recent birth of Don Carlos, Barberini suggested a matrimonial alliance between that prince and Christina, third daughter of Henry IV. The shrewd French monarch fell in with the proposal with remarkable alacrity even though he modified it somewhat in his own interest. Don Carlos and Christina were to receive from Spain the Low Countries as an hereditary fief, though in practice with complete independence, whilst the northern Provinces of the Netherlands were once more to be united to the southern ones. There is no need to explain in detail

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the valuable study of HILTEBRANDT: *Rom. Preussen und Jülich-Cleve*, in the *Quellen u. Forsch. des preuss. Instit.*, XV. (1913), 312 *seq.*, where for the first time the reports of the nunciature are fully made use of.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. NICOLETTI, *Vita di Urbano VIII.*, tom I., *Barb.*, 4753, p. 195 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

the advantages for France of a combination of this kind. To render the plan acceptable to the Pope, Henry IV. pointed to the advantages that would result from it for Christendom. The sole cause of France's jealousy of Spain was the latter's presence in Flanders; if this obstacle were removed the king's only interest would be to defend, in conjunction with the ruler of Spain, the heritage of the young couple, and to fight the Dutch Calvinists who, even in the interior of France, gave Henry trouble enough.<sup>1</sup> All this Villeroi explained in detail to Roberto Ubaldini who, in 1607, succeeded Barberini in the French nunciature. An alliance without a territorial dowry, as had so often been demonstrated, would have no tangible effect, whereas the marriage of Don Carlos and Christina, with Flanders as dowry, would lead to a strong and lasting friendship between France and Spain.<sup>2</sup> In order to win over to his plan the childless Governor-General of the Low Countries, the archduke Charles, Henry IV. held out to him the perspective of his support in a question which, in view of the peace pourparlers with the Dutch, that fervent Catholic prince had particularly at heart, namely, complete freedom for the Catholics of Holland to practise their religion. In reality, however, the king of France, whose aims were purely political, had no intention whatever to tackle that difficult question. Notwithstanding the pressing exhortations of the Pope, the French delegates at the peace conference definitely took the side of the intolerant Dutchmen.<sup>3</sup> The grave misgivings with which the Holy See viewed the latest proposals of Henry IV. were fully justified. The worth of his promise to help the Spaniards, at a later date, to overthrow Holland, was shown by the conclusion, in January, 1608, of

<sup>1</sup> See PHILIPPSON, *Heinrich IV.*, Vol. III., 126 *seq.*, who shows clearly, against PERRENS (*Les mariages espagnoles*, 40 *seq.*) that Barberini was merely the originator of the idea of the marriage, whereas the plan of erecting a Flemish "secondogeniture" proceeded from Henry IV.

<sup>2</sup> See the Report of UBALDINI, January 20, 1608, in PERRENS, *Mariages*, 63 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See PHILIPPSON, III., 132 *seq.*, 137 *seq.*

an offensive and defensive alliance between France and the United States of the Netherlands. At Madrid this double-dealing roused such indignation that the Spanish envoy in Rome was instructed to lodge a strong protest with the Pope against the conduct of Henry.<sup>1</sup> For all that, the Spanish cabinet was resolved to go on with the marriage treaty. On March 30th, the Spanish Privy Council examined the French proposals which had been transmitted to it from Rome at the beginning of February, and, on the advice of Lerma, decided to send as envoy to Paris a person of eminence and distinction. The choice fell on a Grandee of Spain who was also a distant relation of the French king, namely the Marquis of Villafranca, Don Pedro de Toledo. It was thought that this haughty and rough warrior, with his bluff speech and manner, was best qualified to force the king to bow to Spain's conditions of a marriage which, as was generally known, Henry was most anxious to be arranged. Toledo was instructed to open the discussions with a strongly worded protest against the Franco-Dutch alliance and only to mention the marriage plan if Henry himself broached it. Preparations on a purposely grand scale were made for the embassy and the presents which Toledo was to offer to the French king were ostentatiously displayed; they were magnificent Andalusian horses, together with costly harness. In order to draw general attention to the embassy, its dispatch was purposely delayed. The idea was to raise a suspicion in the minds of Henry's confederates that the king of France was irrevocably resolved to become reconciled to Spain, even though it meant abandoning his Dutch allies. The extent to which the scheme proved successful is shown by the anxiety which seized the duke of Savoy, the German Protestants, the English, and, most of all, the Dutch. To a Dutch protest the French envoys replied that marriages of this kind could take place between the children of powerful kings; none the less they were empowered to assure them that their ruler would not enter into an alliance with any

<sup>1</sup> See HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, 322 *seq.*, 324 *seq.*



prince in the wide world if by so doing he would injure the Dutch State and his long-standing friendship with its people.<sup>1</sup> This assurance was honestly meant, but it by no means allayed the fears of the Dutch. Not for a moment did Henry contemplate a loosening of his alliance with Holland seeing that it was for him a guarantee of the effective conclusion of the marriages and the separation of Flanders from Spain.<sup>2</sup>

All the efforts of Paul V., through Ubaldini, to induce the French king to renounce his alliance with the Dutch Calvinists proved in vain.<sup>3</sup> Whereas at the beginning of March, 1608, Henry still acknowledged the promise made by him to help the Spaniards to subjugate the Dutch, and excused its withdrawal by pleading that Rome had failed to send him a reply, at the end of the same month he openly told the nuncio that under no circumstances would he go to war with the powerful Dutchmen.<sup>4</sup> The Bourbon fancied that somehow he would induce the Spaniards to fall in with his ideas, notwithstanding his dealings with Holland. He sought to allay the fears of the Madrid cabinet by every means in his power. Once the two dynasties were allied by double marriage ties, and the separation of Flanders from Spain was effected, everything else would follow of its own accord, for then the ruler of France would of necessity greatly desire that the Dutch should be subject to his daughter and son-in-law; in this way, too, the Catholic religion would be re-established in those provinces.<sup>5</sup> It would seem that, as a matter of fact, Henry was prepared to promise, by a secret clause, to assist Spain

<sup>1</sup> See PHILIPPSON, III., 146 *seq.*, 160 *seq.*; PERRENS, 113 *seq.*; HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, 325 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> HILTEBRANDT, 326.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. HILTEBRANDT, 326 *seq.*, who rightly contradicts PHILIPPSON (III., 144, 150), and shows that Paul V. and Ubaldini did not thereupon take sides because they were Spanish-minded; "they simply represented the proper self-interest of the Curia in attempting to restrain the 'most Christian king' from supporting the heretical Dutch."

<sup>4</sup> See SIRI, I., 468 *seq.*; PERRENS, 48, 94; HILTEBRANDT, 327.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. SIRI, I., 482 *seq.*; PERRENS, 95.

in the conquest of Holland as soon as he could feel assured on the one point which, in his mind, outweighed everything else, namely the separation of Flanders from Spain.<sup>1</sup> As early as March 4th, 1608, Ubaldini had reported to Cardinal Borghese as follows: "I perceive that though Villeroi refuses to say so openly, he nevertheless wishes it to be understood that the king would accept the marriages and the separation of Flanders even with the condition attached to them of an alliance against Holland."<sup>2</sup> Consequently the logical policy of papal diplomacy in Madrid should have been to press for an abandonment of the demand for an immediate rupture with Holland. If Paul V. failed to do so, it was because in his anxiety to remain neutral he was afraid lest he should give the Spaniards an impression that he was a champion of the French if, in addition to the partition of Flanders, he also suggested to them the shelving of the resolve to subdue the Dutch Calvinists.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile, on July 19th, 1608, Toledo arrived at Fontainebleau, the summer residence of the king of France. He was escorted by a numerous suite. This fact confirmed Henry in his opinion that the Spaniards were in earnest and sincerely meant to accept his proposals. His very first confidential talk with Toledo, on July 21st, completely disillusioned him. Toledo was a complete novice in the diplomatic craft. With soldierly directness he made straight for the main point, viz. the rupture of the Franco-Dutch alliance. There ensued some very painful and heated discussions. When Henry sought to give a friendlier turn to the conversation by inquiring which marriages Toledo was empowered to negotiate, the latter answered that though the Pope's proposals in this matter had met with a favourable reception in Spain, he himself was neither commissioned nor empowered to negotiate any marriage whatever! Ubaldini could scarcely fail to realize that after such a beginning there was little prospect of a

<sup>1</sup> See HILTEBRANDT, 330 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, 331, A. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, 332.

successful mission. None the less he decided to play the part of an intermediary.<sup>1</sup>

When Paul V. learned of the turn affairs had taken, his surprise was all the greater as he had entertained high hopes for the success of the matrimonial transactions.<sup>2</sup> To these hopes he had given expression on the occasion of the first audience of the marquis de Brèves, the successor of Alincourt, July 21st, 1608.<sup>3</sup> His surprise was as great as his annoyance when, on August 5th, Brèves informed him of the rough manner in which Toledo had begun a mission fraught with such possibilities for the good of Christendom. The Pope showed very great excitement. Toledo's statement that it was Henry who had proposed the marriage he qualified as nothing less than impudent, since he was in a position to testify before the whole world that Cardinal Barberini and he, the Pope, for the good of Christendom, had suggested the discussions in question. For the rest, Paul V. expressed a hope that his skilful Parisian envoy would succeed in steering Toledo into different channels as well as in pacifying the king, whose irritation was fully justified. He trusted the ruler of France and promised to urge Philip III. and the archduke Albert to make peace with the Dutch as speedily as possible, so long as they guaranteed the free practice of the Catholic religion.<sup>4</sup>

With a view to giving a better turn to the pourparlers between Spain and France, Paul V., on August 22nd, 1608, proposed to the French envoy to transfer the discussions to Rome where Brèves and Aytona would be able to conduct them under his own eyes and with better prospects of success. Henry IV., however, mistrusted Paul V. and would not agree

<sup>1</sup> See PHILIPPSON, III., 165 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.

<sup>3</sup> See SIRI, I., 514 *seq.* By \*Briefs of July 22, 1608, Paul V. expressed to the French king his satisfaction at the dispatch of Brèves (*Epist.*, IV., 72, Papal Secret Archives). The instructions for Brèves, in *Notices et extraits de la Bibl. du Roi VII.*, 2 (Paris, 1804), 288 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See SIRI, I., 516 *seq.*; PERRENS, 43, 64, 135, 142.

to the suggestion. Ubaldini's efforts yielded no result though he applied all his diplomatic skill to the discovery of a middle course between the French and Spanish proposals.<sup>1</sup> Paul V., who until then had entertained a strong hope of a happy solution of the question, now begun to fear that his desire of a rapprochement between France and Spain would be thwarted by the resistance of Henry IV. and that French support would strengthen the Dutchmen's determination to reject the Spanish demand for the free practice of the Catholic religion in the territory of the federated Netherlands. In order to allay the misgivings and the annoyance of the Pope, and for fear of forfeiting his goodwill, the French king had recourse to all the petty tricks of which he was a consummate exponent. Thus the nuncio in Paris was overwhelmed with attentions.<sup>2</sup> For the same reason Cardinal Gonzaga, duke of Nevers, was dispatched to Rome as the king's special envoy. His mission was to do homage to the Pope in Henry's name. The ceremony was carried out with great pomp on November 27th, 1608.<sup>3</sup> It came as a bitter disappointment to Paul V. that the proposed marriages, from which he hoped for a close rapprochement between France and Spain, had no better result than to drive those two countries still further apart.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SIRI, I., 531 *seq.*; PERRENS, 134, 147 *seq.*, 153, 163; PHILIPPSON, III., 188 *seq.*, 190 *seq.*, 193 *seq.*; HILTEBRANDT, 332.

<sup>2</sup> See PHILIPPSON, III., 216 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. GOUJET, I., 215 *seq.*, 220; M. ROUVET, *Entrée à Rome de Charles de Gonzague*, Nevers, 1895, and *Une ambassade à Rome sous Henri IV.*, Nevers, 1900; *Maur. Bressii nobilis Delphinati, regii ad Paulum V. oratoris oratio habita a. 1608, die 27 Nov.*, published in Rome, 1608. At Gonzaga's return, Paul V. gave him a \*Brief for Henry IV., December 15, 1608 (*Epist.*, IV., 270, Papal Secret Archives). For the duke's stay in Rome and the gifts given him by the Pope, cf. the \*Avvisi of November 19, December 6, 12, and 26, 1608. On his return journey from Naples, the Duke halted again at Rome; see \*Avviso of January 10, 1609, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> For the vain efforts of the indefatigable Ubaldini, to bring about a reconciliation between France and Spain, see PHILIPPSON, III., 195 *seq.*, 209 *seq.*; HILTEBRANDT, 332.



The Pope's annoyance was increased by a fresh dispute with Venice in which the Spanish and the French ambassadors sought to mediate, each in his own way and for his own selfish end.<sup>1</sup> To all this must be added the circumstance that the twelve years' truce which, with the help of French mediation, was concluded between Spain and Holland, on April 9th, 1609, at Antwerp, contained no clause in regard to freedom for the practice of the Catholic religion. Thus the Catholics of Holland, who constituted more than half the population of the country, were left a prey to further persecution by the Calvinists. In the treaty, Spain not only renounced all claims to protect the Dutch Catholics, but recognized the independence of the united provinces of Holland and granted them the right to trade with all overseas countries which were not immediately under Spanish suzerainty.

This shameful truce with Holland was a deep humiliation for Philip III.: it was a revelation of the decline of Spain as a world power—a decline which thereafter nothing could check. This fact was at last realized even by the politically inexperienced Pope whom Henry IV., with his wonted duplicity, had deceived in regard to the rôle played by him in the transaction. Time and again the king succeeded in dispelling Paul V.'s misgivings by a semblance of agreement with Rome's intentions.<sup>2</sup> The excessive optimism of the beginning vanished completely. "At one time," the Pope remarked in September, 1609, "the Spaniards maintained their position by arrogance. At present they have lost that manner. They are the object of universal contempt and what respect they still commanded has been completely forfeited through the Dutch armistice by which they themselves owed to their helplessness."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. GOUJET, I., 239 *seq.*, 245; ROTT, *Henri IV.*, p. 430 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. PHILIPPSON, III., 227 *seq.*, 236 *seq.*, 239 *seq.*, 245; ROTT, *Henri IV.*, p. 430 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See the report of the French ambassador Brèves, in Rome, September 16, 1609, in PERRENS, 207.

Meanwhile, in consequence of the death, on March 25th, 1609, of the childless John William of Jülich-Cleve-Berg, political tension became so acute that the most perilous complications were to be feared. Once again war threatened between France and Spain, as well as a most grievous injury to the cause of Catholicism in the North-West of Germany and in the Low Countries.

A number of claimants competed for the inheritance of the Lower-Rhine duchy, the possession of which was of the utmost importance from the political, strategic and ecclesiastical point of view. In accordance with the constitution of the empire, Rudolph II. decreed that until the question of succession had been decided, the government of the territories should be carried on by the widowed duchess and her counsellors, under the supreme direction of imperial plenipotentiaries. Heedless of this decree, two of the Lutheran competitors, viz. the Elector John Sigismund of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine, Philip Louis of Neuberg, seized the principality which, at least outwardly, was still Catholic though in matters of religion it had long been undermined by the new teaching which the weak-minded John George had allowed to penetrate into his territory.<sup>1</sup> The Elector of Brandenburg hoped for foreign help—for the assistance, that is, of Holland, England, and France. He claimed British assistance in the name of the interests of the Netherlands, the Protestant religion and common liberty. This "German" prince begged the French king for "effective help" inasmuch as none of the other claimants "could compare with the house of Brandenburg as regards traditional affection for France."<sup>2</sup> Henry IV. was only too glad of such an opportunity for meddling in the internal affairs of Germany as well as for leaguering himself with its Protestant princes for the purpose of preventing this territory on the Lower Rhine

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the judgment of Cardinal Paravincini in his Note to Rudolph II., Rome, November 29, 1608, in *Briefen und Akten*, VI., 524.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II., 231 *seq.*

from getting into the power of the House of Habsburg. He promptly assured the Elector of Brandenburg of his assistance, advising him at the same time to begin by placating the count of Neuburg. As early as June, 1609, Brandenburg and Neuburg came to terms as to a provisional joint government of the territories they had seized. Thereupon the emperor threatened Brandenburg and Neuburg, the so-called "princes in possession", with the ban of empire, at the same time charging the archduke Leopold to occupy the territories in his name. These the emperor intended to bestow upon the Elector of Saxony who also had a claim to them. On July 23rd, the archduke Leopold succeeded in occupying Jülich, the chief fortified place, but in view of the small forces at his disposal, it was very doubtful whether he would be able to hold the position.<sup>1</sup> The decision of the whole question lay so completely with Henry IV. that the Cardinal Secretary of State, Borghese, could write to the nuncio in Paris that peace and war were in the hands of the King of France.<sup>2</sup>

As soon as he had learnt of the death of the duke of Cleve, Paul V. had sent an urgent request to the Emperor Leopold II., to the Elector of Mayence and to duke Maximilian of Bavaria, not to suffer the territories, temporarily without a head, to fall into Protestant hands.<sup>3</sup> When it transpired that the French king favoured the settlement of non-Catholic princes on the Lower Rhine, the Paris nuncio, Ubaldini, was instructed to deter the king from such a policy, and to press on him the interests of Catholicism.<sup>4</sup> Ubaldini preached to deaf ears.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 625 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Note of September 1, 1609, published by HILTEBRANDT, in the *Quellen u. Forsch. des preuss. Instit.*, XVI. (1914), Heft 2, S. 71 seq., who overlooked the fact that the letter had already been printed in full in LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengeschichte*, 76 seq.

<sup>3</sup> The \*Briefs of April 18, 1609, in REINDL, *Der Anfang des Streites über die Jülicher Erbfolge*, Munich, 1896, 81 seq. Cf. V. KYBAL, *Jindřich IV. a Evropa v letech, 1609 a 1610*, Prague, 1911, 57 seq.

<sup>4</sup> See the instructions of Borghese in HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, XV., 334, A. 3.

If he pointed to the strengthening of the French Huguenots which must inevitably result from Henry's conduct, he was told that it would be even more dangerous if the duchy of Jülich were to fall into the power of the Spaniards.<sup>1</sup> If he dwelt on the injury which would surely be inflicted on Catholicism in the duchy itself if Brandenburg and Neuburg were to get it into their hands the king would tax the nuncio with exaggeration; besides, he alleged, the princes in question had promised not to introduce any changes in religion; that he, the king, would not prevent the emperor from looking after Catholic interests, but he was determined not to allow religion to be used as a cloak for the political aims of the house of Habsburg.<sup>2</sup> The attitude of his counsellors did not differ from that of the king. When Ubaldini complained of the assistance which France gave to the Protestant pretenders, Villeroi made counter-accusations against the action of the nuncio of Cologne who was said to have exhorted the Estates of Jülich and Cleve to remain loyal to the house of Habsburg. Ubaldini replied that all that the nuncio had done was to stand up for Catholic rule in Jülich and Cleve; the Holy See had the concord of the Catholic Powers quite as much at heart as the extirpation of heresies. The chief source of all evils, Ubaldini declared, was the jealousy of the Catholic Powers which blinded them to such a degree that they would rather have a whole province fall into Protestant hands than allow even one town to get into the power of a rival. France would be the very first to experience the harm caused by every fresh innovation in matters of religion. Eventually Villeroi came back to his earlier proposal, that of an amicable settlement of the Jülich dispute by means of a Franco-Spanish marriage.<sup>3</sup>

Such a solution was in complete harmony with the views of Paul V. who, from the first, had but one aim in mind in

<sup>1</sup> See the Report of Ubaldini of April 14, 1609, *ibid.*, 334.

<sup>2</sup> See the Report of UBALDINI, of July 7, 1609, *ibid.*, XVI., 63 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, of July 21, 1609, *ibid.*, 65 *seq.*



the whole affair, namely the well-being of the Church. To this end it was just as imperative to prevent the outbreak of a fresh war between the two chief Catholic Powers as it was to save the duchies of the Lower Rhine from passing into Protestant hands. The Pope was indifferent as to which of the various claimants the rich inheritance might eventually fall to: his one anxiety was that he should be a Catholic.<sup>1</sup> In his eagerness for a happy settlement, the Pope had more than once spoken in this strain to Brèves, the French envoy in Rome,<sup>2</sup> and he had also sent instructions to this effect to the Paris nuncio.<sup>3</sup> If at first Paul V. favoured a decision of the dispute by the emperor whose intention it was to bestow the duchies on a Catholic prince, though not one of the house of Habsburg, it was because he hoped to preserve those territories from Protestantizing influences and at the same time to satisfy Henry IV. In this respect his calculations miscarried for the Protestant princes acted promptly and seized the territory. As for the emperor, he had neither the power nor the will to take a decisive measure. Maximilian of Bavaria also hesitated. The French king turned a deaf ear to all the representations of the Pope whilst he jealously watched lest there should be any increase of the power of the emperor or the Spaniards. If he could not secure the heritage of the Lower Rhine for France, he unhesitatingly preferred its passing into the hands of the Protestants rather than those of a Habsburg claimant.<sup>4</sup>

Notwithstanding the studied impartiality of the Pope, Henry was for ever afraid lest the Curia should swerve towards his opponents. To prevent this he spared neither astute

<sup>1</sup> See HILDEBRANDT, XV., 336, 347, to whom belongs the credit of being the first to bring out this circumstance.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the report of Brèves, in *Briefen und Akten*, II., 573 seq., 575 seq., 585 seq. The editor, M. RITTER, has overlooked the fact that most of the letters had been published by GOUJET, I., 262 seq., 270 seq. (In the last reference, read "September 14" instead of "August 14".)

<sup>3</sup> See HILTEBRANDT, XV., 347, A. I.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 348.

representations, nor offensive and threatening remarks. Brèves, the French ambassador in Rome, roundly told Paul V. that he ought to look for nuncios who depended wholly on him and not such as served the king of Spain better even than his own envoys.<sup>1</sup> Brèves even endeavoured to make the Pope believe that the policy of France, in the Jülich question, was really in the interests of the Church's liberty, for the union of the duchies to Spain would increase that State's power to such a degree that the Popes would be reduced to being no more than the chaplains of the Spanish king.<sup>2</sup> When in the autumn of 1609 Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld set out for Rome, to receive the red hat, he was commissioned to remind the Pope, in energetic terms, "of his duties as the impartial and common father of all Christians," and to tell him quite unequivocally that even if he were eventually to favour the Spanish plans in regard to Jülich, that action would not prevent the king of France from supporting the interests of the two princes in possession. If the Pope mentioned the injury that would accrue to the Church, the Cardinal was to point out that the Elector of Saxony, whose claims had the support of the emperor, was also a Protestant. There was no question whatever of religion; the whole thing was an attempt to secure the triumph of those who were least entitled to it over those whose claim was the strongest. The king was not at all averse to peaceful means, but when an attempt was made to turn these purely worldly disputes into a war of religion, His Majesty would be compelled to take risks in common with his friends, and he would do so with as much magnanimity and determination as he had shown on former occasions.<sup>3</sup> A month later the

<sup>1</sup> See *Briefen und Akten*, II., 592.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 575 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> \**Instruction pour le card. de la Rochefoucauld*, October 16, 1609, in *Cod.*, 10, 450, of the Bourgogne Library, Brussels; an extract in PHILIPPSON, *Heinrich IV.*, III., 359 *seq.*; and in MERCIER DE LACOMBE, *Henri IV.*, p. 514 *seq.* The imposition of the red hat followed on January 23; the "closing of the mouth"

French ambassador in Rome received similar instructions: If the Pope, so he was told, turned the conversation to the question of Jülich, he was to bring pressure to bear on him by insisting, in the most forceful manner, on the king's will in this matter. "If I find," so the instructions dated November 29th declared, "that people are not straight with me, or that they seek to deceive me, I shall act on behalf of my friends and allies and in defence of their righteous cause, with as much energy as I have ever shown, since, thanks be to God! I possess the courage and the strength as well as the means to give them adequate support."<sup>1</sup>

In the given situation there seemed to remain but one way, one that the tireless Ubaldini had pursued for some time already, namely that of settling the question of Jülich amicably by means of a Franco-Spanish marriage. A fresh proposal by the indefatigable nuncio, about the middle of November, was to the effect that the French king, with the consent of Spain as well as that of the emperor, should buy a strip of the Jülich inheritance bordering on the Spanish Netherlands and bestow it as her dowry upon his daughter Christina whom it was proposed to marry to Don Carlos. This plan met with so favourable a reception not only in Paris but in Madrid also, that there seemed to be every prospect, through the mediation of the Pope, of settling the dispute by this means.<sup>2</sup> However, a fresh complication occurred before the Pope could do anything in the matter.

A criminal passion of the almost sexagenarian French king for the fifteen year old wife of the prince de Condé threatened

on January 27, 1610; the "opening of the month" on February 1. (\**Acta Consist.*, Vatican Library.) For the Cardinal's negotiations cf. G. DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, *Le card. François de La Rochefoucauld*, Paris, 1926, 103 seq.

<sup>1</sup> *Letteres missives*, VII., 798 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See *Briefen u. Akten*, II., 482 seq.; PHILIPPSSON, III., 394 seq. Cf., for the marriage plans, the detailed evidence of HILTEBRANDT, which bears out the statements of RITTER, *loc. cit.*, XV., 337-345.

“ to set the war ball rolling ”. In order to shelter the princess from Henry’s ceaseless pursuit, Condé took her to Brussels, on November 29th, 1609.<sup>1</sup> The affair now assumed great political importance inasmuch as Henry feared lest his nephew, Condé, should put himself at the head of all the discontented elements in France and that Spain should use him as a tool against himself, for the prince was the next heir to the throne after Henry’s sons by his marriage with Marie de Medicis and the legitimacy of these was called in question by many people. To the frenzy of love, to which fuel was added by the sentimental letters of the light-headed and vain princess whom the governor, archduke Albert, refused to surrender, there were now added political and dynastic interests, all of which combined to inflame the warlike disposition of the king. When Prince Christian of Anhalt, the real founder of the Protestant Separate League of the Union, and the most determined opponent of the Habsburgs, came to Paris in December, as ambassador of the Palatinate, he found Henry prepared to turn the little war for Jülich into a mighty struggle against the power of the house of Habsburg. On January 22nd, 1610, the king explained his plan to the Dutch ambassador: it was to make a sudden attack on Spain from three different points. Henry conducted similar negotiations with the German Protestant princes and with the ambitious duke of Savoy. However, these discussions, owing to mutual distrust, proved exceedingly arduous and failed to yield really satisfactory results. The alliance concluded with the crafty Savoyard in April, 1610, “ was not fully worked out in all its details and stood in need of expansion through the adhesion of other Italian States.” As to the use of the modest offer of the Protestant Union, Henry would only announce his decision after he had assured himself of the concurrence of Holland. Here also his hope of a definite alliance proved abortive; as for England and Venice, in that quarter Henry met with a lukewarmness that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *D'Aumale, Hist. d. princes de Condé II.*, Paris, 1864; HENRARD, *Henri IV. et la princesse de Condé*, Bruxelles, 1885.



must have given him food for much thought.<sup>1</sup> None the less, the danger of the outbreak of a big war was growing, for the extensive warlike preparations of Henry were met with counter-armaments by the emperor, by Spain and by the Catholic princes of Germany.<sup>2</sup>

Henry IV. did not fail to realize the risks he was taking both for himself and for his beloved France. Consequently, even in the midst of his preparations, he was still undecided, whether or no to attempt the venture. In April the duke of Epernon summed up the state of the king's mind in these words: "We want it and we want it not; we do it and we do it not." Henry's uncertainty was increased by the weakness of the archduke Albert who, in order to avoid war, granted a free passage to the army whose object it was to drive his brother out of Jülich. In these circumstances the French king might well cherish the hope that he would succeed in compelling the Spaniards, by diplomatic pressure alone, to comply with his demands.<sup>3</sup>

Ever since the appearance of these complications Paul V. had been indefatigable in his efforts to prevent a conflict between the two principal Catholic Powers. Even though, for reasons we can understand, he refrained from examining the details of Henry's unworthy love intrigue, he nevertheless did his utmost to bring about a reconciliation between Condé and the king. In his endeavours for a peaceful solution of the Jülich-Cleve question, he went as far as he could go. War, he was convinced, was the greatest of evils; hence he was prepared to consent to a temporary occupation of the duchy by the Protestants if thereby a peaceful settlement could be arrived at.<sup>4</sup> Above all the Pope sought to use his influence

<sup>1</sup> See RITTER, II., 329, and PHILIPPSON, III., 432 *seq.* With regard to Venice see especially the researches in archives by HÖFLER, *Heinrichs IV. Plan, dem Hause Habsburg Italien zu entreissen*, Prague, 1859.

<sup>2</sup> See PHILIPPSON, III., 451 *seq.*, 457 *seq.*; RITTER, II., 330 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See CORNELIUS, in *Münchener Hist. Jahrbuch für 1866*, S. 64, and HILTEBRANDT, XV., 347.

<sup>4</sup> See HILTEBRANDT, XV., 349 *seqq.*

on Henry himself. In a Brief of January 22nd, 1610, he urgently pressed him to preserve the peace by pointing to the dangers of war.<sup>1</sup> The tireless Ubaldini made similar representations. The task was not a light one. Again and again Henry insisted that the affair of the Jülich heritage was a political, not a religious question; did not the emperor himself favour the claims of the Lutheran Elector of Saxony? The concessions for the protection of the Catholics on the Lower Rhine, which Rudolph II. might obtain from that pretender, he himself could secure just as easily from Brandenburg and Neuburg—on this point he could give the Pope his word as a king. Ubaldini countered this reasoning by pointing out that even if such was not his intention, Henry would still injure the Catholic religion, because his support would give to the Protestant princes the power and the opportunity to proceed not only against the neighbouring principalities but also to oppress the Catholics of the duchies. How could the king prevent these things, seeing that experience was there to show that no Protestant prince tolerated the Catholic religion in his territory? For these reasons the Pope could do no other than to approve and to praise the Catholic League which was being formed in Germany.<sup>2</sup>

The French Cabinet did its utmost to restrain Paul V. from extending his support to the archduke Leopold and from participating in the Catholic League. It greatly dreaded such an intervention of the Pope, all the more as already in August, 1609, when the Spanish ambassador had depicted to him, in the most vivid colours, the plight of the Catholics of Austria, the Pope had gone so far as to declare that he would help with all the money he possessed if there was question of using steel against the heretics.<sup>3</sup> On mature reflection,

<sup>1</sup> See the \*Text in Appendix No. 3, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> See the Note of Ubaldini of February 16, 1610, published by HILTEBRANDT, XVI., 2, 73 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See the report of Castro of August 9, 1609, in GINDELY, *Rudolf II.*, Vol. II, 53. Cf. the \*Brief to the archbishop of Trier, of August 30, 1609, in the *Epist.*, V., 95, Papal Secret Archives.

however, the Pope could not help seeing that, in view of the weakness of the Catholic party in Germany, a war of religion would be a desperate risk, one which the Jülich heritage was not worth.<sup>1</sup> Towards the end of November, Paul V. assured the French ambassador, Brèves, of his eagerness for a peaceable solution of the affair of Jülich. Brèves rejoined that this statement was contradicted by information he had to the effect that His Holiness was working for an entente against the princes in possession, in conjunction with the emperor, Spain, the archduke Albert and the Catholic Electors, and that he had promised half a million scudi to archduke Albert who had been chosen as head of the league. Paul V. gave the envoy to understand that he was not so liberal as that with the goods of the Church; all that was true in the report was that the ecclesiastical princes of Germany did discuss the creation of a league; this he could not dissuade them from doing, but the only contribution he would make would be his prayers.<sup>2</sup> However, the Pope's waiting policy became more difficult when, at the close of 1609, an embassy from the three ecclesiastical Electors and a representative of Maximilian of Bavaria, Giulio Cesari Crivelli, earnestly begged for financial assistance for the league.<sup>3</sup> When the Spanish envoy, Francisco de Castro, added his prayers to the request, the Pope promised an annual contribution of 200,000 ducats.<sup>4</sup> For all that, the negotiations of the deputies of the league did not prosper in accordance with their wishes; in the end all they obtained was some indefinite promises.<sup>5</sup> Though he praised their intentions, Paul V. made no secret of his fear of the emperor's jealousy when the latter discovered that he had been left out of the Catholic league; as for monetary

<sup>1</sup> See HILTEBRANDT, XV., 347 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See the Report of Brèves in the *Briefen und Akten*, II., 596.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. WOLF, *Gesch. Maximilians*, I., Bd. II., 487 *seq.*; *Briefen und Akten*, VII., 183, 252.

<sup>4</sup> See GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 64.

<sup>5</sup> See the report in *Briefen und Akten*, VII., 281 *seq.*, 371, 404, 410; VIII., 415 *seq.* Cf. also KYBAL, *Jindrich IV. a Europa v letech 1609 a 1610*, p. 156 *seq.*

assistance, the exhaustion of the papal finances made it very difficult. The clever counter-action of the French ambassador clinched the matter, for he successfully instilled the suspicion into the mind of the careful and parsimonious Pontiff that under the cloak of religion, the league, as well as Maximilian, were pursuing selfish interests. Brèves began by representing to the influential Cardinal Lanfranco that the Spaniards were anxious to see the Pope at the head of the league in order to make of him a tool of their ambitious plans, and, in the event of his committing himself still further, to empty his treasury, notwithstanding their protestations to the contrary. The French envoy made similar representations to the Pope who retorted that he had no thought of putting himself at the head of the league; however, should a war of religion break out, he would come to the rescue of the German Catholics by levying a tenth from the Italian clergy.<sup>1</sup> At the same time Brèves sought to win over the Cardinal Secretary of State, Borghese, who was in receipt of an annual pension from France, for the concurrence, by the Holy See, in his king's anti-Spanish intrigues in Italy, by pointing out how favourable the occasion was for securing the kingdom of Naples for the house of Borghese.<sup>2</sup> Brèves even dared to make similar insinuations to the Pope himself. The occasion was propitious, he explained in the first days of February, 1610, for the people of Naples were stretching out their hands towards someone who would rescue them and the Italian princes eagerly longed to shake off the foreign yoke; yet the Pope was not doing as much as he might. He ought to give more thought to his posthumous reputation!<sup>3</sup>

As a matter of fact the ferment in Naples was strong enough. And as in that city, so over all Italy, resentment against the Spaniards was rising. In Rome itself there prevailed strong resentment because of their usurpations in

<sup>1</sup> See *Briefe und Akten*, III., 497 seq., 509. Cf. GOUJET, I., 181.

<sup>2</sup> See *Briefe und Akten*, III., 498.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 502.



the Church's own domain.<sup>1</sup> Hence it was not altogether impossible that the French instigations would get a hearing. The Spanish envoy, Castro, was so much afraid of such a result that he counselled his sovereign to keep the Pope in check by giving him cause to fear Spain's entering into a league with the Roman princes.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, in spite of all Brèves' efforts to induce the cautious Pontiff to swerve from the path of neutrality, his hopes in this respect were frustrated. Even though Cardinal Borghese lent an ear to the French insinuations, at least for a time, he lacked sufficient influence to force a decision of any kind. In his higher policy Paul V. acted with complete independence; he had no intention whatever to fall in with France's anti-Spanish plans in Italy, for he was fully aware that the interests of the Church imperatively demanded the maintenance of peace.<sup>3</sup> Hence nothing was to be feared as much as warlike complications of any kind. On the other hand, what the Calvinists and the revolutionary agitators hoped to win by means of a war is revealed by their confidential statements. "Our

<sup>1</sup> We hear of the Spaniards in \**Animadversiones circa electionem regis Rom. a. 1619, 26 Maii conscriptae*, that they had, "giurisdittione ecclesiastica tanto debilitata che li vescovi et prelati vengono stimati et rapazzati come lor cappellani," *Cod.*, X., VI., 30, p. 153, of Casanat. Library, Rome.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*report of Castro, used by GINDELY (*Rudolf II.*), February 4, 1610, Archives, Simanca, 993. Probably Castro drew up the \*"*Lista de los barones y gentiles hombres Romanos que se muestran aficionados a el servicio de S. M<sup>d</sup> y otros que se pueden gañar*". According to this, the following were in receipt of Spanish pensions: "el condestabile de Napoli de casa Colonna, Don Virginio Ursino duque de Brachano, el duque de Sermoneta, el Marques Pereti, el duque de Poli de casa Conti, Maria Frangipani, Phelippe Caetano, and Juan Pedro Cafarelo." Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, III., 9.

<sup>3</sup> PHILIPPSON, who can hardly be said to be favourable to Paul V. (in his *Rudolf II.*, Vol. III., 479 *seq.*) judges, nevertheless, that "there is nowhere any trace that the Pope acquiesced in the ambitious, though quite passing, anti-Spanish ideas of Cardinal Borghese".

hope," Sarpi wrote, "is in war alone; from it alone can come our salvation." By this the sacrilegious priest meant not only the downfall of the house of Habsburg, but likewise the end of the papacy. The imagination of one of his accomplices already pictured "the Roman See, that great beast, nearing its end in Italy". Du Plessis-Mornay, too, cherished an assured confidence that the impending war would bring about "the destruction of that Babylon". "A single spark," he boasted, "will set all Europe on fire".<sup>1</sup>

Paul V., fully conscious of the seriousness of the situation, most earnestly remonstrated with the French ambassador against a war the consequence of which would be a fresh menace to Christendom on the part of the Turks as well as an increase of protestantism. All his nuncios, he declared, had been instructed to work for peace with the emperor, the king of Spain, and the archduke Albrecht. Let Henry wait for the result of these efforts. Brèves replied that his sovereign could not abandon the rightful heirs of Jülich, nor could he suffer that, under the protection of the Spaniards, Condé should give himself out as the legitimate heir to the crown. The Pope ought to intervene in this affair and bring the Spaniards to reason; it should, however, be done at once, for Henry would not put off the war and so give his enemies time to prepare.<sup>2</sup>

On April 24th, 1610, Paul V. thoroughly discussed with Cardinals Lanfranco, Borghese, Millini and Barberini both the situation and the measures with which they might cope with it. It was decided to send two extraordinary nuncios to the kings of France and Spain respectively, with mission to dissuade the two monarchs from opening hostilities, so as to give the Pope time for a friendly mediation. The next day the decision was submitted to a consistory of the Cardinals. Brèves had instructed Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld to oppose the dispatch of a nuncio to France; but to Spain, as the aggressor, a nuncio should be sent with mission to induce

<sup>1</sup> See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 635.

<sup>2</sup> See *Briefen und Akten*, III., 525, 528.

her to make reparation for her misdeeds. After the consistory, Brèves made representation in this sense to the Pope himself, and that in the most pressing manner. At the very least let him dispatch the nuncio destined for Spain fourteen days before the French one, so that the latter may find the Spanish answer on his arrival. Paul V. replied that though he had no firm assurance from the cabinet of Madrid, he nevertheless felt sure that he would obtain from it such concessions as would ensure peace ; in particular he hoped for the extradition of Condé. Besides this Brèves demanded that the archduke Leopold should evacuate Jülich, that the dispute over the succession to the inheritance be submitted to arbitration, and that negotiations be started with a view to reimbursing his sovereign for his expenditure on armaments.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst the Pope, by the dispatch to France of the archbishop of Nazaret, Domenico Rivarola, and of the archbishop of Chieti, Ulpiano Volpi, to Spain<sup>2</sup> was working for a peaceable settlement of the quarrel between the two chief Catholic Powers which was taking an increasingly threatening turn, Ubaldini exerted himself to the same end in Paris. From Henry he always had to hear the identical assertions ; that the question of Jülich was one of politics ; that religion had nothing to do with it. It so happened that at this very moment the king was in a position to make capital out of a statement of Rudolph II. which had given great pain to the Pope. Henry also laid stress on the commission with which he had charged his envoys to Schwäbisch Hall ; they were instructed to demand from Brandenburg and Neuburg a promise not to molest the Catholics of Jülich-Cleve. Though by these means Henry sought to convince the nuncio that his support of the two Protestant princes would secure rather

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, 528.

<sup>2</sup> See SIRI, *Memorie*, II., 228 *seq.*, where the Instruction for Rivarola is printed. Cf. KYBAL, *loc. cit.*, 263 *seq.* The \*Brief concerning the sending of Rivarola to Cardinal Joyeuse is dated April 29, 1610 (*Epist.*, V., 386, Papal Secret Archives). The monograph of A. POLITIS (*Lettere*, Venezia, 1624, 305) shows how highly the Pope thought of U. Volpi.

than injure Catholic interests, Ubaldini let him see that he was by no means reassured; the history of the last thirty years had proved only too clearly what efforts and promises of this kind were worth. Ubaldini also pointed out that if the king expected the Curia to believe that he really had at heart the best interests of the Catholic religion, he must credit the Pope with similar intentions and not look upon the protection which the Holy See extended to the German Catholics as a favour shown to the house of Habsburg. As on former occasions, Ubaldini strove once again to make an impression on Henry by pointing to the dangerous repercussions of a war on the internal condition of France where a good deal of discontent still subsisted among the nobility and where the Huguenots were only waiting for an opportunity to extort further concessions, and thus to bring about the creation of a State within the State. All was in vain: Henry repeated that he was irrevocably resolved to join his army on May 15th.<sup>1</sup> After this audience, which took place on April 14th, Ubaldini presented himself once more before the king, on the twenty-seventh, in order to hand to him a Brief in which the Pope again exhorted Henry to refrain from war. When the king reaffirmed his pacific intentions, Ubaldini replied that his majesty was joking, for the facts betrayed all too clearly his determination to break with Spain. To a fresh recital of the grounds which made for the preservation of peace, the king gave the cynical answer that there was no way out except the immediate surrender of the princess of Condé, the submission of her husband, or his expulsion from Spanish territory. To leave nothing undone, Ubaldini strove in this audience to induce a change in the king's mind by considerations of high politics. Even if Henry's experience in the art of war, as well as his good fortune, so Ubaldini

<sup>1</sup> See the report of *Ubaldini* of April 14, 1610, partly published by SIRI (*Memorie*, II., 183 *seq.*) and in its entirety by HILTEBRANDT (XVI., 2, 77 *seq.*). For Henry IV.'s demand at Schwäbisch Hall as to the safeguarding of Catholics in Jülich-Cleve, see SIRI, II., 73 *seq.*



argued, were to give him the victory over the well-known valour of the Spanish infantry, it would be a barren victory inasmuch as his own allies, namely, the Dutch and the English, would eventually prefer to see Flanders under Spanish rather than under French domination. In a supreme appeal to the political sense of the king, Ubaldini uttered the prophetic words: "The common interests of the European Powers demand the maintenance of equilibrium between France and Spain to such a degree that they would never suffer the destruction of one of these two States, and they would always ally themselves with the weaker of the two."<sup>1</sup>

On May 7th, 1610, the nuncio handed to the king yet another letter from the Pope, explained the purpose of the mission of Barberini and Rivarola, and made a supreme effort to turn Henry from his purpose of proceeding against Jülich by marching through Belgium.

Henry once again denied that this would lead to a rupture with the archduke Albert as well as with Spain. As a proof of his pacific disposition he allowed Ubaldini to see the text of the request to archduke Albert for free transit through Jülich. The king raised no objection to the mission of Rivarola though he roundly declared that after May 20th the envoy would find him in camp, for the forward march of his army could be no longer postponed. None the less another delay did occur and Ubaldini hoped that Rivarola would find Henry still in Paris.<sup>2</sup> However, on May 14th the dagger of Ravailiac put an end to the life of the fifty-seven year old king, the most popular ruler that France ever had. Thus were all schemes upset.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the report of *Ubaldini* of April 27, 1610, *ibid.*, 81 *seq.* See, too, the communication of Ubaldini and Coton to PECQUINS in the latter's note of April 28, 1610, in D'AUMALE, *Condé*, II., 542.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ubaldini's* report of May 12, 1610, in HILTEBRANDT, XVI., 86 *seq.* Cf. SIRI, II., 240 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> The assassination was the deed of a semi-madman. That it did not proceed from French or Spanish nobles is clear from PHILIPPSON, III., 483 *seqq.*; see also *Forsch. u. Mitteil. zur Gesch. Tirols*, II., 65. Equally there are no solid proofs that

At Brussels and at Madrid the news of the death of Henry IV. was felt like the lifting of a heavy weight. "The

"fanatical priests" as RANKE still thought (*Franz. Gesch.*, II., 143) were responsible. Nor had the Society of Jesus any share in the crime, as the Huguenots and other enemies of the Jesuits made out. Cf. the detailed examination of DÜHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*, 409 *seqq.*; and FOUQUERAY, III., 238. Moreover, even Voltaire defended the Jesuits against such a suspicion, and so outspoken an enemy of the Society as J. HÜBER (*Der Jesuitenorden*, 161) is of opinion that "it cannot be shewn that the Jesuits were involved in the plot and it is not even likely". A critical examination of the facts has discredited, as fiction, the account handed down by Sully of Henry IV.'s great plan completely to rearrange the map of Europe in the French interests; to annihilate the power of the house of Habsburg, and to build up a league of the Christian nations against the Turks. Cf. CORNELIUS in the *Münchener Hist. Jahrb.*, 1866, I *seqq.*; RITTER, in the *Abhandl. der Münchener Akademie Hist. Kl.*, XI., 3, I *seqq.*; PHILIPPSON, III., 348 *seqq.*; *Westeuropa*, II., 482 *seq.*; ROTT, *Henri IV.*, s. 448 *seq.* KÜKELHAUS (*Der Ursprung des Planes vom Ewigem Frieden in den Memoiren des Herzogs von Sully*, Berlin, 1893) shows in his very instructive investigation, how historical tradition came to believe in the idea that such fantastic plans, on the part of Henry IV., existed; and how they rested on a tissue of lies, by which the ambitious Sully, who had been set aside from the Regency, desired to establish clearly, for the benefit of posterity, his own merits and importance. This view, which is borne out, on the whole, by CH. PFISTER, who submitted to a critical examination the different versions of Sully's Memoirs (see *Rev. Hist.*, LVI., 337 *seqq.*). H. PRUTZ (*Die Friedensidee*, Munich, 1917), completes the data of Kükelhaus and shows the probability that Sully or his secretary, knew the ideas which Jean Bodin, the first protagonist of a Peace Policy, developed in his six books *De la République (universelle)*, published 1577. Cf. also W. SOBIESKI, *Henry IV. wobec Polski e Sweczyi, 1602-1610*, Krakow, 1907, 189 *seq.* PLATZHOFF also (*Ludwig, XIV.*, p. 8) describes the "great plan" of Henry IV. as "an invention and falsehood". "The sober political realist on the French throne did not give himself up to such fantastic dreams; he pursued a policy of uncompromising French nationalism."

news," so Cabrera wrote in his diary, "is looked upon as a miracle wrought by Heaven itself, seeing that it occurred at a time when on all sides one saw nothing but armaments and everybody wondered where the king and his army would strike the first blow. I trust that this death will give Christendom a prolonged period of peace."<sup>1</sup> Paul V. spoke in similar terms to the Belgian envoy.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, in the consistory of May 26th, he lamented the fact that so richly endowed a ruler should have met with such an end, and recommended the soul of the deceased to the prayers of all. "May God grant to his successor," the Pope concluded, "to resemble the holy king St. Louis, not in name only but in conduct also."<sup>3</sup> The nuncio was at once instructed to see to it that Louis XIII. was given a Catholic education and was preserved from all contact with the religious innovators.<sup>4</sup> To the French hierarchy the Pope recommended the preservation of tranquillity within the realm, for this was of the greatest importance for the progress of the restoration of religion.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See PHILIPPSON, III., 487 seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 486 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See \**Acta Consist.*, Vatican Library. For the funeral ceremonies in Rome, see the report of Brèves, in the *Notices et extr. des MSS. de B. du Roi*, VII., 2, Paris, 1804, 327 seq.; and the \**Avviso* of May 29, 1610, Vatican Library. Cf. the account of Borghese to Ubaldini, May 28, 1610, in LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 80. NARDUCCI (*Corrisp. dipl. d. corte di Roma per la morte di Enrico IV.*, in the *Atti d. Accad. dei Lincei* 4. Serie, Rendiconti III., 1 (1887), 157 seq.), published the accounts of Borghese to Ubaldini and to the nuncios in Spain and Prague, without noticing that a part had already been published by LÄMMER (*Zur Kirchengesch.*, 80 and *Melet.*, 285). *Ibid.*, 284-5 for Borghese's letters of condolence to Louis XIII. and M. of Medici.

<sup>4</sup> See preceding note for the account of Borghese of May 28, 1610.

<sup>5</sup> \**Letter* to all the bishops and archbishops of France, May 29, 1610, in *Epist.*, VI., 7 and 8, Papal Secret Archives. In the \**letter* of Paul V. of May 29, 1610, to Cardinal Givry, it is said: "Interim regni istius nobilissimi pacem et quietem cum religionis

The Pope had no wish to see the power of France diminished, for in such an eventuality the Spaniards would have been in a position to do what they liked in Italy. Hence the regent, Marie de Medicis, could count on the strong support of Paul V.<sup>1</sup> The Pope, who was always anxious for the preservation of peace, must have been extraordinarily gratified by the change which now occurred in France's foreign policy. True, the request so strongly urged by the nuncio, Ubaldini, and by the extraordinary envoy, Rivarola, who had arrived meanwhile, namely, that the enterprise against Jülich should be dropped, was not to be fulfilled.<sup>2</sup> However, there could be no question of a big war against Spain at a time when the king was a child and the regent a foreigner. As a matter of fact the daughter of the Medici had always been of the opinion that the mutual hostility between the two chief Catholic powers had not only done grievous harm to religion, but to the interests of her family as well. So it became possible, in that same year, 1610, through the intervention of the Florentine ambassador and the papal nuncio, to begin negotiations with a view to a matrimonial alliance between the houses of Bourbon and Habsburg; and, notwithstanding manifold obstacles, they progressed favourably. On April 30th, 1611, an agreement was signed at Fontainebleau, by the terms of which Louis XIII. was to become affianced

catholicae incremento conservare ex animo desideramus. Et quia id assequi speramus, si regni ordines in regis et reginae matris eius obedientia constantes permanserint, in hunc scopum consilia nostra omnia dirigimus." Givry was to work towards the same goal. The nuncio, ROBERTUS EP. MONTEPULCIAMI, would give him further information. *Cod.*, 219, p. 403, Municipal Library, Metz.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 104 *seq.* Cardinal Lanfranco was an opponent of Spain. A remark of his about the king of Spain came to the ears of Count de Castro, who accordingly, in his \*letter to Philip III., of September 27, 1611, pressed for the withdrawal of the yearly Spanish pension which the Cardinal enjoyed. Archives of Simanca.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SIRI, II., 260 *seq.*



to the daughter of Philip III., the Infanta Anna Maria, and the Infante Philip engaged to Isabella of France, Henry IV.'s eldest daughter. At the same time, "for the welfare of Christendom and for the preservation of the Catholic faith" both Powers entered into a ten years' defensive league directed against all enemies, both foreign and domestic.<sup>1</sup> On account of the Huguenots these conventions were kept secret for a time; they were only made known to the Grandees of the Court on January 26th, 1612; on March 25th they were published officially and celebrated with pomp, in Paris, at the beginning of April.<sup>2</sup>

Nothing could have given the Pope keener satisfaction than an alliance of this kind, which would give a fresh turn to French policy. Towards the close of April, 1612, the French ambassador in Rome solicited a special audience in which he prayed for the Pope's blessing for the engaged people. Paul V. had never appeared so radiant as on that day.<sup>3</sup> He hoped that a further result of the marriage would be an accretion of strength to the Catholic party in France as against the Gallicans.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See SIRI, II., 528 *seq.* Cf. F. SILVELA DE LE VIELLENZE, *Matrimonios de España y Francia*, Madrid, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> See BAZIN, I., 190 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See SIRI, II., 678. Cf. \*Avviso of January 7, 1612, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. SIRI, II., 669. After the contract of marriage had been signed at Madrid, August 22, 1612, and at Paris, August 25 (BAZIN, I., 208 *seq.*); Paul V. congratulated the French king in a \*Brief of September 26, 1612, *Epist.*, VIII., 130. *Ibid.*, 139, a \*Brief to the Spanish ambassador in Paris, September 26, 1612, praising his collaboration in the transaction. When the marriage took place, in November, 1615, Paul V. sent the French king, in a \*Brief of November 30, 1615, "*ensis et pileus*," and to his wife Anna, by a \*Brief of the same date, the Golden Rose (*Epist.*, XV., Papal Secret Archives). The King came of age in September, 1614; on April 30, 1615, he was granted by Paul V. "*ad vitam*," an "*Indultum nominandi ad ecclesias et monasteria Britanniae et provinciae Provinciae*" (*Bull.*, XII., 301 *seq.*). In the autumn of 1615 Louis sent to Rome duke Alexander of Vendôme to

The months immediately following were to cause Paul V. grave anxiety for the peace of Italy, to the preservation of which he attached the utmost importance. Close upon the death of Henry IV. warlike disturbances began to menace in the peninsula when the governor of Milan, Fuentes, threatened to punish duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy for entering into a league with the King of France. On this occasion the Pope's exhortations to peace were assisted by the death of Fuentes.<sup>1</sup> In the following year the restless Savoyard planned an attack on Geneva and the canton of Vaud, but in view of the attitude of the Bernese he did not dare to carry his design into execution.<sup>2</sup> Paul V. had emphatically dissuaded him from the dangerous undertaking, because, in the first instance, he rightly mistrusted the Savoyard; and, on the other hand, because he did not wish to see the peace disturbed in any way. From a similar motive, he had done all in his power to prevent a rupture between the courts of Turin and Madrid.<sup>3</sup>

do homage to the Pope (*cf.* \*Avviso, October 7, 1615, Vatican Library). The rendering of homage took place on October 6 (*see* \**Acta consist.*, *ibid.*). *Cf.* F. LECHARRON, *Oratio ad S.D.N. Paulum V. P.O.M. pro Ludovico XIII. Franciæ et Navarvæ rege christ. habita a. 1615, cum ill. princeps Alex. Vind. . . . regis nomine obedientiam S.D.N. praestaret*, Romæ, 1615.

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* SIRI, II., 335 *seq.*, 382 *seq.*, 409 *seq.*, 428 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 735.

<sup>3</sup> See MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 107. The nuncio in Turin had already reported to Rome, October 10, 1609: \*Li padri Cappuccini venuti da Tonone mi hanno partecipato essere stato detto loro che facilmente la città di Ginevra si metterebbe sotto la protezione della Sede Apostolica, parendo che in quella città sieno molti cattolici che lo desiderano, et che gli altri poi vi potessero concorrere per assicurarsi di essere difesi dalla sogettione d'altri principi, come V.S. ill<sup>ma</sup> potrà meglio intendere dal padre fra Paolo da Cesena cappuccino alla sua venuta costì; al quale io ho preso ardire di soggiungere che ricordi a N. Sig<sup>ro</sup> et a V. S. ill<sup>ma</sup> da mia parte, più tosto per soddisfare all'obbligo del carico mio che per bisogno ch'io conosca nella somma prudenza di N<sup>ro</sup> Signore e di V.S. ill<sup>ma</sup> di alcun avvertimento, che io non giudico a proposito che si entri in questi laberinti, poichè, per l'esperienza

On December 21st, 1612, Francesco IV., duke of Mantua, died, at the early age of twenty-seven, leaving an only daughter, Maria, as yet an infant. When the news reached Rome the college of Cardinals had just assembled for the Mass of Christmas day. Cardinal Ferdinand Gonzaga communicated it at once to the Pope and forthwith hastened to Mantua to take up the reins of government.<sup>1</sup> The grave fears which the ambitious duke of Savoy occasioned him were soon to be realized. Charles Emmanuel put forward some long-standing claims, in particular, he demanded for his

ch'io ho del paese, tengo l'impresa non solamente per difficile, ma per impossibile che possa riuscire. Il sig<sup>r</sup> duca si è ritirato dal pensiero, che, come scrissi a V.S. ill<sup>ma</sup> alli 26 del passato, haveva di procurare la chiesa di Sion per il card. suo figlio, così persuaso dal padre Peletta cappuccino, et ancho per qualche diligenza usatavi da me, che gli ho fatto penetrare, con destrezza e senza scoprirmi però, non essermi stato partecipato il detto negotio da Sua Altezza, che tal'impresa poteva più tosto nocere che giovare alla religione cattolica et agl'interessi non solo dell'Alt<sup>za</sup> Sua, ma anco degli Spagnoli. Qua si ritiene per concluso da molte persone principali il matrimonio di questo principe con la figliola primogenita del re di Francia, et che fra le altre condizioni prometta di non impedire a quest'Alt<sup>za</sup> l'impresa di Ginevra; di che V.S. ill<sup>ma</sup> potrà havere maggior certezza di Francia (Borghese, I., 28, p. 221, Papal Secret Archives). A \*Discorso fatto dal card. Lanfranco a Paolo V. dissuades him from attacking Geneva (*Nunziat. div.*, 240, p. 85 f., *ibid.*). It here reads: Il proporre che per quietare questi moti d'arme, che passano fra Spagnuoli e Savoia si dovesse muover pratica da V<sup>ra</sup> Beat<sup>no</sup> di voltar l'armi dell'uno e l'altro essercito contro Ginevra per acquistarla al Duca e debellare quegli eretici, per isnidare da quella città il ridotto di pessimi huomini inimici della nostra santa religione, non si può negare che non sia consiglio pieno di pietà e di zelo e che per questa parte non meriti lode. Ma, se si vuol considerare bene addentro il negozio, vi si scorgeranno tante difficoltà, per non dire impossibilità, che si conoscerà apertamente che il trattar di questa impresa sarebbe opera vana e forse causa di danni maggiori all'istessa religione cattolica et a tutta l'Italia. . . .

<sup>1</sup> See DIERAUER, III., 449. Cf. SIRI, II., 466, 481 *seq.*, 509.

niece, Maria, the right of succession to the marquisate of Montferrat, which was famous for its fertility. He failed in this effort ; in consequence, in the last week of April, 1613, he seized the greater part of the marquisate, with the exception of Casale, the important capital city. That stronghold remained in the power of the Gonzagas, and Carlo Gonzaga, duke of Nevers, garrisoned it with French troops.<sup>1</sup>

Tuscany and Venice took the part of the duke of Mantua. Like France, they too believed in the existence of an understanding between the Savoyard and Spain. The above-named Powers did all they could to win over the Pope to their side and to induce him to put himself at the head of an Italian league. However, Paul V. confined himself to exhortations to peace and the dispatch of Innocenzo de Massimis to Milan and Turin. He rejected the request of the Venetians and the duke of Mantua to allow them to raise recruits in the pontifical states.<sup>2</sup> All the eloquence of Brèves, the French ambassador, proved unavailing with Paul V. who retained vivid memories of all that had happened at the time of his struggle with Venice.<sup>3</sup>

When Philip III. also declared himself against the Savoyard, the latter was forced to give way. For a moment peace seemed secure. However, whilst the duke of Mantua was demobilizing in earnest, Charles Emmanuel had recourse to subterfuges.<sup>4</sup> When Spain threatened an armed attack, he accepted the uneven struggle (September, 1614). In official documents, as well as in poetical effusions, he had it described as a war for Italy's liberation from the dictatorship of Spain.<sup>5</sup> France, Venice, and the Pope all strove for an accommodation,

<sup>1</sup> A synopsis of the literature of the Montferrat War is in *Bollett. stor. Pavese*, VI., 409 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Notices et extraits des MSS. du Roi*, VII., 2, Paris, 1804, 388 ; SIRI, III., 76, 81 ; BZOVIVS, *Vita Pauli V.*, C. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SIRI, III., 95 *seqq.*, 167 *seqq.*, 170 *seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> See CARUTTI, II., 124. Cf. *Rev. hist.*, CV., 67 *seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, LIV., 1 *seq.*



but in vain. The peace signed at Asti, on June 21st, 1615, as a result of French intervention, remained a dead letter.<sup>1</sup>

To this war in Upper Italy another came to be added at the close of 1615, when Venice, whose relations with Austria had become increasingly strained, more particularly by reason of certain pirates—the Uskoks, who had settled on the Dalmatian coast—took up arms against the archduke Ferdinand of Stiria. The superiority of power lay with the republic of St. Mark, but the Austrian offered an obstinate resistance.<sup>2</sup> After a two years' struggle, peace was at last re-established thanks to the efforts of Paul V., who contributed to the happy issue by the dispatch to Upper Italy of the archbishop of Bologna, Ludovisi,<sup>3</sup> as well as to the action of the nuncios of Madrid and Paris.<sup>4, 5</sup> The treaty concluded at Madrid on September 26th, 1617, re-established peace between Spain and Savoy on the one hand, and on the other

<sup>1</sup> See CARUTTI, II., 133 *seq.* Cf. GALIANI, *Carlo Emanuele e il trattato d'Asti 1614-1615*, Bologna, 1915. See also *Cal. of State Papers*, XIV., London, 1908, XIII *seq.* On a plan for poisoning Carlo Emanuele, see the letter of Paul V. to Ferdinando Gonzaga of March 1, 1616, in CURTI, *Carlo Emanuele*, Milan, 1894, 125, who believes that the plan was devised by the Spaniards.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HURTER, VI., 530-622; VII., 76-195; HUBER, V., 81 *seq.*; A. GNIRS, *Oesterreichs Kampf für sein Südländ am Isonzo, 1615-1617*, Vienna, 1917.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SIRI, III., 508 *seqq.*; IV., 7 *seqq.*, 20 *seq.*, 24 *seq.*, 207, 272 *seq.*, 292 *seq.*; BZOVIVUS, *Vita Pauli V.*, c. 35; I. ACCARISIUS, *\*Vita Gregorii XV.*, I, 3, ch. II, in *Cod. B 7* of Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Cf., *ibid.*, *Cod. E 63-5*, *\*Pendenze della corte di Savoia composte per la mediazione di Paolo V.* (Letters of Borghese to Ludovisi, 1616 to 1618).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the account of Bentivoglio in Vol. I. of his nunciature reports, ed. by L. de Steffani, Florence, 1863. See also BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 283 *seq.* The bishop of Trieste, Orsino Berti, in *\*letters to Borghese*, June 27, 1616, applied to the Pope for help towards settling the Austro-Venetian conflict, which was very detrimental to his diocese. Archives of Massa.

<sup>5</sup> See SIRI, IV., 417.

between Ferdinand, the emperor, and Venice. The archduke undertook to expel the Uskoks whose business was piracy, and to hand over to Venice the conquered territory ; but the controversy in regard to free navigation in the Adriatic remained in suspense. Charles Emmanuel, on his part, was compelled to restore his conquests, whilst his claims to Montferrat were indefinitely adjourned by being referred to the judgment of the emperor.<sup>1</sup> The Pope actively promoted the execution of the peace, the conclusion of which had not been generally expected.<sup>2, 3</sup> For all that the situation in Upper Italy remained insecure and it was to be still further complicated by the troubles in the Grisons.

The change of nuncios undertaken by Paul V., in 1606, had also affected Switzerland. Count Giovanni della Torre, who had completed ten years as nuncio in Lucerne, was given a successor on June 7th, 1606, in the person of the bishop of San Severo, Fabrizio Verallo<sup>4</sup> who, however, was himself recalled two years later in consequence of his elevation to cardinalate.<sup>5</sup> His immediate successor was Ladislao d'Aquino, bishop of Venafrò,<sup>6</sup> who in his turn was replaced, in 1613, by Lodovico di Sarego, bishop of Adria.<sup>7</sup>

Ladislao d'Aquino's official report at the conclusion of his

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 260 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Cal. of State Papers*, XV., London, 1909, XI.

<sup>3</sup> TARQUINIO PINAORO compiled a treatise dedicated to Paul V., end of 1616: *\*Danni e rovine sovrastanti alla Chiesa cattolica Romana nel spirituale e temporale per le due guerre che si fanno in Italia e lor opportuni rimedii*, Barb., LVI., 107, p. 10 seq., Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Brief of June 7, 1606, in the *Quellen zur Schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 467 seq. The \*Instruction for F. Verallo in *Borghese*, I., 899, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 330.

<sup>6</sup> See the \*Brief of June 23, 1608, in the *Quellen zur Schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 479 seq. The \*Instruction for L. d'Aquino in *Barb.*, LVII., 7, p. 95 seq. (cf. *Ottob.* 2707), Vatican Library.

<sup>7</sup> See *Quellen zur Schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 483. Cf. P. R. STEINER, *Die päpstl. Gesandten in der Schweiz.*, 1073-1873, Stans, 1907.

term of office,<sup>1</sup> and a memorandum which he drew up for the information of his successor<sup>2</sup> give an interesting picture not only of his work, plans and intentions, but also of ecclesiastical conditions in the country as well as of the importance of the post he was about to vacate. The importance of the Swiss nunciature was due to its vast extent and to the geography of the country. It included not only all the Catholic parts of Switzerland, but, since the bishoprics of Bâle and Constance were likewise joined to it, it also embraced Upper Alsace, Breisgau and part of Suabia. It extended, moreover, as far as the Vintschgau, which belonged to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Chur, and to the Tessin and the Valtellina which were respectively parts of the dioceses of Milan and Como.

<sup>1</sup> \**Relazione della Nunziatura de' Svizzeri* (1613), MSS. in many places, in Berlin, State Library, *Inform. polit.*, IX., 1 seq.; Paris, National Library (cf. MARSAUD, I., 371 seq.), and Rome, Corsini Library, *Cod.*, 40, F. 30. A faulty and inaccurate translation is in SCHREIBER'S *Taschenbuch für Gesch.*, II. (1840), 280 seq.; III., 289 seq.; IV., 31 seq., with wrong date of 1612; MAYER (II., 301 seq.) gives good extracts with some original documents. RANKE (*Päpste*, III.<sup>6</sup>, 106) with his unqualified praise of the "report", must be discounted at many points. See HOLL, *J. Fugger*, 21, 51, 116, 119 seq., 191 seq., 238.

<sup>2</sup> \**Informazione mandata dal sig. card. d'Aquino a mons. Feliciano, vescovo di Foligno per il paese de' Svizzeri e Grisoni*, in the *Inform. Polit.*, IX., 145 seq. of the State Library, Berlin, transl. by J. Burckhardt in SCHREIBER'S *Taschenbuch*, V., 31 seq. RANKE (*Päpste*, III.<sup>6</sup>, 104\*) calls the bishop, Feliciano Silva, which he is not in the MSS.; he was Porfirio Feliciani and in Paul V.'s time was *Segretario delle lettere a' principi* (see MORONI, XXV., 141), but not the successor in office to Aquino, as Burckhardt thought. The *Informazione* and the *Relazione* (*sup.*, note 1) are the chief sources for the account that follows. Compare with this the instructions to the Swiss nuncios, in *Barb.*, 5920 (*al vesc. di Venafro*, 1609-1613) and 5921 (*al arcivesc. d'Adria*, 1613-1614), Vatican Library. Copies also are in the Stuttgart Library, No. 181, and fuller one in the Bibl. Angelica, Rome. German extracts in LE BRET, *Magazin*, VII., 445 seq. Registers for the years 1609-1615 in *Bollett. d. Svizz. ital.*, 1901-3.

Since Switzerland was contiguous to Italy, and its mountain passes commanded the communications with Germany, the Holy See was exceedingly concerned for the preservation of the Catholic faith in that country. In this respect the nuncios had been so successful, chiefly owing to the self-sacrificing labours of the bishops, the Capuchins and the Jesuits, during the reign of Pius V., that out of the thirteen cantons properly so called seven, that is Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Solothurn and Fribourg, had remained loyal to the ancient Church. In the cantons of Glarus and Appenzell the Catholics had maintained themselves in considerable numbers ; in Wallis the Catholic restoration was as yet only beginning and in the Grisons a majority of the population had accepted the new religion ; Bern, Zurich, Bâle and Schaffhausen had become entirely Protestant. The hope at one time entertained of winning these four cantons back to the Church had completely vanished when Aquino relinquished his nunciature in 1613. Generally speaking, Protestants and Catholics were about equally strong in Switzerland. The numerical majority of the Catholic cantons was neutralized by the greater extension of the territory of the Protestant ones, as well as by their superiority in population and natural resources, and even in their military strength, for the warlike valour of the Catholic cantons had sunk to a low level. The Catholics were aware of their peril, hence they sought to make up for what they lacked in strength by extraordinary activity and great willingness to make sacrifices.<sup>1</sup> The nuncios, who encouraged them by every means in their power, gladly paid tribute to their zeal. The testimony which Ladislao d'Aquino gives to the Swiss Catholics in his report of 1613, is as honourable as could be imagined : " They frequent church and the sacraments," he writes, "and they honour the priest in all sorts of ways, far more than is done anywhere else." <sup>2</sup> Aquino enumerates with profound satisfaction the adherents of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. DIERAUER, IV., 421 ; DÄNDLIKER, II., 738 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Aquino's opinion is confirmed by other witnesses ; see DUHR, II., I, 286.



Holy See in Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Fribourg. Almost all personages of mark, who were for the most part adherents also of the Spanish party, were fervent Catholics and in close contact with the nuncios. In Solothurn alone the representatives of the Holy See had failed to establish intimate contact with the leading personalities. The cause was, here as elsewhere, that the adherents of the French party took up an unfriendly attitude towards the nuncios. In the Catholic part of Appenzell-Innerrhoden, where none of the important people cherished French sympathies, all gave proof of loyal attachment to the Holy See.

Aquino specially impressed on his successor the necessity of cultivating good relations with the Catholic Swiss. He counselled him to make as much allowance as possible for the love of liberty and for the self-confidence of the Swiss, as well as for their other characteristics. Among these was the bad habit—one not exclusively peculiar to the Swiss—of having pensions and gifts bestowed upon them by foreign Powers. Aquino was of opinion that such a means of exercising influence, of which Spain and France especially made use, should not be neglected by the nuncio if he would attain his end, at least when there was question of important affairs.

Aquino's further counsels are evidence of the shrewd Italian's anxiety to fall in, as much as possible, with local manners and customs. The nuncio, he insists, must show courtesy towards the Swiss, shake hands as the custom of their country demands, and see to it that the personnel of the nunciature behave politely towards all and sundry, especially when walking through the town, when they should salute people, raise their hats and so forth. Special courtesy should be shown to persons of a more exalted position. These people have a mistaken notion that the Italians look down with contempt on the Swiss and that they have but little respect and esteem for their senators. This urbanity must not be artificial. The nuncio must always preserve his personal dignity. With regard to the slowness and formality with which business is transacted in Switzerland, no sign of annoyance should escape him ; on the contrary, he ought to

manifest his delight at such local customs ; in this way the goodwill of the Swiss is secured and they settle down to business. Aquino counsels a study of Swiss history ; the nuncio should allude to, and praise, their victories and their battles, quoting from their own historians ; in this way confidence is won and they begin to look upon the representative of the Holy See as almost one of their own.

Though the nuncio has his private chapel, it is advisable that he should frequently assist at Mass and at sermons in church. On great feasts, and at processions, this is indispensable. Let him carefully watch over the conduct of his servants. The Swiss are pious people and are easily shocked even by slight faults of the servants, for they watch them closely, and what in others they would deem but little sins, that in them they judge to be grievous ones. Much drinking and frequent meals, Aquino continues, is a common practice with all northern peoples, in fact it is quite natural, owing to the cold of the climate. Hence frequent banquets and feasting are part of Swiss life also. The nuncio cannot escape the abuse already introduced by his predecessors in office of inviting a few of the gentlemen every week, more especially on feast days. He should do this especially at the beginning of his nunciature ; he must of necessity invite to his table, by degrees, all the gentlemen of the Lesser Council, and after them those of the Great Council. Many courses and divers wines must be served, according to Swiss taste. On the occasion of the meeting of the Diet all the deputies must be invited, a few at a time. On these occasions it is imperative to make a great display, else the gentlemen would not feel honoured, and on no account must the nuncio rise from table before three hours have gone by. The first toast goes to the person who holds the highest rank ; when this has been drunk, the others follow, in due order, in honour of every one of the guests. Aquino advises the nuncio to entertain in like manner the Jesuits, the Capuchins, the Canons, and other clergy of some position, so as to win their goodwill ; at table many things may be learnt which he would not get to know by any other means. If individual representatives

of any of the Cantons happen to be in the city, they should be given an invitation. The gentlemen are most anxious to ascertain whether the privileges granted to them by the Holy See are to be in any way curtailed. Hence the nuncio should be most careful of what he says and show an inclination to extend them still further. Let him praise the Swiss, but with discretion. It is particularly useful to praise their good government and to prophesy for them both greatness and eternal endurance. Written answers must always be courteous. If a letter remains unanswered, it is taken as a grievous insult. When the nuncio is approached on matters of business, he must not forthwith give a negative answer, nor unduly raise the hopes of the client, if he is not very sure of his affair. The Swiss are prone to take a courteous answer for a promise.

On the occasion of the marriages of people of position, Aquino goes on, the nuncio's presence is invited, but as a rule he does not put in an appearance. On the other hand, he is bound to send the bride a gift, usually a ring. There are other occasions, and they are of frequent occurrence, when the nuncio is bound to make gifts. "For some gentlemen I have obtained a knighthood of the Golden Spur," Aquino relates. "This gives them great pleasure, especially if one adds the further gift of a gold chain, or a gold medal. However if the distinction is bestowed on too many people it loses its value."

Though he pays tribute to the religious feelings displayed by the Swiss Catholics, Aquino was by no means blind to the shadows in his picture of the condition of the country. One of the darkest was the unwarrantable meddling of the secular power with affairs that appertained to ecclesiastical jurisdiction. However, in this respect Aquino thought he could see some improvement since he had pointed out to the Swiss, with charity and kindness, the wrongfulness of their conduct as well as the risk they ran of incurring ecclesiastical penalties. "They justify their claims," Aquino adds, "by the numberless papal privileges which were granted to them at a time when they defended the Catholic faith of their country, sword in

hand, at a time also when they were lacking the assistance of their bishops and other prelates. At that period things had come to such a pass that the various governments submitted a formula of faith (*professio fidei*) to the priests which they had to swear to. In this way they secured numberless rights of collation, and as for the appointment to canonries, it was an ancient right of theirs. In addition they are the patrons of all churches and convents, as the successors, so they declare, of the house of Austria. Now patronage, as understood by them, means tutelage and usufruct. On this point I have done all I could to make them see what genuine patrons of churches and monasteries may do and are bound to do, and my efforts have not been fruitless. The fact that their forbears have frequently punished members of the clergy I have shown to have been a usurpation consequent on the inability or unwillingness of the bishops to take action, because they were themselves hard pressed by the heretics and because there were no nuncios in the country; in a word, owing to circumstances that no longer exist. At present the governments are in the habit of turning to me when it is necessary to punish a cleric." <sup>1</sup>

Violations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction were all too common in other countries also, but what was wholly peculiar to Switzerland was that in certain cantons, such as Schwyz and Appenzell, an idea prevailed that parish priests could be removed *ad nutum*.<sup>2</sup>

The moral conduct of the Swiss parochial clergy could be considered as very satisfactory on the whole; the only thing that Aquino would have liked to see abolished was the habit of the priests to visit public houses, owing to the manifold inconveniences of this custom of the country. All the nuncios are loud in their praise of the eminent services rendered by the Jesuits and Capuchins. "The Jesuits," Aquino writes, "have vast and imposing colleges at Constance, Lucerne,

<sup>1</sup> For this matter see the explanations of HOLL, *J. Fugger*, 40, who quotes the points which may be cited in exculpation of the Catholic Cantons.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. MAYER, II., 104.



Fribourg, and Pruntrut. They combine the work of educating youth, preaching, and the administration of the sacraments with an exemplary conduct. I can only testify that they display the same activity as in Italy and in other countries, and that they are indeed the staunchest support that poor Germany still has. But for their unflinching zeal, that country would be in an even more serious plight than it is at the moment."<sup>1</sup> At Lucerne the Jesuits displayed heroic charity during the great epidemics of 1611 and 1616.<sup>2</sup> Among the many friends of the Fathers in that city an outstanding figure was that of the town clerk, Renward Cysat, to whose pen are due almost all the more important official documents of that period.<sup>3</sup>

With regard to the execution of the religious restoration of Switzerland, the Capuchins attained an importance greater even than that of the Jesuits. Their Province continued to spread in Switzerland as in Swabia and Breisgau. Thus foundations arose at Sursee (1606), Biberach (1606), Freiburg (1609), Neuenburg on the Rhine, Kienzisheim (1613), Thann (1613), Engen (1616), Rottenburg (1616), Bremgarten (1617), Altkirch (1617), Radolfzell (1617), Überlingen (1618).<sup>4</sup> In all these places the lowly sons of St. Francis worked with wonderful results for the renewal of the Christian life, the strengthening of the ancient faith and the repression of innovations in matters of religion. The latter point was the special care of the missionary Province which Paul V. founded at the very gates of Geneva, by separating it from the

<sup>1</sup> A Jesuit, *Fr. Emeran Welser*, started in 1614, the so-called "Golden Alms" for the purpose of distributing at a low cost good books; this greatly furthered the Catholic revival. See the essays of ZWINGER, in the *Hist.-polit. Blättern*, CLXIX (1922), Heft 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> See DUHR, II., I, 282 seq., 291 seq., 294.

<sup>3</sup> For R. CYSAT, who died March 25, 1614, cf. HIBBER, in *Archiv für schweiz. Gesch.*, XIII., 161 seq.; XIV., *passim*; DIERAUER, II., 368, 374; DUHR, II., I, 287 seq.

<sup>4</sup> See *Chronica prov. Helv. Capuc.*, 44 seq., 60 seq. As for *Unterwald*, see LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 328.

Province of Lyons. The convents of Gex, Roche, Thonon and Saint-Julien also formed part of the new Province.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the old Orders, the union of the reformed Benedictine Abbeys, which had already been effected under Clement VIII.,<sup>2</sup> had proved successful. At its head stood the Abbey of St. Gall, whose abbot, Bernard Müller, distinguished himself by his attachment to the Holy See. Under his guidance the monastery gained fresh lustre.<sup>3</sup> The monasteries of Muri<sup>4</sup> Rheinau, Engelberg and Einsiedeln<sup>5</sup> were likewise presided over by excellent superiors who were learned, pious and charitable and spent themselves in labouring for the service of God and the well-being of their flock. The affluence of pilgrims to the miraculous image of Einsiedeln Aquino could only compare to what took place at Loreto. The nuncio also did all he could to bring about the affiliation to the Swiss Benedictine Congregation of the Abbey of Dissentis which had become relaxed.

Paul V. failed in his endeavours to unite the Swiss Cistercians in a reformed Congregation because the monks feared to offend their General who resided in France. As a matter of fact in these monasteries discipline was sound, in some it was even very strict. In this respect Wettingen, which since 1594 possessed an excellent abbot in the person of Peter Schmied,<sup>6</sup> was not excelled by any Benedictine monastery. St. Urban and Altenryf were reformed by Aquino. The Premonstratensians gave the nuncio but little to do; they lived retired lives, in accordance with their Rule. But things were all the worse with the Franciscans Conventual. Aquino gave it as his opinion that it would be better if these had not

<sup>1</sup> See ROCCO DA CESINALE, I., *passim*; ILG, II., 77, 102, 109 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. our account, Vol. XXIII., 183.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the \*Brief addressed to him, August 12, 1606, in the *Epist.*, II., 103, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> See KIEM, *Gesch. der Abtei Muri-Gries*, Stans., 1888-1891.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. HÜRBIN, 254. *Ibid.*, too, for the history of the restoration of the Swiss Cistercian monasteries, p. 255.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. A. MÜLLER, *Peter II. Schmied, Abt von Wettingen. Ein Lebensbild*, Zug, 1918.

so many convents, for all had departed from their Rule and were an occasion of scandal. It was more difficult to reform one of their monasteries than a hundred abbeys. Aquino took from them the supervision of the convents of nuns of their Order because they tolerated too many abuses. The convents of nuns, which failed especially in the observance of the enclosure, gave the nuncio much trouble, but in this quarter also he had many consolations. A particularly inspiring spectacle was the reform carried through by Elizabeth Spitzlin in the convent of Pfanneregg, near Watwil, in Toggenburg. From there the reform soon spread to other convents, encouraged as it was by Ladislao d'Aquino. The above-named nun, who strongly recalls the personality of Charitas Pirkheimer, occupies an honourable rank among the leading figures of the Catholic restoration in Switzerland.<sup>1</sup>

It was the good fortune of Catholic Switzerland that its dioceses were without exception presided over by excellent bishops. Here foremost mention must be made of the bishopric of Bâle, so sorely tried by the religious divisions. Its bishop saw himself compelled to reside at Pruntrut whilst his Chapter was at Freiburg, in Breisgau. At the death of the distinguished bishop of Bâle, Jacob Christoph Blarer (April 18th, 1608) Paul V. urged the election of a successor no less zealous for the salvation of souls.<sup>2</sup> He had his wish, for Wilhelm Rink von Baldenstein, who was elected on May 19th, was in every respect a worthy successor.<sup>3</sup> He displayed so much energy in carrying into effect the ecclesiastical reform that the Pope repeatedly expressed his highest satisfaction.<sup>4</sup> But in Alsace the zealous bishop saw

<sup>1</sup> See SCHWEILER in the *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, XI., 204 *seqq.*, 279 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See *Epist.*, III., 563, Papal Secret Archives. For Blarer *cf.* our notes, Vol. XX., 137 *seq.*, XXII., 137.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* VAUTREY, *Hist. des évêques de Bâle*, II., 177 *seq.*; SCHMIEDLIN, *Zustände*, 430 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Besides the Brief quoted by SCHMIEDLIN, *loc. cit.*, of October 17, 1609, see the \*Brief of December 22, 1609, praising the activity of RINK VON BALDENSTEIN in making visitations, *Epist.*, V., 246, Papal Secret Archives.

his efforts grievously hindered by the cæsaro-papalism of the Austrian authorities as well as by other disturbances.<sup>1</sup> The nuncio Aquino speaks of Rink von Baldenstein as an excellent prelate, remarkable, in particular, by the fact that he visited his diocese in person. Paul V. gave 11,000 florins for the seminary which the bishop founded at Pruntrut.<sup>2</sup> The bishop of Bâle had under him a number of parishes in districts which had become Protestant. He took much trouble in order to bring these back to the true faith, and notwithstanding the opposition of the Bernese, he was able to register some splendid successes. Aquino, too, did all he could to foster conversions, but he counselled prudence, for many went under instruction and accepted alms, only to withdraw again. "At Lucerne," he reports, "I have maintained many converts at my own expense, and have had them instructed by the Jesuits; others I recommended to the abbeys, when my means proved inadequate. The foundation at Thonon,<sup>3</sup> on the lake of Geneva, renders good service and many converts repair thither." Aquino planned the erection of similar houses in other localities also, but the outbreak of the plague prevented his doing so. He very earnestly recommended this work to his successor and advised him to set aside a fund for the support of converts from the contributions of the monasteries.

Aquino took particular interest in the bishopric of Lausanne which, in consequence of the religious divisions, was now confined within the boundaries of the Canton Fribourg. He appointed as its vicar-general the excellent Anton von der Weyd who accomplished an immense amount of good. At the suggestion of the nuncio, Weyd visited the contiguous parts of the Canton Solothurn where, for 150 years, no visitation had been held. "The visitation produced

<sup>1</sup> Professor Schmiedlin will give further details in his monograph on the Catholic revival in Alsace, to be included in the *Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen* of JANSSEN's *Gesch. des deutschen Volkes*.

<sup>2</sup> See MAYER, II., 55. For the visitations in Solothurn, see *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, IV., 131 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. our account, Vol. XXIV, 307 seq.



immense results," Aquino reported to Rome. He urged that the restoration of the bishopric of Lausanne should be the first care of his successor. In 1615, the bishop of Lausanne, Johann von Watteville, held a visitation of the city of Solothurn.<sup>1</sup>

The Holy See was not a little anxious over the turn of affairs in Wallis where the determination of the bishop of Sitten, Adrian von Riedmatten, to carry through the Catholic reform and restoration, met with every imaginable opposition. Sitten and Leuk, in particular, opposed the restoration of religious unity and in this they were strongly backed by Bern. One of the greatest difficulties of the bishop was the shortage of priests. This want was yet further increased when he had to remove priests living in concubinage. A measure of assistance was rendered by several self-sacrificing parish priests and chaplains of Lucerne, but their own country could not spare them for an indefinite length of time.<sup>2</sup> For this reason the Holy See and the nuncio did all they could in order to secure the dispatch of the Jesuits to Wallis. To Paul V.'s great joy these efforts proved successful<sup>3</sup>; in 1610, two residences were founded, each with two Fathers, one in Ärnen and another in Siders.<sup>4</sup> Opposition was not lacking. As early as 1605, a pamphlet, crammed with the vilest calumnies, was published at Leuk against the Jesuits and the Capuchins. Most opportune for the Protestants was the support of the French ambassador, Eustache de Roche (1607-1611), who definitely took the part of the innovators. He even went so far as to threaten with death the two Capuchins whom bishop Adrian had summoned to Sitten. When Adrian, who after all was the lord of Sitten, announced his intention of getting a Jesuit to preach at the first Mass of one of the Canons, the magistrates forbade assistance at

<sup>1</sup> See *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, IV., 128 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See GRÜTER, in *Geschichtsfreund*, LII., Stans, 1897, 130 seq., 153 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See JOLLER, in *Blättern aus der Walliser Gesch.*, I., 209.

<sup>4</sup> See GRÜTER, *loc. cit.*, 159 seq.; DUHR, II., I, 299 seq.

the sermon under pain of forfeiture of civil rights.<sup>1</sup> But the heretics could not prevent the growth of the Jesuit schools at Ärnen and Siders: by 1613 the former numbered 180 pupils. The reform of the clergy also progressed. Again and again Paul V. expressed to bishop Adrian his recognition and praised the pastoral zeal displayed by him.<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact the bishop could lay himself down to die with the consciousness that he had laid a strong foundation for ecclesiastical reform (October 7th, 1613). This was all the more important as in the struggle for the secular power, which broke out under his successor, Hildebrand II. Jost, the Catholics sided with the Protestants against the bishop. The Pope did all he could to support the bishop of Sitten and praised him for the favour he showed to the Capuchins and the Jesuits who, since 1615, had extended their preaching activities as far as Sitten. In 1620, Paul V. suggested the holding of a diocesan synod.<sup>3</sup>

The anxiety of the Swiss for their freedom resulted in their invariably taking up an unfriendly attitude towards the bishop of Constance who was also a prince of the German empire. In every one of his rulings they saw an infringement of their rights and privileges.<sup>4</sup> When the efforts of Lucerne to obtain a bishop of its own had proved unavailing, a special commission was set up in that city in 1605, for the purpose of carrying through the reform decrees of Trent.<sup>5</sup> However, the unfriendly dispositions towards the bishop of Constance remained. All the efforts of bishop Jacob Fugger to induce the Swiss to accept the decisions agreed upon at the reform synod held at Constance in 1609, proved unavailing.<sup>6</sup> Full

<sup>1</sup> See GRÜTER, 163 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See *Quellen zur schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 481, 482.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XXI., 487 seq., 491 seq., 493 seq., 499 seq., 501. Cf. MAYER, II., 214; LE BRET, *Magazin*, VII., 496 seq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. HOLL, *J. Fugger*, 38.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. HENGLER, *Die Wiedereinführung des kanonischen Rechts in Luzern zur Zeit der Gegenreformation (das Kommissariat zu Luzern, 1605-1798)*, Luzern, 1909.

<sup>6</sup> See HOLL, 170 seq.

concord between the Catholic localities was, however, secured when Fugger re-established Catholic worship at a place called Mühlheim, which came under the jurisdiction of the episcopal court of Frauenfeld. Fugger displayed similar zeal in other localities of the Thurgau. His example was followed in their territories by the abbots of St. Gall and Rheinau.<sup>1</sup> Zürich showed great resentment at these proceedings and strove to induce its co-religionists to enter into a closer alliance against the Catholics, so much so that the latter were forced to arm in self-defence. The risk of open hostilities between Protestants and Catholics in Switzerland, which threatened again and again, largely owing to Spanish and anti-Spanish alliances, became imminent, not in the Confederacy itself, but in the mountain district adjoining its south-eastern frontier, the republic of Rhätia.<sup>2</sup>

At the beginning of the seventeenth century only the Romance population of the inhabitants of the Grisons were still true to the ancient faith, whereas the major part of the population of the Gotteshausbund, especially those of the Engadine and the Zehn-Gerichtenbund, had embraced Protestantism. In the so-called Untertanenlanden, viz. the Valtellina and the counties of Bormio and Chiavenna, by far the greatest part of the population had remained Catholic, but the innovators were making great efforts to spread their errors. In the episcopal city of Chur no Catholics were left except such as lived at the episcopal Curia.

The religious contrasts in the Grisons were further sharpened by the agitation of local political parties and the interference of neighbouring Powers, which aimed at the domination of the valleys and passes which, in the North, led to the Tirol,

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, 178 *seq.* The \*Brief of Paul V. of July 14, 1607, refers to Mühlheim. *Quellen zur schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 475.

<sup>2</sup> See DIERAUER, II., 456. For the notorious Gachnang affair, which in 1610 almost led to war, see *Abschiede*, VI., 987 *seq.*, 1002 *seq.*, 1014 *seq.*, 1033 *seq.*, 1044 *seq.*; DÄNDLIKER, II.,<sup>3</sup> 739 *seq.* In 1596, too, it was feared that a war of religion might break out; see the \*Brief of Clement VIII. in *Anzeiger f. schweiz. Gesch.*, XXII., 222.

and, in the South, to Italy. Spain and Austria on the one hand, France and Venice on the other, competed for predominance in the mountains of Rhätia. The former Powers were supported by the Catholics, the latter by the Protestants.<sup>1</sup> Conditions such as these greatly hindered the action of John V. Flugi, bishop of Chur since 1601, a man sincerely attached to the Church, and who, to the joy of Clement VIII. and Paul V.,<sup>2</sup> was determined to undertake the ecclesiastical reform of his diocese. His ordinances for the clergy of his diocese published on June 7th, 1605, were an earnest of the energy with which he was resolved to proceed.<sup>3</sup>

However, the bishop of Chur soon found that it was utterly impossible to carry out his plans for a reform which included the foundation of an ecclesiastical seminary and the celebration of a diocesan synod, because the preachers succeeded in rendering him so odious, as an alleged partisan of Spain, that in 1607 he was forced to flee to Feldkirch. Paul V. and his nuncios did all they could for him, but his enemies persisted, for their aim was to bring about a final expulsion of the energetic bishop.<sup>4</sup> Better days only dawned for him when the nuncio Aquino took up his cause. Aquino succeeded in inducing the French envoy to change his mind and to become reconciled to Flugi whom, until then, he had persecuted as a partisan of Spain.<sup>5</sup> In 1610 Flugi was able to return to his episcopal residence, but the persecution by the preachers abated only for a short time. At their instigation the city council of Chur forbade all citizens to take part in Catholic

<sup>1</sup> See DIERAUER, II., 458 seq.; HÜRBIN, 360 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See MAYER, *Gesch. des Bistums Chur*, II., 236. Cf. *Quellen zur Schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 475 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. MAYER, *loc. cit.*, 377 seq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 243 seq.

<sup>5</sup> See Aquino's report, in MAYER, *Konzil von Trient*, II., 310. The \*Instruction for Aquino deals exhaustively with the affairs of Chur (*Barb.*, LVII., 7, Vatican Library). Numerous letters of Aquino and his successor, Feliciani, are published in *Bollett. stor. d. Svizzera*, 1902, 35 seq., 154 seq., 191 seq.; and 1903, 28 seq., 71 seq., 124 seq., 147 seq.



worship in the cathedral. At Christmas, 1611, detectives were appointed for the purpose of discovering whether among the worshippers at the cathedral there were not some burghers of Chur in female attire!

Whilst no Catholic burgher was tolerated in the bishop's own city, the Protestants, by the use of force, founded communities of their own wherever a few "reformed" inhabitants were found among a Catholic population.<sup>1</sup> When Flugi sought to defend the Catholics, his enemies decided on his arrest; he prevented capture by flight, May 27th, 1612. Once again the episcopal residence at Chur was seized and plundered. A decree of the Three Leagues forbade, under pain of death, attendance at the Jesuit schools. Only in the autumn of 1614 was the bishop enabled to return to Chur; but he saw himself so hampered in his work that he resolved either to resign his office or to take a coadjutor. However, nothing came of these plans, though Rome had approved them. Flugi, whose position in Chur was exceedingly precarious, now as before, was resolved to work for a renewal of the religious life at least in the other parts of his diocese. In this spirit he visited the Sargans, the Wahlgau and Feldkirch. In the latter place, as well as at Meran, he helped the Capuchin foundations.<sup>2</sup> Gladly would he have called the Jesuits into his diocese,<sup>3</sup> but the Protestant pressure made this impossible. Religious conditions in the Grisons grew steadily worse. Only the handful of priests from the Swiss College at Milan could be truthfully called shepherds of souls; the others led a definitely scandalous life. In 1620 archduke Leopold reported to the papal nuncio that the first official act of those parish priests who were chosen by the people, without the concurrence of the bishop, was to take wives unto themselves.<sup>4</sup> In such conditions the Catholic laity were bound to lose the faith in ever increasing numbers. The Protestant propaganda,

<sup>1</sup> See MAYER, *Chur*, II., 355.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. P. AGAPIT, *Das Kapuzinerkloster in Meran*, II.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. FLUGI's letter to the Rector of the Innsbruck College, of October 8, 1618, Episcopal Archives, Chur.

<sup>4</sup> See *Quellen zur Schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 622 seq.

fed by Geneva, made capital of so deplorable a state of things.<sup>1</sup> Already in 1617, Bishop Flugi had written to his brother Andrea that in the territory of the Three Leagues the last state was apparently getting worse than the first.<sup>2</sup> In the following year, at the same time as the revolution in Bohemia led to the outbreak of the great war within the empire, catastrophe befell the land of Rhätia.

In 1617 the Spanish party, under the leadership of the energetic Rudolph Planta, had succeeded in preventing the renewal of the alliance with Venice and in compelling the Venetian envoy, Padavino, to leave the country. Informal tribunals inflicted severe penalties on the leaders of the Venetian-Protestant party. At the beginning of 1618, the latter succeeded in bringing about a popular rising against the "Hispanophils". The agitation was headed by the preachers who were indefatigable in exciting the populace, both by the spoken and the written word. "The papal lords must be destroyed by fire and sword," Vulpius declared. Instigated by him and by another preacher, the passionate George Tenatsch, of Samaden, the inhabitants of the Lower Engadine rose in the summer of 1618 and plundered Rudolph Planta's castle at Zernetz. Wild bands threw themselves upon the "traitors" in the Valtellina, in Chiavenna and Bergell. At Bergell they seized the aged landamman, Zambra, and at Sondrio the learned archpriest, Nicholas Rusca, and dragged them both to Thusis.<sup>3</sup> In the words of a contemporary Italian, the criminal court which sat there from August, 1618, until January, 1619, "condemned, proscribed, robbed, banished without legal form or proof, and solely according to the caprice or suggestion of the preachers."<sup>4</sup> Zambra was executed and Rusca, on a simple

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BASERGA, *Il movimento per la riforma protestante in Valtellina e le sue relazioni con Ginevra*, in *Period. di Soc. stor. p. la dioc. di Como*, fasc. 83 and 85 (1914-1915).

<sup>2</sup> See MAYER, *Chur*, II., 256 seq., 259.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. HAFFTER, *G. Jenatsch*, 46 seq.; MAYER, *Chur*, II., 261.

<sup>4</sup> See the report, published in translation, by BURCKHARDT, in *Archiv. f. schweiz. Gesch.*, VIII., 215. The passage in the

suspicion, was tortured to death. On Bishop Flugi a sentence of deposition and death was pronounced. At the end of October, 1619, at Davos, another tribunal which is sufficiently characterized when we say that it entered into epistolary correspondence with Frederic V., the rebel king of Bohemia, inflicted yet more fines and decreed the expulsion from the Valtellina of the Capuchins and all foreign priests.<sup>1</sup>

This government by terror,<sup>2</sup> and even more so the murder of Rusca, who was held in veneration as one of the pillars of the ancient faith,<sup>3</sup> raised the indignation of the Catholics of the Valtellina to the highest pitch. They were in a majority, and had long been chafing under the oppression, the arbitrariness and the religious tyranny of the federal government.<sup>4</sup> In these circumstances it was not difficult for Feria,

original is as follows: \*In somma tutti li buoni dotti et utili rettori di chiese nella Valletellina et in Chiavenna come anco tutti li buoni et principali cattolici secolari, quelli che hanno potuto tutti hanno abbandonato il paese et cercato di salvarsi dalla crudeltà et barbarie di quello Straffgericht di Tosanna che non fa altro che citare, condannare, proscrivere, spoliare, bandire, perseguitare nullo iuris ordine servato nulloque delicto probato, questo e quello a capriccio et a suggestione di predicanti purchè sia cattolico di qualche conto o aderente a Spagna ancor che heretico. Contra questi si procede indifferentemente con rigore nè per altro hanno condannato mons. vescovo di Coira se non per reputarlo troppo Spagnolo essendo per altro huomo da bene irrepreussibile et prelato degno et utile. *Inform. polit.*, IV., 190<sup>b</sup>, State Library, Berlin.

<sup>1</sup> See HAFFTER, 55 *seq.*, 75 *seq.*; MAYER, *Chur*, II., 270. Cf. also CLEMENTE DA TERZORIO, *Istoria d. missioni dei Cappuccini*, 497 *seq.*; P. ALBUIN, *Kompass für die Reformationsgesch. Graubündens*, Innsbruck, 1910, 15; P. BUZZETTI, *Nicola Rusca*, Como, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> This is DIERAUER's view (II., 467).

<sup>3</sup> See Aquino's report in MAYER, II., 323. Cf. also the judgment of the compiler of the report of the Valtinella murder, in *Archiv. f. schweiz. Gesch.*, VI., 246.

<sup>4</sup> BOTERO (*Relaz. univ. Parte terza*, I., Brescia, 1599, 20 *seq.*) proves this for as early as 1596. Many examples of the harsh

the governor of Milan, through the intermediary of a knight of the name of Jacob Robustelli, a kinsman of Planta, and other exiles, to induce the people of the Valtellina, who were by language and race always in sympathy with Milan and who now feared the worst for their religious future—to massacre nearly all the Protestants in Tirano, Teglio, and Sondrio (July 19th–23rd, 1620).<sup>1</sup>

In this dreadful "Massacre of the Valtellina" the Spaniards disguised their purely political aims under the cloak of religion. The fact that the shortest as well as the most commodious road from Milan to the Tirol led through the Valtellina made it supremely important for Spain to make sure of the magnificent valley of the Adda. As long as the duke of Lerma wielded paramount influence in Madrid, warlike projects of this kind stood but little chance of realization.<sup>2</sup> But when the favourite was compelled to withdraw from court, in the autumn of 1618, the military party in Madrid gained the upper hand. It could point out that the

oppression, which BROSCH disputes (*Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, XXII., 109) are in BALAN, VI., 700. There is a summary of the complaints, as a justification of the Catholics' uprising, in the monograph: *Ragione della rivoluzione ultimamente fatta in Valtelina contra la tirannide de Grigioni et heretici*, *Ottob.*, 2335, p. 63 seq., Vatican Library. A few Jesuits were expelled in 1613, although they were native of the Valtellina. See DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., 554 seq., II., 264 seq.

<sup>1</sup> For the way in which the instigator of the murder, Jacob Robustelli, shamefully misused the name of the Pope, see the report of an eye-witness, in *Archiv. f. schweiz. Gesch.*, VI., 250. The number of the victims was about 400, according to DIERAUER (II., 470). Others say 500 (see BALAN, VI., 704, with an extensive bibliography). Some Catholics were murdered, too, who roused the anger of their passionate fellow believers either by not taking part in the butchery, or by protesting openly against the disgraceful horrors. Avarice and lust of wealth impelled not a few to take part in the slaughter; see HAFFTER, 82 seq. For discussion of Feria as the instigator of the massacre, see BROSCH, in the *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, XXII., 110 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ROTT, *Philippe III. et le duc de Lerme*, Paris, 1887, 27.



impending termination of the truce with the Netherlands made it imperative to get hold of the Adda valley at any price, so as to establish a military link between the Spanish possessions in Italy with the German-Habsburg lands, and thereby secure an uninterrupted line of operations. If the plan succeeded, the republic of St. Mark, that determined and irreconcilable enemy of the Habsburgs, would be cut off from all communication with the Protestants in Switzerland and Germany.<sup>1</sup> Spanish diplomacy cherished the hope of winning over Paul V. to its plans in view of the constant tension in the relations between the Pope and the republic. It was thought that the Holy See could not but ardently desire to see the suppression of heresy at the very gates of Italy. But Paul V. saw through the Spanish schemes.

However much Philip III.'s ambassador in Rome protested that the purpose of the warlike project against the Grisons was the deliverance of the Catholics of the Valtellina and the preservation of Upper Italy from the contamination of heresy, the Pope detected the political motives; from the first he took up a negative attitude towards Spain's demands for his co-operation in the undertaking.<sup>2</sup> After the massacre, he avoided any expression that could have been construed into an approval of the most recent events in the Valtellina. When the Catholic Cantons of Switzerland begged the Pope for money to help them to bar with armed troops the passes by which the Protestants were hastening to the assistance of the Grisons, they obtained nothing, even though the nuncio Sarego supported their request.<sup>3</sup> In like manner, when the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ROTT, *Hist. de la représentation dipl. de la France auprès des Cantons Suisses*, III., I, Berne, 1906, 312 seq. Cf. also RANKE, *Osmanen*, 173 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See BROSC, *loc. cit.*, 112 seq., who first used the dispatches of the Venetian Ambassador in Rome. Cf., too, BALAN, VI., 704, note 1, and NIK. VON SALIS-SOGLIO, *Gesch. der Familie Salis*, Lindau, 1891, 167 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See BROSC, *loc. cit.*, 114 seq. For Sarego's sanction of the massacre, see REINHARDT, *Der Vellliner Mord*, Einsiedeln, 1885, 172.

French diplomats joined their efforts to those of the Venetians, in the hope of inducing the Holy See to assist the Valtellina and to take steps hostile to Spain, their efforts proved futile. Paul V. declared to the Venetian ambassador that, however much he regretted Spain's intervention, he could nevertheless take no action since in that case it would seem as if the Holy See wished to take the Protestant Leagues under its protection; that he took no part in the transaction either by sympathy or counsel, and still less by any monetary contribution. To the French nuncio Bentivoglio, the Secretary of State wrote as early as August 8th, 1620, that on numerous grounds the Pope was firmly resolved not to meddle with the Valtellina question.<sup>1</sup> Paul V.'s circumspection in this matter is shown by the fact that when, in September, 1620, a Capuchin came to Rome, in the name of the people of the Valtellina, to beg for a few thousand scudi for the purpose of procuring chalices and vestments, all he got was indulgences and spiritual favours, but never a scudo in cash.<sup>2</sup>

Paul also frowned on a project which had been mooted at an early date, namely that of handing over the strong places of the Grisons to the Pope as to a disinterested party, and to man them with pontifical troops, for the leading principle of his policy was rigid abstention from any interference that might sow the seeds of conflict.<sup>3</sup> His prudence was justified inasmuch as owing to the invasion by Spanish-Austrian troops, the affair of the Valtellina quickly assumed a most alarming character.<sup>4</sup> Should France and Venice unite for war on Spain, there was reason to fear the repercussion of such an occurrence in Germany, for in that event the emperor

<sup>1</sup> " S.S.<sup>ta</sup> e risolutissima di non volersene ingerire per molti rispetti e in particolare perche, se lo facesse, si accenderebbero piu i Grigioni e gli altri eretici contra quei cattoloci." BENTIVOGLIO, *Nunziataura di Francia*, ed. L. de Steffani IV., n. 2461, p. 405.

<sup>2</sup> See BROSCHE, *loc. cit.*, 115.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Arch. stor. ital.*, 3 Serie, XII., 2, 172.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. v. Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, *Politik Venedigs*, I., 112, Hürbin, 365 *seq.*

was bound to lose the support of Spain. Paul V. was ready to mediate both in Paris and in Venice, with a view to preventing the outbreak of hostilities. He was, however, doubtful whether he would succeed in restraining the French government from a hostile move against Spain.<sup>1</sup> He did not live to see the further development of the affair.

<sup>1</sup> See the reports of Savelli to Ferdinand II. of October 20 and November 7, 1620, in SCHNITZER, *Politik des Heiligen Stuhles*, 159 *seq.*