

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 THE LATE

LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR

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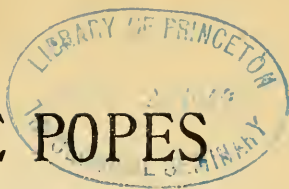
VOLUME XXXIV

INNOCENT XIII (1721-1724). BENEDICT XIII (1724-1730).
CLEMENT XII (1730-1740)

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INNOCENT XIII. 1721-1724.

BENEDICT XIII. 1724-1730.

CHAPTER I.

PONTIFICATE OF INNOCENT XIII.—ELECTION AND ANTECEDENTS—NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EMPEROR ABOUT ITALY AND WITH SPAIN AND PORTUGAL—THREAT OF WAR WITH TURKEY—JANSENISM—THE SCHISM OF UTRECHT—TROUBLES IN CHINA.

(1.)

IN spite of all treaties and pacts, the political situation of the Curia and the Papal States was on the whole in a very precarious state at the death of Clement XI. ; Comacchio still remained a bone of contention, the nunciature of Naples was not yet reopened, disputes with Spain still awaited a settlement and the attitude of France towards the Bull *Unigenitus* was neither unanimous nor reassuring. To all this were added the imperial claims to Parma, Piacenza, as well as those of the Spanish Princes to Castro and Ronciglione.¹ Hence the issue of the impending conclave

¹ See **Discorso* (for the conclave of 1721), *Arm.*, 1, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican (now in State Archives, Vienna) ; copies in *Cod. ital.*, 184 f., 505-529 and 548 f., 131 *seqq.* State Library, Munich ; also *Cod.*, blue, 332 (BÖHM, 1036), State Archives, Vienna (erroneously ascribed to 1730 by a later hand and also by BÖHM, 284 ; a translation according to an Olmütz Codex in M. v. MAYER, 93 *seqq.* WILLE (*Zeitschr. f. die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, LXXII. [1918], 179), exaggerates when he calls this supposed diary of Schrattenbach "one of the few descriptions of Conclaves that we possess". Cf. PETRUCELLI, IV., 2 *seq.* For satires, see " *Pasquinate durante la sede vacante ", *Cod.* 10790, British Museum, London, and " *Gabinetto di rime satiriche in sede vacante d'Innocenzo XII. da Clemente XI., 1721 ", *Fondo Gesuit.*, 83, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

could not be a matter of indifference to the political Powers.¹

¹ Besides the manuscript sources quoted above, n. 1, and those indexed in GISLER, 144, we must mention : “ *Conclave historico descritto dal sig. card. Franc. Barberini et a sua dettatura da me Franc. Velli da Palestrina suo familiare e conclavista fedelmente disteso,” *Cod. Barb.*, LI., 59 (4684), Vatican Library (*cf.* WAHRMUND in *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, 170, n. 5) ; “ *Due conclavi descritti da un fedelissimo conclavista (1721 and 1724), *Cod.*, 871. Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican ; Althan’s **Diarium* drawn up as a report to the Emperor by his conclavist, Abb. Grassi, with Althan’s autograph corrections, in *Cod. ital.*, 55, f. 255-273 and f. 235-252, State Library, Munich (WILLE, *loc. cit.*, 185, speaks of a diary of Althan, but he seems to mean Cardinal Schrattenbach) ; *Report of the conclave of 1721 in *Cod. ital.*, 324, f. 26-82, State Library, Munich, and *Cod.*, blue, 332 (BÖHM, 1036), f. 39-128, State Arch., Vienna, translated from an Olmütz Codex in M. v. MAYER, 7 *seqq.* ; “ *Relazione del conclave . . . 1721 dal sig. cav. Vitelleschi . . . donatami 1723 . . . Schönborn ” (with the Cardinal’s personal signature), calls special attention to Althan’s rôle, but does not give any particulars about the proceedings of the conclave ; it is illustrated with a plan of the conclave, with engravings of the fifty-six Cardinals who entered the conclave, a series of illustrations of the most important events of the *sede vacante* period, with divers election and accession papers, an election list, large pictures of the catafalque of Clement XI., and of the ceremonies and the triumphal arches at the *Possesso* of Innocent XIII., *Cod.* 5706, State Library, Vienna ; “ *Conclave per l’elezione di Innocenzo XIII. ”, *Cod.* 130, Catania Library ; “ *Conclave per la morte di Clemente XI. ”, t. 1-4, *Cod.* 2961/4, Consistorial Archives, Vatican Library (contains very little that has direct reference to the conclave ; *cf.* WAHRMUND, *loc. cit.*, 41) ; Acquaviva’s *general report after the conclusion of the conclave to Grimaldi, May 9, 1721, Simancas Archives ; CRACAS, XVII., 580 *seqq.* ; *Gründliche Nachricht vom Konklave oder Neueste Historie des röm. Hofes*, 3rd and 4th part, Frankfurt, 1721. *Cf.* also the following accounts : PETRUCELLI, IV., 1 *seqq.* ; WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 185 *seqq.* ; *Id.* in *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, 170, n. 5 ; EISLER, 183 ; NOVAES, XIII., 3 *seqq.* ; BROSCHE, II., 55. The election, personality and pontificate

On March 20th the body of the deceased Pope was transferred to the Sistine Chapel. The first meeting of the Cardinals then took place; the Fisherman's ring and the seal of Clement XI. were broken and Bartolomeo Ruspoli was appointed governor of the conclave.¹ Even before the solemn interment on March 23rd, Ruspoli had issued strict orders prohibiting all public amusements, any kind of disturbance and the carrying of arms.² A noticeable shortage of grain in Rome gave rise to fears of a general famine within a short space of time. At the suggestion of Cardinal Pamfili the College of Cardinals decided unanimously that all the grain merchants of the city should be made to sell a third of their store to the public granary; from this store small quantities only were to be distributed, more especially to the farmers for sowing. Flour was also rationed and its quality reduced.³

Besides providing for the common welfare, the Cardinals also made arrangements for the coming election. The question arose as to whether Cardinals Noailles and Alberoni should be summoned to the conclave and, if so, in what manner. On March 20th the senior Cardinals, after weighing the matter, decided to place it before the entire College.⁴ It was more or less clear that the invitation could not be omitted, as such a step might furnish a pretext for challenging the validity of the election.⁵ At the session of the following day Fabroni alone was momentarily in favour of the omission of

of Innocent XIII. are also extensively discussed in the *Report of A. Corner, July 15, 1724, State Archives, Venice (see RANKE, III., 215* *seq.*).

¹ CRACAS, XVI., 576. Agosto Chigi was appointed marshal of the conclave; see the report in MAYER, 35 *seqq.* Congregations, exequies, etc., are fully described in Vitelleschi's *report, *Cod.* 5706, f. 1-54, State Library, Vienna.

² CRACAS, XVI., 579.

³ Report in MAYER, 19 *seq.*

⁴ Acquaviva's *report to Grimaldi, March 21, 1721, Simancas Archives.

⁵ Acquaviva's *report to Grimaldi, March 19, 1721, *ibid.* Cf. NOVAES, XIII., 8.

the invitation. Finally all agreed that Noailles should be summoned with the other Cardinals,¹ all the more so as the French agent Lafitau had assured Cardinal Albani that Noailles would on no account² leave Paris. This decision became applicable to the case of Cardinal Alberoni. There nevertheless ensued a debate of an hour and a half,³ mainly about the form of the invitation ; for at least officially nothing was known of his sojourn in Switzerland.⁴

At length it was agreed to issue two invitations for Alberoni ; one to the Archbishop of Genoa and one to the Bishop of Brugnato, either for transmission or, should this be necessary, for public promulgation. In order to eliminate the remotest pretext for the Cardinal's possible absence, a safe-conduct for his journey to Rome was issued to him, which was to be valid until ten days after the papal election.⁵

The assembled College received at this time the usual condolences of the diplomatic representatives ; on March 21st Medici spoke for Spain, Guelle for England, Cardinal Conti for Portugal, and on the following day Lafitau for France.⁶

On the evening of March 30th Clement XI. was laid in his

¹ *Discorso* in MAYER, 28 ; Barberini's *Diary, *Cod. Barb.*, LI., 59, f. 4^b, Vatican Library.

² Lafitau had discussed this matter with Albani ; see Lafitau to Dubois, March 19, 1721, in MICHAUD, 54. Cf. Acquaviva's second *report to Grimaldi of the same day, Simancas Archives.

³ *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, March 21, 1721, *ibid.*

⁴ The report in MAYER, 25, supposes that many Cardinals were cognizant of this and that they were even in correspondence with him.

⁵ *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, March 21, 1721, and more fully, March 25, 1721, Simancas Archives ; also Barberini's *Diary, *loc. cit.*, f. 4^b-6. Cf. the report in MAYER, 25 *seq.*, and PETRUCCELLI, IV., 4. The *Acts on the admission of Alberoni in *Cod.* 2961, Consistorial Archives, Vatican Library (WAHRMUND in *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, 170, n. 5, p. 41) ; *An apologia of the Cardinal, *ibid.*, *Cod.* 2962.

⁶ No special Portuguese ambassador had been delegated ; see *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, March 25, 1721, Simancas Archives.

final resting-place. Next morning the opening of the conclave was duly celebrated. Cardinal Tanara, as Dean, sang the Mass of the Holy Ghost. Afterwards twenty-seven Cardinals took part in the solemn entry up the monumental staircase of Constantine. Towards six in the evening, after several of the Cardinals had spent a short time in the afternoon in their palaces, and others had received distinguished visitors in their cells, the conclave was closed. However, the members increased almost daily, until at the end of the conclave, their number amounted to fifty-five.¹

Of the sixty-eight Cardinals then alive, fifty-four had received the hat during the long pontificate of Clement XI.² Those created by Innocent XII. were : Boncompagni, Cornaro, Noailles, Paolucci, Sagripanti and Tanara ; Altieri, Barberini, Giudice, Imperiali and Ottoboni belonged to the pontificate of Alexander VIII. ; Pamfili owed his dignity to Innocent XI., Marescotti and Orsini theirs to his predecessor Clement X. Twelve Cardinals were unable to attend the conclave : they were the Spaniards Belluga and Borgia, the Portuguese Cunha and Pereira, the Frenchmen Gesvres, Noailles, Mailly and Polignac, the Fleming Boussu, whilst the German Cardinal of Saxony was detained by the Diet of Ratisbon. Marescotti and Fieschi excused themselves on the ground of

¹ At the beginning of the conclave, sixty at the most were expected ; *cf.* the *Discorso* in MAYER, 100. The Florentine, Girolamo Maria Allegri, was appointed confessor. A list of the masters of ceremonies, servants and workmen who were admitted besides the conclavists is given in a report in MAYER, 43 *seqq.* CRACAS, XVI., 583, gives a list of the Cardinals present.

² They were Cardinals Albani, Alberoni, Althan, Acquaviva, Barbarigo, Belluga, Bentivoglio, Bissy, Borgia, Borromei, Boussu, Bussi, Niccolò and Iñigo Caracciolo, Cienfuegos, Colonna, Conti, Corradini, Corsini, Czacki, Cunha, Cusani, Davia, Fabroni, Fieschi, Gesvres, Gozzadini, Gualtieri, Mailly, Marini, Odescalchi, Olivieri, Origo, Paracciani, Patrizi, Pereira, Piazza, Pico, Pignatelli, Polignac, Priuli, Rohan, Ruffo, Cristiano Augusto di Sassonia, Salerni, Schönborn, Schrattenbach, Scotti, Spada, Giorgio and Niccolò Spinola, Tolomei, Vallemanni, Zondadari.

old age. Illness obliged Cardinal Salerni to leave the conclave.¹ Ottoboni, though not yet in Holy Orders as required by Canon Law, was nevertheless allowed by the Sacred College to take part in the election.² The Cardinals present were divided into four parties, the adherents of Clement XI. and the "Zelanti" formed the curial group, the imperial and Bourbon Cardinals the political one. Clement XI.'s Cardinals were far too numerous and their influence, owing to the political estrangements of recent years, too divided, to admit of their blending into one homogeneous party. Cardinal Albani, as nephew of the late Pope, would have been the natural leader of the party had he been endowed with the necessary gift of leadership and ability.³ Hence there were more malcontents than trusty followers, with the result that in an emergency Albani could only rely on a few members of his party, the number of which fluctuated, according to various estimates, between eight and fifteen.⁴ The party of the "Zelanti" was even weaker and more insignificant, largely owing to the character of its leader Fabroni.⁵ Its estimated membership was from six to eight; however, several of the Clementine party⁶ and even Albani⁷ were expected to join forces with them. In these circumstances the balance was bound to be in favour of the two political groups whose mutual opposition made itself felt from the

¹ Report in MAYER, 62; NOVAES, XIII., 8. Paracciani did not leave the conclave on April 28, as NOVAES (XIII., 7) reports; however, his illness was so grave that there was talk of such an eventuality; see the report in MAYER, 65, 71 *seq.*

² By the Brief "Eligibilitatis". Barberini's **Diary, loc. cit.*

³ *Discorso* in MAYER, 102; the report, *ibid.*, 79.

⁴ Properly speaking, he could have had forty-two followers and so have played a decisive part. "**Savie considerationi per formare un perfetto piano,*" *Arm.*, I, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁵ *Discorso* in MAYER, 103.

⁶ "**Savie considerationi,*" *loc. cit.*

⁷ PETRUCELLI, IV., 5. In MICHAUD, 60, as many as twelve *Zelanti* are mentioned.

first within the Sacred College ; in fact it was the imperial and the Bourbon parties that decided the issue.

The court of Vienna was obliged, for the first time, to do without its alliance with Spain of so many centuries. In view of Clement XI.'s policy which, on the whole, had favoured the Bourbons, Vienna had every reason for following with redoubled interest and, if possible, for bringing its influence to bear upon the proceedings in the conclave.¹ The imperial party presumably disposed of upwards of twenty to twenty-five votes, in spite of the fact that among the Cardinals of the countries adjoining the Habsburg lands, Acquaviva was favourably inclined towards Spain, Salerni and Scotti towards Albani, Bissy and Cusani more towards France.² The two Portuguese Cardinals whom it was hoped to win over, failed to arrive in time for the election. Nevertheless the imperialists formed the strongest section.³ The Austrian Government had lost no time in letting it be known which Cardinals were, or were not, acceptable to it. Already towards the close of Clement's reign, it had had a comprehensive character sketch of the whole College drawn up.⁴ About mid-November, 1720, Cardinal Althan, in view of the expected early demise of the Pope who was dangerously sick, was instructed to send in yet a further report to Vienna.⁵ This wish was fulfilled in a detailed letter

¹ On the keen interest of the Viennese court, see the Acts of the Consistorial Archives, Vatican Library, in EISLER, 318, and PETRUCCELLI, IV., 7.

² The "savie considerationi" (*loc. cit.*) reckons on twenty-five votes without the five "diffidenti suddetti"; the report dating from the last days of Clement XI. "Carattere dei cardinali" (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican) reckons only on twenty-two.

³ *Discorsò* in MAYER, 103.

⁴ *Arm.*, I, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. Of course, the Cardinals favourable to the Emperor are represented as better, the others worse than they are in reality.

⁵ "Instruzione," dated November 16, 1720, *Arm.*, I, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. Cf. *ibid.*, the imperial letter, dated Vienna, October 14, 1720.

to the Emperor, dated January 21st, 1721. The first part dealt with the procedure of a papal election, the parties which would presumably prove decisive in the conclave, and furnished an accurate characterization of twenty-six *papabili*.¹ Althan also expressed the hope that in spite of the defection of Spain, the imperialists, if they but held close together, would be able to face the Bourbon party with twice as many votes; however, the attitude of some of the Italian representatives of the Habsburgs was yet to be revealed.

On the day of the opening of the conclave, March 31st, Cardinal Althan received instructions from the Emperor² expressly commanding him to exclude Cardinals Paolucci, Olivieri and Sagripanti, and urging the inclusion of Pignatelli, Tanara, Conti, Spada, Boncompagni, Davia, Iñigo Carracciolo, Paracciani, Ruffo and Gozzadini.³ The letter demanded the formal use of exclusion only in case of extreme necessity and recommended to Althan to await the arrival of Cardinal Cienfuegos who had taken part in the Vienna conferences.⁴ In addition to consulting with Giudice, Schrattenbach and Czacki, he should, if possible, get in touch with the Cardinals subject to the Kings of Poland and Portugal.

Agreement in the Franco-Spanish party was promptly arrived at. Even before the conclave, the French ambassador in Rome, Lafitau, had approached the King of Spain with

¹ "Carattere dei cardinali formato dal sig. Principe di S. Croce, mandato a Vienna li 21 gennaio 1721," *ibid.*

² Imperial letter to Althan, dated March 31, 1721 (*ibid.*), published in WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 314 *seq.*

³ WAHRMUND, *loc. cit.*, 188. This instruction reached Althan only on April 8 (**Diarium* under this date, *Cod. ital.*, 55, State Library, Munich); however, Althan had received an explicit order for the exclusion of Paolucci in December, 1720; this is made clear by Barberini's own *report in *Cod. Barb.*, 4684, f. 87, Vatican Library.

⁴ On the caution with which Vienna proceeded, especially in the communication of inclusions and exclusions, *cf.* WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 185 *seq.*, and the reports, *ibid.*, 313 *seqq.*

the suggestion that Cardinals Acquaviva, Belluga and Borgia should join forces with France, seeing that the latter country was endeavouring to bring about a united front on the subject of exclusion, in opposition to the imperial plans. Simultaneously Acquaviva, in a special communication to Madrid,¹ repeated the same desire that France should be requested to send appropriate instructions to Lafitau. Moreover a further strengthening of the French party could be hoped for by the addition of Gualtieri, Patrizi, Bentivoglio, Origo and Pico.²

Had it not been for the tardy arrival of the Cardinals, the Bourbon party could have counted upon eleven to twelve votes.³ Acquaviva feared, though without reason, that the imperialists would make a decisive move, in the very first days of the conclave, against an opposition that was still very weak.⁴

After the opening ballots Rohan at least entered the conclave⁵ and at once showed his concern for the Spanish interests; before long a complete understanding between Acquaviva,⁶ Pico, Bentivoglio and others⁷ was effected.

¹ *To Grimaldi, March 25, 1721, Simancas Archives.

² How uncertain especially the Italo-Habsburg Cardinals were, may be gathered from “*Carattere dei cardinali”, *loc. cit.* On the position of the Venetians, *cf.* the *Discorso* in MAYER, 104; PETRUCELLI, IV., 5.

³ Before the conclave the imperial party counted on fifteen votes (“*savie considerationi”, *loc. cit.*); on eleven, according to “*carattere dei cardinali”, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Acquaviva's second *letter to Grimaldi, March 21, 1721, Simancas Archives.

⁵ Dubois, March 29, 1721, urged Rohan very strongly to see to it that he arrived in time, MICHAUD, 56 *seq.*

⁶ *Salvador Ascanio, Acquaviva's agent, to Grimaldi, dat. April 8, 1721, Simancas Archives, and *Acquaviva to the same, dated May 9, 1721, *ibid.*

⁷ That these were friendly to Spain, as were Gualtieri and Ottoboni, was stated by Acquaviva in his second *letter to Grimaldi, March 19, 1721, and in that of his agent, Salv. Ascanio, April 6, to the same. Simancas Archives.

On the other hand, Acquaviva was unsuccessful in his appeals to the Spanish Government to hasten the arrival of the remaining Spanish Cardinals.¹ Even the royal instructions for the conclave did not come into Acquaviva's hands until May 7th, by which date the issue of the election was already decided.²

Thus at the beginning of the conclave, the prospects of all parties were very indefinite.³ Only one fact was clear, namely that none of the four parties was in a position to decide the election of a Pope by its own strength alone.⁴ How their mutual relations and alliances were likely to shape themselves depended entirely upon the character of the candidatures about to be put forward. But even on this point matters were not clear, except for the fundamental principle upon which all were tacitly agreed, namely that the new Pope must not be too young.⁵ Another long pontificate like that of Clement XI., who outlived almost all his electors, was not desired.

On the present occasion the *papabili* were unusually numerous; no less than thirty names were mentioned, including not a few from earlier pontificates. Thus Cardinal

¹ Already in his *letter to Grimaldi, dat. March 18, 1721, *ibid.*; Acquaviva had urged them to be ready to travel by the shortest route from Barcelona to Civitavecchia. Further earnest exhortations are given in two *letters of Acquaviva of March 19 and in those of his agent, Salv. Ascanio of April 6 and 8, and as late as May 6 to Grimaldi, *ibid.*

² *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, May 9, 1721, *ibid.*

³ *Acquaviva's first letter to Grimaldi, dated March 19, *ibid.*

⁴ *Discorso* in MAYER, 105.

⁵ *Ibid.* With these personal considerations, political ones were likewise combined; cf. " *carattere dei cardinali " (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican): " Ha ella [the Emperor] per causa de' suoi stati d'Italia necessità di portar al papato un cardinale di età decrepita, perché in questa età i pensieri sono naturalmente indrizzati alla quiete e l'animo suole essere alieno dal tentare cose nuove, che nel breve periodo di pochi anni non potrebbero consumarsi." Cf. PETRUCCELLI, IV., 4.

Orsini, who dated from the pontificate of Clement X., was receiving serious consideration from a few.¹ Although his simple and austere manner was much esteemed, especially among the "Zelanti", the fact of his being a religious caused him to be regarded as unsuitable. Frequent mention was also made of the two surviving Cardinals of Innocent XI., Pamfili and Barbarigo. Pamfili was noted for his open and prudent action for the welfare of the people, his total independence of his relatives, his experience, and his knowledge of the state of the world; on the other hand he was known to be fond of money and parsimonious. Barbarigo, a Venetian by birth, was irreproachable in his manner of life; he may have been put forward because the process of the canonization of his uncle was then in progress.² Among Alexander VIII.'s Cardinals three were considered eligible, of whom Altieri, a sombre and enigmatic character, and Barberini, who was unpopular on account of his avarice, were but seldom mentioned, whereas Imperiali's name appears more frequently. Imperiali was on good terms with Austria and the "Zelanti", but less so with Albani; by the French he was regarded as an intriguer.

Among Innocent XII.'s Cardinals five stood a good chance. Cornaro was personally esteemed as a calm, just and highly gifted man, as his nunciature in Spain had shown; but apart from his being considered too young at 61, one obstacle to his election to the papacy lay in his friendship with France, and even more in his close relations with his brother, the Doge of Venice. Sagripanti, officious and too fond of money, was universally unpopular. Boncompagni did not lack

¹ The following characterization is chiefly based on the Austrian statements in: **Kardinals Kollegium*, " *Carattere dei cardinali," " *Savie considerazioni," " *Discorso: conghetture su cui può cadere l'elezione," no. 579 (*Arm.*, I, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican), on the two reports in MAYER, 7 *seqq.*, 93 *seqq.*, on the French statements in MICHAUD, 57 *seqq.*, and on PETRUCELLI, IV., 6 *seqq.*

² Bishop Gregorio Barbarigo; *cf.* the present work, XXXII, 563 *seqq.*; XXXI., 131.

friends, but his political connections, especially with Spain,¹ made him appear less desirable. Paolucci, on the other hand, entered the conclave with excellent prospects. The Secretary of State was esteemed for his accommodating disposition. Personally indifferent to the secular Powers, he had greatly endeared himself with the people by his liberality towards the churches and the poor. He was naturally in high favour both with the Spanish court and with Albani, the latter, as a matter of fact, hoped with the concurrence of Spain and France, to win the tiara for him. However, Austria, and to some extent France also, were utterly averse to a continuance of the late Pope's policy, hence they offered decided opposition to his candidature. One of the foremost aspirants was the Cardinal Dean, Tanara, who had won for himself both esteem and goodwill during his nunciatures in Brussels, Cologne, Lisbon and Vienna, and whose relations with the Powers were not bad. He was also esteemed for his excellent business capacity. In spite of his 71 years he was sound both in body and mind, and therefore entirely fitted for the office.

But most of the *papabili*—nineteen in all—were to be found among the Cardinals created by Clement XI. On the French side, for courtesy's sake, the names of Acquaviva, Albani, Gualtieri and Giudice were mentioned, but these candidates, either on the ground of their being too pronounced friends of France, or for other political reasons, would never have obtained the imperial assent. Odescalchi and Spinola were also occasionally mentioned.

On the other hand Pignatelli was regarded as a general favourite. The life of the former Theatine, whose conduct was a model for all, made him acceptable to the "Zelanti". His family, of which Innocent XII. had been a member, enjoyed the special favour of the Viennese court, as well as a measure of esteem on the part of France. The only grounds of hesitation on the part of the Bourbon party were the fact that his brother, the Vice-Regent of Sicily, had greatly

¹ Through the Princess of Piombino ; cf. PETRUCELLI, IV., 10.

distinguished himself in the service of the Habsburgs, at the reoccupation of Naples, and the Cardinal's continual ill health. But he was the first Cardinal created by Clement XI., and this fact sufficed to secure for him Albani's favour. Both groups, Austria and Albani, worked zealously in the conclave for his promotion; Spain's intervention alone defeated them. Corsini also stood in high favour at the beginning of the conclave. His detachment from his family, his culture, his intellectual alertness, his uprightness and his love of justice, had earned for him the highest reputation. At the outset he was recommended by Austria, but was ruled out for various reasons by the French, the Spaniards and—in view of the burning question of the succession in Tuscany¹—by the German party also. Gozzadini, a learned and upright man, of pleasing appearance, was also considered by the imperial party. But French interests and possibly the thought of his numerous and needy relations stood in his way. Conti was well known for his adroitness and skill in secular affairs²; he belonged to a distinguished family which in the past had given many Popes to the Church. As nuncio in Portugal and Switzerland he had gained both experience and friends; the Emperor also held him in respect. As his close connections with Lisbon carried little weight, France also kept him in view.

Less likely, yet deserving of consideration, were some other Cardinals of Clement XI. Thus the choice of the much respected Jesuit Tolomei was open to no objection. Paracciani and Vallemani were, however, too old and feeble. Fieschi was connected with France by the closest family ties, whilst Iñigo Caracciolo, as a Neapolitan, had to contend with political difficulties, hence neither could obtain general recognition. The same was true of Cusani who showed great leanings towards France, and of Scotti whose family was

¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

² “ *È di complessione non sana, di naturale politico. . . . I suoi parenti sono stimati Angioini ed egli troppo giovane per esser eletto ” [He was 66 years old !]. *Carattere dei cardinali*, *loc. cit.*

none too well disposed towards the Emperor.¹ There were objections of a personal character to Patrizi as well as to Fabroni, the leader of the "Zelanti", on account of the latter's attitude towards France at the time of the publication of the Bull *Unigenitus*.

The remaining *papabili* of Clement XI. were all deemed too young. This was the case of Spada, of the group of the "Zelanti", who led an extraordinarily strict life² and was popular at every court. Davia, though widely esteemed for his talents and prudence, was objected to solely on account of his relations. Piazza also was said to be experienced and had many friends. There were strong political forces at work against Corradini who, as a typical scholar, had hardly ever been out of Rome but was believed to be to some extent responsible for the war between the Papal States and Austria. Origo's reputation for cunning and his anti-imperialist tendencies, Olivieri's near relationship to,³ and Bussi's all too great dependence on the House of Albani,⁴ could hardly be regarded as good recommendations.

With such an unusually large number of candidates, and such strong divergences within the Sacred College, it was impossible to make any definite prediction about the result of the negotiations, but it was generally expected that, in the circumstances, the conclave would be a long one.⁵

It is not likely that anyone of the twenty-seven Cardinals who, on the evening of March 31st, were enclosed in the conclave, suspected in any way how lively, in spite of their small numbers, the first phase of the election was going to be.

¹ On the other hand, he was blamed for his attachment to Austria; cf. PETRUCELLI, IV., 7.

² "Ma secco e dedito al zelo ed ai rigori." *Ibid.*

³ Pasquino called him "prince Eugène de la dynastie Albani". *Ibid.*

⁴ "Le Benjamin d'Albani." *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* On the other hand, some were anxious to speed up matters; thus Albani who did not wish to await the arrival of Alberoni, and Ottoboni, who did not want to meet Rohan. Cf. MICHAUD, 55 seq.

The following morning saw them assembled in the Sistine Chapel for the first ballot.¹ Much to their surprise Paolucci received eight votes and two more in the *accessus*. It was evident that Albani, taking advantage of the small number of the electors and the wide-spread desire for a short conclave, strove to secure the pontificate for his uncle's Secretary of State ; those present, for the most part created by Clement XI., could, in his opinion, best show their gratitude by giving their consent.² Althan, the imperial representative, was visibly angered by such a suggestion and retired in silence to his cell. Albani called upon him there, in the hope of calming him by representing to him that, at the moment, in the absence of forty electors, a decision would hardly be reached.³ Nevertheless, in consequence of secret negotiations,⁴ Paolucci's prospects increased considerably. At the evening scrutiny of the same day, nine votes fell to his name—that is, one more than in the morning. Althan had no alternative but to call immediately upon the Cardinal Dean, to inform him of the imperial exclusion of this candidate. Tanara did not allow this to interfere with the course of the conclave ; in subsequent ballots, Paolucci's prospects shaped themselves in such a way that only three more votes were needed for a three-quarter's majority.⁵ Althan now felt obliged to take extreme measures. He solemnly pronounced his veto against Paolucci and, walking up to each Cardinal in turn, he repeated the protest in the Emperor's name to each of them individually.⁶ Albani's party and those of the "Zelanti" who had

¹ For all the scrutinies of this conclave, see *Fogli de' scrutinii per il conclave, nel quale fu assunto al pontificato il sig. card. M. A. Conti con il nome d'Innocenzo XIII. l'a, 1721, *Cod. Barb.* 4447, Vatican Library.

² Report in MAYER, 47.

³ Althan's **Diarium* for April 1, 1721, *Cod. ital.*, 55, State Library, Munich.

⁴ *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, May 9, 1721, Simancas Arch.

⁵ On the question of the accurate counting of the votes, cf. WAHRMUND in *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, 170, n. 5, p. 13 *seqq.*

⁶ Althan's **Diarium* for April 1, *loc. cit.* (published according to the Viennese Codex in WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 311

joined him, were exceedingly surprised.¹ The meeting was adjourned, and the members separated amid general consternation. Paolucci, who was most affected, was prepared to withdraw, though not without expressing his amazement at such proceedings. There was no sleep for Althan that night; he returned to his cell in a feverish condition in consequence of his great excitement, and sent for the physician.² The whole night was spent in negotiations and the Emperor's representative had a personal interview with Albani between two and four o'clock in the morning.³ The result was soon revealed.

At the scrutiny of the following morning Althan reiterated the imperial veto⁴; not a single vote fell to Paolucci.⁵ The excitement had died down. Rohan, France's official representative, who entered the conclave on the same day and called on Althan in the afternoon, thanked the Cardinal in the name of France for his decisive action against Paolucci.⁶ This sealed the latter's fate.⁷ For all that, on April 4th,

seq.); Barberini's *report in *Cod. Barb.*, LI., 59, f. 86 *seq.*, Vatican Library (extracts in WAHRMUND in *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, 170, n. 5, p. 4 *seqq.*). Acquaviva's *report through Salv. Ascanio to Grimaldi, April 1, Ascanio's *letter of April 6, his second *letter of April 8, and Acquaviva's *general report of May 9, 1721, to Grimaldi, Simancas Archives; Lafitau to Dubois, April 7, 1721, in MICHAUD, 306; Report in MAYER, 48 *seqq.*

¹ Barberini's *report, *loc. cit.* (WAHRMUND, *loc. cit.*, 5).

² Barberini's *report, *loc. cit.*, f. 86 *seq.*

³ Althan's **Diarium* for April 1, 1721, *loc. cit.* Later, Althan still negotiated with Conti; see *ibid.*

⁴ Barberini's *report, *loc. cit.*, f. 16^b (in WAHRMUND, *loc. cit.*, 7).

⁵ Althan's **Diarium* for April 2, 1721, *loc. cit.*

⁶ **Ibid.* France feared that if Paolucci were Pope, Fabroni would be made Secretary of State; the latter's attitude on the question of the Bull *Unigenitus* had given little satisfaction in France; cf. PETRUCELLI, IV., 12.

⁷ On this public exclusion by Althan, see EISLER, 183; GAUGUSCH, 180 *seq.*; LECTOR, 565; NOVAES, XIII., 8 *seq.*; VIDAL, 64; WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 186 *seq.*; *Id.* in *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, 170, n. 5, esp. p. 9 *seqq.*

Tanara gave his vote to Paolucci, though he was alone in doing so, and on April 9th he even obtained four votes ; the reason may have been a desire to ascertain whether the latest instructions from Vienna continued to insist on the exclusion.¹ However, supported by Rohan,² Althan pronounced the exclusion for the third time.³ Albani subsequently assured him that he had had nothing to do with the new move which, he alleged, had come from the "Zelanti".⁴ A period of calm negotiations now began and purely as a matter of form, scrutinies continued to be held in which any one name rarely received more than four to six votes.

Albani's unsuccessful attempt on behalf of Paolucci led to a certain *rapprochement* between the political parties. Rohan was not long in establishing an understanding with Spain ; on April 4th he wrote to his sovereign about a new plan for a "union of the crowns".⁵ Althan was not averse to this. On the other hand the alliance between the nephew and the "Zelanti" was not of long duration. It was even said that in their mutual discussions Albani and Pamfili treated each other none too courteously.⁶

About this time a fresh incident aroused the interest of the Cardinals and of the whole of Rome, viz. the arrival of Alberoni. In the very first days of the conclave the latter had sent word from Bologna of his early arrival and prayed for a fresh safe-conduct. The answer of the Sacred College

¹ WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 188.

² Althan's **Diarium* for April 9, 1721, *loc. cit.* ; WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 188.

³ **Cod. Barb.*, 4684, f. 17, Vatican Library (WAHRMUND in *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, 170, n. 5, p. 8). Althan had announced a repetition of his exclusion as soon as three votes were given to Paolucci ; *cf.* his **Diarium*, *loc. cit.*

⁴ About the middle of the month the "Zelanti" had not as yet given up all hope for Paolucci ; *cf.* De la Chausse to Dubois, April 15, 1721, in MICHAUD, 307.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 305.

⁶ Rohan to the King, April 4, 1721 : " Outre les invectives et les menaces on assure que Pamphile ayant été traité de fou par M. le card. Albani, lui jeta son écritoire à la tête " (in MICHAUD, 305). On April 8, Rohan reports fresh difficulties (*ibid.*, 306).

was couched in the most courteous terms. On April 7th the once so powerful Spanish statesman entered the Pope's capital amid immense crowds of curious spectators who had taken their places near the Ponte Molle several hours before he was due to arrive.¹ He entered the conclave on the following day, when he was received by Albani and Paolucci who happened to be the ushers for that day. In the Sacred College he played a most modest and humble rôle, as no one wished to exchange a word with him.² Ottoboni and Corsini alone called on him that same evening, with a view to winning him over to the French party. They failed in their attempt³; subsequently also Alberoni spent the time of the conclave in settling his own affairs,⁴ rather than in taking an active part in the business of the election.

The situation remained confused, but Albani managed to establish at least a negatively united front among his uncle's Cardinals; as a token of regard for the late Pope and his family they agreed not to vote for any of the *papabili* of the previous pontificates.⁵ Boncompagni made an unsuccessful

¹ The report in MAYER, 56 *seqq.*, gives a very enthusiastic account of Alberoni. Cf. vol. XXXIII., p. 169 *seqq.*, for his subsequent fortunes.

² Rohan to the King, April 15, 1721, in MICHAUD, 307. Cf. Althan's **Diarium* for April 8: "Fu ricevuto con poca dimostrazione." *Cod. ital.*, 55, National Library, Munich.

³ PETRUCELLI, IV., 13. Alberoni remained faithful to Spain and spoke of the Spanish King con "infinito respecto". **Salv. Ascanio* to Grimaldi, April 14, 1721, Simancas Arch.

⁴ In order to shield himself against persecution he was anxious to attach himself not only to France (Lafitau to the King, April 22, 1721, in MICHAUD, 309), but to the Imperialists also (**Acquaviva* to Grimaldi, May 1, 1721, from the conclave, Simancas Archives). Albani and Spain were the least favourable to him (MICHAUD, *loc. cit.*). On Alberoni's attempt to justify himself before the Cardinal-Deacon, Astalli, made shortly before, cf. his "**Sommaro aggiunto alla sua giustificazione*", in *Cod.* 14296, State Library, Vienna. *Ibid.*, *Cod.* 6062, A **Life of Alberoni*.

⁵ **Salv. Ascanio's* second **letter* to Grimaldi of April 14, Simancas Archives; Barberini's **report* in *Cod. Barb.*, 4684, f. 21, Vatican Library; Report in MAYER, 80.

attempt to bring about a similar though not quite so important an understanding among the five Cardinals of Innocent XII., but when he sought to ally himself with Althan, the latter rejected his proposals.¹ The "Zelanti" too made no serious advance in favour of their own candidate, Spada.

After Albani had achieved what could still be achieved, he remained throughout the course of subsequent events, no more than a starting-point for the political parties which now began to play a decisive part in the negotiations.

France had courted betimes the favour of the still influential nephew. Even before the opening of the conclave 30,000 Roman florins had been sent to Rohan for the benefit of Albani,² but several weeks went by before the latter allowed himself to be definitely bound. Meanwhile, at France's instigation, Cornaro was being put forward, chiefly by Ottoboni, who had also received a gift of 30,000 livres and who, as soon as Rohan had arrived, assured him of his unreserved compliance with the wishes of Paris.³ However, the Germans energetically opposed the septuagenarian Cornaro.⁴ Ottoboni, whose diplomacy in this affair was not regarded as particularly astute,⁵ thereupon undertook a campaign in favour of Corsini whom Acquaviva had at one time described as not unacceptable⁶ and who had momentarily received some support from the imperialists.⁷ However, at this juncture Rohan

¹ Althan's **Diarium* for April 21, 1721, *Cod. ital.*, 55, State Library, Munich.

² Besides this, nearly 50,000 livres for pensions to other Cardinals. Dubois to Rohan, March 29, 1721, in MICHAUD, 56 *seq.*

³ Ottoboni to Dubois, April 2, 1721, *ibid.*, 304.

⁴ Althan's **Diarium* (*loc. cit.*), for April 20; "poco abile al governo."

⁵ Report in MAYER, 66.

⁶ Because the Tuscan vassals desired the succession of the Infante Carlo and Corsini also was certainly in favour of it. Salv. Ascanio's second **letter* to Grimaldi, April 14, 1721, Simancas Archives.

⁷ At a later date, Althan was of opinion that Corsini, as a Florentine, would not be taken into consideration (**Diarium* for May 3, *loc. cit.*). Cf. above, p. 13.

made difficulties on account of Corsini's action in connection with the Bull *Unigenitus*.¹

In the course of conversations between Rohan and Albani a number of names were put forward, as for instance, those of Paracciani, Gozzadini and, for a time, that of Iñigo Caracciolo. This aged Cardinal was free from every suspicion of nepotism and might possibly hope for the goodwill of the imperial and Spanish party. But the Germans were not wholly in his favour on account of his friendship with Imperiali, in fact Althan and Cienfuegos were actually working for his exclusion and in a short time they secured thirty-two adherents.² Another proposal, that of furthering the chances of Pico, proved less attractive to Albani.³ In the end he agreed with the French on the name of Conti whose election was seriously considered from April 19th onwards.

Gualtieri and Albani took a particular interest in this new combination. Conti informed them through one of his conclavists that in the affairs of France he had never sought to exercise a decisive influence upon Clement XI.'s policy; more than anyone else he wished to hear both sides and would resist even the Cardinals of the Holy Office for the sake of a cause he knew to be a just one.⁴ Only a few months earlier—he was doubly glad to recall the fact—he had spoken to the French ambassador of his very great eagerness for a speedy and satisfactory settlement of pending questions. As a final and decisive contribution on his part Conti promised to gratify the wish which was a determining factor in France's policy in regard to the conclave, namely the immediate bestowal of the red hat on Archbishop Dubois of Cambrai.⁵

¹ Acquaviva's *letter through Ascanio, April 22, 1721, and his *general report to Grimaldi of May 9, 1721, Simancas Archives. Cf. Rohan to the King, April 19, 1721, in MICHAUD, 309.

² Althan's **Diarium* for April 23, *loc. cit.*

³ Rohan to the King, April 19, in MICHAUD, 308.

⁴ Lafitau to the King, April 22, *ibid.*, 309 *seq.*

⁵ Cf. Dubois' urgent letters to Lafitau of April 6, and to Rohan of April 9, in MICHAUD, 305 *seq.* In the letter of April 9, he says: "Je ferai courageusement tous les sacrifices qu'il

Ottoboni too allowed himself to be gradually won over to Conti's side: by the end of the month most of Albani's followers had given their adhesion.

The nephew was no less ardently courted from the imperial side; Charles VI had given him a diamond ring and the promise of a yearly pension.¹ Albani began by assuring Althan that no candidature would be successful without his consent. When on April 8th Althan received the imperial instructions, he made various attempts in accordance with them, but about the middle of April he too began to side more and more with Conti against whom Vienna continued to offer some trifling objections; but these were finally disposed of, possibly by the action of the Queen of Portugal.²

Conti showed equal readiness to comply with the imperial proposals as with the French wishes. On April 18th, in the course of an interview with Althan, he expressed his profound devotion to and regard for the Emperor.³ When two days later Cienfuegos entered the conclave with fresh instructions, there occurred no dislocation of the imperial party, as had been generally anticipated⁴; on the contrary, at this very time Althan sent a conclavist to Conti by night, to inform him that the Emperor was most favourably disposed towards

faudra faire sans murmurer." On April 22, Rohan communicated to him Conti's consent (in MICHAUD, 310). On the part of the conclavist and future Cardinal Tencin in these negotiations, see M. BOUTRY, *Intrigues et missions du card. de Tencin*, Paris, 1902, 27 *seqq.*, 33 *seqq.*

¹ PETRUCELLI, IV., 8. Althan's autograph account: *Quittung über Empfang und Ausgabe dessen so I. K. u. K. C. M. mirr zu denen geheimben Spesen allergenädigtst angewissenen Geltern (Cod. 8748, State Library, Vienna), gives, *inter alia*, also expenses to a conclavist and to a valet of Albani "for certain informations"; also, e.g., to Abb. Albicini "for a basket with secret drawers for taking my letters into the conclave", and for similar services.

² PETRUCELLI, IV., 14.

³ Althan's **Diarium* for April 18, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Acquaviva through Salv. Ascanio to Grimaldi, April 29, 1721, Simancas Archives.

his person. When on April 25th Conti secured seven votes—maybe by accident—Althan was suspected of an intention of forcing the election through before the arrival of the missing Cardinals. A slight difficulty arose from the rumour that in the event of his elevation Conti intended to make Giorgio Spinola his Secretary of State and Origo his Datarius.¹ Althan let him know that the Emperor emphatically disapproved of such appointments and submitted the names of other candidates, namely Ruffo and Corradini. Conti's conclavist brought his master's reply which, though evasive, was nevertheless regarded as satisfactory enough for the time being.² On April 24th the discussions assumed a really serious character: the two great political Powers seemed on the point of agreement on Conti when some further obstacles unexpectedly blocked the way. The most serious, was Acquaviva's refusal to collaborate, on the ground that Conti's previous conduct as nuncio in Lisbon had at no time met with the approval of Spain. With complete disregard of all previous agreements, Acquaviva broke with Rohan³ and even threatened with a Spanish veto.⁴ At the same time a number of libellous pamphlets, in which Conti was taxed with Jansenism, were being circulated in the city and even smuggled into the conclave.⁵ The Duke of Parma, who had

¹ Conti had at first chosen Imperiali for that post, but on Acquaviva's suggestion he thought of Spinola. PETRUCELLI, IV., 15.

² Althan's **Diarium* for April 25, *loc. cit.* According to this Conti's conclavist replied, "ch'il suo cardinale non aveva preso impegno alcuno nè l'averebbe preso, e che perciò ne poteva vivere riposato." Later Conti complied with Althan's wishes in a small way by creating Corradini his *Datarius*; see below, p. 30.

³ PETRUCELLI, IV., 10.

⁴ Lafitau to Dubois, April 22, in MICHAUD, 310.

⁵ Rohan to the King, April 29, 1721, in MICHAUD, 312. Such a libel also came into the hands of Althan (**Diarium* for April 29, *loc. cit.*). Rohan made use of these in order to ascertain the opinions of some of the Cardinals about Conti by asking them innocently what they thought of these accusations; Corradini and Tolomei answered in favour of Conti, Fabroni unfavourably.

often acted as intermediary between Acquaviva and Madrid, had approached the Queen of Spain in favour of Conti some time before ; as a matter of fact he was now in a position, in these first days of May, to forward a favourable answer to Conti and Acquaviva.¹ Acquaviva continued for a time to urge that the election should be deferred until the arrival of the two Spanish Cardinals, but after a few days he was forced to give up the idea.² Strangely enough a further delay was occasioned by Austria. On April 28th a courier brought a message from Bologna announcing the imminent arrival of Count Kinsky, ambassador extraordinary of the Emperor. Kinsky reached Rome at about one o'clock in the morning. On the following day Althan and Cienfuegos negotiated with him at the window of the conclave ; they particularly pressed him to hasten the arrival of Cardinals Schönborn, Czacki and Pignatelli who were still absent. On May 1st Kinsky, escorted by a splendid cortège, was admitted to the Sala Regia of the conclave where, in the name of the Emperor, he addressed an eloquent discourse to the Sacred College.³ The important thing was that Kinsky now took active measures to carry out, at least formally, the imperial instructions which pointed to Pignatelli and Tanara and only in the last instance to Conti.⁴ Pignatelli, old and infirm as he was, was now made to enter the conclave on the plea that there was question of his election. However, Althan disclosed to him on the very first evening the insuperable difficulties he had already encountered with regard to his person : the Spanish Government had decided to exclude

¹ PETRUCELLI, IV., 15.

² WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 189.

³ The "Capi d'ordini" were precisely Conti and Giudice, the latter replied to Kinsky's address ; see Althan's **Diarium* for April 29 and May 1, *loc. cit.* ; *Acquaviva to Grimaldi from the conclave, May 1, Simancas Archives ; CRACAS, XVII., 594.

⁴ All the original instructions of the Emperor to the ambassadors are in the Kinsky Archives, Chlumetz on the Cidlina ; see *Archivalien zur neueren Gesch. Österreichs*, hrsg. ius Auftrag der Komm. f. neuere Gesch. Österreichs, Vol. I., No. 4, Vienna, 1913.

him¹ and France and the "Zelanti" were likewise against him. Thereupon Pignatelli withdrew his candidature. Nor would any action in favour of Tanara have had better prospects in existing circumstances.² He would certainly be excluded by the votes of Albani and the Cardinals of Clement XI. Moreover, Kinsky's influence could be detected in the fact that Imperiali, Paolucci and Fabroni resumed their activity on behalf of Spada. Even Albani was willing to join them as soon as Althan was ready to drop Conti.³

Thus there was no alternative for the Emperor's representative except to work unhesitatingly for Conti. Ottoboni had dropped his former plans; Cienfuegos who had latterly spread unfavourable reports about Conti's work at Lisbon, also yielded and Albani's party agreed unanimously on May 3rd. On May 5th Rohan and Althan, who until then had each pursued his own policy, agreed on the person of Conti and at once informed Albani of the fact. This decided the issue of the election.⁴ Even the hitherto reluctant "Zelanti" were now won over by various promises. During the night of May 5th or 6th Albani, Origo, Spinola and Corradini carried out a preliminary poll; when the result was examined in the morning in Albani's cell, it was seen that there remained only two undecided votes and one against, namely, that of Fabroni.⁵ Althan informed Conti of this happy development. Eventually Fabroni's opposition was likewise overcome.⁶

¹ " *Estoy en animo de darle una manifesta exclusiva en caso necesario " (Acquaviva to Grimaldi, May 1, from the conclave, Simancas Archives). Cf. Althan's **Diarium* for May 4 and 5, *Cod. ital.*, 55, State Library, Munich, and PETRUCELLI, IV., 16.

² PETRUCELLI, IV., 16.

³ Althan's **Diarium* for April 30, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Cf. Althan's **Diarium* for those days, *loc. cit.*, and the letters in MICHAUD, 317 *seqq.* The nine votes for Cornaro on April 29 and the ten for Corsini later on, and even the twenty-two for the same in the last days, were mere acts of courtesy on the part of their friends.

⁵ PETRUCELLI, IV., 16 *seq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

On the morning of May 7th it became generally known that Conti's election could be considered as certain. In the course of the morning he was visited by Acquaviva, Rohan, Bissy and Gualtieri, who informed him of the approval of the Spanish, French and English ¹ Governments. Althan did the same before the evening ballot in the name of the imperial Government. In the evening all the Cardinals met in Conti's cell to congratulate him on his forthcoming election. When Althan subsequently transmitted to him special congratulations in the name of the Emperor, Conti took advantage of the circumstance to express his unswerving devotion to the Emperor.² He likewise renewed the assurances previously made by him to France.³

The election was purposely postponed until May 8th, feast of St. Michael, Conti's patron. In the early hours of that day, in the seventy-fifth ballot of this conclave, on the fiftieth day after the death of Clement XI., he was unanimously elected as Chief Shepherd of the Church by all the fifty-four Cardinals: Conti's own vote went to the Cardinal Dean. Enthusiasm was general.⁴ The first congratulations to the new Pope came from the King and Queen of England who entered the conclave and witnessed from a tribune the "adoratio" of the Cardinals.⁵

¹ On Gualtieri, see Barberini's *report in *Cod. Barb.* 4684, f. 27 (Vatican Library): "parimente additto alla Francia et protettore d'Inghilterra essendo per tutto il tempo del presente conclave caminati concordì et unanimi."

² Althan's **Diarium* for May 7 (*loc. cit.*): "E gli [to my conclavist] rinovò le infinite obbligazioni che professava alla Maestà V^{ra}, dichiarandoglisi che lui riconosceva il papato prima da Dio e poi dalla Maestà V^{ra}."

³ The French conditions in the exact text as transmitted by a conclavist of Rohan to Dubois on May 7 are in MICHAUD, 319 *seqq.*

⁴ It is said that when the required two-thirds' majority was attained, the first scrutator banged his fist upon the table for joy. PETRUCELLI, IV., 17.

⁵ Acquaviva's *general report to Grimaldi, May 9, 1721, Simancas Archives.

Cardinal Pamfili proclaimed the happy result of the election to the expectant multitude from the loggia of St. Peter's.¹ When the new Pope, who took the name of Innocent, came down into the basilica, he was greeted with loud acclamations. The Austrian Cardinals, who were credited with the result of the election by the public, were escorted to their residences by enthusiastic crowds.² The King of France also was not long in sending a message expressing his complete satisfaction,³ whilst Cardinal Acquaviva, who assuredly had been no friend of Conti, thus concluded his report to the Spanish Government⁴: "Everybody has joyously applauded the elevation to the Chair of St. Peter of a man of sterling qualities and sprung from a noble Roman family, one whose sense of justice, farsightedness and grasp of things—which eminently fit him for the duties of a ruler—will give complete satisfaction to all other princes." A Spanish veto against Conti procured at the last moment through Jesuit influence, arrived too late.⁵

(2.)

The new Pope took the name of Innocent, after the most illustrious member of his family, Innocent III. The latter's brother Richard, Count of Sora, whose memory is recalled to this day in Rome by the huge Torre de' Conti,⁶ had received

¹ Vitelleschi's *Relazione, Cod. 5706, p. 116, State Library, Vienna; CRACAS, XVII., 597; Report in MAYER, 86 seq. On the poetical homages at the election of Conti, cf. CANCELLIERI *Possessi*, 341, n. 2, for his coronation on May 18 (see NOVAES, XIII., 11), *ibid.*, n. 3.

² Althan's **Diarium* for May 8 (*loc. cit.*): "una infinità di popolo gridando sempre: Viva la Maestà Vestra!"

³ "Le cardinal Conti est un de ceux qui je verrais avec le plus de satisfaction remplir le Saint-Siège." MICHAUD, 323.

⁴ Acquaviva's *general report to Grimaldi of May 9, 1721, Simancas Archives.

⁵ PETRUCELLI, IV., 18.

⁶ Torre de' Conti.

from the great Pope the fiefs of Poli and Guadagnoli.¹ At Poli, a small town north of Palestrina, situate amidst magnificent mountain scenery, Michelangelo de' Conti saw the light of day in the ponderous Barons' palace, on May 13th, 1655.² His parents, Carlo and Isabella, *née* Muti, were in the habit of spending the greater part of the year there. The young nobleman began his studies at Ancona, of which his uncle was Bishop; afterwards he frequented the Roman College of the Jesuits. Alexander VIII. made him an honorary Chamberlain and entrusted him in 1690 with the mission of taking a blest sword and hat to the Doge Francesco Morosini. After entering the prelature under Innocent XII., Conti was first made Governor of Ascoli, then of Frosinone and lastly of Viterbo in 1693. In the palace of the *Conservatori* of that town an inscription recalls the splendid work of the Governor in restoring the buildings and improving the streets of the city after an earthquake.³ In June, 1695, the Pope named him nuncio to Switzerland with the title of Archbishop of

¹ GREGOROVIVS V.³, 34-6; G. CASCIOLI, *Memorie storiche di Poli*, Roma, 1896, 79. Poli remained in possession of the Conti until their extinction in 1808; it then passed to the Sforza-Cesarini, and in 1820 to the Torlonia; see NIBBY, *Analisi*, II.², 569. On the Conti family, which is of Germanic origin, see CONTELORIUS, *Genealogia famil. Comitum*, Romae, 1650; RATTI, *fam. Sforza*, II.; CASCIOLI, *loc. cit.* Cf. also *Leben Papstes Innocentii des 13*, Köln, 1724. When, in 1920, the restoration of the church of S. Stefano at Poli was begun, the graves of the father of Innocent XIII., Carlo (*ob.* 1690) and of his mother, Isabella Muti (*ob.* 1687), were discovered.

² Not at Rome, as has been generally believed up to now; see CASCIOLI, 215, and *Arch. Rom.*, XXI., 479. Many biographical notes on the pontificate of Innocent XIII. are also to be found in a miscellany of the Bibl. Bertoliana, Vicenza.

³ CASCIOLI, 216. A short *biography, "Michelangelo Conti," with a special reference to his merits and relations to this town, is preserved in the Viterbo Archives. A street of the town was named after him ("Conti", now "Garibaldi"). In the episcopal palace an inscription on stone of the year 1806 also recalls his memory.

Tarsus.¹ In 1698 he went to Lisbon where he gained in a high degree the confidence of the court, more especially that of Queen Mary Anne, a sister of the Emperor Charles VI.² On June 7th, 1706, Clement XI. made him a Cardinal though he left him, as internuncio, in the Portuguese capital until 1709. He only returned to Rome in 1710, where he acted as Protector of Portugal until 1712. In 1712 he exchanged the See of Osimo, which he had obtained in 1709, for that of Viterbo, which he was obliged to resign in 1719 for reasons of health.³

Contemporary accounts bear unanimous witness to the excellent way in which Conti acquitted himself in the offices entrusted to him,⁴ as well as to his blameless life and great prudence. They insist in particular on the excellent relations which his diplomatic skill enabled him to maintain with all the Powers.⁵ The circumstance that the Portuguese Government was particularly well disposed towards him could hardly injure his prospects owing to the slender political importance of that State. On the other hand the French did not forget the fact that he had encouraged Portugal to side with the Grand Alliance.⁶

¹ KARTTUNEN, 240. Conti's *reports in *Nunziat. di Svizz.*, 89-91, the *Instructions given to him, *ibid.*, 247 and 159, Papal Secret Archives. Conti's " *Relazione circa li 13 cantoni Svizzeri " in *Ottob.* 2707, p. 45 *seqq.*, Vatican Library. On May 5, 1697, Conti consecrated the imposing new church of the Abbey of Muri; see HÜRBBIN in *Festschrift für Knöpfler* (1907), 97.

² **Nunziat. di Portogallo*, 54-67, 161-3, Papal Sec. Arch.

³ KARTTUNEN, *loc. cit.*

⁴ On a long dispute about the right of the first fruits between M. Conti and the Jesuits, see FRANCO, **Synopsis Annatum*, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

⁵ See the *report on the College of Cardinals, drawn up at the end of the pontificate of Clement XI. for the Emperor, and the **Discorso* on the conclave of 1721 (translated in M. v. MAYER), Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. Cf. Lafitau's report in MICHAUD, 58.

⁶ *Mémoire* of May 13, 1721, *ibid.*, 324.

Innocent XIII. was of middle height and very stout, with a round face and a long and unsightly nose.¹ Though the new Pope was not born in the Eternal City, the Romans regarded him as one of themselves; hence on the occasion of his taking possession of the Lateran, there was a display of unusual pomp which ill became the seriousness of the time. The fronts of all the houses and churches which the Pope passed on his way to the Lateran were decorated with magnificent tapestries and numerous inscriptions. Near the Capitol and the Arches of Septimus Severus and Titus, triumphal arches had been erected from designs by Alessandro Specchi and these were lavishly adorned with inscriptions, paintings and stucco statues.² The Pope stood very much on his dignity. Cardinals and ambassadors were alone permitted to be seated in his presence; even his intimates were treated with grave dignity. He would not tolerate any violent demeanour. When the envoy of Malta pressed his demand for help against the Turks far too impetuously the Pope promptly rang his bell and the audience was at an end.³

Innocent XIII. granted audiences but sparingly: even his ministers found access to his person difficult.⁴ This was due, in the first instance, to the bad state of his health. Although only 66 years old, his energy was spent and gravel sapped his health which was further injured by lack of exercise which the Pope could not indulge in on account of his

¹ MICHAUD, 58; NOVAES, XIII., 41. Portraits by Hier. de Rossi, in GUARNACCI, II., 381, and by Ant. David; cf. THIEME, VIII., 449; DRUGULIN, *Porträtkatalog* 9833.

² CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 341 *seqq.* In his *report to Grimaldi of November 22, 1721, Acquaviva speaks of the festivity as "solemnidad mas lucida que se haya visto de mucho tiempo". Simancas Archives.

³ " *Relazione di Andrea Corner " of 1724, State Archives, Venice, extract in RANKE, III., 216*.

⁴ Acquaviva's *letter to Grimaldi, July 1, 1721, Simancas Archives.

stoutness ; in this way he increased his weight still further. No one dared to promise him a long life.¹

The slender prospects of a long pontificate were all the more regrettable as the new Pope was not lacking in excellent qualities. This was seen in his very first appointments, which were almost universally applauded.² The Vicar of Rome, Cardinal Paracciani, had died on the day of the papal election. To succeed him Innocent XIII. appointed Cardinal Paolucci, Clement XI.'s Secretary of State. Cardinal Olivieri was confirmed in his office of Secretary of Briefs. Cardinal Corradini became Datarius, Cardinal Giorgio Spinola Secretary of State ; as nuncio at Madrid (1711-1713) and Vienna (1713-1720) the latter had become thoroughly acquainted with all the more important affairs of State.³ Riviera, who was on particularly good terms with Cardinals Acquaviva and Rohan, became Secretary of the *Cifra*, Scaglioni became Secretary of Briefs to Princes, Passionei Secretary for Latin Briefs, Giudice was made *Maggiordomo* and Doria *Maestro di Camera*.⁴

Some misgivings arose when Innocent XIII. elevated his brother Bernardo Maria Conti to the cardinalate as early as June 20th, 1721.⁵ Happily, however, nepotism did not revive. The Cardinal nephew received not a *soldo* beyond the sum stipulated by the Bull of Innocent XII. The Pope himself blessed the marriage of his nephew Marcantonio Conti ; on

¹ Cf. Acquaviva's *letters to Grimaldi, July 1 and August 23 (" De verdad pocos son los que le predican una larga vida siendo sus humores muy torpes), and December 23, 1721, *ibid.*

² See Acquaviva's detailed *report to Grimaldi, May 13, 1721, *ibid.*

³ To distinguish him from his namesake, he was called after his church " cardenal de S. Ines ". *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Acquaviva's *letter of May 13, 1721, *loc. cit.* ; NOVAES, XIII., 13 *seq.* ; " *Ruolo della famiglia di Innocenzo XIII.," in Conti Archives, which are now in Prince Ruspoli's Archives, Rome.

⁵ **Acta consist.*, Barb. 2919, Vatican Library ; GUARNACCI, II., 393 *seq.* The promotion of Dubois of Cambrai occurred at the same time ; see below, p. 42.

another nephew, Carlo Conti, he bestowed the Grand Cross of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre. But that was all; expectations of the Roman families related to Innocent XIII. remained likewise unfulfilled.¹

In keeping with his peaceable disposition ² Innocent XIII. deemed it his first duty to settle the disputes which had arisen between his predecessors and the Catholic Powers; above all he sought to re-establish good relations ³ with the Emperor Charles VI. with whom he had always been on the best of terms as a Cardinal and who had had a good deal to do with his election.⁴ One of Charles VI.'s main aspirations was to receive the investiture of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily which had been denied him for more than twenty years. The Emperor's representative Althan did his utmost to bring this about. When the Pope did not at once comply with his request, Charles complained, on June 18th, 1721, of ungratefulness and spoke of the return of the unhappy time of Clement XI.⁵ The Emperor was mistaken: Innocent XIII. was inclined to yield but not to precipitate things. On June 1st, 1722, he requested the Cardinals to examine once

¹ " *Relazione di A. Corner," *loc. cit.*; CRACAS, February 21, and March 14, 1722.

² " Il suo naturale è placido," says the *report to the Emperor on the Cardinals of Clement XI., Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

³ *Brief of August 11, 1721, *Epist. ad princ.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ In an *autograph letter in which Innocent, on May 14, 1721, announces his election to the Emperor, he assures him of his gratitude: " Anzi la gran parte che la M. V. col mezzo dei cardinali nazionali et aderenti e del conte Kinski suo ambasciatore straordinario al s. Collegio ha voluto avere nella Nostra esaltazione, c'impegna a giustificare e rendere plausibile al mondo questa sua benignissima opera " (*Lettere* 42, Papal Secret Archives). Cf. above, p. 26, n. 5.

⁵ *Letter of Charles VI. to the ambassador extraordinary, Count Ferdinand Franz Kinsky, June 18, 1721, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. In the *instruction to Cardinal Althan, dat. June 18, 1721, complaints are made about the violation of the concordats.

more the Holy See's claims to Naples and Sicily and to report to him at the next general congregation. Their reply was that nothing stood in the way of the investiture and that Althan's instructions complied with all the formalities.¹ Thereupon the Pope announced, in the general congregation of June 9th, 1722, that he would grant the investiture. A Bull of the same date, signed by twenty-eight Cardinals, solemnly granted to the Emperor the investiture of Naples and Sicily on the same conditions on which it had been granted by previous Popes since Julius II. The feudal tribute which had not been paid for years, was remitted, on condition of its being regularly paid thereafter.² On the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 1722, the solemn presentation of the *Chinea* was made according to ancient custom. The event was surrounded with extraordinary pomp; a magnificent display of fireworks arranged by the architect Alessandro Specchi was particularly admired.³

Cardinal Althan took the feudal oath in the name of Charles VI., after which he went to Naples as Viceroy, Cardinal Cienfuegos taking his place as imperial ambassador.⁴

In a letter of June 9th, 1721, to the Emperor,⁵ the Pope expressed the hope that now Comacchio would at last be restored to the Holy See. The matter was of importance for the Papal States as their inviolability stood or fell with

¹ **Acta consist.*, Barb. 2919, Vatican Library, for all the relevant documents.

² *Bull.*, XXI., 905 seq.

³ OTTIERI, III., 589; BORGIA, *Istoria del dominio temporale d. s. sede nelle due Sicilie*, Roma, 1788. Detailed *reports on the *Chinea* of 1722 in Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. There also the remark that until then there were no Archives of the Imperial Embassy in Rome. Cf. also *Preciosa e grandiosa raccolta delle stampe di macchine di fuochi artificiali fatte in Roma in occasione che il contestabile Colonna presentava la chinea al Papa a nome del Re di Napoli* (from 1722 to 1785), Roma, 1905, *Catalogo*, PIETRO PIERI, XVI., 178, n. 175.

⁴ *Nomination of May 8, 1722, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁵ Brief to Charles VI., June 9, 1721, *Epist. ad princ.* ("Matthæo Scaglione secret."), Papal Secret Archives.

the restoration or separation of any one of its component parts.¹ Consequently, soon after his elevation, Innocent XIII. pressed the Emperor to make this restoration, first through Cardinal Czacki and once again through the extraordinary envoy, Count Kinsky. Towards the end of July, 1722, he repeated his demand to Cienfuegos.² In January, 1723, during a bout of sickness, he told the imperial representative that the best medicine for him would be the restitution of Comacchio.³ However, the negotiations were drawn out indefinitely. The Pope showed himself extraordinarily anxious to see this affair settled and bitterly lamented the difficulties experienced in arranging the terms of the surrender.⁴ At the end of January, 1724, these difficulties had not yet been eliminated.⁵ However much Innocent XIII. pressed for a settlement,⁶ it was not granted to him to see it.

With regard to the *Monarchia Sicula* also, Innocent XIII. soon found that nothing was to be obtained from the court of Vienna by negotiations, for in spite of Clement XI.'s Bull abrogating it, Charles VI. persisted in claiming this sovereign privilege. Thus the tribunal of the *Monarchia* was able to continue to function. Innocent XIII. refrained from ostentatious action, but he forbade all the newly appointed Bishops of Sicily who came to Rome for their consecration, to do anything, or to allow any step, that might be interpreted as an acknowledgment of the legitimacy of the tribunal.⁷

¹ Opinion of BROSCHE (II., 57).

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of July 25, 1722, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of January 16, 1723, *ibid.*

⁴ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of July 4, August 2 and 29, September 5, October 3, and November 15, 1723, *ibid.*

⁵ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of January 30, 1724, *ibid.*

⁶ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of February 12, 1724, *ibid.*

⁷ SENTIS, 159; MARTINI, *La Sicilia*, 120 *seqq.* The erection of the bishopric of Vienna into a Metropolitan See led to a dispute between the Archbishop and the Chapter of the Cathedral, which regarded itself as exempt from the Archbishop; it lost its case both before Nuncio Spinola and before Benedict XIII. in Rome;

Charles VI. caused the Pope great sorrow by upholding his pretensions to Parma and Piacenza as fiefs of Empire. In this matter Innocent XIII. could not and would not renounce the ancient feudal rights of the Church, any more than his predecessors. After the Diet of Ratisbon had passed a resolution on December 7th, 1722, thanking the Emperor for having extended the rights of the Empire and charging him to conclude peace with Spain on the basis of the agreements of the Quadruple Alliance, the Pope made up his mind to act. On February 3rd, 1723, he made strong representations to the Emperor about the Church's suzerainty over Parma and Piacenza,¹ whilst Briefs on the subject were simultaneously sent to the Kings of France and Spain and to the Catholic Princes of Germany,² though without success. In his reply the Emperor pleaded force of circumstances,³ and Acquaviva was the bearer of similar excuses from Philip V.⁴ Innocent XIII. discussed the matter in a consistory of March 15th, 1723, and addressed fresh Briefs to the Princes concerned,⁵ but to Abbate Rota, the auditor of the Paris nuncio, Bartholomeo Massei, he forwarded a formal protest against the infringement of the suzerainty of the Holy See over Parma and Piacenza.⁶

In March, 1721, in Clement XI.'s lifetime, the nuncio of see ZSCHOKKE, *Gesch. des Metropolitan Kapitels zum hl. Stephan*, 165 seqq., 182 seqq. *Ibid.*, 162 seqq., the Bull of erection. A *letter about the reform of the Bavarian Benedictines addressed to their General Chapter in *Epist. ad princ.*, 232^b, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, 279, *Letter to the whole German hierarchy regarding the precept of fasting which had been neglected in times of war.

¹ **Epist. ad princ.*, 211^b, *loc. cit.*

² *Ibid.*

³ Acquaviva's *report to Grimaldi, March 13, 1723, Simancas Archives.

⁴ Acquaviva's *report to Grimaldi, January 16, 1723, *ibid.*

⁵ Acquaviva's *report to Grimaldi, March 20, 1723, to which is added the Pope's *Allocutio*, *ibid.*

⁶ The "Protestatio nomine Sedis Apost. emissa in conventu Cameracensi", in ROUSSET, *Suppl. au Corps dipl. de Dumont*, III., 2, 173.

Madrid had been empowered to sign a concordat with Spain. It was now necessary to renew these powers¹ because the Pope had submitted the various articles to a fresh examination. However, to Innocent XIII.'s immense amazement, the matter was not concluded though the Spanish Government meanwhile instructed Acquaviva to work for Aldrovandi's elevation to the cardinalate, though Cardinal Acquaviva was well aware of the hopelessness of the attempt.²

Equally impossible was yet another demand of the Spanish Government, to the effect that ecclesiastical immunity should be limited to one or two dioceses for the whole Kingdom. The silence which the Madrid nuncio Aldobrandini continued to observe on the subject of the concordat was significant. Great was the Pope's displeasure when he learnt that the nuncio had judged fit to drop the whole affair.³ In the sequel Innocent XIII.'s impatience to see this matter settled grew steadily.⁴ On June 5th, 1723, the Secretary of State remonstrated with the nuncio inasmuch as nothing had been done though the second year of the pontificate was already over. The delay was as incomprehensible as Aldobrandini's silence.

¹ Acquaviva's *reports to Grimaldi, August 16 and 23, 1721, Simancas Archives.

² Acquaviva's *report to Grimaldi, August 23, 1721, *ibid.*, who writes "Aldobrandini".

³ *Letter of the Secretary of State, Spinola, to Aldobrandini, August 30, 1721, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 365, Papal Secret Arch. Cf. *Spinola to Aldobrandini, May 9, 1722 (*ibid.*): "Non è stato approvato da N. S. il motivo, per il quale V. S. I. si è trattenuta di sollecitare appresso cotesti regii ministri la conclusione del Concordato, poichè se bene da essi non ne veniva parlato a lei, sua per altro doveva essere la premura e la sollecitudine di avanzarne le insinuazioni più efficaci, attese le commissioni ricevute di qua su questa materia, che tanto importa a S. B. Poteva ella anzi riflettere, che dovendosi massime stabilire l'articolo di non imporre pensioni sopra le parochiali per 10 anni, pretenderà cotesta corte, che non incominci mai a correre il tempo, se non da quello della stipulazione del Concordato medesimo, onde ben vede V. S. I. il pregiudizio, che ne risulta alla Sede Apost."'

⁴ *Spinola to Aldobrandini, July 11, 1722, *ibid.*

The nuncio should make earnest representations both to the King's confessor, Daubenton, and to the ministers, so that the treaty might be concluded at last.¹ About mid-August the Pope complained to Cardinal Acquaviva of the fact that the concordat had not yet been signed. The latter sought to excuse the delay with the absence of the court from Madrid,² but in November the situation was still unchanged,³ in fact it continued thus up to the time of the Pope's death. On January 15th, 1724, Aldobrandini was once more instructed to report on the difficulties responsible for the delay.⁴

It is easy to understand the Pope's insistence, for amid the confusion and the disputes which had prevailed in Spain during the last two decades, ecclesiastical discipline had become greatly relaxed and many important canons had fallen into oblivion. To remedy these disorders the Pope now resolved to act. He appointed a special commission to study the question⁵; the result was a Bull dated May 13th, 1723, with excellent rules for the suppression of irregularities.⁶ Cardinal Belluga took the Bull with him on his departure from Rome on May 21st, 1723.⁷ Though the Bull contained

¹ *Spinola to Aldobrandini, June 5, 1723, *ibid.* On September 4, 1723 (*ibid.*), Spinola expressed his condolence on the death of Daubenton (see BAUDRILLART, II., 546 *seqq.*).

² Acquaviva's *report of August 14, 1723, Simancas Archives.

³ *Spinola to Aldobrandini, November 6, 1723, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Belluga's *Memorial dates from this time, Papal Secret Archives, I., 164. On Belluga's negotiations, see *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, April 10, 1723, Simancas Archives.

⁶ " *Breve de la reforma del estado ecl. en España," Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, 1723, f. 166. *Ibid.*, 169, on " reforma nel clero ", *Bull.*, XXI., 931 *seqq.* (with wrong date). Cf. HERGENRÖTHER in *Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, X. (1863), 189 *seqq.*, where a wrong date is also given, as in the Bullarium; MERCATI, *Concordati*, 268 *seqq.*

⁷ *Spinola to Aldobrandini, May 22, 1723, *Nunziat. di Spagna* 365, Papal Secret Archives. On May 22, Acquaviva sent the *Brief " sopra la disciplina eccl. en España " to Grimaldi. Simancas Archives.

most useful prescriptions, it encountered difficulties on the part of the Spanish officials,¹ until a royal decree of March 9th, 1724, two days after the Pope's death, recommended its observance.²

With no Catholic Prince had Innocent XIII., as a Cardinal, been on more excellent terms than with King John V. of Portugal to whom he addressed a cordial autograph letter immediately after his election³; he also granted an extension of the *cruzada* for a further six years on November 20, 1721.⁴ Building on the new Pope's goodwill the King now hoped to obtain what he had vainly asked of Clement XI., namely, the cancellation of the recall of nuncio Bichi for whom a successor had been appointed in September, 1720, in the person of Giuseppe Firrao.⁵ Firrao, however, had been unable to take up his post as the Government were determined to retain Bichi. The Portuguese ambassador in Rome pressed the Pope to give his consent, but his efforts were in vain: Innocent's answer was always the same: "Bichi must obey." Even the threat of the recall of the ambassador in Rome produced no effect. The King's suggestion that he would consent to Bichi's departure if the latter were raised to the cardinalate, was likewise rejected by the Pope.⁶

Bichi accordingly remained at Lisbon, and Firrao, whom Innocent XIII. had confirmed as Portuguese nuncio in May, 1721,⁷ was unable to take over the nunciature.

In the summer of 1722 a Turkish fleet was seen in the Mediterranean. The report raised grievous alarm all over Italy, more particularly in Rome. The Isle of Malta seemed

¹ Spinola's *letters to Aldobrandini, October 30 and November 6, 1723, *loc. cit.*

² HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.*, 189.

³ " *Lettere di Innocenzo XIII.," t. 42, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ **Epist. ad princ.*, *ibid.*

⁵ KARTTUNEN, 244.

⁶ NOVAES, XIII., 19; " *Aggiustamento con Portogallo," *Cod.* 33, B. 14 (742), p. 316 *seqq.*, Corsini Library, Rome; " *Mem. di Mercada," *Cod.* 1613, Angelica Library, Rome.

⁷ *Brief of May 27, 1721, *Brevia ad princ.*, 43, Pap. Sec. Arch.

to be specially threatened. The envoy of the Knights of St. John urgently begged for assistance.¹ Innocent XIII. resolved to ask the help of the Catholic Powers, but even before he could do so, the Spanish Government offered to guard the Italian littoral, and especially Malta.² In a consistory of September 23rd, 1722, the Pope explained to the Cardinals that though presumably there was only question, for the moment, of a threat on the part of the traditional enemy of Christendom, there was reason to fear a serious attack by him in the following year. It was his intention, he said, to invoke the protection of the Catholic Powers. He himself, in spite of his financial straits, was prepared to make his contribution; the Cardinals should do in like manner. Finally special prayers were ordered.³

That the attitude of the Spanish Government in the question of the Turks under Clement XI. had been by no means forgotten in Rome, appears from the fact that the Pope put no reliance on Spain's offer, though France also joined that country.⁴ On October 6th the Briefs spoken of above were dispatched to all the Catholic Powers, beginning with the Emperor down to the German Princes and the small Italian States.⁵

Whilst the ominous reports about Turkish armaments continued to circulate,⁶ a gratifying message was received at the beginning of November, to the effect that the Emperor was resolved to lend assistance,⁷ but as for Spain and France

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, dated Rome, July 11, 1722, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

² Acquaviva's *letter to Grimaldi, September 4, 1722, Simancas Archives. Cf. the *Brief to Philip V. of September 4, 1722, *Epist. ad princ., loc. cit.*

³ **Acta consist., Barb.* XXXVI., 53, Vatican Library.

⁴ Cienfuegos' *report, September 26, 1722, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁵ **Epist. ad princ., loc. cit.*

⁶ Cienfuegos' *letters of October 17 and November 2, 1722, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁷ Cienfuegos' *letter of November 7, 1722, *ibid.*

and the help to be expected from that quarter, the suspicion continued that their promises were not seriously meant. On January 16th, 1723, Cardinal Acquaviva presented Philip V.'s answer, dated October 28th of the preceding year, to the Brief in which the Pope had prayed for help for Malta against the Turks. The King made magnificent promises. Acquaviva proposed that the Pope should form a league of the Christian Princes against the Turks.¹ Innocent replied that this would be a difficult undertaking seeing that the Emperor, France and Venice were on peaceful terms with the Turks; moreover it would be a risky step to summon the imperial troops to Italy. As the conversation proceeded the Cardinal perceived that the enemies of Spain had successfully persuaded the Pope that Philip V. of Spain had no intention to defend Italy against the Turks but rather sought to extend his influence in the Apennine Peninsula; Acquaviva sought to dispel this notion.²

Meanwhile rumours continued to circulate in Rome about a secret understanding of Spain and France with Turkey and the Tsar of Russia, Peter the Great.³ The Pope resolved to grant a subsidy to the Knights of Malta to enable them to fortify their island. He also decided to send 10,000 scudi to Ragusa.⁴ In March measures were taken to protect Loreto and Ancona against a surprise attack by the Turks.⁵ Contemporary reports about the Turkish plans were utterly contradictory. One report was to the effect that the Porte was about to attack Persia, another that she was going to

¹ " *Formación de la Liga catt. conto il Turco," January, 1723, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, 1723, f. 32. *Ibid.*, 44, " *Propuesto de la Liga contro il Turco," February, 1723. *Cf.*, *ibid.*, 99, 120, 125.

² Acquaviva's detailed *report to Grimaldi, January 16, 1723, Simancas Archives.

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of January 9, 1723, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁴ Cienfuegos' *reports of January 16 and 23 and February 20, 1723, *ibid.*

⁵ Cienfuegos' *report of March 13, 1723, *ibid.*

fall upon Russia and the Christian West. The only certain fact that could be gathered from these contradictory reports was that the Turks were actively arming.¹ Everybody breathed more freely when it was at length learnt that the Osmanlis had moved against the Persian Empire which at that time was torn by internal divisions.²

(3.)

The compromise of 1720 was meant to put an end to the Jansenist controversies. Noailles accepted it, but in a way which seemed to revive the Gallican propositions of 1682. Cardinal Rohan was dispatched to Rome to conciliate dissatisfied Pope Clement XI. Such was the situation when Innocent XIII. ascended the papal throne.³

The new Pope was advised to insist on the demands of his predecessor, namely, that Noailles should expressly protest his submission to the Holy See, as in 1711, and that the King should renew Louis XIV.'s declaration recalling the decrees of 1682. Rohan proffered different counsel. Noailles, he argued, had been so prejudiced against Clement XI. that he would refuse to submit to anything which in any way derived from the late Pope; hence for the moment Innocent XIII. should remain silent, until the King came of age, when he should write a friendly letter to Noailles, interspersed with some explanations of the Bull *Unigenitus*, and a promise to forget the past. The rest of the Cardinals offered decided opposition to such a proceeding, and Innocent adopted their view. The Pope replied in courteous terms to Noailles' letter of congratulation on his elevation,⁴ adding

¹ Acquaviva's *letter of March 13, 1723, Simancas Arch.

² ZINKEISEN, V., 601 *seqq.*

³ Cf. vol. XXXIII., p. 309 *seqq.*

⁴ September 19, 1721 [CADRY], III., Sec. 1, p. 42. Rohan handed it to the Pope; see *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, June 24, 1721, Simancas Archives.

that Rohan would give him further information.¹ However, the only message Rohan had to deliver was that the Pope declared null and void the appeal to a Council and insisted on unconditional submission to the Bull *Unigenitus* and the withdrawal of the pastoral instruction of 1719. Noailles made no reply.²

Previous to Innocent XIII.'s election Noailles and the Appellants believed that the new Pope was not a keen supporter of the Bull *Unigenitus*. According to them he had stated that in that document Clement XI. only spoke as Giovanni Francesco Albani, not as Pope, hence the news of Cardinal Conti's elevation was received in Jansenist circles with a joy "which it was impossible to put into words".³ Hopes rose still higher when a rumour spread that the Pope was about to appoint as his theologian the Servite Gerard Capessi. Capessi who, as a matter of fact, did continue to act as the Pope's adviser, was of opinion that further explanations of some of the 101 condemned propositions were necessary, and he was believed to be the author of a French publication advocating such action and that that document had met with Clement XI.'s displeasure.⁴ At the conclave which elected him, Innocent XIII. had given his approval to a note recommending to the future Pope the elevation

¹ " *Te hortamur, ut plenum obsequium incunctanter ostendas in iis, quae a card. Arm. de Rohan exponentur." Letter to Noailles, undated, in INNOC. XIII., *Lettere*, 42, f. 23, Papal Secret Archives.

² LAFITAU, II., 189-200 [CADRY], III., Sec. 8, p. 61; Ansidei, report, *ibid.*, IV., 82.

³ [CADRY], III., Sec. 1, pp. 23, 39. In the conclave Cardinal Corradini called the suspicion of Jansenism against Conti "une pure calomnie". He made inquiries about the matter from Cardinal Tolomei, who reassured him completely. MICHAUD, 314.

⁴ AUG. FABRONI, *Vitae Italorum*, Pisae, 1781, 243 seq. Cardinal De Gesvres is supposed to have said that Conti was not in favour of the Bull *Unigenitus*, but that Innocent XIII. was; "il est entraîné par la cour de Rome." [CADRY], III., Sec. 8, p. 61.

of Dubois to the cardinalate¹ and the avoidance of sharp measures against the Jansenists.²

Relying, perhaps, on these rumours, seven French Bishops presumed, soon after Innocent XIII.'s election, to address to him a letter which surpasses all that had gone before by way of calumny of the late Pope and his work.³ They begin

¹ On Dubois' promotion, see the lively correspondence even after the conclave, in MICHAUD, 331 *seqq.*, and " *Brevi spediti per Msgr. Passarini destinato a portare la beretta al card. Dubois ", July 30, 1721, *Brevia ad princ.*, 43, Papal Secret Archives (*cf.* JUSTI, II., 284). On Rohan's exertions on behalf of Acquaviva, see his *letter to Grimaldi, July 1, 1721, Simancas Archives. On the part which the future Cardinal Tencin took, see M. BOUTRY, *Intrigues et missions du card. de Tencin*, Paris, 1902, 32 *seqq.*, 40-61. *Id.* in *Rev. de Paris*, October 15, 1898, and in *Rev. d'hist. diplom.*, XV. (1901), 20 *seqq.* In contrast with these earlier criticisms of Cardinal Dubois which, down from Saint-Simon's spiteful *Mémoires*, are in great part unjust—though he is certainly not free from censure (thus even RANKE, *Französ. Gesch.*, IV., 452 *seqq.*; SCHLOSSER, *Gesch. des 18. Jahrhunderts*, I., 30; M. MARTIN, *Hist. de France*, XV., 75, 110, 113, corrected in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, X. [1871], 535 *seq.*)—see the first attempts at rehabilitation: CAPEFIGUE, *Les cardinaux-ministres: card. Dubois et la Régence*, Paris, 1861, and SEILHAC, *L'abbé Dubois*, Paris, 1862, but especially the thorough work of BLIARD: *Dubois card. et premier-ministre*, II., Paris, 1901 (reviewed by BELLESHEIM in *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXXIX., 777 *seq.*). On Dubois' other merits, especially his earlier activities, *cf.* also BOURGEOIS, *Le secret du Régent et la politique de Dubois*, Paris, 1911; BLIARD, *Dubois et Saint-Simon*, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LXX. (1901); WIESENER, *Le Régent, l'abbé Dubois et les Anglais*, Paris, 1891; AL. BUDINSKY, *Wie Abbé Dubois Minister wurde*, in *Beil. zur Allg. Zeitung*, February 26, 1874, No. 57.

² BLIARD, II., 222. *Cf.* above, p. 20.

³ They were: Caillebot de la Salle, formerly Bishop of Tournai, De Berthamont of Pamiers, Soanen of Senez, Colbert de Croissy of Montpellier, De Langle of Boulogne, De Caylus of Auxerre, Cassagnet de Tilladet of Mâcon. *Cf.* FLEURY, LXXI., 177 *seqq.* (some names are misspelt); LAFITAU, II., 200. Extract (French) of the letter in [CADRY], III., Sec. 2, p. 136-144, complete in

by applying to their time expressions used by St. Basil when describing the Arian troubles. According to the seven, new Arians were at work, setting at nought the teaching of the Apostles and the Fathers which they replace by their own inventions; a whole edifice of new doctrines was being raised, doctrines that daily spread farther and farther; unheard of opinions on grace and reprehensible principles of morality were being asserted. A partial condemnation had indeed already taken place in the course of the Roman discussions on grace under Clement VIII. and Paul V., but so far the promised publication of the decision had been waited for in vain, whilst the delay had helped to strengthen the doctrinal edifice which it was intended to-day to raise upon the ruins of the dogmatic and moral teachings of the Fathers. In the opinion of the seven the enterprise started with a book by Cardinal Sfondrati who defended Molinism, and another by the Jesuit Francolini who had attacked Jansenist rigorism. Though he had been denounced to Rome by five French Bishops, Sfondrati had not been interfered with, "protected as he was by the late Pope, whose intimate relations with Sfondrati are only too well known," in fact the censure that had been demanded against him recoiled on those who had asked for it when Quesnel's book was condemned, though that work had been approved by the most distinguished of those prelates. "What a consternation when that decree appeared! A cry of faith went up, louder and more lasting than had ever been heard. What excitement among the Bishops! what grief among the most distinguished theologians! what an uproar among the people! what shouts of triumph among the Protestants!"

After that the seven discuss the Bull in detail. They endeavour to show that it ought to be reprobated because of its agreement with the teachings of Francolini, Sfondrati and

[NIVELLE], I., 504-533. Cardinal Acquaviva encloses it in his *letter to Grimaldi, March 28, 1722, Simancas Archives. Cf. SCHILL, 202.

the Jesuit Fontana¹ who had drawn up the bull *Unigenitus* by order of the Pope. "Who can compare the Bull," they write, "with the doctrinal structure of this new theology and not perceive their complete agreement? The Bull treats of the same topics, attacks the same theses, condemns, though the fact seems hardly credible, the same statements of the holy Fathers against which these new teachers have long ago conspired." They then give yet another summary of their grievances against the late Pope: according to the seven, the Bull "attacks religion in its dogmas, the hierarchy in its rights, Christian morality in its foundations and in its spirit"; they consider that it "subverts the penitential discipline, confuses the Old Testament and the New on the very point which differentiates them, subjects God's omnipotence to human freedom, endangers divers truths and censures the consecrated language of the Scriptures and Tradition. Such is our complaint, and our complaint is our crime; but it would seem that only one crime is still seriously punished, viz. the crime of remaining true to the tradition of our fathers".

The first part of the letter finds fault with the subject matter of the Bull, the second half criticizes the manner and the circumstances of its publication.² Because Noailles opposed a lax moral teaching, we read, he was attacked by the champions of that morality, who even tolerated idolatry in China. The Archbishop should have been told what it was that was found blameworthy in a book to which he had given his approval. Quesnel, too, was condemned in a fashion that would not have been tolerated even in pagan Rome: he should have been heard before he was condemned. It was clearer than daylight that the 101 propositions had been condemned on inaccurate information. The question should be examined in France itself, and the Bishops who had not

¹ On Celestino Sfondrati (*ob.* 1696), see HURTER, *Nomenclator*, IV.³, 383-390, and BLÖTZER in *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, XI.², 235 *seqq.*, on his writings against Gallicanism: *Studien und Mitteil. zur Gesch. des Benediktinerordens*, 1929, 258 *seqq.*; on Francolini (*ob.* 1709), see SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, III., 939; on Fontana, see above, XXXIII., p. 236, n. 4. ² [CADRY], III., Sec. 2, p. 139 *seqq.*

received the Bull must be heard. But whereas Christ would have excommunication inflicted only on those who refuse to hear the Church, Clement XI. employed it against Bishops who had appealed to the Church. There followed complaints about the treatment of the Sorbonne and about the condemnation of books published "in defence of the truth", whereas writings full of corrupt teachings were tolerated and even printed and circulated by order of the Pope: finally they complained that the appeal to a council had been described as a heretical act. The last request of the seven Bishops was that Innocent XIII. should declare his predecessor's Bull to have been surreptitious, thereby putting an end to the disputes. Their wishes would be perfectly satisfied if he consented to summon a General Council.

The letter of the seven is dated June 9th, 1721, but it only reached Rome in November, viâ Austria. This was due to the circumstance that its authors had striven, in Vienna, to secure the support of the Austrian Bishops; but their efforts were in vain.¹ In November their memorial appeared in print in Latin and French; it covered ninety quarto pages. The printing had been done at Louvain.

Van Espen,² declared that in his opinion the vigour and wisdom that shone in its pages were not human but divine, heavenly, and worthy of the days of the Apostles. In Rome, however, the curious document was passed on to the Inquisition which condemned it on January 8th, 1722, in severe terms.³ Thus the Pope's position in regard to the Bull *Unigenitus* was defined clearly enough, but the last doubt was removed by a letter to the young King dated March 24th, 1722, the same day as that on which the decree of the Inquisition against the seven Bishops was published.⁴ In his letter

¹ FLEURY, LXXI., 179.

² Letter to the Bishop of Boulogne [CADRY] III., Sec. 3, p. 85.

³ REUSCH, *Index*, II., 740 *seq.*

⁴ D'ARGENTRÉ, III., 2, 476 *seqq.*; FLEURY, LXXI., 264 *seqq.* Acquaviva encloses copies of this Brief, as also the replies of the King and of the Regent, dat. July 20, 1722, in his *letter to Grimaldi of August 15, 1722. Simancas Archives.

Innocent XIII. states in the plainest terms that with regard to the Bull *Unigenitus* he faithfully followed in the footsteps of his predecessor. The confusion to which its publication gave rise was due to the disobedience of a few Bishops, which provided certain ill-disposed persons with a pretext for obscuring the plain tenor of the Bull. The Bull *Pastoralis*, the compromise of 1720, Noailles' two ambiguous pastoral instructions, were not expressly mentioned, but everybody could see what was meant when Innocent XIII. praised the late Pope for having taken sterner measures, and approves Clement XI.'s declaration, as against French efforts, that simple, unquestioning obedience to the Roman See was the only means of establishing concord. Experience had shown how very right Clement XI. had been, for all the efforts hitherto made had failed to induce the recalcitrants to make a sincere submission. It was the duty of Clement's successor to complete what that Pope had begun. But at the very moment when Innocent was about to write to the King and whilst he was waiting to hear that Rohan's negotiations had been successful, the "boldness and audacity of the workers of iniquity" had broken out "beyond all measure", in the "wholly schismatical letter of the seven Bishops which, in a heretical spirit," confused things human and divine. And in order that their pestiferous disease might spread still further, they had published their letter by means of the printing press, and to cap everything, they had even attempted to make the papal authority the associate and support of their perverseness, as if it were in the Pope's power to alter the faith of the Apostles to which the whole Church, taught by Peter, clings with the utmost tenacity. This is what the delay of stronger measures has led to. To such shepherds the flock of Christ can no longer be entrusted. The letter concludes with a prophecy of grievous disasters even for the State if things went on like this, and with a request for support by the secular power. The same request was also made in a letter to the Regent.¹

¹ March 24, 1722, in D'ARGENTRÉ, *loc. cit.*; FLEURY, LXXI., 273 *seq.*

Since the agreement of 1720 the Regent, even though only for political reasons, sided with the supporters of the Constitution. He gave an unmistakable proof of his attitude when he had the two papal letters published by the royal printing press and that without their having been submitted, in keeping with Gallican custom, to the approval of Parliament.¹ He also ordered judicial proceedings against the printers and booksellers who had published the letter of the seven Bishops.² Moreover the *Conseil* published a decree³ which described that letter as "rash, calumnious, insulting to the late King, the Holy See, the Bishops and the French Church, as contrary to the consolidation of peace, to the registered declarations of 1714 and 1720?" and as "an attempt against the royal authority, a rebellious act and one exciting to rebellion". The memorial was accordingly prohibited and the seven Bishops were threatened with judicial proceedings. They attempted to defend themselves in a letter to the King, dated July 19th, 1722.⁴ After the death of the Duke of Orleans, this letter was likewise condemned by the authority of the State under the latter's successor.⁵

Cardinal de Bissy countered the letter of the seven with a detailed defence of the Bull *Unigenitus*.⁶ The Bull, he explained, was above attack and perfectly clear; it was a dogmatic judgment of the universal Church to which all were bound to give an internal assent. A storm now broke out over De Bissy. His letter had appeared in September; a few months later it was denounced to Parliament in a

¹ [CADRY], III., Sec. 3, p. 75; ROCQUAIN, 30.

² [CADRY], *loc. cit.*, p. 76 *seq.*

³ April 19, 1722, *ibid.*, p. 75 *seq.*; ROCQUAIN, 27. An attempt to have the seven tried by Parliament miscarried. [CADRY], III., Sec. 2, p. 176.

⁴ [CADRY], III., Sec. 2, p. 169-174; [NIVELLE], II., 534-6.

⁵ December 19, 1723 [CADRY], III., Sec. 8, p. 40.

⁶ June 7, 1722 (376 pages in 4°, with 204 pages of App.). FLEURY, *loc. cit.*, 278; [CADRY], III., Sec. 5, pp. 34-42. To the instruction was added a "Traité théologique" on the 101 propositions. [CADRY], *loc. cit.*, p. 42.

memorial couched in violent terms.¹ Bissy, the document said, appealed to the Bull *Pastoralis* which Parliament had never recognized; to prove the universal acceptance of the Bull *Unigenitus* he referred to the letters of foreign Bishops, but those letters taught the doctrine of papal infallibility and had for their authors prelates brought up in servitude and bowed down by the slavery of the Inquisition.

Before long the biting pamphlet was the talk of the town and Noailles threatened that if Parliament did not deal with Bissy he would censure him himself.² As a matter of fact Parliament importuned the Court for a whole fortnight with the request for permission to condemn Bissy,³ until Dubois vented his annoyance with so many proposals by exclaiming whether they wished to set fire to the four corners of Paris.⁴ Nevertheless, in January, 1723, another publication against Bissy saw the light, obviously from the same pen as the first,⁵ and in February there occurred a fresh denunciation to Parliament, this time by Abbé Pucelle.⁶ However, the Regent let that body know that they were to put off the examination of the pastoral instruction. This demand did not imply that the whole affair had been quashed; accordingly, in March, 1723, a fresh accusation appeared⁷ which put the Jansenist element on one side and only attacked Bissy from the Gallican standpoint. Thereupon the victim of aggression requested the King to have his instruction examined; this task was entrusted to two ecclesiastical and two secular dignitaries towards the end of April.⁸ But before this commission could give its verdict, six out of the seven recalcitrant Bishops

¹ [CADRY], III., Sec. 6, p. 16-20. Abbé Mengui is the author. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁴ FLEURY, LXXI., 280.

⁵ [CADRY], *loc. cit.*, pp. 34-7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43 *seqq.*

⁷ COUËT, *ibid.*, pp. 66-70.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

published a "reply" to Bissy¹ in which they stated that never had the rights of the Crown and the dogmas of religion been more openly attacked than in this instruction.

"Is it Bissy," they asked, "who has written these things, or is it the men who have so long sought to introduce an abominable Pyrrhonism in regard to ecclesiastical tradition, with a view to supplanting it by their own authors?" Then follows the accusation that Bissy made no account of the authority of the Fathers, misquoted texts and made false statements; if the testimony of the foreign Bishops proved the universal recognition of the Bull *Unigenitus*, it also proved papal infallibility. A further accusation is even more violent²; it goes so far as to demand that Bissy should be denounced as an enemy of Church and State.

The commission, whose task it was to examine the pastoral letter of the much maligned prelate, at last pronounced sentence³; it was to the effect that Bissy had not offended against the Gallican liberties, that the two accusations were a tissue of calumnies, lies and declamations against Pope and Bishops. In 1725 Bissy replied to the six Bishops in a fresh instruction.⁴

Besides Bissy the keenest champion of the Bull *Unigenitus* was Languet, Bishop of Soissons. Whilst Clement XI. still sat on Peter's chair he published an explanatory letter on the questions then pending.⁵ This letter saw several editions within a short time; it was reprinted in several dioceses and distributed among the clergy; on the Appellants' own

¹ 228 pages in 4°, *ibid.*, Sec. 7, pp. 53-8. The former Bishop of Tournai did not take part as Bissy was his Archbishopric. On February 13, 1725, the letter of the six was put on the Index. FLEURY, LXXII., 121.

² [CADRY], *loc. cit.*, p. 58 seq.

³ May 23, 1723, *ibid.*, p. 60.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁵ "Avertissement de M^{gr}. l'évêque de Soissons à ceux qui dans son diocèse se sont déclarés appellans de la Constitution "Unigenitus", 1718 ([CADRY], II., 128 seq.). According to the Jansenists Tournely was the real author. HILD, 144 seq.

admission, it did their party much harm.¹ Languet followed up his explanation with similar publications²; there was scarcely a manifestation of some importance by the opposition to which he did not answer. Replies by the Appellants were not wanting, right up to the pontificate of Innocent XIII.,³ and one of Languet's publications was torn up and burnt by order of Parliament.⁴

For the rest it became abundantly evident during Innocent XIII.'s pontificate that the compromise of 1720 could not restore peace. The Government had indeed declared the appeals to the Council null and void, but there were not a few who repeated their appeal thereafter; no less than 1,500 names appeared on the lists of Paris and in the Provinces.⁵ Elsewhere also resistance to the Bull *Unigenitus* continued. Innocent XIII.'s first letter to the King was also his last intervention in the French situation. In the Jubilee Bull, at the beginning of his pontificate, he did not expressly exclude the Appellants from its favours and graces, a circumstance which the Appellant Bishops of Boulogne and Senes interpreted as implying that the Pope was in communion with them.⁶ But this view was contradicted by the Bishop of Amiens. In a pastoral letter he explained that the Bull stated that it was not the Pope's intention to dispense from any irregularity or excommunication. A heated dispute arose over this affair. The Chapter of Amiens appealed to Parliament against its Bishop and both Bishop and Chapter appealed to the court. Noailles declared that he would not proclaim the jubilee until the pastoral of Amiens was condemned. As a consequence of the Archbishop's pressure and after some consultations at the archiepiscopal palace, Dubois

¹ [CADRY], II., 139 *seq.*, 337.

² *Ibid.*, 225, 231, 245, 259, 305-314, 331, 380, 406, 560-574; III., Sec. 5, p. 44; Sec. 6, p. 29; Sec. 7, p. 61.

³ A reply in five small vols. (1719-1722), *ibid.*, II., 337 *seq.*; III., Sec. 3, p. 83.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II., 227.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III., Sec. 1, p. 48; *cf.* p. 22.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Sec. 2, pp. 163-9.

instructed the intendants of the provinces to watch lest the Bishops disturb the peace of conscience. The Chapter of Amiens was bidden to withdraw its appeal to Parliament.¹

Innocent XIII. was of course by no means prepared to enter into ecclesiastical communion with the Appellant Bishops. The documents intended for their dioceses were sent to the neighbouring Bishops. In the eyes of the Quesnellists this too was another of Rome's encroachments. The Bishop of Pamiers complained to his fellow Bishops that one could see that the Pope was taking advantage of the existing situation in order to make himself the universal Bishop.² In reality Innocent XIII. was very reserved; only in the last months of his life did he plan sharper measures against the Appellants—at least so it was rumoured.³ On the other hand the Regent dealt all the more sternly with them. At first Philip of Orleans had imagined that he would best serve the cause of peace by allowing the Quesnellists full liberty, but experience gradually taught him differently, with the consequence that during his last years he let loose a regular flood of orders of silence, sentences of banishment and regulations of every description.

The recalcitrant Sorbonne felt the Regent's heavy hand more often than any other body.⁴ On December 11th, 1720, Rollin, its Rector, praised the University for having upheld its appeal in spite of the compromise.⁵ Thereupon the Government announced that on its part it would also insist on the execution of its decrees, hence the Sorbonne must immediately reinstate the twenty-two Doctors whom it had excluded on account of the Bull *Unigenitus*.⁶ On the occasion of the death of Innocent X., Jollain, the Syndic of the theological Faculty, suggested the celebration of a funeral service, so as to give public proof of the Sorbonne's loyalty to the Supreme Pontiff,

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 172-6.

² *Ibid.*, Sec. 6, p. 1 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, Sec. 8, p. 42.

⁴ SCHILL, 204 *seq.*; FLEURY, LXXI., 192 *seqq.*

⁵ The discourse is in [NIVELLE], I., 576 *seq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 570. Cf. XXXIII., 296.

but in doing so he had taken care to let it be clearly seen that the Faculty upheld its appeal.¹ His speech met with the approval of the Faculty but a royal ordinance² forbade its registration. Towards the end of May ten of the Doctors who had renewed their appeal were sent into banishment³ and fresh measures were issued in the first days of June; at the same time the Faculty was forbidden further to molest the Bishop of Soissons on account of a thesis on papal infallibility, and to discuss matters of this kind without leave of the State Chancellor.⁴ Syndic Jollain exhorted the Doctors to remain steadfast and suggested that a deputation be sent to the King,⁵ but the court depreciated such a deputation, deposed Jollain and a royal ordinance forced another Syndic upon the Faculty, regardless of the right of election.⁶ The mistakes of the new Syndic, Romigny, gave rise to lively disputes, to discussions with the first President of Parliament and to a futile petition to the King.⁷ The Doctors treated the new Syndic as an intruder; the latter was eventually forced to have the doors of the Archives battered in to enable him to get hold of the registers of the Faculty.⁸ The Government forbade the regular election of a new Syndic which had been fixed for October 1st and upheld its protégé for years.⁹ In the space of seven months, up to September 1st, 1721, twelve disciplinary measures had been taken against the Faculty¹⁰ and the end was not yet.¹¹

The year 1722 brought fresh storms. Alexander VII.'s

¹ The discourse is in [NIVELLE], I., 571; FLEURY, LXXI., 196.

² April 25, 1721, [CADRY], III., Sec. 1, p. 12 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31 *seq.*

⁵ The discourse, *ibid.*, pp. 32-4; FLEURY, LXXI., 202 *seq.*; [NIVELLE], I., 572 *seq.*

⁶ [CADRY], *loc. cit.*, p. 60.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62-70.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 133; Sec. 4, pp. 16, 93, 103.

formula and Arnauld's condemnation had not been subscribed to within recent years; the Doctors loyal to Rome now demanded that the omission should be made good. The court supported their design by ordinances of May 20th and 30th which demanded subscription under threat of exclusion.¹ At the stormy session of August 1st, Romigny submitted a list of 150 Doctors, Licentiates and Bachelors who were to forfeit their doctorate, or the hope of acquiring one.² The day before the Keeper of the Seals had sent for the registers of the Faculty when, with his own hand, he deleted the decision on the exclusion of the twenty-two Doctors, the reinstatement of Petitpiéd, and the declaration of January 17th, 1719, about papal infallibility.³ The Faculty was forbidden to discuss the formula, a circumstance which led to the exclusion of twenty Licentiates.⁴ The supporters of the Bull now constituted a majority among the Doctors.⁵

The other theological Faculties of France were likewise ordered to subscribe to the formula.⁶ Only in two Universities did the measure meet with opposition; that of Nantes wished to give only a qualified adhesion to the formula, but when a royal decree ordered it to cancel its decision and expelled three Doctors from the Faculty, six out of the remaining eleven made their submission.⁷ The demands of the Government encountered more serious opposition at the University of Montpellier, though the theological chairs were held by Jesuits, for Bishop Colbert was a determined Appellant. There the formula was provided with an introduction which took the sting out of it. The Intendant of Languedoc was instructed to remove the introduction from the registers of the Faculty but this did not prevent the Bishop from upholding it.

¹ *Ibid.*, Sec. 4, pp. 104-111.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 186, 191.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁶ By order of the Secretaries of State, July 11, 1722, *ibid.*, p. 181.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sec. 5, p. 1 *seqq.*

As not a few ecclesiastics preferred to study with the Oratorians, who were less attached to Rome, than with the Jesuits, and obtained their Doctor's title from the Faculty of Law, a decree was issued to the effect that ecclesiastics could not become Doctors of Law without subscribing to the formula. The resistance of the Bishop, whose deposition was repeatedly considered, caused the Government to intervene more than once in the sequel also.¹

Acceptance of the formula was to be enforced not alone on the Universities. A circular of the Secretaries of State informed the Bishops that the Regent was surprised that subscription to the formula was no longer demanded; in future no ecclesiastical benefice was to be bestowed on those who had refused to subscribe. A similar order was addressed to the Chapters of Tours and Châlons.² Thereafter many Bishops insisted on acceptance of the formula as a condition for the reception of Orders.³ With a view to bringing pressure to bear on the recalcitrant clergy of Rheims a decree went forth that no Appellant might be present at the forthcoming coronation of the King.⁴ Noailles was, of course, invited to the function, but Bishop De Langle of Boulogne was excluded by reason of his being an Appellant.⁵ For the same reason Bishop Colbert of Montpellier was not admitted to the Assembly of the States of Languedoc in 1724.⁶ The King had been in the habit of assisting at the Holy Week services in the church of the Feuillants, but in 1721 he denied them that honour on account of their being Appellants.⁷

One of the consequences of the attitude of the Government was that no opponent of the Constitution could entertain a

¹ *Ibid.*, Sec. 5, p. 5; Sec. 6, pp. 3, 51, 54; Sec. 7, p. 106.

² *Ibid.*, Sec. 2, p. 181.

³ *Ibid.* Thus at Evreux, *ibid.*, Sec. 3, p. 27; at Châlons, *ibid.*, p. 87; at Laon, *ibid.*, p. 120; at Rheims, *ibid.*, Sec. 6, p. 13; at Lectoure, *ibid.*, p. 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sec. 3, p. 116 *seq.*; Sec. 5, p. 9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Sec. 5, p. 50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Sec. 8, p. 45.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sec. 3, p. 95 *seq.*

hope of obtaining one of the vacant episcopal sees. Death put an end to the appeals of the Bishops of Mirepoix, Châlons and Verdun in 1720,¹ and to that of the Bishops of Laon and Boulogne in 1721 and 1724, and in 1721 the equivocating Bishop of Arras resigned his See.² All these were succeeded by keen opponents of their views.³ In 1723 and 1724 there occurred a number of vacancies, as at Rouen, Nantes, Luçon, Cambrai, Viviers, Saint-Papoul and Tours. With the sole exception of Saint-Papoul, the supporters of the Constitution had everywhere reason to congratulate themselves on the new appointments.⁴ At Boulogne the change was a remarkable one. Bishop De Langle had been an ardent Jansenist and had deprived all the priests who obeyed the Constitution of their faculties to hear confessions; when the Bishop of Amiens was nearing his diocese, the missionaries in his suite saw themselves surrounded by penitents from over the border of the diocese and 4,000 subjects of the Bishop of Boulogne begged the stranger for the Sacrament of Confirmation which their own shepherd withheld from them. The situation at Boulogne had become so tense that a Provincial Council had decided to depose De Langle, but the Government forbade such a step.⁵ De Langle's successor was the very antithesis of his predecessor; he did not mind, he declared, whether clothes and hair were worn long or short, his great concern was that people should be genuine Catholics; it would be his aim to make his diocese Catholic and loyal to the Holy See.⁶ At

¹ JEAN, 318, 392, 414.

² *Ibid.*, 172, 315, 322.

³ JEAN, *loc. cit.* On the new Bishops, see [CADRY], III.: Châlons, Sec. 3, pp. 87-9; Sec. 7, p. 20; Sec. 8, p. 77; Laon, Sec. 3, pp. 119-162; Sec. 5, p. 58 *seqq.*; Verdun, Sec. 6, p. 40; Carcassonne, *ibid.*, p. 39; Lectoure, *ibid.*, pp. 21, 72; Sec. 7, p. 67; La Rochelle, Sec. 8, p. 67; Lyon, *ibid.*, p. 71.

⁴ JEAN for each bishopric; [CADRY], III., Sec. 8, p. 24 *seqq.* On the Archbishop of Tours, see *ibid.*, Sec. 7, pp. 37, 40, 114-124.

⁵ [CADRY], III., Sec. 7, p. 12 *seqq.*, 91, 100.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 75. De Langle died on April 12, 1724, that is, during the conclave of Benedict XIII. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

Bayeux conditions similar to those at Boulogne prevailed. The Bishop, Francis of Lorraine (*ob.* 1728) was so strict that not even nuns were able to make their Easter Communion and almost all priests loyal to the Pope were forbidden to hear confessions; the Government itself wrote to him that his whole diocese was on fire.¹

The Regent's stern measures brought about a change in the theological Faculties also. After fourteen Doctors had been expelled at Rheims, the appeal to the Council was revoked first by the Faculty and eventually by the whole University.² Poitiers and Nantes acted in like manner,³ but difficulties were made by the Faculty of Caen where the Bishop of Bayeux gave his patronage to certain Jansenistic doctrines.⁴

The Government sent plenipotentiaries to the General Chapters of several Orders whose task it was to press for acceptance of the Constitution; thus in 1723 the Bishop of Laon was sent to the General Chapter of the reformed Premonstratensians. He experienced no difficulty in getting the formula accepted, but many members objected strongly to the Constitution.⁵ In May, 1724, after Innocent XIII.'s death and during the conclave, the Chapter of the reformed Augustinians accepted the formula by subscribing to it, and the Constitution by word of mouth.⁶ A sensation was caused by the opposition to the Constitution on the part of a number of Carthusians.⁷ To put an end to the insubordination of

¹ *Ibid.*, Sec. 7, p. 21 *seq.* The Bishop tried to defend himself against the accusations (*ibid.*, p. 22 *seq.*); however, the theological Faculty of Caen, the Archbishop of Rouen and the Parliament of Normandy also raised objections against his views. JEAN, 348.

² [CADRY], III., Sec. 7, pp. 10, 86.

³ *Ibid.*, Sec. 6, pp. 38, 58.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sec. 3, p. 43; Sec. 6, p. 9; SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, III., 1315 *seq.*

⁵ [CADRY], III., Sec. 7, p. 7 *seq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, Sec. 8, p. 77.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sec. 3, pp. 28-36, 195; Sec. 7, pp. 26-34; Sec. 8, pp. 1-16.

individual religious, especially in Paris, the General Chapter of the seven French Provinces of the Order issued a decree which made subscription to the formula and oral acceptance of the papal Constitutions against Jansenism a condition of admission into the Order, of ordination and the exercise of the priestly functions.¹ Thereupon fifteen Carthusians of Paris appealed to Parliament and lengthy disputes ensued. The General Chapter ended by excluding the recalcitrants from the Sacraments, whereupon twenty-six of their number fled to Holland in 1725.²

Many Benedictines continued to offer resistance to the Bull *Unigenitus*, but at the General Chapter of the Maurists at Marmoutier, in 1723, the Archbishop of Tours, acting as the King's plenipotentiary, secured at least the acceptance of the formula³; a similar result, though only in so far as the recognition of the question of right was concerned, was obtained by the Procurator-General of the Parliament of Besançon at the General Chapter of the Congregation of Saint-Vanne held at Luxeuil in 1723.⁴ The Monks' state of mind is sufficiently revealed by a petition addressed to the Chapter of Marmoutier: it describes Clement XI.'s Bull as the most dreadful weapon of Sfondratism and Molinism. Should the Congregation of St. Maurus be destined to founder in the storms raised by the Constitution, it was better it should perish than that it should be defiled: an alliance between the Bull and Christ was a monstrosity; death was better than acceptance of the Constitution!⁵ A Carthusian wrote to the Abbot-General that in the whole of the Church's history the Constitution was the measure which it was least possible to uphold.⁶

¹ Ordinance "Quo zelo", April 25, 1723, in [NIVELLE], II., 2, 480; [PATOUILLET], IV., 41 *seq.*

² Cf. [NIVELLE], II., 2, 469-543 (Apology of the fugitives [extract], 532 *seqq.*); [PATOUILLET], I., 95, 104 *seq.*

³ [CADRY], III., Sec. 7, pp. 35-44; [NIVELLE], II., 2, 652-6.

⁴ [CADRY], *loc. cit.*, p. 24 *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁶ "L'acte le plus insoutenable qui ait jamais paru dans l'Eglise." *Ibid.*, Sec. 8, p. 3.

As throughout the history of Jansenism, communities of women once again drew attention to themselves by their spirit of resistance. Thus eighteen Visitation nuns of Paris declared their inability to submit to the Constitution¹; but an even greater sensation was caused by the Ursulines of Orleans, Beauvais and Clermont who were eventually forbidden to teach by the Bishops of these dioceses.²

However, on the whole, and in spite of opposition, a change in favour of the much attacked Bull was under way. Rumour had it that in his last days the Regent was planning a great blow which would put an end to opposition to the Bull and with it to disturbances which endangered the State itself. A royal declaration was to safeguard the Bishops' freedom against the encroachments of Parliament, whilst at the same time a papal Brief was to assign a time limit after the lapse of which the Appellants would be regarded as having incurred excommunication. The declaration was urged by the court even after the Regent's sudden death and when the latter had been succeeded as Minister by the Duke of Bourbon; however, Parliament offered decided opposition and when Innocent XIII. died there was no further question of either declaration or Brief.³

(4.)

In the Dutch Mission the spirit of insubordination had shown itself openly during the last years of Clement XI.; under Innocent XIII. a complete separation from the Church ensued when the Quesnellists took it upon themselves to appoint a Bishop of their own, independently of the Holy Sec. For more than a decade the territory of the Seven United Provinces had been without a Bishop. Though the Vicar Apostolic Daemen, who died in 1717, was an Archbishop, the Jansenists had made it impossible for him to

¹ *Ibid.*, Sec. 1, p. 46 *seq.*; Sec. 3, p. 193 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, Sec. 5, pp. 14-34, 79-95; Sec. 7, p. 74 *seq.*; Sec. 8, p. 25. *Cf.* Sec. 6, p. 44 for the Presentandines.

³ *Ibid.*, Sec. 8, pp. 38-44.

reside on Dutch soil. His successor Bijlevelt, who died in 1727, did not receive episcopal consecration as the opposition of the States would have prevented him from exercising his functions. The wish to have a Bishop of their own, like other Christian countries, favoured the rise among the Quesnellists of a conception of episcopal jurisdiction which was calculated to render feasible the appointment of a Bishop by their own authority. Holland, it was claimed, could not be regarded as a missionary territory administered by simple papal representatives; on the contrary, the Vicars Apostolic, from Vosmeer to Codde, were also true Archbishops of Utrecht, whilst the men whom Rovenius had appointed as advisers to the Vicar Apostolic were to be regarded as the genuine and rightful successors of the old Metropolitan Chapter of Utrecht, and as such enjoying the right of naming a Vicar Capitular at the death of the Archbishop and of electing a successor to the vacant see. The Pope had no right to suppress the prerogatives of the Chapter since he was subject to, and not above, the laws of the Church.

These views did not tally with reality, not even with regard to the facts adduced. Vosmeer and his successors could only be regarded as Vicars Apostolic ruling in the Pope's name and liable to be removed from office at his good pleasure. The college of priests instituted by Rovenius as the assistant council of the Vicar Apostolic, was not the legal heir of the long extinct old Metropolitan Chapter,¹ and even if it were, it would nevertheless not have been empowered to elect a successor to the archiepiscopal see, seeing that this right had passed to Charles V. in the year 1528, with the consent of the Chapter,² and since the erection of the new Dutch dioceses by Philip II., the nomination of Bishops lay in the hands of

¹ Cf. the present work, XXXII., 492.

² The Chapters conceded to Charles V., that they " nullius in eorum episcopum eligendi ius vel potestatem habent, praeterquam illius, quem dictus Carolus rex ut dux Brabantiae et comes Hollandiae significandum, insinuandum nominandumque duceret ". Clement VII., August 20, 1529, in Mozz1, I., 23.

the King of Spain.¹ But even if the Chapter's right of election were beyond question, Canon Law made it impossible to elect a legitimate Bishop independently of the Pope since without his authorization no Bishop could presume to give episcopal consecration; that much was granted even by the oracles of the Quesnellists, Van Espen, and at a later date by Febronius.²

But these objections failed to impress the Quesnellists of Holland. The Dutch Church, they declared, was in a state of self-defence against the Pope, seeing that he was bent on destroying her legal existence. Such a situation knew no law so that the Dutch Church was justified in whatever she did to save her existence.³ Her only difficulty was to find a Bishop who would take it on himself to impart episcopal consecration without the Pope's consent.

It was difficult to find such a Bishop, but they ended by discovering one. Dominic Mary Varlet,⁴ a Doctor of the University of Paris, after devoting a few years to the pastoral ministry in his native land, had joined the Paris Seminary of Foreign Missions and had become Vicar-General to Bishop Chevreière of Quebec in Canada. Clement XI. turned to this able man when the Superior of the Persian Mission, Pidou de Saint-Olon felt the need of an assistant. On September 17th, 1718, Varlet was named Bishop of Ascalon and Coadjutor of Babylonia and on January 19th, 1719, he received episcopal consecration at the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris. When Propaganda received information of the death of the Bishop of Persia, Varlet was instructed to present himself to nuncio Bentivoglio in Paris and to set out for Persia viâ Holland. However, under various pretexts, Varlet avoided the nuncios of Paris and Brussels for he sided with the

¹ Paul IV., May 12, 1559, *ibid.*, 36.

² *Ibid.*, II., 120.

³ *Ibid.*, 112 *seq.*

⁴ On Varlet, *ibid.*, 115 *seqq.*; [DUPAC], 461 *seq.*; [CADRY], III., Sec. 7, p. 44 *seqq.*; *Analectes pour servir à l'hist. ecclés. de Belgique*, XI. (1874), 444 *seq.*

Appellants and feared lest he should be made to subscribe to the Bull against Quesnel. Without leave of the internuncio of Brussels, and on the sole authority of the "Chapter" of Utrecht, he took it on himself to administer Confirmation at Amsterdam where he lodged with the Jansenist parish priest Krys. He then set out for Persia, travelling viâ Moscow, Astrachan and the Caspian Sea. Meanwhile Rome had been informed of Varlet's real sentiments, with the consequence that the Bishop of Ispahan was instructed to forbid him to exercise any episcopal rights.¹ Thereupon Varlet returned to Europe where he rejoined his Amsterdam friends. From there, after a short stay in Paris, he wrote two letters to Pope Innocent XIII. and a third to Propaganda, for the purpose of justifying his conduct. Carafa, Propaganda's Secretary, replied, urging him to submit to the decisions of the Holy See, to accept the Bull and the formula, to leave the company of the rebels and to take up residence in some Catholic town—some of his friends in France would provide for his maintenance.² However, Varlet insisted on the Pope first absolving him from all censures and declaring his conduct irreproachable. He formally refused to subscribe to the Bull and the formula and on February 15th, 1723, he appealed to a General Council from the censure of the Bishop of Ispahan and from any papal measure that might be taken in the future in favour of that Bull.³

By this step Varlet had thrown in his lot completely with the men of Utrecht so that there remained but little doubt that he would be prepared to consecrate a Bishop even without the consent of the Pope. By means of letters to Innocent XIII.⁴ and the efforts of their agent, Le Vage, they had sought to persuade the Pope to give them an Archbishop, but these

¹ The decree of suspension, dated Kasbin, December 17, 1719, in MOZZI, II., 117 *seq.*; FLEURY, LXXI., 169 *seq.*

² MOZZI, II., 124 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 129 *seqq.* The appeal is printed in [NIVELLE], II., *Suite*, app., 16-27; extract in [CADRY], III., Sec. 7, p. 47 *seqq.*

⁴ June 11, 1721, and September 30, 1722, [CADRY], *loc. cit.*, 50.

endeavours proved in vain, as did the negotiations with the nuncio.¹

Accordingly on November 17th, 1722, they decided upon independent action. Pamphlets were circulated among the people to prepare them for so rash a step,² whilst consultations of scholars and Universities were meant to calm the scruples of the educated classes. However, the answers were not what had been expected. Van Espen gave a favourable reply³ and the Paris theologians and jurists inclined to side with them, but they made it a condition that their assent should be kept secret. The Universities of Nantes and Rheims were inclined towards greater boldness but the Government forbade them to make their opinion public. Among the scholars who were favourable was the Dominican Hyacinth Serry, but he too did not openly advocate his opinion.⁴ After assuring themselves of the favourable dispositions of the Dutch Government,⁵ they proceeded, on April 27th, 1723, to elect an Archbishop. The choice fell on Cornelius Steenoven, a student of Propaganda, who had been commissioned to obtain an Archbishop from the nuncio in Brussels in 1706 and 1711. At the time of the election he held the office of Vicar-General of the two Chapters and quite recently (1719), in his funeral eulogy of Quesnel, he had publicly proclaimed his Jansenist sentiments.⁶ In that panegyric he congratulated the city of Amsterdam on having had the privilege of giving hospitality, for the space of fifteen years, to a man like Quesnel.⁷ Steenoven was recognized by the Jansenist Bishops

¹ [DUPAC], 480 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 482 *seq.*

³ December 12, 1722, *ibid.*, 484.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 485 *seqq.* The six questions put to the Universities are given in MOZZI, II., 119.

⁵ [DUPAC], 491.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 492; MOZZI, II., 135.

⁷ “. . . eenen zoo grooten man, die als een zonne niet alleen verlichtede de geheele wereld, naar zelfs de engelen in den hemel . . .” (in H. J. ALLARD, in *Studiën*, LIX. [1902], 209).

of France,¹ but only papal approval could have a decisive effect. On the very day of the election a letter was written to Innocent XIII., praying him to confirm Steenoven's nomination and on May 18th the elect himself wrote to Rome, forwarding his profession of faith, viz. that of the Council of Trent which, in view of existing circumstances, could not be considered adequate. Other letters from the Chapter followed on August 1st and December 29th. Innocent XIII. was about to reply with a sentence of excommunication when his voice was silenced by death.²

Quesnel's influence made itself felt not only in Holland but in the Austrian Netherlands also.³ Servais Hoffreumont, a parish priest of the diocese of Liège, was known as an opponent of the Bull *Unigenitus* and for this he was accordingly taken to task by the Vicar-General.⁴ Hoffreumont refused to recognize the Vicar-General as competent to judge him and appealed to the Emperor, on the ground that the action against him was contrary to the laws of the Empire and the prerogatives of Liège. He then repaired to Vienna in person, to forward his cause with the imperial Aulic Council. Besides the incompetence of the judge, he pleaded that the Bull *Unigenitus* had been published without imperial *placet* and accordingly did not possess force of law within the Empire; the Emperor was competent to prevent the introduction of new formulas of faith which lacked the assent of the Church;

¹ In 1723, by the Bishop of Boulogne, in 1724 by the Bishops of Auxerre, Montpellier and Senes (*Recueil des témoignages*, 185 seq., 189, 198). After the consecration, letters of recognition came from the Bishops of Montpellier (November 13, 1724), Auxerre (January 28, 1725), Bayeux (March 5, 1725), Mâcon (March 8, 1725), Pamiers (March 22, 1725), from the Vicar-General of Rodez (March 19, 1725) (*ibid.*, 201-8).

² [DUPAC], 493; MOZZI, II., 141; [CADRY], III., Sec. 7, p. 51.

³ *Ibid.*, Sec. 3, p. 2 seqq.

⁴ April 23, 1720, *ibid.*, p. 2. On Hoffreumont, cf. H. J. ALLARD in *Studiën*, 1878, 47-54; *Analectes pour servir à l'hist. ecclés. de la Belgique*, XI., 464.

in acting thus he was not arrogating to himself the right to decide dogmatic questions but merely prevented people from adding anything to the faith professed by the Church without her clear consent.¹

The imperial Government disapproved of the steps taken by the Vicar-General of Liége and showed itself favourable to Hoffreumont. An ordinance addressed to the Elector of Cologne as Bishop of Liége² commanded that an end be put to the Vicar-General's "persecution" of the Jansenists and that a report on the matter be sent in within two months. How Government circles in Vienna viewed the case appears from an instruction of the Emperor to his ambassador in Rome, Cardinal Althan. The troubles, we read, to which the Constitution *Unigenitus* had given rise in France, were imperceptibly spreading beyond the frontiers, not only into the Austrian Netherlands, but likewise into divers dioceses of the Empire. As was shown by the memorials enclosed, they had led to an intolerable oppression of clergy and laity. Germany was already sufficiently torn by religious dissensions, hence it was absolutely necessary to stem the progress of the evil and to quench as quickly as possible a conflagration fanned by excessive zeal. But whilst the matter was being studied, they had repeated painful experiences. It was reported that in the dioceses of Cologne, Trèves, Liége, Malines and others, certain ecclesiastical judges allowed themselves to be carried away by the incautious eagerness of certain over-zealous people who lacked vision, for they were inconsiderately taking the unwonted road of a stern Inquisition; their first question to the learned and the unlearned, to men and women in the confessional, and even on their death-beds, related to this unfortunate Constitution of Clement XI. and the dying were allowed to expire without absolution if they pleaded ignorance as their excuse. Thus were spirits embittered, priests rendered odious, the devout scandalized and the ungodly strengthened in their impiety.

¹ [CADRY], III., Sec. 3, p. 3 *seq.*

² September 9 1721, *ibid.*, p. 4 *seq.*

Let Cardinal Althan represent to the Pope that in Germany it was not possible to pursue the line of harsh rigour which so many Archbishops and Bishops had taken with their demand for a fresh promulgation of the aforesaid Constitution and their insistence on its being accepted. Especially was it necessary to leave the common people in peace and in its blissful ignorance.

The Elector of Cologne's reply to the ordinance concerning Hoffreumont¹ was to the effect that he was not competent to alter the dogmatic definitions of the Holy See, especially after they had been received by the Bishops, nor could he allow them to be attacked with impunity by his subjects. The ordinance declared that there was nothing the Emperor had so much at heart as to maintain unimpaired the Bishop's authority in the spiritual sphere.² But that authority would be overturned if a Bishop was compelled to tolerate priests tainted with the errors of Quesnel, errors which constituted an obvious peril for public tranquillity also. The Constitution had been accepted throughout the diocese of Liège; those who had refused to subscribe to it numbered less than a score. If there were any secret adherents of Quesnel in the diocese, prompt measures must be taken and the Bishop could not suffer such views to take root and to spread among the people. But this would undoubtedly happen if Hoffreumont and his associates were granted what they wanted, for in that event other Quesnellists would spread their errors with impunity all over the diocese. There had never been any "persecution"; nothing more had been asked of Hoffreumont than what had been demanded from the other suspect clergy who, with three or four exceptions, had all subscribed, as had also all candidates for Holy Orders.

The Vicar-General of Liège did not carry the imperial ordinance into effect,³ and in the end Hoffreumont's appeal was rejected by an imperial decree.⁴ Hoffreumont fled to

¹ November 27, 1721, *ibid.*, p. 9 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴ By imperial decree and covering letter for the Elector, February 5, 1723, *ibid.*, Sec. 6, p. 62.

Holland where he became a professor at the Jansenist Seminary of Amersfoort. He died at Rijnwijck, among the fugitive Jansenist Cistercians of Orval. Shortly before his death he had joined the French Appellants and revoked his previous subscription to Alexander VII.'s formula.¹

After the Emperor had finally sided with the Bishops in the affair of Liège, he even went a step further. On the representations of the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines he declared, by letters to the Governor and the Bishops of the Netherlands,² that the Bull *Unigenitus* had been validly promulgated in those countries and that this promulgation was to have its full effect in law. Disciplinary action should be taken against any public and scandalous opposition to the Bull.³

(5.)

With regard to the development of the missions, Innocent XIII.'s short pontificate is memorable for the fact that he completed what his predecessors had initiated. Thus he approved the rules of the Missionary College of the Trinitarians of S. Maria delle Fornaci, which had been founded in Rome on the model of the Franciscan Colleges.⁴ He subjected it to Propaganda, with the express purpose of fostering the

¹ Copy of the document in [NIVELLE], II., *Suite*, App. 40, *Ibid.*, 33 *seqq.*, are given isolated appeals from Malines, Antwerp, Namur and Liège of the years 1729, 1731, 1735 and 1737.

² May 26, 1723, in [CADRY], III., Sec. 7, p. 52.

³ In 1732 the Prince-Bishop of Liège decreed that all those who did not accept the constitution *Unigenitus* would *ipso facto* fall under the ban of the Church. In Maestricht the Quesnellists appealed against the decree to the States which exercised sovereign power in Maestricht, together with the Prince-Bishop of Liège. The States, in fact, did intervene, a fact which led to altercations between the two Powers (FLEURY, LXXIV., 22-9; Decree of the States, September 6, 1732, *ibid.*, 25 *seq.*). On December 23, 1739, by order of the Pope, the Bishop of Liège published a new decree to enforce the Constitution. This time it met with no opposition (*ibid.*, LXXVI., 281).

⁴ Cf. XXXIII., 365.

apostolic spirit in the whole Order.¹ On February 3rd, 1721, Clement XI. had created the diocese of Fogaras for the Uniate Rumanians of Transilvania ; on July 17th of the following year Clement's successor promulgated a Bull on the subject.² For the purpose of healing a schism among the Maronites, the Holy See had despatched to Mount Lebanon Abbot Gabriel Eva.³ Innocent XIII. was able to congratulate the Patriarch Peter and his people on the restoration of unity.⁴ The gravest hindrance to the progress of reunion among the Ruthenians was the circumstance that the converts were punished with confiscation of their property for having remained in schism ; a Brief of February 10th, 1724, sought to put an end to this abuse.⁵ The new Pope only followed in the steps of his predecessors when, at the request of the Commissary of the Franciscans, Emmanuel del Rio, he confirmed anew all their privileges in the Holy Land⁶ ; the Custos and Guardian was empowered to administer Confirmation.⁷

The missions were bound to benefit at least indirectly by the erection, by the Pope, of the College of Santiago de Leon of Caracas into a University with nine chairs of philosophy and theology⁸ ; by the faculty granted in perpetuity to the Augustinian Hermits of Peru and Michoacan to bestow the dignity of Doctors on six of their members,⁹ and by the approval of the statutes of the Congregation of St. Hippolytus in the West Indies.¹⁰ The Brazilian Carmelites of the provinces of Bahia, Rio de Janeiro and Maranhão were also empowered

¹ Brief of August 4, 1721, *Ius pontif.*, II., 348.

² *Ibid.*, 345.

³ XXXIII., 362.

⁴ HERGENRÖTHER, IV., 148 ; DIB, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, X.,

73 *seqq.*

⁵ *Ius pontif.*, 363.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 345.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 351.

⁸ August 19, 1722, *ibid.*, 358 *seq.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 353 *seq.*, 354 *seq.*, 356 *seq.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 356 *seq.*

to confer the doctorate in theology.¹ The Augustinian Province of Mexico was authorized to increase the number of its ordinary Masters of theology by eight. From these petitions we gather that the province already numbered twelve Masters of theology, forty-five monasteries, fifty-five parishes for natives and 1,000 members.² Whilst these dispositions bear witness to a desire of maintaining and even raising the intellectual level of the missionary Orders, a decree of Propaganda placing the Colleges of the Observants under the immediate authority of the General, points to the determination to put the direction of these most important missionary institutions in the best hands.

The progress of the work of spreading Christianity continued to depend on the religious Orders. The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris, which is so important to-day, only entered upon its magnificent development in the nineteenth century ; up to the end of the eighteenth century it only fulfilled in a small measure the hopes with which its foundation had been greeted. But its importance was great even in the first years because many of the Vicars Apostolic belonged to it, though in 1722 it only counted nine priests and four Bishops in its Far-Eastern missions.³ One cause of the growing decline of the Society, besides the difficulties of the period, was the circumstance that the two Superiors, Brisacier and Tiberge, had to strive with all their might to prevent the infiltration of Jansenism : they inexorably refused any applicant who was in any way suspect in this respect.⁴ In 1717 three of the Directors of the Society had to be dismissed on account of Jansenism.⁵ Tiberge and Brisacier informed the Pope of the fact and in their letter they admit that the heresy had penetrated into the missions.⁶ The Seminary was subsequently

¹ *Ibid.*, 361 *seq.*, 403 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 354 *seqq.*

³ LAUNAY, 479 *seq.*, 499, 501 *seq.*

⁴ BRUCKER in *Études*, LXVII. (1896), 500.

⁵ LAUNAY, I., 491.

⁶ " D'une part, ce sont des hommes imbus de nouvelles doctrines, qui se sont introduits dans ces belles missions, et croient

able to purge itself before Innocent XIII. of the suspicion of Jansenism,¹ but on the very day of that Pope's death De Tencim wrote that rumour had it that there were rebels against the Pope in the Seminary. Innocent decided that all these should be dismissed.²

We hear but little of fresh conquests in the mission field during the reign of Innocent XIII., though after a royal edict of 1723 all the natives of the Isle of Mauritius were instructed in the Catholic faith, with the aid of the French India Company.³ In California the Jesuits founded new missions in 1721, so that the Gospel was preached over the whole of the southern section of the Peninsula.⁴ The zeal of the Franciscans in the missions of Texas, Ecuador and Peru is attested by the martyrdom of some of their missionaries in 1721.⁵ On the Maranhão the Franciscans ministered to

pouvoir seuls les occuper. D'autre part, toute la mission s'attire de la haine et de la jalousie, pour avoir comme admis dans son sein la peste de ces erreurs" (LAUNAY, I., 492). Instead of signing the Bull, the Seminary priest Fleury crumpled it up and threw it in the face of the Provicar who had demanded the signature (*cf.* LEMMENS, 113). When Clement XI. demanded subscription to the Bull *Unigenitus* as a preliminary condition for the consecration of the Seminary priests Le Blanc and Guisain as missionary bishops, instructions were sent to the missionaries from the Seminary by the Jansenist parish priest Krys, of Amsterdam, advising them not to accept the Bull. Le Blanc died in China before his consecration, Guisain was consecrated without having subscribed to the Bull, probably because only the Brief of nomination but not the Papal demand from the consecrators had been transmitted to him. [CADRY], IV., Sec. 29, p. 292). There were disturbances in the seminary when Jobard, an opponent of the Bull, was made Superior; the matter ended with Jobard's appeal against the Constitution and his final expulsion from the Seminary (*ibid.*, 292-312). *Cf.* Appendix No. 16.

¹ LAUNAY, I., 480 *seqq.*

² [CADRY], IV., 305.

³ SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 369 *seqq.*

⁴ ASTRÁIN, VII., 273.

⁵ LEMMENS, 247, 287, 294.

500 converts in five stations.¹ We read glowing accounts of the great zeal of the Jesuit José Gumilla, on the Orinoco, where he founded five new Reductions between 1718–1722.² A report of Archbishop Zuloaga of Lima to the Pope speaks highly of the missions of the Jesuits and the Bethlehemites in Peru; among the ten bishops of the Vice-Kingdom he singles out for special eulogy the two Dominicans, Nicolalde, Bishop of Concepción in Chile, and Mimbela of Trujillo.³ Whilst the Jesuits maintained their high standard in Peru, in spite of the universal moral decadence, symptoms of a loss of fibre appeared in Quito which rendered necessary the intervention of the General of the Order.⁴

In 1722 the Barnabite Calchi and the secular priest Vittoni founded a mission at Pegu in Farther India. The King of Alva authorized Calchi to preach and to build churches; he even went so far as to speak of the Pope as the first among men. Vittoni was sent to Rome as the bearer of the King's gifts to Innocent XIII., to do homage to him in Alva's name and to pray for more missionaries.⁵

(6.)

Calchi and Vittoni had journeyed to the East in the suite of Mezzabarba, the Papal Legate whose "permissions" led to a further increase and confusion of the dispute over the Chinese rites. Naturally enough the Jesuit missionaries in China interpreted Mezzabarba's instruction in their favour. The Emperor Kanghi sent one of their number, Niccolò Gianpriamo, to Rome by the overland route in the suite of the departing Russian ambassador. In November, 1772, Gianpriamo had his first audience with Innocent XIII.

¹ ASTRÁIN, VII., 431.

² *Ibid.*, 459.

³ *Ibid.*, 331 *seqq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 378.

⁵ SCHMIDLIN, 387; GALLO, *Storia del cristianesimo nell' impero Birmano*, I. (1862), 92.

and another in the following year, when he explained¹ that Clement XI., through Mezzabarba, had complied with some of the Emperor's wishes when he allowed precisely those rites which were most contested and which most surprised the Europeans. Only three points were left undecided, on which the Emperor awaited a favourable answer. The first concerned the divine names of *Tien* and *Shang-ti*. Might they not be used to designate the true God, since the Emperor and the Chinese *literati* had so often used them in the same sense? Might not likewise the tablets of Confucius and the ancestors, with the customary inscription *Goei*, be tolerated seeing that according to the Emperor's declaration and in the opinion of the *literati* and that of most of the missionaries, they pointed not to a real but to a purely spiritual presence, or were mere reminders of Confucius and the ancestors? Lastly, was it really necessary, whilst carrying out ceremonies authorized by the Pope, to exact an explicit profession of faith? No one saw anything wrong in these rites, but an impression would be created that there was something evil in them if what the decree seemed to prescribe was actually carried out.

When the Emperor contended for these three points with some of the missionaries, Gianpriamo argues, he fought on behalf of truth which was clearly acknowledged throughout his vast empire. After the promulgation of so many imperial decisions, which Kanghi was prepared to maintain resolutely, the Emperor fought for his honour and prestige as well as for the tranquillity of his empire, which would be destroyed if hands were laid on inviolable laws. Painful experiences had been made in this respect in the course of the past years: the Emperor had been so hurt that he had forbidden the practice of the Christian religion. The execution of the prohibition had indeed been put off, but only in the expectation of an answer from the Pope which would meet the Emperor's wishes. On the basis of this expectation alone

¹ His memorial in PLATEL, VII., 151-4, and in *Anecdotes*, V., 193-8.

the Emperor had instructed the tribunals not to molest the Christians and the missionaries for the time being.¹

By the time Gianpriamo made these requests they had become objectless. On December 22nd, 1722, Kanghi was carried off by death and as the Bavarian Jesuit Ignatius Kögler writes,² with him vanished the last human support for Christianity in China. The new Emperor, Yong-Tshing, had never had any dealings with Europeans and now that he was Emperor he designed at most to make use of one or two of their number. True, the imprisoned Lazarist Pedrini recovered his freedom on the occasion of the change of regime ; on the other hand the Mandarin Chao, who favoured the Christians, was thrown into prison and one of the missionaries was executed. The Jesuit Mourao, who had enjoyed the special regard of the late Emperor on account of his knowledge of Chinese, was one day asked by Kanghi who, in his opinion, should succeed him. Mourao endeavoured to evade the dangerous question but ended by praising the qualities of the Emperor's ninth son. The consequence was that Yong-Tshing, who had already rendered six of his brothers harmless, banished Mourao to Tartary together with this ninth son of Kanghi.³ The rooms in which the two were confined were only separated by a partition, hence they were able to establish communication with each other. This promptly caused them to be suspected of high treason, a suspicion which procured for the prince a harsher confinement whilst it led Mourao to the scaffold.⁴

¹ *Anecdotes*, V., 190-8.

² "Cum mortuo cecidit pene omne, quod in humanis erat, sustentaculum s. religionis in hoc imperio." Letter of October 10, 1723, State Archives, Munich, *Jesuit. in gen.*, fasc. 16, n. 278.

³ *Letter of the Jesuit Havich, October 8, 1723, *ibid.*

⁴ BAHR, *Merkwürdigkeiten*, 130 seq. The enemies of the Jesuits spread the rumour that Mourao had really intended to commit high treason. BAHR (131) says, however: "Ich stehe in einem solchen Ort, allwo die ganze Sache nicht unbekannt, ich wohne in demselben Zimmer, in welchem dieser angerühmte Pater lange Jahre gelebet, ich lebe unter solchen Mitbrüdern, die annoch

For the Chinese Christians there now opened a long period of persecution. On September 7th, 1723, the Viceroy of Fukiën published an edict ordering the Christians to renounce their faith, their eighteen churches to be seized and the missionaries to be banished.¹ The tribunal of the rites confirmed the decree; those missionaries who might be of use to the court were to remain at Peking, the others were to be taken to Macao. Meetings for Christian worship were made punishable.² The Emperor approved the decision on January 11th, 1724.³ The missionaries were accordingly expelled and the churches turned into storehouses, schools or pagodas.⁴ Only on August 1st, 1724, did Yong-Tshing grant

lebendige Zeugen sein können, sowohl des Lebenswandels dieses Missionarii, als des Ausgangs seines Tods, welches alles zu mehrer Sicherheit dem geneigten Leser dienen mag." Moreover it is hard to believe that if Mourao had really committed high treason, the first penalty would have been mere banishment. Mourao's "confession" contains nothing incriminating either himself or the ninth prince who, according to Mourao, had more than once said that he did not aspire to the throne. The final condemnation of Mourao, although based on treason, furnishes no concrete facts (*Anecdotes*, V., 88 *seq.*). Pedrini also seems to be inclined to believe the accusation, but, says the Carmelite Wolfgang, Pedrini falls under the spell of fixed ideas when he speaks of the Jesuits (Appendix, n. 9, § 3), and he too only speaks of a "suspicion" (*soupçons*) of the Emperor that the Christians were taking part in rebellions (THOMAS, 327). Recently, in a long chapter, THOMAS (307-315) has asserted that the conspiracy of P. Mourao must be regarded as a fact.

¹ DE MAILLA, XI., 384.

² *Ibid.*, 390 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 391.

⁴ De Mailla's letter of October 16, 1724, *lettres édif.*, III., 365 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 346-364, further particulars on the edicts of persecution. According to the enemies of the Jesuits the "conspiracy" of Mourao was the principal reason for the persecution of the Christians (THOMAS, 316 *seq.*). But there are many arguments against this supposition: (1) the persecution did not begin at Peking, but at Fukiën; (2) it began only on September 7, 1723,

an audience to the Jesuits, when he informed them that he would allow them to remain at Peking, and in Canton, but that Confucius must not be touched. He told them that he himself, as far as religion was concerned, honoured heaven, the Lord of heaven, *Foe* (Buddha) and the Pope. If the whole of China were to become Christian, she would sink so low as to be no more than a vassal of the Europeans.¹ Every effort to make the Emperor see things in another light was in vain.

If evil days befell the missionaries in China, worse ones came for the Jesuits in Rome. For a considerable time already dark clouds had been gathering over their heads; under Innocent XIII., who was no friend of theirs, the storm seemed about to burst. The worst reports about them had reached Rome. Tournon ascribed his failure to their intrigues; embittered as he was by illness and imprisonment, he suspected in every untoward event that befell him the hand and the ill will of these supposed enemies of his.² His friends shared his sentiments. In their opinion Kanghi was prepared to concede everything that the Pope asked of him through Tournon, brilliant prospects were opening for the Church

whereas Mourao's arrest took place already on April 3, 1723; (3) in the documents on the persecution no reference at all is made to Mourao; what is found fault with in Christianity is rather: its recommendation of the practice of virginity, the assistance at divine worship by men and women in common, the neglect of the worship of the ancestors and auricular confession (*cf.* the documents in DE MAILLA, XI., 379-400). "Depuis le temps que durent vos disputes, vous voyez le train que prennent vos affaires," said Kanghi's thirteenth son to the Jesuits (*ibid.*, 392).

¹ *Letter of the Jesuits of Peking, January 13, 1725, State Archives, Munich, *loc. cit.* There the Emperor is quoted as saying: "Coeli Dominum vocatis Tienchu et risui vos exponitis, sicut secta Foe, per Tienchu vocandi Coeli Dominum." *Cf.* DE MAILLA, XI., 401.

² XXXIII., 446. *Cf.*, e.g., his letter to the Jesuits of January 18, 1715, *Anecdotes*, II., 175 *seqq.* According to this they are the cause of all the misfortunes of the Chinese mission, the Emperor is a mere plaything in their hands, everywhere they put traps for him, i.e. for the Legate.

in China, had not the Jesuits induced the Emperor to insist on the rites and thus destroyed the magnificent hopes for the future.¹ Maigrot, who on his return to Europe was summoned to Rome to report, worked there in the same sense. In a dissertation on the right of patronage in China, he

¹ *Vidde [Tournon] aperta la porta alla cattolica fede, per stabilirsi per sempre nella China, poichè l'imperatore di China stava molto bene inchinato di concederli quanto era per dimandarli in nome del SS. Pontefice, certo che l'havesse dimandato un imperial diploma per firmare in perpetuum la santa fede nella China, o di permettersi in perpetuum in ogni città una chiesa ai christiani, l'havria certamente ottenuto, se non se li fossero opposti, che voglion esser soli per vivere a gusto loro in China.— Vidde e toccò con mani come li pretesi obedientissimi figli della santa madre Chiesa unironsi in Pekino contro di quella. Oh Dio! Se questi si fossero uniti con li santi dettami di Sua Em., o almeno non li fossero opposti, già si saria stabilita per sempre la santa madre Chiesa cattolica in quest'imperio di China, poichè l'imperatore di questa stava ben inchinato a favorirla (Le presenti relazioni, che contengono epilogatamente li più pubblici e manifesti strapazzi, che pati in China et in Macao l'em. sig. card. di Tournon, National Library, Munich. *Cod. ital.*, 568, *Miscell. stor. eccl.*, f. 221). To this the Jesuits replied: *An ipse imperator in gratiam paucorum Europæorum convellere opinionem publicam, contra literatorum et procerum suorum sententiam et libros ire, incurrere gravem seditionis ac tumultus metum voluisse censendus est? Quaenam in hoc toto negotio autoritas apud illum nostra esse potuit? Ita enim nonnulli dictitant, nos id ab eo et proceribus consequi posse, ut ritus illi et consuetudines a christianis penitus omittantur. Nae, qui sic loquuntur, errant longissime; neque satis animadvertunt, quam sit natio in priscis moribus ritibusque conservandis religiosa et constans, quos ita mordicus tenet, ut fortunas, dignitates, omnia denique sibi potius eripi patiatur, quos si vel minimum attentare conentur Europæi, tanquam hostes reipublicae, impii, conscelerati exterminabuntur. Testis est Iaponia . . . ; floreret adhuc inter Iapones christiana lex, si cautius cum illis et prudentius initio res gesta fuisset. Exulcerati sunt eorum animi a malevolorum dolo aut parum consulta bonorum pietate . . . (Libellus supplex of the Chinese Jesuits to Clement XI., State Archives, Munich, *loc. cit.*, *ibid.*, 279).

endeavours to prove that nothing could be more disastrous for the missions in the East than to grant this right to "the Portuguese, or more correctly, to the Jesuits", whilst contrariwise, nothing would so benefit the Chinese Church as its deliverance from the servitude in which it found itself as a result of the greater part of the Empire having been assigned to the Jesuits.¹ According to the author of this dissertation, every salutary measure of the Holy See was thwarted by the Jesuits; they were tyrants against whom no one dared raise a finger; every violence committed by the Portuguese was instigated by them. The Jesuit General was the Pope in those parts, with full powers to preach the gospel of Confucius.²

Maigrot was a member of the Paris Seminary of Foreign Missions³ and the most active opponent of the Jesuits in the question of the rites was precisely that Seminary. Quemener and Charmot, who were Maigrot's agents in Rome since 1694, also belonged to it. On the question of the rites the most distinguished missionary Bishop of the rising institution, Pallu, had been completely won over to the views of the Dominican Navarrete, whom he had met at Madagascar when on his way to China whilst the latter was returning to Europe.⁴

¹ *De iure patronatus in ecclesiis imperii Sinarum, Staatsbibl, Munich, *Cod. ital.*, 562.

² "Cum omnimoda facultate Confucii evangelium Sinis praedicandi. . . . Verun est, quod quotiescunque Iesuitae Sinarum imperatorem impellent ad Legatum Apost., missionarios et ipsum Papani, si illuc iret, Macaum detrudendos tradendosque in manus Lusitanorum, tunc domini seu potius satellites egregii futuri Lusitani sint, illisque facturi, quidquid Iesuitae voluerint." *Ibid.*

³ In REUSCH, *Index*, II., 773. In another place he is erroneously said to be a Lazarist.

⁴ " *Je me trouve si éclairé des entretiens de ce bon religieux et des mémoires que j'en ai dressé qu'il me semble que j'en suis suffisamment pourveu pour me bien conduire dans l'estat présent des affaires de cette mission " (Pallu, December 28, 1670, *Lettres*, I., 129). " Je ne puis vous exprimer combien les entretiens que j'ai eus avec ce bon religieux m'ont donné de secours pour servir

In the sequel the Seminary Priests addressed petition upon petition to the Pope against them¹; these documents spared neither the defenders of the rites nor their writings. Moreover the Seminary succeeded in getting the Sorbonne to take part in the dispute. As some of the qualificators of the Roman Congregation favoured the Jesuits, Charmot sought to neutralize their influence by obtaining from the Sorbonne, through Archbishop Noailles of Paris, an expression of opinion on the points in dispute which were then being examined in Rome. As a matter of fact, on May 8th, 1700, several Doctors condemned in the severest terms no fewer than twenty-nine propositions dealing with the rites. Moreover the Director of the Seminary denounced to the Sorbonne two publications by the Jesuits Le Comte and Le Gobien; as a result of thirty sittings of the Doctors, five propositions from these writings were condemned on October 18th, 1700.² By prohibiting all further writing on the rites Clement XI. put a stop to the polemics, though two decades later the Seminary³ caused to be published by the Jansenist Villermeule, a collection of documents⁴ which constitute an odious libel on the Jesuits.

A Dominican missionary in China, whom the persecution

efficacement la mission de la Chine qui est reduit dans un très fascheux estat" (to Nesmond, August 4, 1671, *ibid.*, II., 350). On his journey Pallu was accompanied by Artus de Lyonne and Charles Maigrot, who were afterwards his most violent opponents in the dispute about the rites. LAUNAY, I., 256.

¹ April 20, 1700 (CORDIER, II., 886), October 15, 1709, and February 2, 1710 (*Anecdotes*, III., 210-18, 222-235), *Réponse à la protestation des Jésuites* (*ibid.*, 236-241), etc. Cf. *Anecdotes*, I., 35 *seq.*

² BRUCKER in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 2374 *seq.*; SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, II., 1358-1361. The condemned propositions in FERET, *Époque moderne*, II., 373-8; DUPIN, *Hist. de l'Église*, IV., Paris, 1726, 403 *seq.*

³ REUSH, *Index*, II., 777.

⁴ *Anecdotes sur l'état de la religion dans la Chine*, 7 vols., Paris, Aux dépens de la Société, 1733-1742.

drove to Rome, wrote there in Maigrot's sense.¹ For this reporter also it is quite evident, though he too furnishes no proof, that every unfavourable measure must be ascribed to the Jesuits,² though at the same time he extols the conciliatory dispositions of his brethren in religion towards them³; care was taken to give the widest publicity to these accusations by means of a Spanish, Latin and French edition.

Even more disastrous for the Jesuits was the enmity of many missionaries and officials of Propaganda. Propaganda's first Secretary, Francesco Ingoli, who was in office between 1622-1649, gave proof of his short-sighted preventions against them, to quote only one instance, by his attitude towards that great Englishwoman, Mary Ward.⁴ His successor, Urban Cerri (1675-1679) drew up, on the basis of inadequate material, a report on the missions of so much open hostility to the Order that certain non-Catholics showed their appreciation of it by the publication of a French and English translation at Amsterdam and in England.⁵ In his pamphlets against the Jesuits Antoine Arnauld was able to emphasize the fact that he had drawn information not only from the Dominican archives in Rome and Paris,⁶ but even from those of Propaganda.⁷ After Clement XI.'s condemnation of the conduct of the Jesuits in China, it is easy to understand that the other missionaries should have deemed it a meritorious act, and even a duty, to turn their backs on them. The

¹ FRANÇOIS GONZALES DE ST. PIERRE, *Relation de la nouvelle persécution de la Chine jusqu'à la mort du cardinal Tournon*, 1714.

² DUPIN, *loc. cit.*, 51, 70, 286.

³ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁴ JOS. GRISAR in *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXIII. (1927), 42. Cf. the present work, XXIX., 24 *seqq.*

⁵ R. CORRIGAN, *Die Kongregation "de Propaganda Fide" und ihre Tätigkeit in Nordamerika*, Munich, 1928, 19 *seqq.*

⁶ *Morale pratique des Jésuites*, ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXXIV., 314, 319, 466, 471, 562 *seq.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 472, 587; XXXIII., 289, 328, etc.

Superior of the French Jesuits in Peking, d'Entrecolles, wrote on November 3rd, 1724, to the French Assistant of the General in Rome, that the missionaries of Propaganda were so prejudiced against the Jesuits, that without a miracle of the first order, it would be impossible to remove their preventions, in fact they could not describe things as they saw them with their own eyes, for if they did they would be accused of having gone over to the Jesuit side, and would be punished accordingly; thus Tomacelli of the Clerics Minor and a friend of the Jesuits, had been recently recalled from China.¹

The campaign of calumny, which eventually led to the suppression of the Order, had been inaugurated in the first years of the century. Already there were those who openly worked for the destruction of the Society of Jesus. In the Congregations dealing with the rites, Cardinal Casanata said that though the Society had been at one time the Church's right hand, even the right hand must be cut off when it has

¹ " *V. R. vedrà nella mia lettera scritta al P. Generale, che per la nostra giustificazione mi fondo molto sopra le diffuse scritture degli anni precedenti. In effetto io le stimo convincenti per li fatti, de' quali si tratta. Ma voi direte, queste non sono che testimonianze de' Gesuiti. A che rispondo, che le persone inviate qui dalla S. Congregazione sono venuti così prevenuti contro di noi sulli punti contestati, che sarebbe necessario un miracolo di prima classe il rimuoverli da un tal pregiudicio. Nè pure si sono tralasciate le offerte di danaro per impegnare qualcheduno a sostenere la loro causa. Io lo so da persona che è testimonio a chi fu fatta tale offerta. E come mai si potrà sperare nell'avvenire, che alcun soggetto della S. Congregazione ardisca scrivere le cose come noi le scriviamo e le veggiamo con gli occhi, per non dispiacere a certe persone, perchè ciò basta per il dire che il tale è passato al partito de' Gesuiti, che è un falso fratello e perchè sia severamente punito? L'esempio del P. Tomacelli chierico regolare minore richiamato quest'ora dalla Cina, come altresì del S. Gagliardi cirussico arresterà da qui innanzi qualunque della S. Congregazione dallo scrivere anche sulla testimonianza de' propri occhi ciò che giudicasse esser favorevole a' Gesuiti." Letter, property of the Jesuits.

become useless.¹ The Procurator of Propaganda in China, Perroni, sums up his opinion of them in one sentence: "Away with them!"² When Bishop Laghi of Lorima, Vicar Apostolic of Shansi, replied that if the Jesuits had been at fault, they might amend, his one answer was: "Away with them!" and when told that it was monstrous so to condemn them, he repeated his "Away with them!"³

The Jesuits considered as their principal enemy and calumniator the Lazarist Pedrini who long enjoyed unshakable prestige in Rome.⁴ They were so convinced that envy and jealousy were the driving power in the troubles occasioned by the question of the rites, that like the two women before Solomon, they were prepared to renounce utterly the child of their anxiety and toil, the Chinese mission, and to surrender it to their opponents, lest everything perish amid the endless quarrels.⁵ The Jansenist literature, which never ceased to fan the discord, took advantage of the accusations against the Jesuits in order to work for their destruction, and on occasion it openly admits the fact.⁶

¹ " *Quod autem ea praecipue adversariorum intentio fuerit, ut Societatem, si possent, penitus destruerent, S. D. N. Clemens XI. ipsemet satis advertit et iterato claris verbis dixit; quin etiam asseruit, non dubitasse em. card. Casanata in una congregatione, cui ipse adhuc cardinalis intererat, palam edicere, Societatem fuisse quidem aliquando manum dexteram Ecclesiae, sed etiam manum dexteram Ecclesiae, cum iam inutilis esset, abscindendam esse." Castner, c. 4. ² "Eradicemus illos, eradicandi sunt."

³ *Sommario addizionale, n. 4, in Appendix, n. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 1.

⁵ " *Date illi, date, obsecro, infantem vivum et non interficiatur. Date illi missionem totam, integram, plenam, tantummodo ne pereant animae Sinarum, quas in Christo genuimus " (Stumpf, *Succinta chronologica narratio*, dedicated to the holy Angels). " *Quodque iam alias . . . professi sumus, denuo obsecrare [nos testamur]: detur alteri, dum viva servetur, proles, nec divisa interficiatur " (letter of the Jesuits of Peking to the General, dat. October 28, 1724, appendix, n. 7a).

⁶ *Anecdotes*, III., 242: " Le feu d'une division [kindled by the Jesuits] qui selon toutes les apparences ne s'éteindra que par

True, Maigrot and Pallu were no followers of Jansenist teachings,¹ but it can scarcely be questioned that the hatred of which the Society was the object sprang from the spirit which, as a result of Jansenist manœuvres, had taken root in a considerable section of the French clergy, in fact that spirit had even reached the missions²; and almost more than anything else it insisted on aversion for the Society of Jesus.

The worst consequence for the Jesuits of this aversion was that the Legate Mezzabarba allowed himself to be drawn into the opposition which confronted them. Tournon, his predecessor, deserves our admiration for the intrepidity with which he sought to fulfil his mission, but his successor possessed no such qualities. Mezzabarba was not a strong character. At first and whilst at Peking, he seemed to stand up wholeheartedly for the blamelessness of the Jesuits, but at Macao, and after his return to Europe, he spoke in a different tone. The change of attitude is undeniable. After Mezzabarba's *volte-face* the Jesuit Mourao wrote to him on September 25th, 1726, from his place of banishment at Si-tai-tum. In this letter the Jesuit confronted Mezzabarba with his earlier statements: the Legate, Mourao wrote, had taken heaven to witness that he would support the Jesuits in the affair of the rites.³ Shortly before Mezzabarba's departure from Peking, the three highest Jesuit Superiors called on him and prayed him on their knees for his parting counsel and advice. If he had any fault to find with them, let him do so freely

l'extinction de la Société qui est l'unique cause de nos malheurs." *Ibid.*, IV., 342 note: [Tournon] "dont la canonisation annoncera à l'Univers la ruine prochaine de la Société qui l'a fait mourir," etc.

¹ LAUNAY, I., 182, 333.

² Above, p. 68.

³ " *Alem destas rezões, que bastão a persuadirme que V. S. Ill^{ma} não he inimigo nosso, tenho para a mesma persuasão outro motivo na quelle juramento com que V. S. Ill^{ma} tomando o ceo per testemunha me uno praesente jurou defender o credito dos Jesuitas na causa Sinica." *Cf.* Appendix, n. 14.

and if they were guilty, let him punish them. The Legate replied that what he had observed in the members of the Order was all most pleasing to God and worthy of the highest praise; if it were otherwise he would not have withheld correction until the last moment. Let the Fathers be of good heart, he would defend their innocence in Rome against those who calumniated them and would procure some relief for them.¹ This was the burden of an apology the accused Jesuits addressed to the cardinalitial Congregation which was charged to decide their fate, and this in Mezzabarba's life-time. In the letter referred to above, Mourao boldly, though in polite terms, tells Mezzabarba to his face that fear was the reason of his change of conduct. Pedrini's name is also mentioned in this letter. In a pamphlet written by the latter and broadcast at Canton by Appiani, Mezzabarba was reproached with partiality for the Jesuits. Now, as the Legate had frequently observed to Mourao, this was precisely the reproach he was most afraid of, for nothing would so damage both his legation and the Mission in Rome.² Mourao bluntly tells Mezzabarba that he could only explain certain passages in his pastoral letter to the Chinese missionaries in the light of a desire to counteract the above-mentioned suspicion. The reason why the Legate had put off the defence of the Jesuits in Rome was because of the preventions against them which prevailed there.³ However, if reasons had existed for temporarily hiding the truth, the time had come for justice to be done to them. Mourao reminds the Legate of declarations made by himself in China; namely that heroic efforts became an

¹ " * . . . se nihil nisi religiosum et valde commendabile in Societatis hominibus notasse, secus se ad illud usque tempus iustam monitionem, increpationem aut animadversionem non fuisse dilaturum. Bono insuper Patres animo esse iussit, se innocentiam et calumniis oppressorum patrocinium Romae suscepturum et levamen certe allaturum." Memorial of the Jesuits to the Congregation of Cardinals, September, 1726 (see below, p. 203, n. 6), No. 18.

² Appendix, n. 14 (f. 149^b).

³ *Ibid.* [f. 150^b].

ecclesiastic of noble lineage where the service of God and the Church were concerned ; he believed that God had reserved to him this mission to China for His service and for the good of the numerous Christian communities there. On another occasion he had declared that there would have been no easier road for him towards the cardinalate than if he had returned to Rome, without further effort to discharge his mission, when the Emperor refused him a first audience. " But of what use would the purple be to me before the tribunal of Christ if I had deceived His Vicar on earth, to the detriment of numberless souls ? " ¹

Mezzabarba roundly rejected a later apology of the Jesuits as evidence against them on account of its manifest contradictions,² but before a fuller light was thrown on his own testimony, his evidence was bound to tilt the scales heavily.

In view of the constantly recurring accusations the Pope could not remain silent in the long run. By his orders Aluigi Carafa, the Secretary of Propaganda, directed a Brief, dated September 13th, 1728, to Michele Tamburini, the Jesuit General, which can be regarded as a forerunner of the decree of suppression of the year 1773.³ The document begins by stating that after mature discussion and consideration the Pope had come to the definite conclusion that the excesses of the Jesuit missionaries in China could be tolerated no longer. They were for ever disobeying the directions of the Holy See, refused to carry out their duties as missionaries and to administer the Sacraments, to the very great injury to souls, and never ceased, by means of cunning artifices, to obstruct the execution of the Apostolic ordinances, more particularly that of Clement XI.'s Bull on the Chinese rites, although they had sworn to observe it. The General himself had failed in his duty towards men whose conduct was in

¹ *Ibid.*, [f. 152^b].

² Below, p. 203 *seq.*

³ " Ordini intimati al P. Generale della Compagnia di Gesu da Msgre Segretario della S. Congregazione di Propaganda per commando di N. S. Sotto li 13 settembre 1723," *Anecdotes*, V., 254-260.

open contradiction with his solemn declaration of submission of November 20th, 1711. He had also failed to carry out the command which Clement XI. had given to him and to his Assistants, in the presence of the Prefect of Propaganda, Cardinal Sagripanti, and its Secretary, Archbishop Carafa, previous to Mezzabarba's departure, for though the insubordination of the Peking Jesuits in particular had come to his knowledge year by year, he had neglected to take suitable steps to enforce their compliance and had not even appealed to the Holy See when faced by their impudence.

Nevertheless in his fatherly gentleness the Pope was unwilling to act with the strictness with which he might well proceed. He had given his orders to the Secretary of Propaganda by word of mouth and confirmed them by a letter of the Secretary of State dated September 8th, 1723. These were now being communicated, on September 13th, to the General and his Assistants, with strict injunctions for their execution. They were to the following effect : 1. The General must find means to compel the Jesuits of China, Tonking and Cochinchina to obey strictly the papal prohibition of the rites and to resume their missionary activities and the administration of the Sacraments in accordance with the oath they had taken, but which they had failed to keep. Those who refused to obey were to be recalled from the mission field. 2. Within a period of three years, beginning on October 1st, 1723, the General must furnish proof of his own and his subjects' obedience ; if he failed to do so the Society would be forbidden to receive novices after the lapse of three years. 3. From the day of the promulgation of this prohibition the General was to send no fresh missionaries to the Far East. 4. The General is to revoke all faculties to the contrary granted by subordinate Superiors. 5. The General is to write to and to bring the utmost pressure to bear on, the Jesuits in Peking in particular " who are known to be the originators and promoters of the imprisonment of other missionaries, where, to the greatest possible scandal they had acted as policemen and gaolers, especially on the occasion of the arrest of the priest Theodoric Pedrini." They must be made to do their utmost

to the end that he, as well as Appiani and Guigues, should recover their freedom. 7. The General must send a circular to the whole Order forbidding all opposition to the decree on the rites. 8. Gianpriamo is not to return to China without the Pope's leave. Nos. 6 and 9 settle the mode of execution.

Like so many other documents, a breach of confidence caused this one too to fall into the hands of the Jansenists, who published it.¹

There is no need to insist on the crushing effect of this decree on the Chinese missionaries. In November, 1724, in a letter to Lisbon, the Bavarian Ignatius Kögler, after lamenting the collapse of the mission,² in consequence of the persecution by the Emperor Yong-Tshing, goes on to say: "Whilst we weep over these pitiful ruins, whilst we hope for some comfort from Europe, all we get is a letter from our General, written by order of Propaganda, which leaves us prostrate with grief and almost kills us! Thus nothing remains to us but extreme and universal abandonment. Good God! Until now I had believed that when, out of pure love of God and the Gospel, a man left his country to go to the ends of the earth, he ran no other risks than those which the Apostle of the Gentiles experienced in so large a measure, and that he would only have to undergo such trials as are wont to befall all men. But it is a more grievous trial and one beyond human endurance that the least of his sons should not only be rendered suspect to the Holy Father of enormous crimes, but that they should be condemned without first being tried, and that punishment should be extended even to our guiltless Mother [the Society of Jesus], a thing that causes the heretics to rejoice, the hypocrites to triumph and which, there is every reason to fear, will do grievous injury to the Church of God. My tears and sighs do not allow me to go on. If your Reverence can do anything, help us and our common Mother ;

¹ *Ibid.*

² In a letter to Stiehl, confessor of the Queen of Portugal, reported in the latter's *letter of June 17, 1726, State Archives, Munich, *Iesuit. in gen.*, fasc. 16, n. 278. Cf. Appendix, No. 8.

appeal to our royal patrons. . . . Testimonies to our complete innocence of the things we are accused of have been forwarded year by year and in great abundance, so that one is amazed that fresh testimonials should be constantly required. Maybe these documents are buried in the Archives and are not produced lest the calumnies of our accusers should be confounded. Will the fresh attestations meet with a like fate, especially as the most unheard of crimes of which we are accused, are regarded as incontestable? ”

The Pope cannot be held responsible for the harsh language of the decree of Propaganda. When he was told of the manner in which his order had been communicated to the General, he declared that the directions and penalties were only to be regarded as having been intimated and that on the basis of the report of one party ; his wish was that a documented defence should be submitted by the Jesuits. This was done. The Pope reserved to himself the examination of the affair with a view to submitting it to a Congregation of Cardinals.¹

Innocent XIII.'s death prevented an immediate examination by the Cardinals, but Tamburini, the General of the Society, had submitted an *apologia* during the Pope's lifetime.² Tamburini begins by observing that before judgment was given he would like to be informed of the main points of the accusation ; this had also been the Pope's wish, but effect had not been given to it. The Secretary of Propaganda had indeed let Gianpriamo know that he was free to submit anything he liked, but he was told nothing of the nature of the particular accusations. After Tamburini had ascertained that the inquiry was in progress and after Gianpriamo had requested, for three days in succession, that the accusations should be communicated to him, he was told that there were no instructions to that effect. The Secretary of State, Giorgio Spinola, was also approached with a like request. Thus it was clear that the Society had not refused to meet its accusers.³

¹ “ *Informazione ” of January, 1725, Appendix, No. 10.

² It is printed in a French translation only, without the documents, in *Anecdotes*, VI., 1-478.

³ *Ibid.*, 7.

As for the accusations, Tamburini calls God to witness that he felt innocent of every one of the imputations and that he had good reason to believe that the greater number of his missionaries in China had not strayed from the path of duty.¹ To justify his own conduct Tamburini submitted documents showing that he had dispatched instructions to China ordering the prohibition of the rites to be complied with and rebuking the transgression of a few missionaries. Every year he had reported to the Holy See on the situation in the East and on the difficulties created by the observance of the decrees on the rites.²

For the rest the papal decrees of 1704 and 1710 were only published in China in the year 1715. The Bishop of Peking had represented to the Holy See the necessity of postponing the promulgation of the decrees and Fernandez, the Commissary of the Franciscans, wrote that not one of the Vicars Apostolic had published them. In these circumstances it was necessary for the General to hold his hand lest his orders should cross those of the Bishops.

With regard to his missionaries, the General states that he was in possession of convincing proofs of their prompt and willing obedience, with the exception of a very few individuals. Documentary attestations of their having sworn to the Bull was dispatched to Clement XI. who received them with every manifestation of intense satisfaction. For China, the

¹ "Non si conosce gravata la coscienza" (*ibid.*, 4 *seq.*). The reprint of the defence in *Anecdotes*, Vol. VI., accompanies Tamburini's exposition with odious observations which have no objective value. For example, Tamburini's protestation of his innocence is countered thus (*loc. cit.*, 4): "Le P. Tambourin ne se contente pas de refuser la soumission au jugement du Pape qui le condamne, . . . il se présente aux pieds du S. Père pour lui donner un démenti. Le Pape le blâme de sa négligence, le Général ose assurer qu'il n'a manqué à aucune des diligences nécessaires. Le Pape déclare les Jésuites de la Chine rebelles à ses ordres, le Général a la témérité de les dire innocens et soumis . . ." We refrain from making any further comment on such "answers".

² *Ibid.*, 24 *seqq.*, 42 *seqq.*, 47 *seqq.*

Vice-Provincial of China and Japan attested that the Jesuit missionaries caused their flock to submit, regardless of the danger of persecution, and a Propaganda missionary testified that all the missionaries had taken the oath to the Constitution.

The Jesuits of Cochinchina were accused of insubordination and the General deemed it his duty to take them to task; subsequently, however, he learnt that they had subscribed four times before the Vicar Apostolic obliged them to do so. When the Bishop of Malacca demanded compliance in Siam he too met with a willing response. One Jesuit, of the name of Sanna, had been singled out as having refused the oath and having permitted the Christians to practise the forbidden rites. By order of Propaganda he was rebuked and punished by Tamburini, but it turned out that Sanna had been falsely accused by the Jansenist Fleury and his innocence was affirmed not only by the Provincial but likewise by the Vicar-General of the Bishop of Buggio and the Franciscan Jerome of the Blessed Trinity.¹

Tamburini admits that a number of missionaries had ceased to administer the Sacraments to the Chinese. He declares that

¹ *Ibid.*, 53 *seqq.* “*Catalogo di alcuni soggetti (*cf.* Appendix, n. 7) : Il P. Generale della Compagnia per ordine della S. Congregazione di Propaganda a' 28 Febr. 1720 gravissimamente riprende e intima castighi al P. Giov. Batt. Sanna per alcuni supposti reati di lui nella Cocincina. L'istesso ordina al P. Visitatore della Cina, che severamente castighi il P. Sanna e lo rimuova dalla missione. Il P. Sanna al primo Luglio 1721 protesta esser calunnie le accuse poste contro di lui, e d'essere state inventate da persone sospette di dottrina condannata. A' 22 Luglio 1722 si lagna d'esser condannato senza esser udito. Avvisa che il sig. Carlo di Flory un de' suoi accusatori fu scomunicato dal Vicario e dal Provicario Apost., ma non fe caso alcuno della scomunica. A' 26 Luglio 1722 asserisce, che il detto sig. Flory di nuovo era stato giudicato e pubblicamente scomunicato dal P. Cesati commissario delegato da Msgr. Mezzabarba, e manda copia di tali sentenze e scomuniche. Testimonianza del vescovo Bugiense Vicario Apost. a favor della calunniata innocenza del P. Sanna. Altra simil testimonianza d'un P. Francescano Provicario Apost. a favor del medesimo.”

he had informed them of his disapproval and that the matter was now in order. The reason of the Jesuits' conduct lay in the fact that on account of their attachment to the rites, even after the papal decisions, most of the Chinese Christians were not fit to receive the Sacraments.¹ The missionaries of Propaganda continued to give the Sacraments, on the ground that there was no obligation to question penitents about their attitude to the rites, or, alternately, that one could be content with a promise on their part, even if one felt that it was not seriously meant. Thus they administered Baptism without saying a word about the prohibition of the tablets of the ancestors.² Some of them were content to hear half a dozen confessions after which they felt they could say that they had enforced the prohibition on their entire flock.

One of the most odious accusations with which Tamburini had to deal was that his subjects had instigated the arrest of other missionaries and that they had acted towards them in the capacity of policemen and gaolers. This calumny referred to the case of Appiani and Pedrini. Appiani, whilst acting as Tournon's interpreter, had incurred the Emperor's displeasure³; this he expiated by a close on twenty years imprisonment. But he himself admitted that the Jesuits were not to blame for his fate.⁴ Pedrini had incurred the Emperor's anger because Kanghi held him responsible for the papal Constitution on the rites.⁵ His resentment broke out when Pedrini refused to append his signature to the so-called "Diary" of the Mandarins, viz. an account of Mezzabarba's negotiations at court and likewise refused to state the reasons of his refusal. The Emperor ordered him to be bastinadoed and thrown into prison. However, at the request of Mezzabarba and the other missionaries, he mitigated the sentence

¹ On the reasons for not administering the Sacraments any longer, see *Anecdotes*, VI., 73 *seqq.* Cf. XXXIII., 465, and Laureati's letter to Mezzabarba, February 2, 1721, *Anecdotes*, IV., 278 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, VI., 96.

³ Cf. vol. XXXIII., 429 *seqq.*

⁴ *Anecdotes*, VI., 166.

⁵ Cf. vol. XXXIII., 459 *seqq.*

to the extent of assigning the house of the French Jesuits as Pedrini's prison. There he had a large room, with an ante-room and a small garden at his disposal. At a later date the Emperor took the prisoner with him into Tartary. On their return, Pedrini imagined that he was at liberty, but according to Chinese customs this was by no means so. Thereupon he created scenes of such violence for the Jesuits that the latter were compelled to ask for the help of the mandarins.¹ There can be no question of their having acted as gaolers for the Jesuits could not decline the task laid upon them by the Emperor, however distasteful it must have been for them. At the Emperor's death in 1722, Pedrini recovered his freedom in virtue of a general amnesty. Through an oversight Appiani's captivity was prolonged for another nine months. It is remarkable that during his last years Pedrini (*ob.* 1746) lived on terms of friendship with the Jesuits whom he had combatted so long: they assisted him and he sought their advice.²

Tamburini formally refutes the accusation that at the audience of January 14th, 1721, Kanghi had been quite willing to drop the question of the rites but that the Jesuits had subsequently induced him to change his mind. He explains³ that the imperial statement in question only meant that, as far as they themselves were concerned, the Europeans were free to adopt what line of conduct they liked in regard to the rites, but it included no similar permission for the Chinese Christians.⁴

¹ *Anecdotes*, VI., 170 *seqq.*, and Tomacelli's letter of November 29, 1721, Appendix No. 6.

² " J'ai consulté trois Pères Jésuites de mes amis, hommes vraiment pieux et judicieux (to I. B. Spinucci on October 24, 1740, in THOMAS, 417). Dans cette maladie les Pères Jésuites (non pas les anciens qui sont morts) m'ont assisté avec grande charité nuit et jour " (to Cerù, October 23, 1741, *ibid.*, 419). " Cette année, j'ai été obligé d'emprunter et les Pères Jésuites qui savent que tout a été fait par ceux qui m'accusent m'ont fait la charité de me prêter un peu d'argent " (letter of 1742, *ibid.*, 420).

³ *Anecdotes*, VI., 336 *seqq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 371.

Finally, Tamburini draws attention to the many accusations against the Jesuits which had proved to be false, as for instance those against Sanna and the Jesuits of CochinChina.¹ Three accounts of Pedrini's captivity had been proved to be false; two others, drawn up by Appiani and Costerano, had been described as inaccurate by the Franciscans Serrano and Allemoni, whilst the Bishop of Peking had written that too much reliance was placed in Rome on the reports of the two Propaganda missionaries in Peking.²

As for the witnesses in favour of the Jesuits, Mezzabarba was not the only one to have acted as their friend whilst in Peking and as their enemy at Macao and in Europe. According to information from China, the other missionaries had decided not to give evidence in their favour, so as to spare themselves any unpleasantness; as a matter of fact the Franciscans had been taken to task on the plea that they had defended the alleged contemnners of the papal ordinances. Costerano wrote to a colleague that he had been threatened with forfeiture of his pension on account of his attachment to the Jesuits and that he had accordingly dropped his old friends. Another missionary of the name of Ripa had publicly declared that he would risk his good name in Rome if he spoke in favour of the Jesuits. The other persons in Mezzabarba's suite, it was reported, were similarly disposed towards the Order; it was said that previous to their departure from Macao they had been made to promise that on their return to Europe they would side against the Fathers of the Society. The Franciscan Commissary Fernandez, the Dominican Bishop Gregory Lopez and an Augustinian Bishop, Alvaro de Benavente, had lost all the prestige they had enjoyed in Rome on account of their friendliness towards the Jesuits; as for Tomacelli he had spoken of them at Lisbon and in Rome in a different tone from that which he had adopted at Peking.³

Innocent XIII. was unable to reply to this apologia—the

¹ Above, p. 88.

² *Anecdotes*, VI., 377.

³ *Ibid.*, 400.

affair was still pending when he was carried off by death. In addition to the Chinese rites, the Malabar rites were also examined under Innocent XIII. by a special Congregation. The Jesuit Brandolini, who taught theology at Goa, came specially to Rome in order to defend his brethren in religion. In a voluminous document he explained that some of the customs in question had not been sanctioned by the Jesuits whilst the remaining ones had no religious meaning. On this question also the Pope's death prevented a decision being arrived at.¹

(7.)

Throughout his pontificate Innocent XIII. had been dogged by ill health. The gloomy forebodings expressed at his accession were to be only too fully verified.

In June, 1723, the Pope's condition was such that negotiations for the coming conclave began in good earnest.² In December he had another of those attacks of gravel which used to strike him down with unpredictable suddenness.³ "The danger is over for the time being," Cardinal Acquaviva wrote on December 2nd, 1722, "but it is a good thing to keep the conclave always in mind, so as not to be taken unawares." On the same day the Cardinal drew up a detailed report on the prospects of those Cardinals who could be considered as eligible for the papacy.⁴

On January 1st, 1723, everything was ready for a *Te Deum* in thanksgiving for France's preservation from the plague, but at the last moment the Pope felt unable to take part in the service. The Pope's *entourage* strove in vain to disguise the real condition of the ailing Pontiff. Innocent gave audience to a few of his ministers but only on condition that they did

¹ É. AMANN, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, IX., 1727.

² ANONYMOUS *report to a Cardinal, dated Rome, June 26, 1722, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

³ Cienfuegos' *reports of December 5 and 12, 1722, *ibid.*

⁴ Both *reports to Grimaldi, Simancas Archives.

not come to discuss any exacting business.¹ Though there was an improvement in January, everyone knew that a fresh attack of the disease was to be feared at any moment.² About the middle of January Cardinal Acquaviva expressed his astonishment at the Pope's mental and physical vigour; for all that his anxiety was fully justified.³

In February Acquaviva again mentions the ailing condition of the Pope: "The prospect of a conclave is always an actuality," he writes.⁴ In March the Cardinal received the desired instructions for the next election; they were most timely, he writes, because the Pope was once again unable to take part in the religious functions and only his ministers were received in audience.⁵ An improvement followed but it did not last. On Easter Sunday Innocent felt unable to assist at the High Mass; he gave his blessing from one of the balconies of the Quirinal.⁶ Soon it was rumoured that he intended to take advantage of the return of the warm season for a stay at the Villa Catena, situate between Gallicano and Poli. On April 10th Acquaviva wrote to Madrid that though the Pope was sufficiently recovered to exclude an immediate danger, it was advisable to keep the conclave in view by reason of the uncertainty of the improvement and the Pope's great weight.⁷ However, on April 26th the Pontiff set out for Villa Catena where his brother, Joseph Lothair, Duke of Poli, offered to him the keys of the place.

The Pope was accompanied by a number of Cardinals, among them being Alessandro Albani, Corradini, Paolucci, Origo, Ottoboni, Colonna, Barberini, Altieri, Olivieri and the Secretary of State, Spinola. A few members of the diplomatic corps also joined the party, as for instance the Portuguese ambassador and the French *chargé d'affaires*, Tencin. During

¹ Acquaviva's *report to Grimaldi, January 2, 1723, *ibid.*

² Acquaviva's *report to Grimaldi, January 9, 1723, *ibid.*

³ *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, January 16, 1723, *ibid.*

⁴ *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, February 13, 1723, *ibid.*

⁵ *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, March 13, 1723, *ibid.*

⁶ *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, April 3, 1723, *ibid.*

⁷ *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, April 10, 1723, *ibid.*

his stay at the Villa the Pope paid three visits to his native city; on May 1st he said Mass in S. Pietro and presented to that church some precious vestments which have been preserved to this day. The people of Poli and Guadagnolo were gladdened by a remission of taxation for a period of ten years and by donations for the poor.¹

On May 3rd the Pope returned to Rome. The change seemed to have revived his energy. The summer proved exceptionally cool,² and he got satisfactorily through the autumn and the following winter. The new year opened auspiciously. One Wednesday, Cienfuegos reports, Alberoni received the red hat at a public consistory. During the long ceremony the Pope seemed quite well and in excellent spirits.³ Though not free from his chronic gravel, he soon after visited the church of the English College where he proclaimed an Indulgence for the oppressed Irish Catholics.⁴ In the sequel he eagerly discussed with Cienfuegos the terms of a formula for the restitution of Comacchio; he was most anxious to bring that affair to a satisfactory conclusion.⁵

On February 12th, 1724, we hear of a fresh attack of illness⁶; it was hoped that the return of the gravel trouble would be of short duration,⁷ however, the condition of the Pontiff grew considerably worse. On February 26th it was reported that there remained some hope of a recovery though the repeated and almost daily attacks were bound to cause

¹ CASCIOLI, 221 *seqq.*

² J. GALLI, *Le irregolarità delle stagioni*, in *Mem. d. Accad. dei Nuovi Lincei*, XXX. (1921).

³ Cienfuegos' *report to the imperial chancellery, January 15, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

⁴ Cienfuegos' *report to the imperial chancellery, January 22, 1724, *ibid.*

⁵ Cienfuegos' *reports to the imperial chancellery, January 30, and February 12, 1724, *ibid.*

⁶ Cienfuegos' *letter to the imperial chancellery, February 12, 1724, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁷ Cienfuegos' *letters to the imperial chancellery, February 19 and 26, 1724, *ibid.*

grave anxiety for his life. The Pope was very weak; his confessor and his physician stayed with him day and night. Though every possible remedy was applied, the effects of a cold could not be overcome.¹ On February 29th the physicians found that the Pontiff suffered from dropsy and the exhausted old man asked for the Last Sacraments.² In the sequel good days alternated with bad ones, but there could be no doubt that the Pope suffered from dropsy. "His Holiness may last a few days," Acquaviva wrote on March 1st, "but the end may also be sudden." The Cardinal Secretary of State was alone permitted to see the sick man.³ At sunset on March 7th Innocent XIII. was released from his sufferings.⁴

The universal grief which prevailed throughout Rome was proof of the dead Pontiff's popularity.⁵ In his funeral oration, besides the other excellent qualities of Innocent XIII., the speaker was able to stress the fact that he had left nothing to his family except his name and his choice library which demonstrated his love of learning.⁶

Innocent XIII.'s last resting place is in St. Peter's though no monument recalls his memory in the basilica. His name lives in the liturgy by reason of the extension by him of

¹ *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, February 26, 1724, Simancas Archives.

² *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, February 29, 1724, *ibid.*

³ *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, March 4, 1724. Cf. also Cienfuegos' report of the same day, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

⁴ *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, March 7, 1724, *loc. cit.*; *Cienfuegos on the same day, *loc. cit.* On dropsy as the cause of his death, see CASCIOLI, 225. A Latin poem in which Rome mourns the death of Innocent XIII., in *Cod. Vat.* 7249, f. 25, Vatican Library.

⁵ " *Conclave di Benedetto XIII.," *Cod.* I., 8-2, Bibl. Angelica, Rome. Cf. Cardinal Cienfuegos' letter to the imperial chancellor, Count von Sinzendorf, March 7, 1724, in which he says that Innocent XIII. was " signore e cavaliere nato ". Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

⁶ IAC. AMADORIUS olim de LANFREDINIS, *Oratio in funere Innocentii XIII.*, Romae, 1724.

the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus to the universal Church.¹

For an equitable judgment of Innocent XIII., both his chronic illness and the shortness of his pontificate must be taken into consideration. In so short a time he was unable to improve conditions in the Pontifical States, but credit is due to him for the fact that in view of the crisis in agriculture and the *annona* which had become acute under Clement XI., he commanded, by an autograph letter of September 27th, 1723, that the prescriptions of previous Popes should at length be carried into effect, viz. the prohibition of hoarding grain for the *annona*, permission for the grain producers of a limited export and maintenance of free trade in the interior.² The consequence was that the economic situation in Rome was excellent and the Pope's memory was long cherished by the people. It was generally felt that had he but had a longer pontificate, everything would have been righted and everyone regretted that only a reign of no more than two and a half years should have been granted to him.³

The Pope enriched the Vatican library with oriental manuscripts⁴ and with Cardinal Alessandro Albani's valuable collection of coins acquired by him.⁵ Vincenzo Gravina was given a chair of law at the university.⁶ The archæologist Francesco Bianchini was made a Domestic Prelate.⁷ He also accepted at the hands of the Maurist Coustant, the edition of the papal letters which that scholar dedicated to him.⁸

¹ NOVAES, XIII., 24. Cf. *ibid.*, 22, 30, 39, on the institution of feasts of Saints.

² BENIGNI, 74 *seq.*

³ DE BROSSES, *Lettres*, II., 121. From these it appears how unjustly M. MARTIN (*Hist. de France*, XV., 142) judges him when he speaks of him as "presque en enfance", "pontife insouciant et voluptueux".

⁴ CARINI, 102 *seq.*

⁵ BLUME, III., 114; *Stude et docum.*, V., 373.

⁶ *Arcadia, Atti*, III. (1918), 63.

⁷ MURATORI, I., 147.

⁸ PITRA, *Analecta novissima*, I. (1885), CXXXVIII., *seq.*

Notwithstanding the shortness of his pontificate Innocent XIII. found time to repair the foundations of the bridge of S. Angelo,¹ the Vatican obelisk² and the church of St. Eustace.³ By his order Gian Paolo Pannini decorated several of the rooms of the Quirinal with paintings.⁴ About the middle of October, 1723, he gave orders for the construction of the steps leading up to Trinità de' Monti, the erection of some annexes to the Quirinal⁵ and the construction of the principal façade of the Lateran basilica⁶—all works the completion of which he was not destined to witness.

¹ CRACAS, August 15, 1722.

² *Ibid.* March 27, 1723. Cf. SERGARDI, *Discorso sopra il nuovo ornato della guglia di S. Pietro*, Roma, 1723. Innocent XIII. also renovated the pavement of the Sala Paolina in Castle S. Angelo, as appears from his coat of arms there. His coat of arms appears also on the Arco Oscuro which leads to Acqua Acetosa. On the construction of a bridge in Monte Circeo, see *Mél. d'archéol.*, XXV. (1905), 193.

³ CRACAS, September 25, 1723.

⁴ *L'Arte*, 1909, I., 20; OZZOLA, G. *Pannini*, Torino, 1921; *Bollet. d'arte*, N. S., III. (1924), 351 *seqq.*

⁵ There, in the great court, on a clock over a large picture of the Madonna, there is an inscription of the Pope of the year 1723, in letters of gold, on a blue background; see FORCELLA, XIII., 162.

⁶ CRACAS, October 16, 1723; cf. November 30, 1723, and CECCONI, *Diario*, 676 *seq.* We must mention here that Acquaviva obtained permission for the Spanish Government to export the paintings bought from Maratta's heirs (*Acquaviva to Grimaldi, January 16, 1723, Simancas Archives). From the accompanying *note it is clear that besides works by Maratta, there were also: a "S. Appolonia" and a "S. Caterina" by G. Reni, a "Martirio di S. Placido", "Pietà", and "L'orazione nell' orto" by Correggio, a "Sacra Familia" and "Marriage of Psyche" by Giulio Romano, a Madonna by Giov. Bellini, numerous works of Annibale and Ludovico Caracci, landscapes by Domenichino (also the Portrait of Gregory XV. by the same), Andrea Sacchi and G. Poussin; finally, packed in a special case, the "Quadro di Raffaello con suo cornicione intagliato e dorato, rappresentante il riposo di Egitto".

CHAPTER II.

PONTIFICATE OF BENEDICT XIII.—ELECTION AND GOVERNMENT—CARDINAL NICCOLÒ COSCIA—ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL CONCESSIONS TO THE EMPEROR AND TO THE HOUSE OF SAVOY.

WITH a view to preserving public tranquillity during the vacancy of the Holy See, through the death of Innocent XIII., a number of edicts were issued, with excellent results. Thus, for instance, Alessandro Falconieri, who was confirmed in his office of Governor of Rome, ordered that until the election of a new Pope a light was to be put at night in the window of every house.¹

On March 20th, 1724, the Mass of the Holy Ghost was said and the learned Francesco Bianchini preached the customary sermon on the papal election.² The Cardinals then entered the conclave, at the Vatican, which was closed late that same evening. Only thirty-one electors were present at the beginning but by degrees their number rose to fifty-three.³ Of these one had been created by Clement X. and one by Innocent X., viz. Orsini and Pamfili; five had been created

¹ CRACAS, March, 1724.

² FR. BLANCHINUS, *Oratio de eligendo s. pontifice post obitum Innocentii XIII.*, Romae, 1724.

³ CRACAS made an accurate note of the arrival of each one. Besides the contemporary *Istoria del conclave in cui per morte di P. Innocenzo XIII. è stato assunto al sommo pontificato il card. V. M. Orsini (*Miscell.*, XV., 130, f. 93 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives and *Cod.* I., 8-2, Bibl. Angelica, Rome), written by a well-informed conclavist, and *Conclave nel quale è stato assunto al sommo pontificato il card. Fr. V. M. Orsini . . . (*Cod.* blue, 332 [BÖHM, 1036], f. 129-209, and *Cod.* white, 706 [BÖHM, 383], f. 335-369, State Archives, Vienna, and *Cod. ital.*, 55, f. 76 *seqq.*, State Library, Munich). Cf. the detailed *reports of G. B. Gentilotti, Auditor of the Rota and well acquainted with Roman affairs (his tomb is in the Anima; see SCHMIDLIN, 618), to the

by Alexander VIII., viz. Giudice, Barberini, Ottoboni, Imperiali and Altieri; three by Innocent XII., viz. Paolucci, Boncompagni and Sagripanti; forty-one owed the purple to Clement XI.¹ As for Innocent XIII.'s three Cardinals,

Chancellor, Count von Sinzendorf, in Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn, No. 6, and the *letters of Count Max Ulrich von Kaunitz to the Emperor, in Wrbn-Kaunitz Archives, Holleschau (resp. Jarmeritz), where I also found the *instruction to Kaunitz and his interesting *diary of 1724. Other reports, made use of in his usually uncritical way, in PETRUCELLI, IV., 23 *seqq.* “*Diaria” and other *writings on the election of Benedict XIII. in *Cod. Barb.*, LI., 60, Vatican Library. *Ibid.*, XLIX., 57: “*Scrutinii durante il conclave 1724.” *Satires and poems during the conclave of 1724 in *Cod.* 2070, Mazarin Library, Paris, and in *Cod. Ottob.* 2813, Vatican Library. A very rich collection of *Satires in Wrbn-Kaunitz Archives, Holleschau; among them the following must be mentioned: Il Crivello (two parts), Risposta al temerario autore del Crivello, Memoriale dato da un Gesuita al conclave (Sonetto) and Risposta de’ porporati al Gesuita (anti-Jesuit), Rimprovero al conclave, Roma ribellata al conclave e Contro il conte Carbonara che si dichiarò parente del card. Olivieri. A priest who, during the Sede Vacante, had published some “sonetti maledici”, was sentenced to seven years’ imprisonment, but was pardoned by Benedict XIII. on September 4, 1728: see *Bibliofilo*, XI. (1890), 153.

¹ GUARNACCI, II., 426 *seqq.* Those nominated by Clement XI. were: Pignatelli, Corsini, Acquaviva, Ruffo, Spada, Gualtieri, Vallemani, Fabroni, Priuli, Gozzadini, Annibale Albani, Pico, Davia, Cusani, Piazza, Zondadari, Bussi, Corradini, Rohan, Tolomei, Odescalchi, Bissy, Caracciolo, Scotti, Patrizi, Niccolò Spinola, Borromei, Giorgio Spinola, Bentivoglio, Barbarigo, Belluga, Pereyra, Salemi, Borgia, Cienfuegos, Colonna, Origo, Polignac, Olivieri, Marini, Alberoni. Tanara died during the conclave. The names of the other twelve Cardinals who did not take part in the papal election, in GUARNACCI, II., 429 *seq.* I. RUD. CONLIN, *Roma sancta sive Benedicti XIII. Pont. Max. et Em. et Rev. S. R. E. cardinalium viva virtutum imago. Continentur vitæ, familiae, patriæ, legationes aliaque scitu et memoratu digna omnium S. R. E. Cardinalium qui ultimo conclavi anno 1724 interfuere, Augustæ Vindelic, 1726*, with engravings by I. CH. KOLB.

only Conti and Alessandro Albani took part in the conclave, hence the nephew Conti was only able to make himself felt because the Cardinals of the *squadron volante* allied themselves with him. Among these the following were considered as *papabili*: Pamfili, Tanara, Spada, Boncompagni, Imperiali and Orsini. The Albani party, whose leaders, Alessandro and Annibale, disagreed, could show a much greater number of *papabili*, such as Gozzadini, Fabroni, Corradini, Paolucci, Corsini, Bussi, Sagripanti, Olivieri, Zondadari and Ruffo.¹

In view of the political situation harmonious action, during the conclave, by France and Spain could be taken for granted. The interests of Spain were represented by Acquaviva whom Philip V. had ordered on January 23rd, 1723, to proceed in close conjunction with the French.² France's representative, Cardinal Rohan, was away from Rome. The Emperor's interests were in the hands of experienced Cardinal Cienfuegos; to support him Charles VI. sent Count Maximilian Ulrich von Kaunitz to Rome as envoy extraordinary.³

At the very outset of the conclave the party of the "Zelanti" made an attempt to get Cardinal Imperiali elected, but in view of the latter's extreme unpopularity both with the French and with the Spaniards, the effort failed. The representatives of the Bourbon courts, Acquaviva and

¹ " *Osservazioni intorno al presente conclave con l'esame del genio e modi de' sig. cardinali cavate dalle relazioni del fu conte di Gallas ambasc. Ces. alla corte di Roma," Wrbna-Kaunitz Archives, Holleschau.

² Acquaviva's letter to Grimaldi, April 10, 1723, Simancas Arch.

³ The **Relazione* of Pietro Capello of March 6, 1728, the aim of which is to induce Venice to interest herself more keenly in Roman affairs and which deals rather fully with Benedict XIII., expresses a wish, in view of what happened in 1724, that Venice should take a more active part in the election. Like Tuscany, Venetian prelates and Cardinals should be supported in Rome, evidently with a view to a distinct party of their own, since nowadays a papal election is " di verità più tosto un maneggio politico che un voto d'ispirazione ", State Archives, Venice (see RANKE, III., 216* *seqq.*).

Gualtieri, protested vigorously against any precipitate step and insisted on the necessity of awaiting the arrival of the absent Cardinals who were on their way, as well as the instructions of the Catholic crowns, before they seriously proceeded to the election of a new occupant of the papal throne.¹

For a time it looked as if Cardinal Paolucci would obtain the tiara. In spite of his 73 years he remained hale in body and alert in mind and enjoyed the esteem of the whole of the Sacred College,² but in view of his Bourbon sympathies the Emperor had vetoed him at the last conclave and this circumstance still constituted an insuperable obstacle to his election. The hope that Charles VI. might be induced to change his mind was not fulfilled; a negative reply came from Vienna, though it fully acknowledged Paolucci's outstanding qualities.³

The proposal by Cardinal Albani of six candidates seemed to offer a solution: the candidates were Corsini, Spada, Bussi, Barbarigo, Piazza and Olivieri. Albani's action was inspired by the secret hope of getting Olivieri elected, or failing him, Bussi.⁴ When Cardinal Rohan arrived in Rome on April 12th, a rumour spread in the conclave on the following day that the French Cardinal had been instructed by his sovereign to support Olivieri in every possible way. At the same time a memorial was secretly distributed about the enormous concessions which Olivieri was alleged to have held out to the French Government in return for its support; among other

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' reports to the Emperor, April 9 and May 7, 1724, State Archives, Vienna. Cf. WAHRMUND, 225, 320; also PETRUCELLI, IV., 30.

² *Parere ed informazione del segret. imp. barone de Malanotte per il conclave dell' a. 1724," who says of Paolucci: "Se avesse digerita l'exclusiva e convenisse un' altro governo Albani, sarebbe senza comparazione il più degno del papato" (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). Gentilotti expresses the same sentiments in his *letter of March 25, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

³ *Istoria del conclave, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

things, so the document stated, he had promised the withdrawal of the Bull *Unigenitus* and the investiture of Don Carlos with Parma and Piacenza as well as with Castro and Ronciglione. The report provoked a regular uproar. Headed by Fabroni and Fabrizi, the "Zelanti" raised the cry of simony. In the city too there were symptoms of the greatest dissatisfaction with Albani who was generally credited with having put forward and with pushing the election of his friend Olivieri. The excitement was such that Olivieri's candidature had to be dropped.¹

Meanwhile Cardinal Cienfuegos laboured for the elevation of Piazza, but by the time negotiations to that effect had begun with Rohan, Piazza was stricken with so violent a fever that he was compelled to leave the conclave on April 23rd. Cardinal Polignac entered the conclave on April 25th²; the Emperor's envoy extraordinary, Count Kaunitz, also arrived in Rome on the same day. His instructions were to co-operate closely with Cienfuegos.³

Cienfuegos' instructions of March 25th, 1724, name as agreeable to the Emperor Cardinals Pamfili, Vallemani, Spada, Piazza, Corradini, Caracciolo, Tanara, Gozzadini, Orsini, Ruffo, Colonna, Davia, Boncompagni, Pico and Pignatelli. Tanara died on April 25th, 74 years old. The Emperor desired the exclusion of Paolucci, Olivieri, Bussi, Sagripanti and Origo.⁴

Count Kaunitz sought at once to establish communication with Cardinal Cienfuegos. In his diary he himself informs us how he managed to do so. It was arranged that the Cardinal should go to the barber's room near whose window

¹ *Ibid.* Cf. PETRUCELLI, IV., 35 *seq.*, also the *reports of Guidotti, April 15, 22, 25, 1724, *loc. cit.*

² *Istoria del conclave, *loc. cit.*

³ See the secret instruction for Kaunitz, dat. Vienna, April 3, 1724, which makes reference to the instruction of the imperial Chancellery. Wrba-Kaunitz Archives, Holleschau. *Ibid.* " *Riflessioni intorno all'elezione del S. pontefice a S. E. il sig. conte di Kaunitz."

⁴ WHARMUND, 319.

there was another small casement to which Kaunitz had access from outside: "The place," Kaunitz writes, "is such that in order to reach the window, which is fairly high up in the wall, I had to mount some wooden steps where I was obliged to kneel on the window sill and as it were force one arm and my head through the window, before I could converse with the Cardinal. Moreover this small casement was so far from the one at which the Cardinal stood that I was obliged to hand over to him your Majesty's most gracious autograph letter by sticking it on the point of my sword."¹

Cienfuegos gave Kaunitz an account of the conclave which, he said, had made no more progress than on the first day. His task was made difficult by the great number of candidates. If he had betrayed towards which of them he inclined, he would have ruined all the chances of his candidate. His aim was to prevent the election of a man who would be unacceptable to the Emperor.² In company with many Cardinals, Cienfuegos had hoped that Kaunitz would be the bearer of the revocation of the exclusion pronounced by Charles VI. against Paolucci: his disappointment was great when this hope was not fulfilled. Paolucci himself bore the heavy blow with wonderful equanimity.³

The situation now became even more confused. It was hoped that Rohan, who had returned to the conclave on April 29th after the arrival of a courier from Paris, would make a clear statement of policy, but this too proved a vain expectation.⁴ Kaunitz, who on April 30th had the customary

¹ See Count Kaunitz' *journal, entitled: *Anmerkungen zu denen abzustatten kommenden Relationen* (Wrbna-Kaunitz Archives, Holleschau). Cf. Count Kaunitz' *report to the imperial chancellery, May 3, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Istoria del conclave, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.* When in his *letter of March 7, 1724, Cardinal Cienfuegos asked whether Paolucci should be once more excluded, he made the observation that such solemn exclusions always created very hostile factions. Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

⁴ *Istoria del conclave, *loc. cit.*

audience at the main door of the conclave, noted in his diary on May 6th that there was a complete standstill in the electoral negotiations : neither party was willing to make a proposal.¹

Cienfuegos, who was in constant communication with Kaunitz,² reverted to his plan of securing the tiara for Piazza, and as the French were agreeable, he hoped to succeed, though it was necessary for him to reckon always with Albani's intrigues against Paolucci.³ If the imperial Cardinals had put in an appearance, Piazza would be Pope by now, Kaunitz wrote on May 12th.⁴ But even so Piazza's prospects seemed good : thirteen of Clement XI.'s Cardinals were in his favour ; they were Paolucci, Ruffo, Gozzadini, Davia, Bentivoglio, the two Spinolas, Conti, Pamfili, Colonna, Origo, Marini and Alberoni. All these belonged to the *squadron volante*, and they were joined by every one of Alexander VIII.'s Cardinals. Together with the adherents of the great Catholic Powers they constituted a block of thirty-two votes, so that they were only four short of the three-quarters' majority. These four Cienfuegos hoped to secure as Orsini, Cusani and Caracciolo seemed to incline towards Piazza. Small wonder that a rumour circulated in Rome that Piazza's election was imminent.

However, Annibale Albani felt deeply hurt by this attempt to make a Pope without him : he accordingly resolved to do his utmost to wreck a candidature he had himself put forward. On the plea that the freedom of the electors must be safeguarded, he detached Orsini, Pignatelli, Fabroni, Tolomei, Caracciolo and Barbarigo from the party of the "Zelanti". He successfully represented to Cardinals Corsini, Spada, Bussi and Boncompagni, who were all *papabili*, that so youthful and hale a man as Piazza might live a long time and so frustrate their own hopes. He likewise succeeded in winning over to his side Cardinals Patrizi and Scotti and he was also sure of Cardinals Vallemani, Priuli, Pico, Zondadari,

¹ * Journal, *loc. cit.*

² *Ibid.*

³ * *Isteria del conclave*, *loc. cit.*

⁴ * Journal, *loc. cit.*

Corradini, Salerni, Olivieri and Alessandro Albani. He succeeded in prejudicing Cardinal Belluga, who arrived on May 14th, against Piazza by accusing the latter of Jansenism. For all that Cienfuegos did not despair of getting his candidate accepted. He asked Cardinal Paolucci to intervene with Albani. The former was generous enough to forget that the Emperor had vetoed him and accepted the commission, but he met with the most decided opposition on the part of Albani.¹

How greatly Piazza's prospects had deteriorated was shown on May 23rd when Albani made a trial of strength at which twenty-six votes went to Orsini; on May 24th he received as many as twenty-seven votes. Cienfuegos could no longer hope to get Piazza elected.²

¹ The above is from *Istoria del conclave, *loc. cit.* Cf. Count Kaunitz' *reports of May 13 and 18, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn, and the detailed description in Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letter to the imperial chancellery of May 18, 1724, with the *Lista de' card., che fino al giorno d'oggi [18] si sono dichiarati per la elezione del card. Piazza: Orsini, Giudice, Paolucci, Barberini, Sagripanti, Acquaviva, Ruffo, Gualtieri, Gozzadini, Davia, Rohan, Odescalco, Bissy, Scoto, Niccolò Spinola, Borromeo, S. Agnese [= Giorgio Spinola], Bentivoglio, Belluga, Pereira, Borgia, Cienfuegos, Conti, Pamfili, Ottoboni, Imperiali, Altieri, Colonna, Origo, Polignac, Marini, Alberoni (32, one of them for the first time to-day). Dubbi: Pignatelli, Boncompagno, Cusani, Caraccioli. As there are fifty-three in conclave, seventeen are open opponents.

² See *Istoria del conclave (*loc. cit.*) and Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report to the imperial chancellery of June 6, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn, which throws a strong light on the intrigues of the Albani. Kaunitz, in his *report of May 27, *ibid.*, tried to console him with the fact that of the votes given to Orsini, six had been from Piazza's partisans and four "dubiosi", so that the Albani could only count on seventeen votes. On May 28 Kaunitz notes in his *Journal the report of the imminent election of Orsini, which, however, he would not believe as he had not heard anything from Cienfuegos. The Journal adds: "Am 29. früh, erhielt ich ein Billett von Kardinal Cienfuegos, worin er mir bedeutet, es scheine, das Gott den heiligen Mann Kardinal Orsini

Meanwhile anger at the length of the conclave had reached its height. The Romans grumbled and even the oldest members of the party of the "Zelanti" no longer repressed their impatience. The number of those Cardinals who realized that the election could not be further delayed grew steadily, hence when Annibale Albani, Tolomei, Corradini and Belluga proposed a neutral candidate in the person of Orsini, the suggestion met with considerable approval, for Orsini was highly respected and possessed of excellent qualities, though one serious drawback was the circumstance that he had no practical experience of government administration. Fabroni gave open expression to these misgivings and it was a fatal thing that the weary electors refused to take this deficiency into account. Rohan was informed of the plan by Corradini and Cienfuegos by Tolomei: both agreed, as did Acquaviva. Orsini's conclavist, Coscia, had not failed to let the two Albani know that his master would not readily accept his election, though if he were elected he would show himself grateful.¹

When on the evening of May 28th Cardinal Belluga informed haben wolle"; he would vote for him also because the Emperor had no objection against him. Orsini had always been a faithful subject of the Emperor and had always shown much affection for him and had the imperial inclusion.

¹ *Istoria del conclave, *loc. cit.* Here the principal part in the *pratica* in favour of Orsini is attributed to Annibale Albani, whilst Cienfuegos in his *report to the imperial chancellery, June 6, 1724 (Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn), ascribes the real initiative to Tolomei, Corradini, and Belluga, and asserts that the Albani had at first made difficulties because they still thought of Olivieri or Bussi. Cienfuegos, in his report, is evidently anxious to justify, as far as possible, his assent to the election of Orsini. Kaunitz did not agree with Cienfuegos' conduct. On June 4, 1724, he wrote: "Der von Ihrer Mt. den 3. dieses expedirte Kourier ist heutigen Tags allhier angelangt. Wollte Gott, dass selbter um 14. Tag ehender eingetroffen oder dass der H. Card. Cienfuegos nicht also gleich zu der Wahl des ictzigen Papstes concurrirt wäre, so würde selbter noch zurecht ankommen sein, um den Card. Piazza auf den päpstlichen Thron zu setzen." "Journal," in Archives Wrba-Kaunitz, Holleschau.

Orsini of his impending election the latter showed the utmost reluctance. With sincere humility he excused himself on the ground of his incapacity: he spent a sleepless night in prayer and tears. In the morning Tolomei and Annibale Albani thought that their persuasions had overcome Orsini's resistance. However, it was soon learnt that he was still unwilling; only Corradini succeeded in reconciling him to the inevitable.¹ In deep anguish Orsini repaired to the Sistine Chapel where all the votes fell on him. Even then his resistance was not yet at an end. When he yielded at last, he took the name of Benedict, in memory of the Dominican Pope, Benedict XI. [1303-1304] who had been remarkable for his great humility. It was at first suggested that he should be called Benedict XIV., but the idea was abandoned since Pedro de Luna, who had styled himself Benedict XIII., had been an antipope.² Whilst the new Pope was being carried into St. Peter's on the *Sedia Gestatoria*, he had the procession halted before the door and insisted upon entering the basilica without pomp and on foot. Out of humility also he refused to accept the Cardinals' homage before the middle of the altar, as was the custom, but insisted on receiving it on the epistle side.³ When the ambassadors came to congratulate him, he complained with tears that the Cardinals had forced him to accept a dignity the weight of which was beyond his strength. Such

¹ *Istoria del conclave, *loc. cit.*

² Cf. Cienfuegos' report of June 6, 1724, after Orsini had given his vote to Paolucci (Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn). See also Gentilotti's letter of June 6, 1724, which says: "Nell'eletto si trovò la maggior ripugnanza del mondo di accettare le chiavi di S. Pietro . . . Accettò questa gran dignità colla più bassa opinione di se medesimo che spiegare possa." Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

³ *Istoria del conclave, *loc. cit.* See also *Sonetto per la elettione del S. P. Benedetto XIII., in "Sonetti diversi", p. 54, *Fondo Gesuitico*, 68, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome (*cf. ibid.*, p. 636); also *inter alia* the leaflet "Ehrengerüst welches Ihr. Päbstl. Heil. Beneditto XIII. zu Ehren im Vorhof d. Card. von Sachsen Residenz ist auffgericht und beleuchtet worden, Regensburg, d. 3, September, 1724."

was his excitement that he forgot the protocol and addressed Kaunitz as "Your Excellency".¹

The elect of May 29th, 1724, towards whose election the French and the Spaniards had co-operated, for the first time, with the Emperor,² was sprung from a very old family which had already given two Popes to the Church, viz. Celestine III. [1191-1198] and Nicolas III. [1277-1280], as well as many Cardinals.³ He was the eldest son of Ferdinand Orsini of Gravina and Giovanna Frangipani, daughter of the Duke of Grumo, and was born on February 2nd, 1649, in the small town of Gravina, not far from Bari,⁴ where his parents occupied the famous castle built by the Emperor Frederick II. At the age of eighteen Pietro Francesco Orsini decided to enter the Dominican Order. This decision so distressed his parents that they appealed to Clement IX. The latter sent for Pietro, but

¹ Count Kaunitz' *letter to the imperial chancellery, June 6, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

² Acquaviva calls special attention to this in his *letter to Juan Baut. de Orendayn, July 29, 1724 (Simancas Arch.), in which he passes the conclave in review. Biographical notes on the new Pope: " *Compendio d. vita di P. Benedetto XIII.," *Cod.* 14, I., 14, f. 51 *seqq.*, Library of the Seminary, Frascati; PITTONI, *Vita di Benedetto XIII.*, Venezia, 1730; " *Vita di Benedetto XIII.," in *Cod.* 6553, State Library, Vienna.

³ On the Orsini family, see SANSOVINO, *Hist. di casa Orsina*, Venezia, 1595; CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 364; LITTA, *Famiglie. NOVAES* (XIII., 43 *seqq.*) overlooks the fact that the earlier history, up to Orso, son of Bobo and brother of Celestine III., is quite unreliable; see REUMONT, II., 1189. On the coat of arms, see PASINI FRASSONI, *Armorial*, 46 *seq.* Cf. also " *Documenta varia de familia fr. V. M. Orsini ", in *Cod.* X., 526, Archives of the Dominican Generalate, Rome.

⁴ Three documents in favour of Gravina as his birthplace in D. NARDONE, *Benedetto P.P. XIII.*, *Gioia del Colle*, 1924, 10 *seqq.* Here also, in 1924, the second centenary of his elevation to the papacy was celebrated; cf. *Il congresso eucaristico interdiocesano di Gravina e Irsina*, Bari, 1924; P. C. MARTINI, *Il pontificato di Benedetto XIII. Conferenza*, Napoli, 1925, and the pastoral letter of Bishop Giov. Mar. Sanna, *Due centenari diocesani*, Bari, 1924, 9 *seqq.*

after examining his motives, he approved his resolution.¹ Previous to his profession on February 13th, 1668, Pietro renounced his inheritance and all his rights in favour of his brother Domenico.

Fra Vincenzo Maria, as he was now called, read philosophy and theology at Naples, Bologna and Venice. He took a particular interest in Church History : he is said to have read Baronius' Annals twenty-four times.² He taught philosophy at the convent of Brescia ; there also, in 1671, he pronounced a panegyric of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, the protector of the Dominicans, which appeared in print. He had already published some epigrams of a religious nature in 1669.³ However, in spite of his modesty, the son of the Duke of Gravina could not escape ecclesiastical dignities. At the persistent request of his brother Domenico, Duke of Gravina, who had married Ludovica Altieri, the Altieri Pope Clement X. raised him to the cardinalate on February 22nd, 1672, when he was only twenty-three years old and about to preach a Lenten course of sermons at Bologna.⁴ However, in his humility the man thus honoured refused to accept the red hat ; only when pressed by the General of the Dominicans, the Pope, and Cardinals Boncompagni and Rossetti, did he desist from his resistance.⁵ But even in the purple he remained a modest,

¹ BORGIA, *Vita Benedicti XIII.*, 3 ; NARDONE, *loc. cit.*, 16.

² NOVAES, XIII., 48.

³ FR. VINC. MARIA ORSINI O. PR., *La perdita comune. Panegirico nell' esequie dell' em. card. A. Barberino*, Venezia, 1671 ; P. FR. URSINUS, *Epigrammata sacra*, Bononiae, 1669 (Italian translation, Roma, 1730).

⁴ Cf. the present work, XXXI., 745 ; also " *Documenta varia de episcopali regimine et de cardinalatu fr. V. M. Orsini ", *Cod. X.*, 527, Archives of the Dominican Generalate, Rome.

⁵ Cf. UGHELLI, VIII., 176, and the *Avvisi* in ADEMOLLO, *Il matrimonio di Suor Maria Pulcheria, al secolo Livia Cesarini*, Roma, 1883, 25 seq. ; CARTARI, **Memorie*, Piccolomini Archives, Orvieto. *Brief of Clement X., March 1, 1672, in *Epist. ad princ.*, I., Papal Secret Archives. According to *Cartari (*loc. cit.*), Orsini came to Rome with the General of the Dominicans on March 21, 1672.

ascetic religious. At the beginning of 1675, Cardinal Orsini was named Archbishop of Manfredonia (Siponto), where he reformed both clergy and people and restored the seminary and the cathedral; the latter was adorned by him with paintings and other decorations.¹ His defence of ecclesiastical immunity against Spanish officialdom caused him many an anxious day.

With a view to freeing him from these conflicts, Cardinal Altieri induced him in 1680 to accept the see of Cesena where, as in Manfredonia, he reformed the clergy and saw to the embellishment of the churches. The method adopted by him in his pastoral visitations was already famous at that time.² However, the climate of Cesena proved so injurious to his health that, tormented as he was by fever and acting on medical advice, he ended by appointing a Vicar-General in his place, whilst he himself retired to the Dominican convent he had erected at Gravina; there he devoted himself to prayer and study.³ However, the energy of so excellent a Bishop could not be lost forever to the apostolic ministry. In March, 1686, Innocent XI. appointed him to the archiepiscopal See of Benevento which he was to rule for thirty-eight years. Under his government Benevento became a model diocese.

In the third year of his administration a terrible catastrophe befell Benevento. On Whitsun Eve, 1688, an earthquake destroyed a large part of the town and nearly 1,300 of the inhabitants perished. The archiepiscopal palace fell in ruins, but Orsini, who had called upon his favourite Saint, Philip Neri, had a wonderful escape.⁴ The Archbishop, who was

¹ BORGIA, 7 seq.; biographical sketch of Orsini in “*Scrittura politica sopra il conclave da farsi per la morte di Innocenzo XI.”, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. Orsini’s *Methodus synodi dioc. Sipontinae rite ac recte peragendae* was published in 1678 at Trani, his *Epistola di avvertimenti pastorali al clero e popolo della città e diocesi di Siponto* at Manfredonia, 1680.

² BARBIER DE MONTAULT, V., 211 seqq.; cf. 247 seqq.

³ *Biographical sketch in *Scrittura politica, loc. cit.

⁴ *Lettera narrativa dell’accaduto in Benevento al card. fra Vincenzo*

at all times liberal, now redoubled his charities. He was to be found everywhere, helping, comforting, distributing alms with a lavish hand; when his revenues gave out he drew upon his private means. Work on the restoration of the cathedral, the archiepiscopal palace, the tower of the celebrated Benedictine Abbey of S. Sofia, the seminary and the church of S. Bartolomeo was begun forthwith. In other ways also the city experienced the effects of his paternal solicitude; he repaired the aqueduct, founded the hospital of S. Diodato and a *Monte di pietà*. He did much to promote agriculture,¹ and saw to the safe keeping of the precious manuscripts of the Chapter library on which Cardinal Borgia subsequently drew when he wrote his history of Benevento.²

More than anything else the salvation of souls was nearest his heart in this diocese also. He was indefatigable in carrying out the sacred functions, preached frequently,³ held a number of diocesan synods and regularly visited his diocese, mostly

Orsini O. P., oggi Benedetto XIII., nel terremoto del 1688, dat. in luce da A. PETRONI DI SOLOFRA, Roma, 1726. Cf. also UGHELLI, VIII., 178; P. SARNELLI, Memorie de' vescovi e arcivescovi di Benevento, Napoli, 1691, 159 seq.; Memorie del collegio S. Spirito di Benevento, Napoli, 1688; A. MEOMARTINI, I monumenti di Benevento, Benevento, 1889, 398; E. ISERNIA, Istoria d. città di Benevento, II., Benevento, 1896, 199 seqq.

¹ ISERNIA, II., 201 seqq. On the help he gave on the occasion of an inundation near Bologna, during his pontificate, see “*Progetto del sig. conte Luigi Ferd. Marsilli per liberare il territorio di Bologna da' danni che gl' inferisce il torrente Reno, 1728” (addressed to the Pope), in *Cod. Barb.* XLVIII., 153, Vatican Library; also F. MARSIGLI, *Memorie idrauliche d. Benedetto XIII. sulle acque del Reno*, Firenze, 1833.

² BORGIA, *Mem. storiche di Benevento*, 3 vols., Benevento, 1760.

³ *Septingenti sexaginta sex super quatuor mille vicibus ambonem accessisse fertur (De vita et rebus restis Benedicti XIII. P. O. M. lapidibus praesertim epigraphis consignatis, in *Cod. Vat.* 8693 (Vatican Library). Many of these sermons were published; see *Cat. Bibl. Casanat.*, I., 538 seqq.

on foot.¹ To this day the acts of these visitations bear witness to the diligence with which he proceeded on those occasions.² The two provincial councils held by him in 1693 and 1698 drew up some salutary rules for the reform of the clergy.³ His solicitude for the churches, monasteries and hospitals of his diocese, is recalled to this day by innumerable inscriptions and stone tablets bearing his coat of arms. But the most eloquent testimony of all is the grateful recollection in which his name is held to this day by the people of Benevento.⁴ Contemporaries unanimously attest that Orsini administered his diocese with such piety and conscientiousness as made him a model for all. This impression was further heightened by the circumstance that the princely Archbishop and Cardinal continued to live like a simple friar.⁵

In addition to his pastoral labours Orsini still found time

¹ UGHELLI, VIII., 177 *seqq.*; BORGIA, *Vita*, 9 *seqq.*; *Synodicon Beneventanae ecclesiae complectens constitutiones et appendices edit. in XXVII. synodis ab a. 1686 usque ad a. 1722. Accesserunt addit. ex 28a synodo die 24 Aug. 1723 celebrata*, Beneventi, 1723.

² The *Atti di visita, in Archiepiscopal Archives, Benevento, which in April, 1903, were put at my disposal through the generosity of the late Archbishop Benedetto Bonazzi, are exemplary and of great historical value, because for each church of the diocese all the documents are carefully collected and a detailed description of all the churches is given. The administration of the diocese is illustrated in all its details in *Bullarium sub V. M. card. Orsini. Also preserved there: Vol. I., 1686-8; Vol. II., 1689-1691; Vol. III., 1692-3; Vol. IV., 1693-8; Vol. V., 1699-1708; Vol. VI., 1709-1724; Vol. VII., 1724-1730.

³ *Concilia provincialia Beneventana duo habita annis 1693 et 1698*, Beneventi, 1698; *Coll. Lacensis*, I., Friburgi Brig., 1870, 21-126, 127-156. Cf. BORGIA, 12 *seqq.*

⁴ A. MEOMARTINI, *Benevento*, Bergamo, 1909, 66 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, 129; a reproduction of the monument erected to Benedict XIII. by the inhabitants of Benevento, opposite the archiepiscopal palace, and some gifts in the Tesoro of the cathedral.

⁵ Cf. the *Scrittura politica in Liechtenstein Arch., Vienna, quoted above, p. 110, n. 1.

to write works of a theological and practical character.¹ His learning, his exemplary life, his humility and liberality were acknowledged by all, though some felt that he stuck too obstinately to his own opinions. A diplomatist, who drew attention to this characteristic, observed in 1689 that he deemed it very unlikely, though not impossible, that a friar of such impetuous zeal should ever become Pope for he resembled rather Elias than kindly and compassionate Eliseus.²

Besides his reputation for strictness, especially with regard to ecclesiastical immunity, Orsini's prospects of ever obtaining the supreme dignity were chiefly hampered by the prejudice that the tiara should not be allowed to fall to a Frate.³ But more than anything else, it was a grievous handicap for him that even those who otherwise admired his excellent qualities, could not be blind to the fact that he lacked the necessary knowledge of the world and of affairs of government.⁴ He had never been out of Italy and had only spent a short time in Rome, so that he lacked all the qualifications which would have fitted him to cope with the complicated duties and anxieties that fall to the lot of the Supreme Head of the Church.

Benedict XIII.'s very exterior showed that a stern ascetic had ascended the papal throne. He was of middle height and with his grave, mortified countenance, lofty forehead, long, hooked nose and dark eyes he presented a striking

¹ Collected in *Opere di Benedetto XIII.*, 3 vols., Ravenna, 1728; Vol. I. contains: Lezioni scritturali sopra il s. libro dell' Esodo; Vol. II.: Sermons; Vol. III.: Discourses on Purgatory and *Opuscula* (practical instructions). Other editions in *Cat. Bibl. Casanat.*, I., 538.

² *Scrittura politica, *loc. cit.*

³ Cf. A *characterization of the papabili of 1721, also " *Parere ed informazione del barone de Malanotte ", both in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. See also Guidotti's *report of March 25, 1724, in Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

⁴ *Mémoire sur les papables, 1721*, in MICHAUD; *La fin de Clément XI.*, 57 seq.

figure.¹ From the very first the Pope made it quite clear that he was determined to go on living as a religious, simply and without pomp. He refused to occupy the sumptuous apartments of the Vatican and chose for his residence the modest rooms in the upper part of the palace, to which he ordered the simple bed of his cell in the conclave to be transferred on the very evening of his election.² At a later date he had a kind of hermitage constructed for himself in an outbuilding near the Galleria Geographica, from which he had no view at all. The walls were whitewashed, a few holy paper pictures forming their only adornment. The rest of the furniture consisted of a table, a small prayer desk with a large crucifix and a few reed chairs.³ The magnificent furniture estimated

¹ *Vita in *Cod. Vat.* 8693, p. 120b, Vatican Library. Portraits of Benedict XIII. by Gaillard and P. L. Ghezzi, in DRUGULIN, *Porträtkatalog*, No. 1268/9. Cf. GUARNACCI, II., 409. A large statue of Benedict XIII. erected by Cardinal Quirini in the porch of S. Alessio, Rome. A marble bust in the baptisteries of S. Maria Maggiore and S. John Lateran, and in the sacristy of the Cathedral of Urbino, to which the Pope had presented the Golden Rose. A bronze bust in the corridor leading to the sacristy of St. Peter's (FORCELLA, VI., 175), a portrait in relief in the Monastery of the Madonna del Rosario on Monte Mario. The best are the busts of Benedict XIII. by P. Bracci in *Raccolta A. Barsanti, Bronzi ital.*, tab. 50, replica in the hospital of S. Gallicano. The head of the statue on his tomb in the Church of the Minerva is also by P. Bracci; see GANDARA, *P. Bracci*, 35; FERRARI, *La tomba nell' arte ital.*, tab. 181. A magnificent work, for which the artist was highly praised, is the medallion of Benedict XIII. by Hedlinger; see I. AMBERG, *Der Medailleur Joh. Karl Hedlinger*, Einsiedeln, 1887.

² *Istoria del conclave, *loc. cit.*

³ DE BROSSES, *Lettres*, II., 146 (Paris, 1858). When the Dominicans of Venice decided to erect a marble statue as a token of gratitude, the Pope expressed his grief and reproached them for that: ". . . eo vos processisse, ut simulacrum e marmore Nobis collocandum decerneretis. Alia prorsus et Nos invant et vos decent officia." *Brief of December 14, 1724, Papal Secret Archives.

at 30,000 scudi, which Innocent XIII. had provided for some of the rooms in the Quirinal, was given to the wife of James III., the English Pretender. Benedict was greatly attached to James and bestowed a pension on him. He ordered this costly furniture of the Quirinal to be replaced by a very simple monastic outfit, as he had done in the Vatican.¹

The first three days following his election were spent by Benedict XIII. in complete retirement and in prayer²; on June 4th he was crowned,³ after which he began to give many audiences at which his kindness and liberality called forth universal admiration. Every day, Cardinal Acquaviva wrote on June 10th, 1724,⁴ one hears of actions of his which testify to his great virtue. However, as the Pope's reforming activity at Benevento was well known, not a few people were afraid of his strictness.⁵ In view of his tenacity and obstinacy, the diplomatists felt that "negotiations with him, especially in ecclesiastical affairs, would prove difficult". It may be taken for granted, Kaunitz wrote, that Benedict XIII. "will firmly uphold the rights of the Church not only out of a holy

¹ Cardinal Acquaviva's *report to Juan Baut. de Orendayn, June 24, 1724, Simancas Archives. Cf. MURATORI, XII., 115, where also further details are given about the quarrel between James III. and his wife, Clementina Sobieska.

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of June 6, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

³ *Relazione delle ceremonie e solennità nella coronazione di Benedetto XIII.*, Roma, 1724. The taking possession of the Lateran took place only on September 24, and on account of the great heat the procession started from the Quirinal; see CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 360 *seqq.* According to Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of September 30, 1724 (*loc. cit.*), the Pope rode at the *Possesso* with all the ease of a young prelate.

⁴ *To Juan Baut. de Orendayn, Simancas Archives. Even during the greatest heat of the summer Benedict XIII. gave numerous audiences to all classes of people; see BORGIA, 39.

⁵ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of June 17, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

zeal, but also because he feels that he understands things at least as well as anyone else".¹

Cardinal Cienfuegos' prognostications for the new pontificate were far more optimistic. He hoped for a return of the times of Pius V. who had likewise been credited with inexperience in the affairs of government yet had proved an excellent ruler.² The Pope, Cienfuegos reported on June 10th, 1724, was for ever furnishing proofs of the holiness of his life. There was no change in his table and his apartments. He wore the same undergarments as before, gave generous alms to the poor and waited on thirteen of them at table several times a week. He was resolved to reform the manners of the clergy and had already announced that in particular he would not tolerate the wearing of wigs. It was expected that his government would be for the good both of the Church and of the Princes. Cienfuegos singles out the peculiarity that Benedict XIII. was resolved to carry out ecclesiastical functions in person, such as the consecration of Bishops, churches and altars, a thing his predecessors had long ceased to do and which they had never done to such an extent.³

Another peculiarity of the Pope gave rise to difficulties on account of the protocol. Benedict XIII. was resolved to continue his habit of taking a two hours' walk before sunset all by himself, for the sake of exercise, and for this purpose he drove out *incognito*, in a closed carriage, saying his Rosary. It was an unheard of thing for a Pope to appear thus in public without escort, the Congregation of the ceremonial accordingly hit upon a middle course; this was that the Pope should drive out on two or three days of the week with the usual pomp, but on other days he might drive in an ordinary carriage to the place where he intended to take his walk. Though Urban VIII. had acted in this manner,

¹ Count Kaunitz' *Diary, Wrba-Kaunitz Arch., Holleschau.

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letter to Sinzendorf, June 6, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of June 10, 1724, *ibid.* In the liturgical sphere, Benedict XIII. tried to infuse new life into ancient customs; see *l'oyages de MONTESQUIEU*, I., 211.

the innovation displeased a good many people.¹ Fault was also found with the abolition of the bodyguard, the *lanze spezzate*, and the dismissal of a number of honorary chamberlains. Benedict XIII.'s first drive was to the hospital of S. Spirito where he gave Extreme Unction to a dying man; after that he drove to a Villa. He continued this practice in the future also and on all his drives he invariably visited some church or hospital.² The appointments to the more important positions at court did not meet with universal approval; the Albani alone appeared satisfied; they boasted that just as they had brought about Benedict XIII.'s election, so were the ministerial posts in the hands of their friends.³ However, this was only true in part. Corradini retained the post of *Datarius*, Cardinal Olivieri that of Secretary of Briefs, Giudice that of *Maggiordomo*, Cardinal Fabrizio Paolucci, who had held that office under Clement XI., became Secretary of State, whilst retaining the office of Vicar of Rome. As *Maestro di Camera* Benedict XIII. named Niccolò Maria Lercari, as Secretary of Briefs to Princes the Neapolitan Carlo Majella, as Secretary of the Cypher Camillo Merlini, as Secretary of Latin Briefs Luchesini and as Secretary of Memorials Niccolò Coscia.⁴

Paolucci's appointment to the most important post of all,⁵ that of Secretary of State, Benedict XIII. justified to Cienfuegos on the ground that he was bound to entrust the government of Church and State to men whom he knew, but that he only knew Marescotti, who was too old, and Paolucci whose experience he was in need of since he himself had no personal acquaintance with affairs of Church and State.

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of June 10, 1724, *loc. cit.*

² Cardinal Acquaviva's *report to Juan Baut. de Orendayn, June 10, 1724, Simancas Archives.

³ Count Kaunitz' *Diary, Wrbna-Kaunitz Arch., Holleschau.

⁴ Count Kaunitz' *report of June 10, 1724 (*ibid.*), which contains a list of the nominations made on June 6.

⁵ Baron de Malanotte makes special mention of this in his " *Parere ed informazione per il conclave dell' a. 1724 ". Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

Benedict would have been happy if Cienfuegos had expressed himself satisfied with this choice, but the Cardinal excused his silence on the plea that he had no instructions on the matter from the Emperor. He deemed it inadvisable to oppose the nomination, especially as Paolucci was universally liked and esteemed on account of his gentle disposition and because otherwise the Pope would have appointed one of the "Zelanti", such as Fabroni, Corsini or Spada, an inadvisable choice in view of Benedict XIII.'s character.¹ General opinion, Cienfuegos wrote, is to the effect that in Church matters Benedict will be so strict that it will be almost impossible to avoid collisions with the secular Governments; for the rest his intentions were excellent and his life that of a saint.²

In his drives and the visits to the churches made by him on those occasions, the Pope sought to see for himself that everything was in order.³ On the occasion of a visit to the hospital of the Lateran, on October 12th, 1724, he personally inspected the beds and when he saw the bad state they were in he took the supervisors to task and told them that the sick must be given the same attention as would be given to the Pope himself who, as *servus servorum Dei*, saw in the sick the Saviour Himself.⁴ Not only at this visit, which had a salutary effect on the other hospitals,⁵ but in other ways also Benedict gave proof of his deep humility and the goodness of his heart. At the repast which followed the ordination by him of Cardinal Ottoboni he insisted, against all established custom, on sitting at the same table as the Cardinal on the

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of June 6, 1724, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

² " *Il pronostico, che si fa del governo del Papa, si riduce a crederlo rigido nelle cose ecclesiastiche, e che dove si tratti di queste, possa egli dare in qualche stortura anche colle corone. Per altro le sue intenzioni sono rettilissime e la vita sua lo canonizza per santo." *Ibid.*

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of October 14, 1724, *ibid.*

⁴ *Report of the same, October 24, 1724, *ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

plea that Fra Vincenzo Maria was eating with the priest Ottoboni.¹ At the procession of Corpus Christi he carried the Blessed Sacrament on foot, to the edification of all, though this too was an innovation.² At another procession he carried a candle weighing no less than four pounds.³ One day, when driving to St. Pauls' Outside the Walls, he saw a poor woman kneeling at the entrance to a *vigna* and begging him with a loud voice for a blessing *in articulo mortis* for a vine dresser who was dangerously ill. The Pope immediately ordered the coachman to drive into the *vigna*, went into the house, heard the sick man's confession and left a generous alms.⁴

On the occasion of a visit to the German College, which he held in particular esteem,⁵ he assisted with the students at a liturgical function in their church of S. Apollinare, as if he were one of the pupils. When the kiss of peace was about to be given to him by means of a silver cross, as is done for Bishops, he ordered that it should be given with an embrace, and after the students. At the end of the Mass the celebrant knelt down, waiting for the Pope to give the Blessing, but the Pontiff only blessed the priest and bade him give his blessing to the people.⁶ On his frequent visits to S. Maria sopra Minerva, he often remained for a meal in the convent, when he insisted on being waited upon by the lay brothers exclusively, though the most distinguished among the Fathers strove for the honour.⁷ He wished to have his last resting place in the church of the Minerva.⁸

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of July 15, 1724, *ibid.*

² Count Kaunitz' note in his *Diary, Wrbna-Kaunitz Arch., Holleschau.

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of October 7, 1724, *loc. cit.*

⁴ The two chamberlains had overlooked the entry of the coach into the *Vigna* and rode about looking for the Pope: it was accordingly said in Rome "che le guardie del Papa havevano smarrito S. Stà". Cienfuegos' report of October 14, 1724, *ibid.*

⁵ STEINHUBER, II., 140 *seq.*

⁶ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of August 5, 1724, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

⁷ *Ibid*

⁸ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of December 2, 1724, *ibid.*

Probably no Pope has carried out so many church functions as Benedict XIII. who was an excellent pastor of souls. After the christening by him of the son of Prince Altieri in 1724, it was calculated that in the course of the first six months of his pontificate he had administered all the Sacraments which a parish priest can give and carried out all the consecrations that appertain to the office of a Bishop.¹

For the whole duration of the Holy Year, 1725, Benedict determined to stay at the Vatican whereas his predecessors, from Clement X. onwards, had preferred the Quirinal, so much so that—on account of their being buried at St. Peter's—the saying was that the Popes took up residence at the Vatican only after their death.²

In the sequel also the Pope showed a marked dislike for the Quirinal. He remained deaf to all representations that in summer the air was unwholesome in the low-lying Vatican, but insisted on residing there even during the greatest summer heat and it was with difficulty that in August, 1726, he was prevailed upon to migrate to the Quirinal. For the sake of relaxation he paid several visits from there to Sixtus V.'s Villa near St. Mary Major.³ But his favourite resort was the small Dominican convent near the Madonna del Rosario on Monte Mario, whither he was wont to retire once a year, generally during the carnival, or for penitential exercises. At times he would arrive unannounced, with only two companions; occasionally he taught the catechism to the children in the adjoining little church of S. Onofrio.⁴

¹ *Ibid.* On the "spese" of the consecrations, see **Cod. Vat.* 9313, p. 152 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of December 2, 1724, *loc. cit.*

³ *Reports of the same, May 18, July 27, August 3, 10, 24 and October 26, 1726, and July 27, 1727, *ibid.*

⁴ Benedict XIII. visited this Monastery for the first time in October, 1724, although he had been warned of the unhealthy air (Cienfuegos' *reports of September 30 and October 7, 1724, *loc. cit.*); later on he visited it frequently (*Reports of the same, February 10, March 10, July 14, October 27, 1725, *ibid.*): In 1726 he consecrated several altars in the Church. To this day there

Relying on his strong constitution the Pope devoted himself unsparingly, even during the hottest months, to the exacting and lengthy sacred functions which his predecessors had only undertaken with wise moderation. The consecration of churches and altars in particular was a favourite occupation of his. On the occasion of the consecration of the Lateran basilica in May, 1726, it was calculated that since the beginning of his episcopate, he had consecrated 360 churches and 1,494 altars.¹ Very frequently also he carried out the ordination of priests and gave Confirmation, and he loved to hear confessions. The way in which he taxed his strength during Holy Week gave rise to widespread misgivings. In 1725 he assisted at Tenebrae on Wednesday in Holy Week in the Sistine Chapel. On Maundy Thursday he carried out the whole function at the Lateran, gave his solemn blessing and washed the feet of thirteen priests; the function had begun at six o'clock in the morning and it was one o'clock in the afternoon when it ended. On Good Friday he was again in the Chapel at an early hour; later in the day he waited on the pilgrims at Trinità dei Pellegrini. He also carried out in person the long function of Holy Saturday, beginning with the blessing of the fire and ending with the High Mass, the whole ceremony lasting nine hours. He then took a drink of chocolate, after which, without showing a trace of fatigue, he seated himself in the confessional and remained there till nightfall. Late at night he returned to the Vatican; on Easter Sunday he sang Mass at St. Peter's and gave his solemn blessing. On the last two days, partly owing to his strict fast, symptoms of great weakness had been observed in the

are two inscriptions recording the fact, and his stay in the Monastery, in which, as is well known, Liszt resided later on; see FORCELLA, XII., 270.

¹ CRACAS, May 4, 1726. By November 3, 1728, he had consecrated 1,600 Altars in 377 churches (according to *Lez.*, 89, n. 26, in Benedict XIII., *Lezioni*, on the book of Exodus, *Opere*, I., Ravenna, 1728, 407). In the church of the Minerva he gradually consecrated no less than sixteen Altars; see BERTHIER, *Minerve*, 214.

Pope; his *entourage* and the physicians thereupon pressed him to refrain from such exertions which, in view of his age, were fraught with danger to his life. His reply was that he could only wish for such a death.¹

Whilst Benedict XIII. was thus absorbed in ecclesiastical functions, pious exercises, visits to churches and hospitals,² the actual business of government fell to the ministers. The Pope was himself aware of his utter inexperience in such matters and during the first six weeks he refused to have anything to do with secular business.³ It was rumoured that he had told his ministers that they should deal with worldly affairs (*fate voi*) as he himself knew nothing of politics—that he would pray for them.⁴ Later on, however, he was forced, willy-nilly, to busy himself with such things, but he did so as little as possible for he was unwilling to let a church function escape him. During the Roman Provincial Council of 1725, the Secretary of State, Cardinal Paolucci, was unable to see the Pope for a whole seventeen days. No wonder a satirical poem spoke of the vacancy of the Holy See.⁵ In view of this

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of March 31 and April 7, 1725, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

² There he rendered to the poor the most humble services; cf. Acquaviva's *letter to Grimaldi, November 11, 1724, Simancas Archives.

³ Count Kaunitz' *Diary, June 24 to July 1, 1724, has the following entry: "Until now no foreign Minister has negotiated with the Pope and 'stehet bis dahin die ganze Welt in Unge-
wissheit, auf was für einen Fuss dessen Regierung gestellet werden wird'. 'Die hiesigen Staatsgeschäfte liegen noch zu dato alle zu Boden und hat sich der Papst darin noch gar nicht informirt, auch darüber mit seinen Ministern nicht gesprochen, sondern hat derselbe alle seine Zeit bis nun in lauter geistlichen Sachen und zu seiner Andacht angewendet.'" July 1-5: "Until now only spiritual affairs: 'die weltlichen Geschäfte haben Ihre Heiligkeit noch zu dato nicht einsehen wollen.'" July 8-15: "Alles noch in demselben zustand." Wrba-Kaunitz Arch., Holleschau.

⁴ PETRUCELLI, IV., 51.

⁵ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of May 5, June 4 and July 7, 1725, *loc. cit.*

peculiarity it is evident that much depended upon the Pope's ministers and advisers.¹ It was a fatal thing that among them was found a man who shamefully abused the ingenuous Pontiff's confidence.

Niccolò Coscia² was born in 1681, at Pietra de' Fusi, a Neapolitan village in the diocese of Benevento, of a very poor and obscure family. Chance having brought him in touch with Cardinal Orsini, then Archbishop of Benevento, he so successfully won that prelate's goodwill by his ability that the Archbishop undertook nothing without first consulting him.³ Orsini heaped favours upon him. In 1703 Coscia became a Canon of S. Bartolomeo and in 1708 he obtained a Canon's stall in the cathedral of Benevento.⁴ That same

¹ In his *Diary, *loc. cit.* Kaunitz emphasizes this very strongly, and observes that the choice is all the more important, "zumal der Eifer der Andacht und Religion ohnedem den Heiligen Vater öfters dürfte emportiren." For this reason he and Cienfuegos had exerted themselves with great zeal in this respect in the days from June 1-3, 1724.

² NOVAES, XIII., 87; MORONI, XVII., 306 *seqq.*; GUARNACCI, II., 454 *seqq.* Cf. *Nascita e fortuna dell' em. sig. card. Coscia nel pontificato di Benedetto XIII., *Ms.* (purchased in 1901 in Rome) in my possession; contains the Roman "dicerie". Authentic details on the life of Coscia are in the *Acts of the process against him. According to these he was born not in 1682, as is generally stated, but in 1681; see the baptismal register: baptized, January 23, 1681, "fil. legitimus et naturalis mag. Vincentii Coscia et mag. Hieronimae Gemma." He received the first tonsure in May, 1696. (Papal Secret Archives, X., 150.) Coscia's portrait ("Paulus de Matheis delin. et pinx. Hier. Rossi sculp.") in GUARNACCI, II., 454.

³ *Si accrebbe tanto nel cuore del porporato l'affetto verso di Niccolò che divenne da quella ora in poi l'arbitro ed il padrone del cuore e della volontà di Sua Eminenza. Quando essendosi fatta matura riflessione su tal mostruosità non mancarono persone che affermassero di certa scienza che il card. Orsini fu in quell'occasione ammaliato da uno stregonò di Nardò. *Nascita e fortuna di card. Coscia, loc. cit.*

⁴ From the *Acts of the process against Coscia it appears that from August 25, 1701, to October 20, 1703, he was master of the

year—1708—he became Chancellor of the archiepiscopal curia and in 1716 secretary to the Archbishop.¹ In 1721 the latter took him with him to the conclave. This was repeated in 1724 when Coscia entered into negotiations with the Albani which, if they were not decisive for the election of his master, at least greatly helped it.²

With his nomination as Secretary of Memorials, when he also became titular Archbishop of Trajanopolis, the *parvenu* secured a post which, as a rule, formerly fell to a nephew; in this way he had frequent access to the Pope.³ As early as June, 1724, Cardinal Cienfuegos reports that, as formerly at Benevento, Coscia was all powerful with the Pope, with the result that all the ambassadors sought to win his favour by presents.⁴ Cardinal Acquaviva also reports in July, 1724, that, realizing his utter inexperience in the affairs of government, the Pope left them to Cardinal Paolucci, but that besides him Coscia also dealt with a good deal of business.⁵

Coscia, a man of the lowest character, abused the position of trust which Benedict XIII. had allotted to him in the most shameful fashion. He did not shrink from the worst means when there was question of satisfying his covetousness. The unsuspecting Pontiff, almost exclusively occupied with spiritual things as he was, refused to listen to those Cardinals "mansionariato della metropolitana di Benevento". From October 12, 1703, to April 13, 1708, he was a Canon of S. Bartolomeo, and from April 13, 1708, to January, 1724, a Canon of the Cathedral. He held other benefices besides. Papal Secret Archives, X., 154.

¹ Chancellor from April 23, 1708, to February 27, 1716, secretary of the Cardinal-Archbishop from February, 1716, to December, 1721. *Ibid.*

² Above, p. 106.

³ " *Il segretariato de' memoriali è di confidenza per l'accesso frequente al Papa che suole conferirlo a qualche parente." Parere ed informazione di Malanotte, 1724, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁴ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letter to Juan. Baut. de Orendayn, June 17, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. Cf. PETRUCCELLI, IV., 51.

⁵ Acquaviva's *letter of July 29, 1724, Simancas Archives.

of the party of the "Zelanti" who drew his attention to the conduct of his favourite¹: he continued in his blind trust.

In January, 1725, it was rumoured that Coscia was about to be raised to the cardinalate. But the project met with the opposition of a large section of the Sacred College, though at that time even so shrewd a man as Cienfuegos was still of opinion that everything that Coscia was reproached with was simply calumny!² The Pope was fully convinced that it was so. Obstinate by nature and impatient of contradiction,³ the Pontiff persisted in his resolve to bestow the purple on Coscia, in spite of the opposition of a number of Cardinals. A consistory was held on June 11th, 1725, in which Benedict XIII. proposed Coscia for the cardinalate, together with his *Maggiordomo* Giudice. When after recommending Coscia, he pronounced the customary formula: *Quid vobis videtur?* nine Cardinals of the "Zelanti" party offered a decided opposition. The Secretary of State spoke first: referring to previous declarations by His Holiness he said that, in view of Coscia's bad reputation, he felt bound to vote against him. Cardinal Fabroni spoke in equally sharp terms: he deemed it a duty of conscience to protest against the elevation of a man of such ill repute.⁴ Cardinals Pico, Zondadari, Corradini, Tolomei, Belluga, Salerni and Imperiali also spoke emphatically against the elevation and stated the motives of their decision. But the majority gave its consent, Cienfuegos among them.⁵ Thus did Coscia become Cardinal-Priest of S. Maria in Domnica.⁶

¹ *Ibid.*

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letter of March 17, 1725, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn. ³ Letters of the same of May 5 and 19, 1725, *ibid.*

⁴ *Voto dell'E.mo e R.mo Signor Cardinale Fabroni in congiuntura della Promozione del card. Coscia, June 11, 1725, in *Fondo Gesuit.*, 196, p. 203, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

⁵ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of June 12, 1725, *loc. cit.*; P. Cappello's *report of June 16, 1725, State Archives, Venice, extract in BROSCHE, II., 62 *seq.* The **Votum* of Fabroni in *Cod. Vat.* 8631, p. 63, Vatican Library.

⁶ The *Diaconia* of S. Maria in Domnica was raised on this occasion to a *titolo presbiterale*. NOVAES, XIII., 87.

Benedict XIII. again took no notice of the Cardinals' protests when in July, 1725, at Coscia's request he consented to the resignation by Cardinal Ottoboni of the Abbey of Chiaravalle in favour of the son of a Milanese banker, then still a minor, a step which led to a conflict with the Emperor.¹

Whilst Benedict XIII. remained only too often deaf to the counsels of his ministers,² he lent an all the more willing ear to Coscia, who showed great concern for the health of his master and even prevailed on him, in September, 1725, to give up his accustomed visit to the convent on Monte Mario.³ On September 5th the Pope, who from attachment to his former church had retained the see of Benevento, appointed his all powerful favourite his coadjutor in that see, with the right of succession.⁴ There now occurred a revulsion of feeling in Rome which up to this time had been largely favourable to the Pope. Even Cienfuegos felt grievously disappointed.⁵

On November 5th, 1725, the Pope, accompanied by a small suite, went to Vignanello for the purpose of consecrating a church erected by Francesco Maria Ruspoli, Prince of Cervetri. For two years Ruspoli's daughter had lived apart from her husband, the Duke of Gravina. The Pope, who had at first attempted to bring the two together, now sanctioned their separation, an act which gave rise to scandal. The whole thing was ascribed to Coscia.⁶

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of July 31, September 15 and 29, 1725, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

² *Report of the same, August 11, 1725, *ibid.*

³ *Report of the same, September 1, 1725, *ibid.*

⁴ **Acta consist.*, Barb. 2920, Vatican Library. Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports on September 5, 1725 (*loc. cit.*) to the imperial Chancellery: when Coscia was proposed the Pope spoke very rapidly for fear of contradiction and without any pause let the blessing follow the "Quid vobis videtur?" The measure excites general astonishment.

⁵ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of September 8 and 15, 1725, *loc. cit.*

⁶ *Report of the same, November 10, 1725, *ibid.*; " *Diarium pontif. Benedicti XIII.," in *Cod.* 1320, p. 205 *seqq.*, Casanatense

In January, 1726, it was said that the Pope did not receive his ministers, whilst on the other hand he willingly listened to Coscia's advice. About this time the latter was also made a member of the Congregation of the Inquisition, a step which gave rise to general dissatisfaction, as only the most deserving among the Cardinals received such an appointment.¹ Benedict's blindness is also shown by the fact that not long after he entrusted Coscia with the visitation of the archdiocese of Benevento.² When reasons of health compelled Paolucci to go to Albano, all business came to a temporary standstill. Coscia's partisans, most of them natives of Benevento, as for instance the ill-famed Private Chamberlain Niccolò Saverio Santamaria,³ seized the opportunity to get hold of all the best posts,⁴ and, after the pattern of their patron, to line their own pockets. In this respect, besides the Pope's blind trust, his kindness, which inclined him to grant requests very readily, was of great profit to them. To this goodness, and to the lack of conscience on the part of the favourites, the Venetian ambassador, Baron Morosini, ascribes the fact that so many extraordinary and unjustifiable favours were granted, and that wholly unsuitable and undeserving persons had positions assigned to them.⁵ Coscia sold the public offices, Library, Rome; on Benedict XIII.'s efforts to reconcile the couple, see Cardinal Acquaviva's *report of June 24, 1724, Simancas Archives. Inscriptions in the church and in the Ruspoli Palace record the visit of Benedict XIII. to Vignanello.

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports to Sinzendorf, January 5, 12, and 26, 1726, *loc. cit.*

² *Reports of the same, February 16 and 23, 1726, *ibid.*

³ How bad the reputation of this favourite was appears from " *Vita e stravagante fortuna di Msgr. Niccolò Saverio Santamaria Beneventano, vescovo di Cirene, canonico di S. Pietro e già cameriere segreto partecipante del defunto pontefice Benedetto XIII. " (*Cod. Vat.* 9405, p. 63 *seqq.*, Vatican Library. Cf. LE BRET, *Magazin*, IV., 142 *seqq.*).

⁴ VALESIO in *Rassegna bibl. d'arte ital.*, XVI. (1913), 112.

⁵ "Relazione di Roma del N. U. Barbon Morosini ambasc. alla corte di Roma (Novembre 5, 1730—Giugno 30, 1731)," in State Archives, Venice, more accessible there than the extremely rare reprint of 1865, Ceneda (pubblicazione per nozze).

granted everything in return for money and presents, and enriched himself shamelessly.¹ As early as August, 1725, it was rumoured that he had amassed two million scudi. His rooms were adorned with pictures taken from the state-rooms of the Vatican. This fashion of decorating one's own apartments was promptly followed by other prelates of the palace.²

Dissatisfaction in Rome, and aversion for the Beneventans, rose steadily. There appeared an anonymous publication in the form of a letter, which proved by quotations from the Councils, the Fathers and the Bulls of the Popes, that it was the Cardinals' duty to advise the Pope, and the Pope's to consult the Sacred College. All this was mordantly propounded, and contrasted with the régime in power.³ Benedict XIII. was informed of the nature of the publication and had inquiries made about the identity of its author, but he made no change in his mode of government. Public affairs seemed to be of no concern to him. He continued to devote all his attention to religious functions which, during Holy Week, he once more carried out with the greatest self-sacrifice. Afterwards he resumed the consecration of altars.⁴

Meanwhile Paolucci's health grew much worse. He had been desirous of retiring already in June, 1724,⁵ and it now became necessary to think seriously of a successor. In May

¹ CORDARA, ed. DÖLLINGER, III., 3. Cf. *Voyages*, DE MONTESQUIEU, I., 199 seq.

² VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, 114.

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of April 13, 1726, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

⁴ *Reports of the same, April 20 and May 1, 1726, *ibid.*

⁵ According to Cienfuegos' *report of June 24, 1724 (*ibid.*), besides Paolucci's great age a circumstance of decisive effect was that, besides the reform of the clergy, of the court, and of the ceremonial, papal decisions which he could not prevent were ascribed to him. Benedict XIII., however, did not accept the resignation; he is said to have answered that just as he himself had been forced to accept the tiara against his will, Paolucci also must retain the secretariate of state.

Coscia returned from Benevento and presented himself at once before the Pope with whom he remained closeted from one in the morning till five o'clock.¹ Paolucci's illness proved a lingering one ; there were periods of improvement, but he was no longer able to attend to affairs. The two Albani proposed either Patrizi or Scotti as his successor. Coscia seemed inclined to favour Aldrovandi or Cibo, or, if it had to be a Cardinal, Banchieri.² Meanwhile all business remained in suspense. At this time Coscia was on such intimate terms with the Pope that, on the strength of a former promise, he addressed the Pontiff in the second person singular after the Neapolitan fashion.³

Paolucci died on June 12th, 1726 ; his death was as edifying as his life had been.⁴ With him fell the last barrier which up till then had prevented many an arbitrary measure.⁵

As successor to Paolucci in the Secretariate of State, Benedict XIII., to the amazement and annoyance of the diplomatists and of many Cardinals, appointed a simple prelate, namely Niccolò Maria Lercari, a Genoese, born in 1675, whom he had come to know at Benevento, a man of moderate ability, but utterly dependent on Coscia.⁶ The

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of May 11, 1726, *ibid.*

² *Report of the same, May 18, 1726, *ibid.*

³ *Report of the same, June 1, 1726 (*ibid.*), relates that when the Pope asked Coscia what he should do regarding a certain nomination, the latter replied " all'usanza napoletana : S. Padre, Tu domandi, che hai da fare ? La parola data da principio devi mantenere, perchè hai da pensare prima di promettere, ma promesso che hai Tu devi osservare la parola ".

⁴ " *Lasciando di se ottima opinione per la vita esemplare che ha menata e per la morte santa che ha fatta," Cienfuegos writes on June 15, 1726, *ibid.*

⁵ *Voyages DE MONTESQUIEU*, I., 213.

⁶ Cienfuegos' *report of June 15, 1726, *loc. cit.* MONTESQUIEU (*Voyages*, II., 35) calls Lercari " bon, mais faible ". On Lercari, cf. GUARNACCI, II., 479 *seq.* In his *report to the Emperor, December 14, 1726 (*loc. cit.*), Cienfuegos describes Lercari's character thus : Lercari, 50 years of age, of a middle-class family, healthy, religious, of adequate learning and ecclesiastical spirit,

Venetian ambassador Barbon Morosini thus describes the change which now took place in the government of the devout and well-meaning Pontiff: "At the beginning of his pontificate Benedict showed less determination and frequently listened to representations in an opposite sense, but after he had effected the nomination of Coscia in the teeth of the opposition of several prominent Cardinals, he at last became fully conscious of his power: from that moment, the only thing that restrained him was his sincere veneration for the excellent Cardinal Paolucci whose representations he frequently took into account; but after the death of the Cardinal, the Beneventans could dare and hope for anything. Corradini alone continued to utter words of warning and he prevented many things, but he was no match for Coscia and his Beneventan following, especially as the latter had secretly prevailed on the Pope to make a number of concessions." ¹

The papal auditor Prospero Marefoschi succeeded Paolucci as Vicar of Rome ²; the office of a *Maestro di Camera*, which Lercari had held, was given to Francesco Fini. The latter was born in 1669 at Minervino in Neapolitan territory ³

held with little success "governi" in the States of the Church under Clement XI., and as Governatore of Benevento, won the affections of the Pope. As Maestro di Camera he alienated many by his harshness; as Secretary of State he did wonders, against all expectation, worked indefatigably "con somma schiettezza" so that all praised his transformation "in gentilezza". Lercari's tomb [in bad taste—a soft-featured angel holds his effigy] is in S. Marcello al Corso; Epitaph in FORCELLA, II., 320.

¹ B. MOROSINI, *Relazione di Roma* (cf. above, p. 127, n. 5), State Archives, Venice.

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of June 22, 1726, *loc. cit.*

³ MORONI, XXIV., 310 *seq.* An anonymous author draws a very dark picture of Fini in his "**Vita*", in *Cod. ital.*, 548, p. 74 *seqq.*, State Library, Munich; he says: "In verità non così pravi ha avuti i costumi come Coscia e S. Maria benchè ancor esso è stato buona parte contaminatore dell'onestà e pudicizia di tante famiglie e ha fatto profitto nell'intercessione delle grazie al pari degli altri."

and had been one of the Pope's most trusted servants whilst Benedict was Archbishop of Benevento. He had become a rival of Coscia who for the time being succeeded in preventing the bestowal of the red hat on Fini, as was the Pope's intention.¹ Consequently on December 9th, 1726, Lercari and the Franciscan Lorenzo Cozza were alone raised to the purple.² Fini nevertheless retained the Pope's favour³; on January 26th, 1728, he was admitted into the Sacred College.⁴

Coscia remained all powerful with Benedict XIII. in all the internal affairs of the Papal States.⁵ All efforts to open the Pope's eyes to this unworthy personage were in vain. In January, 1727, documentary evidence showed that Coscia had raised, on his own authority, a sum of 11,000 scudi within three months. Instead of taking him to task over it the Pope made a present of the sum to Coscia by an autograph letter.⁶ This case is by no means an isolated one. The *Maggiordomo* Camillo Cibo sought to lower the expenses with which Coscia burdened the exchequer of the Apostolic Palace, but the reform was thwarted by Coscia obtaining an autograph letter from Benedict XIII. ordering the continuation of these expenses. A second attempt to remove

¹ Thus Cienfuegos, in his *letter of December 17, 1726, *loc. cit.*

² GUARNACCI, II., 471 *seqq.*

³ Cienfuegos' *report of December 27, 1727, *loc. cit.*

⁴ GUARNACCI, II., 495 *seqq.*

⁵ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of May 1, 1727, *loc. cit.* Cf. the account in *Teatro storico del pontificato e governo di Benedetto XIII. R. P. coll'aggiunta di un foglio dimostrativo dello stato cattivo e passivo della R. Cam. Apost. e della intrata ed uscita della borsa del Papa (*Cod. ital.*, 55, State Library, Munich), where it is stated (f. 185): that Coscia attained such importance "che le stanze sue paiono quelle del Papa e le stanze del Papa quelle del guardiano de' Cappuccini; non si seppe che fosse il principe, o il Papa, che si era spogliato delle sue temporali prerogative d'arbitrio, o Coscia, che si era usurpato il dominio e le qualità principali".

⁶ P. Capello's dispatch of January 25, 1727, in BROSCHE, II., 65.

the abuse made by Cibo soon after also failed.¹ After this Coscia's hatred of Cibo no longer knew any limits. For a time he sought to force Cibo to resign his post, but when the latter nevertheless succeeded in maintaining his position, Coscia found other means for removing him from the office of *Maggiordomo* : he advocated his elevation to the cardinalate ! By this promotion, which took place on March 23rd, 1729, Coscia successfully removed Cibo from his important post and at the same time forced a dignity on him which he accepted with reluctance, as he lacked the necessary income to enable him to maintain his new position.²

When there was question of filling vacant posts Coscia demanded payment in money from the candidates, or he bargained with them for a share in the revenues which the offices yielded. It happened sometimes that the engagement thus made was not honoured ; when this occurred he brought the matter to the notice of the Pope to whom he gave to understand that the contribution had been agreed upon for some pious purpose ; in this way he obtained his own end. Coscia also derived a considerable income from the monopolies created by him ; among them was a monopoly of shoe leather and another of soap, from the holders of which he obtained presents.³ The disorder of the finances, which Benedict XIII. was quite unable to grasp,⁴ eventually became such that it was necessary to appoint a special congregation to deal with it : it included Cardinals Corradini, Collicola and Lercari. The commission resolved to lay before the Pope a scheme destined to eliminate superfluous expenditure, regulate the revenues,

¹ C. Cibo's *Autobiography in *Fondo Gesuit.* 99, p. 602 *seqq.*, 608 *seqq.*, 629 *seq.*, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome, where the *Chirografi* of Benedict XIII. in the case of Coscia are given in the original text.

² *Ibid.*, 102, p. 1 *seqq.*

³ BROSCHE, II., 65 *seq.*

⁴ Cardinal Acquaviva reports this to Juan Baut. Orendayn in his *letter of August 26, 1724, where he mentions the bad advice given in this matter by Sardini of Lucca. Simancas Archives.

improve the collection of taxes and impose new ones. Benedict XIII. sanctioned everything, but he would not hear of the imposition of fresh taxes. However, as the Venetian ambassador Barbon Morosini wrote, it was impossible to build on such decisions, as there was not the slightest prospect that Coscia would allow the Pope to revoke contracts from which the Cardinal derived so much money, or to curtail expenditure of which the greater part flowed into the Cardinal's pockets.¹

A computation made in April, 1729, gives us an idea of the financial straits. According to this account the income of the Apostolic Camera, at the beginning of the reign of Benedict XIII., amounted to 2,716,650 scudi, and the expenditure to 2,439,308 scudi, leaving a surplus of 277,342 scudi. After Benedict XIII. had suppressed the meat tax and the *Lotto di Genova*, erected 2,000 new *luoghi di monte*, eased a number of contracts and raised many salaries, the expenditure rose by 383,686 scudi, the result being an annual deficit of 120,000 scudi.² A remedy, which it would have been difficult to apply in any case, was not proposed for Coscia's power remained unimpaired up to the Pope's death [February 21st, 1730]. Coscia and his accomplices successfully isolated the Pope by rendering access to his person as difficult as possible and if in spite of every precaution someone managed to speak frankly to the Pope, he became the object of calumny and could be certain that never again would he be received in a private audience.³ Whenever satires were published against Coscia and his Beneventans, stern ordinances were

¹ BROSCHE, II., 69. A list of receipts and expenses of 1729 in *Teatro storico, *loc. cit.*

² MURATORI, *Annali d'Italia*, XII., Lucca, 1764, 127; COPPI, *Finanze*, 19. Cf. also *Stato economico della Camera Apost., posto sotto gli occhi della Santità di N. S. Benedetto XIII. l'a. 1729, which I purchased in Rome in 1902 (carte, 1107), Baron von Pastor Library; there also the plans of reform.

³ " *Conclave dopo la morte del P. Benedetto XIII.," *Ms.*, *ibid.*

issued in order to inspire terror.¹ At the beginning of August, 1729, it looked as if a rift had occurred in the relations between the Pope and Coscia,² but it was soon seen that Benedict could not dispense with his adviser. When Coscia did not present himself before the Pope for several days, the latter went himself to call upon him, and as the Cardinal happened to be resting, he patiently waited for nearly an hour, walking up and down whilst saying his rosary.³ When Coscia set out for Benevento in November, the Pope could hardly wait for his return, and as the favourite felt unwell on his arrival in Rome, the Pontiff immediately called upon him.⁴ Coscia refrained from meddling with purely religious affairs: in spite of all his arrogance, he was shrewd enough not to interfere with the Pope in such matters, but the internal administration of the Papal States came almost completely into his own hands.

In view of Benedict XIII.'s weakness, Coscia and his Beneventans were in a position, in return for money, to appoint both incapable and bad officials, and in this way they did the Holy See incalculable harm.⁵ It was equally disastrous that Coscia's influence extended to the decision of important ecclesiastico-political questions. The diplomatists were not slow to realize what services this sinister personage might

¹ *Report from Rome of July 23, 1729, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

² *Report from Rome of August 5, 1729, *ibid.*

³ *Report from Rome of August 12, 1729 (*ibid.*): " Il Papa l'altro giorno essendo più giorni che esso sig. card. Coscia non era stato da lui, andò a trovarlo, e perchè riposava, non volle permettere la S. S. che fosse svegliato, ma con somma bontà aspettò sopra tre quarti d'ora passeggiando e dicendo la corona. Il fatto è verissimo."

⁴ *Reports from Rome of November 17 and 25, 1729, *ibid.* The *report of December 23, 1729 (*ibid.*) says: " Il sig. card. Coscia non vuole ricevere più dame al Vaticano ": whether he does this on his own initiative or by command of the Pope, is not known.

⁵ Cf. Benedict XIV.'s opinion as expressed to Tencin (see below, p. 175; also *Voyages DE MONTESQUIEU*, I., 200, 202.

render them.¹ To win him over was a task that required no long calculation but merely money.²

In the important question of the Sicilian Legation (*Monarchia Sicula*), Coscia was quite willing to meet the Emperor's representatives, though it was precisely on this point that Benedict XIII. had spoken quite clearly in a Brief of July 21st, 1725, in which, regardless of all human interests, he thought only of the glory of God and the welfare of the Church. In that document he called upon the Bishops of Sicily to comply strictly with Clement XI.'s Bull of abolition, for the self-styled tribunal of the monarchy had been done away with and he strictly insisted on its being considered as suppressed.³ This attitude of the Pope could surprise no one for, whilst still a Cardinal, he had on one occasion given unequivocal expression to his abhorrence for the Sicilian Legation by subscribing to Clement XI.'s Bull of abolition on his knees. The Emperor's representative, Cardinal Cienfuegos, who was well aware of this, nevertheless protested loudly against the "innovation" which the Brief was said to create.⁴ After the consistory of September 5th, 1725, he bitterly reproached the Pope, alleging that in making this innovation he had been badly advised, that he upset the whole of Sicily, regardless of the Emperor of whose attachment he had received so many tokens.⁵ Cienfuegos, who had been a Jesuit but who acted rather as an imperial ambassador than as a religious, and who, in February, 1725, had been given the archiepiscopal See of Monreale with its income of 70,000 gold florins,⁶ was not concerned about the rights of the Church in this matter, but exclusively about the interests of the Emperor. In his reports to the Chancellor of Empire, Count von Sinzendorf,

¹ Cf. Cienfuegos' *report above, p. 124, n. 4.

² BROSCHE, II., 70.

³ **Epist.*, II.-III., Papal Secret Archives; SENTIS, 162.

⁴ Cienfuegos' *reports to Sinzendorf, August 4 and 11, 1725, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

⁵ *Report of the same, September 8, 1725, *ibid.*

⁶ CORDARA, ed. DÖLLINGER, III., 3, who speaks of the enormous expenditure of this Cardinal.

he repeatedly counselled him to resist and by means of threats and strong measures to compel the Pope to yield.¹ In compliance with the Cardinal's advice, Charles VI. sought to render the Brief ineffective. By a decree of December 5th, 1725, he ordered the Sicilians to help him to uphold the tribunal of the monarchy as it had existed at the time of Charles II. of Spain, and not to yield in the slightest degree. The Governor was instructed to expel at once any Bishop who ventured to make the slightest innovation, and he had every copy of Clement's Bull confiscated.²

Cardinal Cienfuegos' expectation that Benedict XIII. would allow himself to be intimidated by threats was not fulfilled, on the contrary, the Pope repeatedly declared that he would sacrifice his life rather than tolerate the tribunal as it existed under Charles II.³; but though he upheld Clement XI.'s Bull, a Brief expressed his willingness to pave the way for a compromise.⁴

About mid-January, 1726, Cienfuegos asked for an audience with the Pope in the course of which, to quote his report to Vienna,⁵ he alternately used wine and vinegar. He began by stating that the Emperor demanded the withdrawal of the Brief of July, 1725, and the restoration of the rights which Charles II. had enjoyed. His Majesty did not deserve such hard blows since he had done so much for Christendom. Cienfuegos' eloquence made no impression. Benedict XIII. told him that however grieved he felt on account of the Emperor's annoyance, he nevertheless felt bound in conscience

¹ Cienfuegos' *reports to Sinzendorf of August 11 and September 8, 1725, *loc. cit.*; his *report of December 8, 1725, *ibid.*, is characteristic of the manner in which Cienfuegos entirely adopts the standpoint of Charles VI.

² SENTIS, 162; MARTINI, *La Sicilia* (1907), 124 *seq.*

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letter to Sinzendorf of January 12, 1726, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Letter of the same, January 19, 1726, *ibid.* Cf. also Felix Cornejo's *letter to S. Ripperda of February 16, 1726, Simancas Archives.

to uphold Clement XI.'s Bull to which he had sworn as a Cardinal. For the rest he was willing to satisfy the Emperor in the measure in which this was possible, and he invited him to make suggestions on the subject. The Cardinal replied that this was only possible if the ancient rights which His Majesty had inherited as successor of Roger of Sicily, were restored to him. There followed a lively discussion which lasted a whole hour. In the course of the conversation, Cienfuegos got the impression that though the Pope would not cancel Clement XI.'s Bull of abolition, he was nevertheless disposed, through a Congregation specially constituted for that purpose, to prepare the way towards a compromise in the sense that the faculties might be granted to one or more Bishops of Sicily. On his part Cienfuegos wished to see the form of the *Monarchia* preserved; he insisted that the Emperor could not allow a Congregation to sit in judgment on his rights. The Pope maintained his point of view, that in so important an affair he needed the counsel of the Cardinals. Thereupon Cienfuegos proposed that the Cardinal Secretary of State Paolucci, Giudice as protector of Sicily, and Coscia, should be asked for their opinion. To this Benedict XIII. consented.

As the negotiations dragged the Emperor instructed the Roman jurist and imperial agent in Rome, Pietro Perrelli, of Naples, to lend help to Cienfuegos.¹ Perrelli's advice was

¹ P. PERRELLI, " *Storia ed apologia dell' apostolica legazia di Sicilia " (*Ms.* transferred from the Library of the Oratorians, Palermo, to the National Library), written under Clement XII. for Charles III. of Naples, by no means impartial but the only source for many events of that time (*cf.* SENTIS, 163, 175), and extensively used by A. FORNO, *Istoria d. apost. legazione annessa alla corona di Sicilia*, p. II., Palermo, 1801; it is, however, marred by many mistakes (e.g. II., 74: September 5, 1728, instead of 1727, by which even such a careful scholar as SENTIS [170] has been led astray). Perrelli's account has been completed and confirmed by Cienfuegos' *reports, of which, however, those in the Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn, go only as far as the end of 1727.

that the Pope should address a provisional Brief to the Emperor, to the effect that he was willing to yield to the many urgent requests of the imperial representatives for a settlement of the question of the *Monarchia Sicula*; that it was his firm intention to clear up this matter, and that he invited the Emperor to suggest some plan which would enable him to do so without failing in his pastoral duties. To this Benedict agreed. After a short consultation between Perrelli, Coscia and Majella, the Secretary for Briefs, such a document was drawn up. The word *Monarchia* was carefully avoided, as was the expression favoured by the other side, viz. "the pretended tribunal" (*assertum tribunale*), and it was agreed to describe the question in dispute by the expression "ecclesiastical jurisdiction". This draft was signed on March 1st, 1727, by Benedict XIII., who suspected nothing untoward, after which the Brief was dispatched.¹ As the representatives of the "Zelanti", Cardinals Olivieri and Corradini, happened to be away from Rome just then, no one drew the Pope's attention to the fact that the imperial party meant to make use of the Brief in their own sense.

A journey by the Pope to his beloved Benevento at this time also served the cause of the imperialists, for the Pope imagined that the splendid reception which the Neapolitans gave him was due to the Brief. In obedience to an injunction from Vienna, Perrelli accompanied the Pope, whilst Cienfuegos continued his activities in Rome. At Benevento Perrelli succeeded in securing for the tribunal of the Monarchy at least an existence *de facto*, though only on sufferance and

¹ SENTIS, 164, who quotes a passage of the *Brief from *Cod. Vat.* 8350, p. 11, Vatican Library, but has overlooked the publication in FORNO, II., 33 *seq.* (instead of 1726 read 1727). In *Epist.*, II.-III., Papal Secret Archives, the Brief is on p. 573. When on March 2, 1727, Cienfuegos dispatched the Brief to the imperial Chancery, he *wrote: that he had hurried the matter and had taken advantage of the absence of the "ill disposed" Cardinals; he would leave everything in the hands of the Emperor; the result was favourable beyond expectation, considering the opposition of the Pope in this affair. Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

provisionally. This was quite against the Pope's real intentions. Perrelli represented to the Pope that it would be a good thing to provide for every eventuality, and for that reason to warn the Bishops of Sicily to exercise the utmost prudence in order to prevent any collision between the secular and the ecclesiastical authorities during the short interval required for the solution of the question. To this Benedict agreed; he also allowed an imperial letter of March 22nd, 1727, which spoke of the prospect of a favourable solution of the problem, to be communicated to the Bishops. In close alliance with Perrelli, Coscia then wrote on April 28th, 1727, from Benevento, to the Secretary of State Lercari, in Rome. On May 13th Lercari sent the ordinance to the Bishops of Sicily together with the imperial letter.¹ By this means the imperialists had gained a great success. The Bishops were no longer able to fight existing conditions and the tribunal of the *Monarchia* was able to function undisturbed.

This was certainly not Benedict XIII.'s intention. On his return to Rome the "Zelanti" among the Cardinals drew his attention to the gravity of the situation. Meanwhile on June 21st, the Secretary of State sent a second letter to the Archbishops of Palermo and Messina, to the effect that all that the Pope desired was that, whilst the negotiations were proceeding, the Bishops should not put difficulties in the way of an agreement by public complications, but that it was by no means intended to suspend Clement XI.'s Bull. However, Perrelli, with the help of Coscia, succeeded in obtaining the Pope's approval of a third letter to the above-named Bishops, declaring that the first letter alone was to be regarded as a rule of conduct.²

In the course of the deliberations which now ensued with a view to a formal agreement on the pending questions, one of the negotiators attracted particular attention, in fact

¹ SENTIS, 165 *seq.* To the sources given there must be added Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of May 10, 1727, *loc. cit.* The letter of May 13, 1727, in FORNO, II., 43 *seqq.*, but with the wrong date, "May 3".

² PERRELLI, *Storia, *loc. cit.*; FORNO, II., 50 *seqq.*

he was destined for a great future. This was Prosper Lambertini, Archbishop of Theodosia and Secretary of the Congregation of the Council.

This learned canonist, who was held in high esteem by Benedict XIII., was instructed to try, in conjunction with Perrelli, to harmonize divergent views by means of a compromise.¹ Lambertini and Perrelli both agreed that this should be done not by means of a Bull but by a Concordat in which Clement XI.'s Bull of abolition would neither be revoked nor expressly confirmed. When the two prelates submitted their draft to Benedict XIII., the Pope found fault in particular with the historical introduction because he wished to see the abolition of the *Monarchia Sicula* by Clement XI. explicitly confirmed in that document. Coscia nevertheless prevailed on the Pope to content himself with a few minor changes. On August 21st the Secretary of State, Lercari, forwarded the draft of the Bull, "the result of incredible labours,"² to Cardinal Cienfuegos. The latter sent it on to Vienna on the 25th, with the remark that he regarded the agreement as acceptable in all its parts. More could not be obtained either in the present or in any future pontificate. The introduction mentioned not only the Bull of Clement XI., but also the privilege of Urban II. which had not been hitherto accepted, as it was regarded as apocryphal. This mention was of such importance in practice, that it implied a confirmation of the *Monarchia*. If there were a few minor gaps in the Bull, it should not be difficult to obtain what was lacking by a future Brief. In conclusion Cienfuegos insists once more that so favourable an agreement could not be hoped for from any other Pope or any other officials. Vienna should take note of Benedict's great age. All His Majesty's devoted servants felt as he himself did. He prayed

¹ For what follows, cf. PERRELLI, *Storia, printed in great part by FORNO, II., 54 seqq. The excellent account of SENTIS (169) is also based on Perrelli.

² Cienfuegos emphasizes this in his *report to Sinzendorf, August 25, 1727, *loc. cit.*

for an early decision as Benedict was inconstant and might change his mind.¹

For the purpose of giving effect to these warnings Perrelli decided to go to Vienna in person. He reached the imperial city on September 5th, 1727, and gave the Emperor a personal account of the state of the negotiations. On this occasion he exhibited the original of a letter of the Archbishop of Palermo to the Pope in which the Archbishop, in answer to the second papal Brief, assures the Pontiff that with regard to Clement XI.'s Bull of abolition, he would strictly comply with His Holiness' orders, for he was resolved to give his very blood for the freedom of the Church and to defy every violence that the secular Power might have recourse to. This letter had reached neither the Pope nor the Secretary of State, for the imperialists had intercepted it! Perrelli now made use of it as a proof of the Bishop's determination to obey the Pope, thereby offering the Emperor the alternative either of promptly terminating the dispute on the basis of the negotiations hitherto pursued, or of upholding the *Monarchia* by force of arms.

In spite of this strong pressure Charles VI. put off his decision. He submitted the project to a commission consisting of councillors for Spanish and Italian affairs. Their opinion was unfavourable, on the ground that the project sacrificed the important prerogatives of the Legation. The Emperor was not yet satisfied but laid the affair before his Cabinet, presided over by Prince Eugene. The council announced that the draft was acceptable as a basis for further negotiations, but that everything prejudicial must first be cut out of it. These demands were summed up in an Instruction for

¹ *Ibid.* Another draft of the Bull, with the observations from the imperial side, is included. The last points (39 and 40) are missing; further differences in the "Narratio" are: no mention is made of the Bull of Clement XI., the steps taken by Charles VI., the concessions of Urban II., and all else is exclusively motivated by the difficulties of communication between Sicily and Rome, on account of the distance and of the dangers of the sea voyage, especially in winter.

Perrelli who left the Austrian capital in the first days of February, 1728. In Rome he first discussed the affair with Cienfuegos and Coscia; afterwards he also consulted Lambertini and the latter's friend Galliani.

It was no easy task to get the Pope to consent to the changes desired by the Emperor, especially in the introduction, as that part had been drawn up by Benedict XIII. himself. Coscia was chosen for the delicate task, and when he declined, Perrelli was obliged to assume it. Contrary to all expectations the Pope proved willing to accept the changes and entrusted Lambertini with their execution. As the latter had to return to his diocese of Ancona for Holy Week, his friend Galliani drew up the new introduction which Cienfuegos dispatched to Vienna on March 27th, 1728. The reply, which arrived on June 16th, threw the negotiators into no small embarrassment, because it demanded a great many alterations. Cienfuegos was in despair but Perrelli did not lose heart. He appealed to Lambertini who had become a Cardinal in the meantime. Prolonged discussions finally resulted in a draft which satisfied everybody: for greater safety it was decided to have it confirmed by a Congregation of Cardinals.¹

Once again Perrelli undertook to commend the new draft to the Pope. Very adroitly he began his address by observing that it seemed as if it were God's will that the negotiations on the ecclesiastico-political affairs of Sicily, which had begun under the Dominican Pope Pius V, should be brought to a close under another Dominican Pontiff, whilst the Emperor, on his side, was willing that the business should be finally settled. After that the Pope read the draft with great attention: it satisfied him on the whole. Perrelli declared his willingness to alter certain passages; in respect to some others he sought to reassure the Pope, but the latter declared that before giving his approval he must consult with Cardinal Lambertini. Thereupon Perrelli spoke once more, to represent

¹ PERRELLI, *loc. cit.*; SENTIS, 170 *seq.* The very long *letter of the imperial Chancellery on the desired alterations, dated Laxenburg, June 2, 1728, in Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

to the Pope that the Emperor, as the great Monarch that he was, must be dealt with accordingly ; hence he prayed His Holiness to set up a Congregation of Cardinals ; should this commission decide against the agreement, the Emperor would forgo a decision, but if it agreed, then let His Holiness not put off his signature. It is said that after hearing Perrelli's report the credulous Pontiff observed : "*Questo è un angelo !* but which of the Cardinals shall we select for this purpose ? " Thereupon Perrelli suggested Cardinals Davia, Vice-Prefect of the Congregation of Immunity, Origo, Prefect of the Congregation of the Council, Lambertini, the Secretary of State Lercari and Coscia. Benedict XIII. agreed to the proposal. Little did he suspect that Perrelli had already submitted the draft to the aforesaid Cardinals, and that he had spoken to them as if the document had already received the papal approval !

On the very next day the Pope sent for Lambertini ; he assured the Cardinal of his confidence and put three questions to him :—

1° Whether Perrelli's draft was identical with the one which he himself had drawn up, revised and approved ;

2° Whether the cause of God and Holy Church would be safeguarded were it to be accepted :

3° Whether it was proper to submit the draft to a Congregation and whether it was likely to be accepted by the members designated by Perrelli.

Cardinal Lambertini answered the first question in the affirmative ; with regard to the second, he replied that the cause of God demanded, and the souls of a whole realm pleaded for a termination of so many and such thorny controversies. The Bishops of Sicily were in the awkward dilemma of either failing in their duty or of provoking their temporal sovereign. Hence His Holiness could do nothing more pleasing to God than to restore peace to the people of Sicily and to meet the religious sentiments of the Emperor by accepting the proposal. The third question Lambertini likewise answered in the affirmative, adding that the aforesaid Cardinals would assuredly approve the conclusion of peace between Church and State.

Benedict XIII. listened to these explanations with great satisfaction and ordered the Congregation to meet within three days. Lambertini and Perrelli took advantage of the brief interval to confirm the members of the Congregation in their favourable dispositions. As a matter of fact the result of the deliberations was wholly in accordance with their wishes. All the five Cardinals approved the agreement and advised the Pope to sign and publish the Bull in the form in which it had been laid before the Congregation. When Lambertini informed the Pope of the decision, the latter signed the draft with the words : “ *Approbamus, nec immutetur unum iota.*”

Coscia promptly informed Cienfuegos of everything whilst Lambertini had an accurate report of the sitting forwarded to the Cardinal. Cienfuegos then dispatched a special courier to Vienna.¹ Both he and Perrelli were highly satisfied. At the last moment, however, fresh difficulties arose. The negotiations had been conducted with so much secrecy that the “Zelanti” Cardinals only heard of the agreement when it was an accomplished fact. The *Datarius*, Corradini, was particularly indignant at having been thus ignored. He declined to subscribe to the Bull and persisted in his refusal in spite of Coscia’s and Cienfuegos’ entreaties, nay even in spite of a formal command by the Pope.² To get over the difficulty the *Subdatarius* was eventually made to sign in his place. The Bull *Fideli* was then completed on August 30th, 1728³; it was promulgated at Palermo, through a special Pragmatic, on February 15th, 1729.⁴

¹ PERELLI, in FORNO, II., 179 *seqq.*; SENTIS, 173 *seq.*

² SENTIS, *ibid.*

³ *Bull.*, XXII., 670 *seqq.*; MERCATI, *Concordati*, 2 *seqq.*; Sinzendorf’s and Kaunitz’ letters of congratulation to the Duke of Gravina on the compromise over the *Monarchia Sicula*, in Orsini Archives, Rome, t. 17. *Ibid.*, t. 18, *private letters of Benedict XIII. to the Duke of Gravina.

⁴ *Pragmatica iuxta litteras S. CC. Maiest. pro observantia bull. apost. in visu concordiae circa usum iurisdic. eccles. tribunalis apost. legatiae*, Panorni, 1729. Cf. MARTINI, *La Sicilia*, 131.

The Bull *Fideli* contains no confirmation of the original privilege of the *Monarchia Sicula*,¹ neither does it revoke Clement XI.'s Bull of abolition, on the contrary, it expressly mentions it in the introduction, but adds that the Emperor Charles VI. had explained to the Pope that the rights of the Apostolic Legation in Sicily were his and his successors' in virtue of a privilege of Urban II., and that these rights, which had been granted to Roger, Duke of Normandy, and his successors, had always been in vigour and practice throughout six centuries. Though the Pope knew that these arguments had failed to convince his predecessors, and though he himself had subscribed to Clement XI.'s Bull whilst still a Cardinal, he was determined to put an end to disputes which had done so much injury to souls and to the tranquillity of the State. Hence he decreed that in future only the more important ecclesiastical affairs of Sicily would be reserved to the Pope and that the sovereign of Sicily was empowered to appoint a supreme judge, who would pronounce in the third instance on all other ecclesiastical matters, in virtue of the apostolic authority.

Though there can be no doubt that the Bull does not recognize the legatine rights of the Sovereign of Sicily, and that it makes no concession by which Clement's Bull of suppression would be compromised, the fact remains that, contrary to the attitude hitherto observed by the Curia, it drops the demand for a fresh and express confirmation of Clement's Constitution.² In glosses on the Bull published by Lambertini, the latter states his conviction that most of the mischief had been due to the excesses of the judge of the *Monarchia*, and to the fact that by his open rebellion against the Pope's formal commands, that functionary had ended by playing the rôle of an antipope. Lambertini felt that the possibility of a relapse had been removed by the fact that the judge's mandate was expressly based on the apostolic authority of Benedict XIII., and by the disposition forbidding

¹ As MARTINI (131) maintained quite recently.

² SENTIS, 185.

the delegate to oppose at any time, or in any way whatsoever, the orders which the reigning Pope, or his successors, issued for Sicily by special rescripts signed by their own hand.¹ Lambertini, however, overlooked the fact that it is the peculiarity of absolutism to ignore the barriers of justice, hence he lived to see the ruler of Sicily, soon after the agreement effected by the Bull *Fideli*, asserting once more his old pretensions to full legatine powers and re-establishing the institution of the *Monarchia* in its old form. This was all the more easy as the King was now free to name the judge without even the necessity of a special confirmation.² This explains why many of the older Cardinals were exceedingly dissatisfied with the Bull.

The House of Savoy, in imitation of the example of the Emperor, also sought to exploit Coscia's venality and the favourable conditions thereby created for its Cæsaro-Papistic aims. Vittorio Amadeo II. of Savoy, who had been invested with the royal dignity in 1713, had already been in conflict with Clement XI. over Nicholas V.'s indult on the right of nomination to bishoprics and abbeys, the violation of ecclesiastical immunity and the papal fiefs in Piedmont.³ With the acquisition of Sardinia fresh misunderstandings had been added to these. The Holy See insisted on its suzerain rights over the island of which the investiture had been granted to the royal House of Aragon by Boniface VIII., under the express condition that it should never be severed from the Aragonese crown, and accordingly declared that Sardinia had reverted to its suzerain, so that Amadeo could not be recognized as its legitimate King until he should have obtained investiture by Rome and the clause about the perpetual union of Sardinia with the crown of Aragon had been abrogated. Hence the new sovereign's right of patronage

¹ LAMBERTINI, *Annotazioni alla bolla "Fideli"*, in GIUS. LO BUE, *Su la facoltà del giudice dell'apost. legazione Sicola in rispetto alle dispense matrimoniali*, Palermo, 1863, 197; SENTIS, 185.

² SENTIS, 186, with whose appreciation of the Bull I fully concur.

³ Cf. XXXIII., 344 seq.

over vacant benefices was not recognized, with the result that most of the dioceses were orphaned.¹

No agreement had been arrived at under Innocent XIII. owing to the shortness of his pontificate, hence Benedict XIII., who grieved over the vacancy of so many sees, began fresh negotiations, through the Franciscan Observant Tommaso da Spoleto, in the very first year of his reign. Vittorio Amadeo seemed likewise ready to come to terms; to this end he sent to Rome, in 1725, one of his ablest diplomatists, Vincenzo Ferreri, Marchese d' Ormea.²

That shrewd Piedmontese soon perceived which would be the best means for winning the confidence of the pious Pontiff. Almost every morning he assisted at the Holy Father's Mass, with a great show of piety and fingering a big rosary; he also procured for the Pope a relic of St. Francis de Sales.³ He did his best to keep all knowledge of his plans from the "Zelanti". Like the Emperor's ambassadors, he treated in secret with Coscia to whom he offered his services to enable him to obtain the purple. On June 9th, 1725, he was able to write to Turin that in the favourite he had found an excellent instrument for the realization of his purpose. He also won over Fini, Lercari and Lambertini and the advocates Sardini and Pittonio, by approaching them too from the side from which they seemed most accessible.⁴

In the negotiations for a compromise D'Ormea gave proof of great skill. It was of considerable advantage to him that after Paolucci's death in June, 1726, Coscia's creature, Lercari, became Secretary of State. The last obstacles were removed by Fini and Lambertini. Cardinals Alessandro Albani and

¹ HERGENRÖTHER, *Piemonts Unterhandlungen mit dem Heiligen Stuhl im 18. Jahrhundert*, Würzburg, 1877, 25 seq.

² CARUTTI, *Storia del regno di Vittorio Amadeo II.*, Torino, 1856, 404 seqq. (3^a ediz., 1897, 480 seqq.); ID., *Storia d. diplomazia*, III., Torino, 1879, 601; PIERANTONI, *Autobiografia di Giannone*, Rome, 1890, 297; GIANNONE, *Il tribunale della Monarchia Sic.*, ed. Pierantoni, *ibid.*, 1892.

³ CARUTTI, *Vittorio Amadeo*, II., 406, 409 seq. (3^a ediz., 481).

⁴ *Ibid.*, HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.*, 27 seq.

Polignac also lent support. Thus it came about that on October 25th, 1726, a Brief was elaborated, with the utmost secrecy, which granted the King of Sardinia and his successors the right of presentation to the episcopal sees of that island.¹ This indult, and the recognition of Vittorio Amadeo as King, were only made known by Benedict XIII. at a consistory of December 9th, 1726, at which, owing to the bad weather, only a few Cardinals were present.²

Other points in dispute had been dealt with at the same time, more particularly the extension of Nicholas V.'s indult to subsequently acquired territories. D'Ormea was shrewd enough to let his Government know that it would be difficult to obtain the right of nomination for all the dioceses of the State, unless the Holy See were empowered to levy pensions up to a certain sum. Turin accepted, but at this moment Benedict XIII. made a settlement of the questions of benefices

¹ RIGANTIUS, *In reg. II. canc.* § 1, n. 20, 51; *in reg. I.*, § 1, n. 299 (t. I., Romae, 1744, 81, 209, 214). Cienfuegos' report of November 2, 1727, according to which Benedict XIII. at first refused to publish this agreement in the Consistory, because he could not praise Vittorio Amadeo II. before the question of the benefices in Piedmont and Savoy was settled (Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn). The special congregation which drew up the text of the Brief, consisted of only three Cardinals; see the dissertation "Controversia tra la S. Apost. e il Re di Sardegna", a contemporary *Ms.* purchased by me in Rome in 1908 [in Baron von Pastor Library]. On Albani's collaboration, cf. the letters in *Bollet. stor. bibl. subalp.*, XXII. (1920), 305 seqq.; REUMONT, *Kl. hist. Schriften*, 165.

² **Acta consist.*, Barb. XXXVI., 55, Vatican Library. According to the *Ms.* quoted in the previous note, only "poco più di quattro cardinali" took part in the consistory. In his reply (dat. December 18, 1726) to the letter of thanks of the King for the "ius patronatus et viros idoneos nominandi", Benedict XIII. expresses the hope of a compromise for the remaining differences (*Epist.*, II.-III., Papal Secret Archives). On May 9, 1727, Philip V. of Spain protested, through Felix Cornejo Alemán (substituto del card. Bentivoglio), against the papal recognition of the Duke of Savoy as King of Sardinia. *Documents in Papal Secret Archives.

dependent on consideration being given to his complaints about the violation of ecclesiastical immunity. From a papal memorial handed to Marchese D'Ormea it is possible to gather how far the court canonists had stretched what they called the prerogatives of the State in this respect. The memorial raises the following protests among others :—

- 1° that Church property was subjected to State taxation ;
- 2° that not only were Bishops from other States who held jurisdiction in those of the King, obliged to appoint a special Vicar-General for those parts of their diocese, but their subjects were formally forbidden to have recourse to their tribunals outside the realm ;
- 3° that the Government refused to allow preachers, missionaries, and visitors of religious houses to carry out their functions without leave of the State ;
- 4° that Bulls and rescripts of the Holy See were not allowed to be carried into effect without the *exequatur* ;
- 5° that the secular authorities proceeded against ecclesiastics in civil and criminal causes ;
- 6° that the *appellatio ab abusu* had been introduced ;
- 7° that, contrary to the Council of Trent, charitable institutions were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Bishops ;
- 8° that the Senate took it upon itself to watch over the observance of holy days, etc.¹

Benedict XIII., who as Archbishop of Benevento had stoutly defended the rights of the Church against the Spanish Government in these questions, likewise insisted on a change of policy by the court of Turin. When transmitting the memorial, D'Ormea remarked that unless some degree of satisfaction, at least of apparent satisfaction, was given to the Pope in the matter of episcopal jurisdiction and ecclesiastical immunity, all efforts for an agreement would be in vain. He suggested that the facts quoted in the memorial should be denied in writing, so far as it was possible to deny them ;

¹ CARUTTI, Vittorio Amadeo, II., 417 *seqq.* ; HERGENRÖTHER, 36 *seq.*

with regard to the other points in dispute, care should be taken not to enunciate principles which were at variance with those of Rome, but an ambiguous formula should be employed, so as to make a negative answer possible, one that committed them to nothing; only in regard to the article concerning Church property and the *exequatur* no room must be left for any doubts. This cunning proceeding became the rule for all further negotiations.¹

However, Benedict XIII. proved inflexible with regard to the Church's immunity and freedom. He repeatedly declared that he would rather be cut in pieces than make any sacrifice in this respect; on the contrary, it was necessary to secure the rights of the Church by a concordat. As on the other hand the Government of Turin stuck to its Cæsaro-Papistic principles, the negotiations looked hopeless. D'Ormea began to speak of the possibility of his being recalled. Coscia now intervened and got Lambertini invited to take part in the deliberations. The latter's proposal that they should put up with bad conditions in order to prevent worse ones, greatly impressed the Pope. The Piedmontese Government, too, came to the conclusion that only by means of an agreement could they escape the hateful concordat.²

In the question of benefices Lambertini also played an important rôle. This affair was also negotiated by Benedict in great secrecy, with Lambertini, Fini and Lercari on the one hand and D'Ormea on the other. This procedure caused great indignation among the other Cardinals who saw themselves ignored in a matter of such importance. On March 19th, 1727, Cardinal Corradini acted as the spokesman of the malcontents; in grave words he warned the Pope not to allow himself to be deluded by ambitious and inexperienced young people, but to give his confidence to the old and natural counsellors of the Holy See. Thereupon Benedict XIII. spoke of submitting the affair to a fresh and more numerous

¹ HERGENRÖTHER, 38 *seq.*

² CARUTTI, *loc. cit.*, 424 *seqq.* (3^a ediz., 498 *seqq.*); HERGENRÖTHER, 43 *seq.*

Congregation of Cardinals, a project from which Lercari, Lambertini and Fini dissuaded him. He decided that the question of the immunity must be settled before his impending departure for Benevento and that of the benefices before his return; the welfare of the faithful, deprived of their pastors, brooked no postponement, he said, hence the stipulations concerning the immunity must be set down in writing, without delay, and subscribed to by his plenipotentiary Fini, and by D'Ormea. He himself would give definite instructions about the bishoprics; the final touches should be put to the Brief during his absence, so that he might sign it on his return.¹

The plenipotentiaries now hastened to conclude the dispositions concerning ecclesiastical immunity and jurisdiction. In D'Ormea's clean copy the latter interpolated, on his own authority, after the words stating that the Holy See was unable to approve the previous edicts of the State, a clause to the effect that equally the King of Sardinia could not recognize the imposition of taxes on his property. Either Fini failed to notice the interpolation, or he overlooked it when, on March 24th, 1727, he put his signature to the document submitted to him by D'Ormea.²

The discussions between Lercari and Fini on the one side and D'Ormea on the other, which opened after the Pope's departure, proceeded both rapidly and favourably. Complete agreement was reached on the most important points. A new Brief was to state formally that the right of nomination to bishoprics and consistorial benefices was included in Nicolas V.'s indult and that it included the dioceses of Asti,

¹ CARUTTI, *loc. cit.*, 3^a ediz., 503 *seqq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, 47 *seq.*

² CARUTTI, *loc. cit.*, 431 *seqq.* (3^a ediz., 504); HERGENRÖTHER, 49 *seq.* B. Morosini in his report (above, p. 127, n. 5), ascribes the principal guilt for the great concessions to Fini: "Il card. Fini si fece suo unico impegno quello di ben servire il Duca" (State Archives, Venice). The text of the "Progetto di accomodamento fra Benedetto XIII. e Vittorio Amedeo II. Re di Sardegna sull'immunità e la giurisdizione ecclesiastica", in NUSSI, *Conventiones*, 48 *seqq.*, and MERCATI, *Concordati*, 301 *seqq.*

Saluzzo, Fossano and Alba; the revenues which came in during the vacancy of benefices were to be collected and kept by a receiver appointed by the King for the benefit of the Church and the successors in office; no innovation was to be introduced with regard to the *spolia* whilst a new indult in favour of the King would be issued for the sees of Casale, Acqui and Alessandria.¹

Benedict XIII. returned from Benevento on May 28th and on the following day he signed the Brief dealing with the right of nomination to bishoprics² and the articles of the concordat agreed upon with D'Ormea on ecclesiastical immunity and jurisdiction.³

All this was done without the knowledge of the Sacred College, hence it was not surprising that when the compromise was made public, several Cardinals, more especially Corradini and Imperiali, openly expressed their indignation,⁴ whilst others gnashed their teeth in secret.⁵ According to Cienfuegos' report of June 21st, 1727,⁶ the malcontents complained in particular of the fact that the Pope should have abandoned so easily one of the prerogatives of the Holy See, seeing that in his time Nicolas V. had only conceded the exclusion from benefices of politically suspect persons.

¹ CARUTTI, *loc. cit.*, 432 *seqq.* (3^a ediz., 504); HERGENRÖTHER, 50 *seq.*

² The original text has been made known by MERCATI (*Concordati*, 207 *seqq.*); it differs from the one known up to now. Cf. *Voyages DE MONTESQUIEU*, I., 107.

³ The most recent impression of the Concordat of May 29, 1727, in MERCATI, *loc. cit.*, 310 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, 309, the agreement of February 21, 1728, between Fini and D'Ormea regarding the taxation of the clergy in the territory of Montferrat. A manuscript copy with important marginal notes is in the Altieri Library, Rome.

⁴ CARUTTI, *loc. cit.*, 437 (3^a ediz., 508); *Arch. Rom.*, XIII., 20.

⁵ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report to Sinzendorf of June 28, 1727, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

⁶ *To Sinzendorf, *ibid.*

That which rendered the concordat still more distasteful to the more rigidly minded was the circumstance that all those who had had anything to do with it, were lavishly rewarded by the Government of Turin. Cardinal Albani obtained a wealthy abbey and the office of Protector of Sardinia, Lercari a pension of 2,000 scudi, Fini one of 1,000 scudi, which was doubled on his elevation to the cardinalate; Lambertini also obtained a pension of 1,000 scudi, with the expectation of a further 500; Lambertini's secretary Millo, a pension of 400 scudi; the Pope's confessor, the Dominican Gregorio Selleri, was granted 300 scudi a year, the Abbate Sardini 200, the Privy Chamberlain Niccolò Francesco Santamaria 1,500, the advocate Pittonio 6,000 scudi; Coscia's reward is not known.¹ The recipients of these gifts may have justified their conduct by pleading that Benedict XIII. did not reject six silver candlesticks and an artistic crucifix with which D'Ormea presented him in June, 1727, in the name of his sovereign, for the cathedral of Benevento.²

On D'Ormea's advice and with a view to gratifying the Pope, Vittorio Amadeo, when making his nominations to vacant sees, chose members of religious Orders, especially Dominicans, a circumstance that further increased Benedict's satisfaction. In the Brief of July 12th, 1727, in which he expressed his satisfaction, he once more urged the King to impress upon his functionaries the duty of preserving the Church's immunity.³ But the differences over the papal fiefs in Piedmont and the Inquisition, remained unsolved, nor was the Turin nunciature re-established.⁴ In 1720, by the elevation of Archbishop Ferrero of Alessandria to the Sacred College, Vittorio Amadeo had the satisfaction of securing for his State the right of a crown Cardinal in the

¹ CARUTTI, *loc. cit.*, 437 seq. (3^a ediz., 509).

² *Ibid.*, 415 (3^a ediz., 509); VALESIO, in *Rassegna bibl. d'arte ital.*, XVI. (1913), 158.

³ **Epist.*, IV.-V., Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ CARUTTI, *Storia d. diplomazia*, III., 609 seq. The *Acts of the negotiations between Fini and D'Ormea of the year 1728 are in the Altieri Library, Rome.

same way as the Emperor, France, Spain, Portugal and Venice.

In spite of his peaceable and accommodating disposition, Benedict XIII. had to suffer at the hands of divers Governments, for the spirit of the age was everywhere in opposition to the Church, even in the Catholic States. The surrender of Comacchio by the Emperor, which after such prolonged and patient waiting,¹ had taken place on February 20th, 1725,²

¹ Cf. Cardinal Cienfuegos' interesting *report to Sinzendorf, June 24, 1724, on his audience, at which the Pope at once expressed his earnest desire of hearing more about the question of Comacchio. The announcement that the Emperor had decided on the restoration gave the Pope great satisfaction. The audience in which Cienfuegos expressed his desire of concord between the Pope and the Emperor, was marked by great cordiality. The Pope, Cienfuegos reports, rose, contrary to the ceremonial, kissed me several times, and walked up and down the room with me. "Non sono finzioni le opere di questo Papa, la di cui politica è pura santità, non essendo egli avvezzo a trattare con dopiezza, ma bensì di lasciar scorrere dalle labbra ciò che nutrice nel cuore" (Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn). On July 29, 1724, *ibid.*, Cienfuegos *reports that the Pope was for ever asking him about Comacchio; on August 5: "Benedict XIII. is very impatient about this matter"; on August 12 and 19: "He is very insistent"; on September 12: "Audience on the agreement about Comacchio." The text of the *Bull of September 16, 1724, on the ratification and the *Brief of September 1, conferring plenipotentiary powers on Paolucci, the *agreement of September 10, between Paolucci and Cienfuegos, the imperial *decree of ratification of February 22, 1724, as also the "Actus solemnis dimissionis et evacuationis civit. Comachi secutae 20 Febr. 1725" (red silk), are in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. See LÜNIG, IV., 325.

² In the agreement the rights of the Emperor and those of the Este were reserved; see MURATORI, *Annal.*, XII., 109 *seqq.* The communication to the Cardinals was made in the Consistory of January 29, 1725; see BORGIA, *Vita*, 62 *seq.*; Cienfuegos' *report of February 5, 1725, *loc. cit.* On receiving the news of the evacuation of Comacchio, the Pope at once gave public expression to his joy (Cienfuegos' *report of February 24, 1725, *ibid.*).

was one of the few sunny spells granted to Benedict XIII. ; otherwise he found himself for the most part involved in the most tiresome disputes.

Characteristic of the violence with which even the smallest States insisted on their alleged "sovereign rights", is the attitude of the canton Lucerne. On October 27th, 1725, the nuncio of that city, Domenico Passionei, who was anything but a zealot, was obliged to withdraw to Altdorf on account of certain grievous encroachments by the Government on the rights of the Church. Negotiations for a compromise with Lucerne, which had invoked the mediation of France, led to no result ; however, a rupture was avoided though Passionei had occasion to complain of further interference by the Government of Lucerne.¹ Even the feeble Duke of Lorraine, to the Pope's deep sorrow, took it upon himself to infringe the Church's immunity.²

In Poland Benedict XIII. saw himself compelled to insist on the Church's standpoint in the long standing controversy about the patronage of abbeys, but here too he did not succeed in enforcing his claims.³ Grievous injury was likewise done to his authority in connection with the Polish nunciature,⁴ but he was even subjected to numerous annoyances on account of one of his acts in the sphere of the liturgy. Paul V. had canonized Gregory VII. ; on September 25th, 1728, Benedict XIII. extended the Saint's feast to the Universal Church. Naturally enough the historic lessons of the Breviary related in eulogistic terms Gregory VII.'s action against Henry IV.⁵ This was considered politically dangerous and

¹ SEGESSER, IV., 611 ; HÜRBBIN, II., 432 *seq.* *Brief of January 3, 1726, reprimanding Lucerne for violating ecclesiastical immunity ; *Brief of commendation ("Resipiscentes a coeptis contra eccles. immun. laudat"), of January 25, 1726, Papal Secret Archives.

² *Briefs to the Duke, January 27 and April 22, 1726, *ibid.*

³ *Zeitschrift für österr. Gesch.*, IV. (1914), 26 *seqq.*, 34 *seq.*, 41 *seq.*

⁴ *Bull.*, XXII., 726 ; BORGIA, *Vita*, 110 *seqq.*

⁵ The passage in the second lesson of the second Nocturn reads thus : "Contra Henrici imperatoris impios conatus fortis

there were those who pretended to see in it an attempt against the sovereignty of princes and an incitement of the subject to rebellion. The Signoria of Venice and the Parliaments and the Jansenists of France got tremendously excited and protested vehemently. The Jansenist Bishop of Utrecht was of opinion that the Pope's command was contrary to the faith, and the Dutch Government "in order to safeguard the reformed religion", forbade the recitation of the Office as well as its impression and sale, under pain of a fine of 1,000 florins.¹ In a memorial of Count Harrach, Viceroy of Naples, the latter had indeed to acknowledge that the Office gave an objective account of the struggle of Gregory VII. with Henry IV., but for all that he assured the Emperor that these Breviary Lessons constituted a grave danger inasmuch as they asserted the Pope's pretension to depose princes. Harrach foresaw that a prohibition addressed to the Bishops would be of no effect, hence he proposed that the printers should be thrown into prison and all copies of the Office confiscated, on the ground that they had been printed abroad, without leave of the Government of Naples.² The Senate of Palermo forbade the offending passages under a penalty of 1,000 scudi.³ In spite of his love of peace, Benedict XIII. was anything but prepared to yield in this matter; on

per omnia athleta impavidus permansit seque pro muro domui Israel ponere non timuit ac eundem Henricum in profundum malorum prolapsum fidelium communionem regnoque privavit atque subditos populos fide ei data liberavit."

¹ GUÉRANGER, *Instit. liturg.*, II., 450 *seqq.*, in MIGNE, *Patr. lat.*, CXLVIII., 233 *seqq.*; *Bull.*, XXII., 841, 858; *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XIII. (1877), 26 *seq.*; SCHILL, 252; BRUNNER, *Mysterien der Aufklärung*, 164 *seqq.* Cf. also DE BROSSES, *Lettres*, II., 113 (Paris, 1858); *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, V.², 1125. Cf. below, chap. IV.

² *Copy of Harrach's long letter, dated Naples, March 30, 1729, in Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican, III., 5.

³ BURIGNY, *Storia generale di Sicilia trad. d. ling. franc.* dal M. SCAPO, Palermo, 1792, V., 422 *seqq.*

December 19th, 1729, he declared all the decrees of the secular authorities against the Office to be null and void.¹

The Pope displayed similar firmness towards the Portuguese Government when the latter pressed him to raise nuncio Bichi to the cardinalate.²

¹ *Bull.*, XXII., 86o.

² *Cf.* below, p. 181 *seq.*

CHAPTER III.

BENEDICT XIII.'s REFORMING ACTIVITY—THE JUBILEE AND THE ROMAN PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF 1725—FURTHERING OF THE VENERATION OF THE SAINTS AND OTHER ECCLESIASTICAL ACTIVITIES—THE TWO JOURNEYS TO BENEVENTO—CREATIONS OF CARDINALS—THE MISSIONS.

(1.)

BENEDICT XIII. had been a zealous Bishop at Manfredonia, Cesena and Benevento, and had earnestly striven to raise the moral condition of his dioceses. In view of his serious temperament, the religiously minded felt that they could confidently reckon on the Pope continuing in these sentiments, whilst on the other hand, those who had been affected by the spirit of the age feared his great strictness. However, neither hopes nor fears were destined to be fully realized.

The Pope was assuredly not lacking the will to work for the betterment of the people. As early as the beginning of June, 1724, he gave orders that all the inmates of the papal palace must assist at a sermon every Saturday.¹ There followed earnest exhortations to the Roman prelates, especially to the officials of the Rota, the Segnatura and the Camera, to a blameless life,² edicts for the parish priests of Rome

¹ *Diarium pontif. Benedicti XIII. (of the papal Master of Ceremonies; cf. *Arch. Stor. Rom.*, IV., 430 *seqq.*), *Cod.* 1319, p. 1 *seqq.* Bibl. Casanatense, Rome.

² Acquaviva's *letter to Juan Baut. de Orendayn, June 24, 1724, Simancas Archives; Cienfuegos' *report of the same day, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. According to this the Pope said to the ecclesiastical officials, he hoped, "che si sarebbero astenuti dal frequentare le conversazioni, massimamente della notte, e dove ci sono dame, mentre il tempo era prezioso e doveva impiegarsi negli studi e non ne' passatempi e ne' giuochi; che se avesse

inculcating the decrees of the Council of Trent to the effect that priests were bound to explain the epistle and gospel to the faithful on all Sundays, and various ordinances on the conduct of clergy and people.¹

From the first the Pope showed a special aversion to the wearing of wigs by priests, as in this way the tonsure was hidden. The fashion had spread from France, as appears from the portraits of contemporary Cardinals, most of whom, the members of religious Orders excepted, wore uncanonically long hair or enormous perruques.² These were an abomination to Benedict XIII., just as his disapproval of clerical beards was so strong that the Capuchins avoided appearing before him.³ By this time, as far as the Cardinals were concerned, the custom of growing a beard had almost completely died out⁴; now the perruque was also to be done away with. The Pope made known his will with so much emphasis that many, though not all, immediately laid aside their perruques.⁵ A stern edict of April 10th, 1725, led to a further improvement,

saputo, se qualche prelato andasse à simili conversazioni, non gli avrebbe mica formato processo, ma poteva bensì il medesimo assicurarsi, che la S. S. non gli avrebbe fatto godere la minima convenienza."

¹ CRACAS, October 7 and December 23, 1724.

² See the publication, *Roma Sancta*, of 1724, quoted above.

³ CORDARA, ed. DÖLLINGER, III., 4.

⁴ In *Roma Sancta* all the Cardinals, with the exception of the Spaniard, Belluga, appear clean-shaven. Cf. *Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, X. (1863), 103.

⁵ Cienfuegos' *letter of June 10 and Count Kaunitz' *report of June 17, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. On August 26, 1724, a " *Circolare " against wigs was also sent to the nuncios of Madrid, Venice, Lucerne and Malta, which says that in the first days of his pontificate the Pope had had great consolation " di vedere, che in Roma da tutto l'ordine degl'ecclesiastici, cominciando dai sig. cardinali, siano state con edificazione universale deposte le perrucche ". The nuncios are enjoined to see to the observance of the regulation among the clergy. *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 365, Papal Secret Archives.

but isolated Cardinals, such as Altieri, Pico and Alberoni, refused to renounce their beloved head adornment.¹ The Pope made them feel his displeasure very plainly. When Cardinal Alberoni came to take part in a Corpus Christi procession the Pope ordered him to withdraw.² The works of Jean Baptiste Thiers and Giulio Bovicelli against the fashion of the perruque, were reprinted by order of the Pope.³

In January, 1725, laymen were forbidden, on the basis of an edict of Urban VIII. of the year 1624, to wear neckties resembling those used by the clergy⁴ A Constitution of May 2nd, 1725, commanded the Bishops to see to it that ecclesiastics wore clerical attire.⁵

On July 1st, 1724, the Pope gave orders for the continuation of the visitation of the churches of Rome which had begun under Innocent XII.⁶ This went hand in hand with a number of regulations for the reform of the Orders.⁷ The gamble of the *lotto*, which had crept in from Genoa, had been forbidden by Innocent XI., Innocent XII., and again allowed by Innocent XIII. Now it was once more prohibited for Rome and the whole of the Papal States, at a later date even under pain of major excommunication as the Pope was

¹ NOVAES, XIII., 70. *Ibid.*, 67 *seq.*, on the repeal of the excommunication which Innocent X. had issued on January 8, 1650, against persons taking snuff in church. On the prohibition of Urban VIII., *cf.* the present work.

² Acquaviva's *reports to Juan Baut. de Orendayn of June 10 and 17, 1724, Simancas Archives.

³ G. BOVICELLI, *Istoria d. perrucche, loro orig., usanza, forma, irregolarità nelle ecclesiastiche*, Benevento, 1722; J.-B. THIERS, *Hist. des perruques*, Paris, 1690, also translated into Italian: G. TIERS, *La storia delle parrucche, nella quale si fanno vedere l'origine, l'uso, la forma, l'abuso e l'irregolarità di quelle degli ecclesiastici*, Venezia, 1724.

⁴ CRACAS, January 27, 1725.

⁵ *Bull.*, XXII., 158.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁷ NOVAES, XIII., 77, 80, III, 128 *seqq.*

particularly indignant that even priests should take part in the *lotto*.¹

As an enthusiast for religious manifestations, Benedict XIII. derived particular satisfaction from the fact that the celebration of the jubilee of 1725 coincided with his pontificate.² All the preparations were made with the utmost care, and he himself displayed the greatest keenness to gain the jubilee Indulgences by making the prescribed visits to the churches. The beginning of the better season led to an increase in the number of pilgrims. Up to Holy Week the Archconfraternity of Trinità dei Pellegrini gave hospitality to 37,000 persons. In March the number of strangers in Rome rose to 55,000 ; one of their number, viz. the widow of Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany, Violante Beatrice of Bavaria, particularly distinguished herself by her piety.³ Her suite included the celebrated improvisor Bernardino Perfetti of Siena, a member

¹ *Ibid.*, 71 seq. ; CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 244 ; RODOCANACHI, *Capitole*, 191. Cf. Cardinal Cienfuego's *letters of August 16 and 23, 1727, who disapproves of the severity of the penalties and observes that similar inconsiderate and strong measures are to be feared daily, because the Pope "è troppo soggetto a certi impeti, che non le lasciano godere l'uso di quelle riflessioni, le quali potrebbero farle previamente presenti le conseguenze, che buone o cattive ne hanno da seguire" (Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn). Cf. Felix Cornejo's *letter to Grimaldi of July 20, 1726, Simancas Archives.

² Promulgation of the jubilee, June 26, 1724, see *Bull.*, XXII., 53.

³ *Reports in *Cod. Vat.*, 9314, Vatican Library ; Giuseppe Giulii Mondì, **Anno santo del 1725, Diario, Barb.* 4777, Vatican Library ; " **Diarium pontif. Benedicti XIII.*," *Cod.* 1320, Bibl. Casanatense, Rome ; TOMM. ALFANI, *Istoria degli Anni Santi dal di loro solenne cominciamento per insino a quello del regnante Pontefice Benedetto, XIII.*, Napoli, 1725 ; MANNI, *Anni Santi*, 237 seqq. From Germany also came a great number of pilgrims ; see **Registrum litt. passuum a. 1725*, in Archives of the Austrian Institute, Rome. The origin of the first " *Confraternità del S. Cuore di Gesu* " in Rome dates from the year of the jubilee ; see *Civ. Catt.*, 1918, III., 414 seqq.

of the Arcadia, who by order of the Pope received the poet's crown on the Capitol, the first instance of such an honour since Petrarch's crowning.¹

In the course of the jubilee year, thanks to a legacy of the French ambassador Gouffier, Rome received one of its finest ornamental structures with the flight of steps in Piazza di Spagna, erected between 1721 and 1725 by Specchi and Francesco de Sanctis. The problem presented by the not inconsiderable elevation on which the church of Trinità de' Monti stands, has been splendidly solved by so skilful a layout that there is hardly any need of exertion in making the ascent. The monumental flight of steps dominates the whole of the Piazza di Spagna; it shines with matchless beauty when the rising or setting sun illumines it, and charms the eye of the visitor who arrives by the Via Condotti.²

In spite of the opposition of a number of Cardinals,³ Benedict XIII. persisted in his plan of holding a Provincial Council in Rome during the year of jubilee. On April 15th, 1725, the day being the second Sunday after Easter, he opened the assembly at the Lateran with an address lasting three-quarters of an hour; thirty-three Cardinals and eighty Bishops were present.⁴ On this occasion Benedict spoke with

¹ *Atti per la solenne coronazione fatta in Campidoglio del sig. Bernardino Perfetti, tra gli Arcadi Alauro Euroteo*, Roma, 1725. Cf. POSTUMO in *Fanfulla d. Domenica*, II. (1880), *ibid.*, 9. On Violante's subsequent presentation with the Golden Rose, see [M. A. MOZZI], *Relazione della solenne funzione in occ. di essere presentata la Rosa d'oro alla S^{ma} Violante Beatr. di Baviera*, Firenze, 1727.

² The inscriptions in FORCELLA, XIII., 90 *seqq.* Cf. GURLITT, *Barockstil*, 442; IUSTI, II., 11.

³ CORDARA, ed. DÖLLINGER, III., 5.

⁴ *Concilium Romanum 1725*, Romae, 1725: *Diario del Concilio Romano celebrato 1725*, Roma, 1728; *Cod. Vat.* 9257-9: *Docum. de Concilio Lateran, 1725, collecta a Franc. de Vico, episc. Elusino (cf. la *Relazione with plan in *Cod. Vat.* 8688), Biblioteca Vaticana; *Varia notit. collectio ad Rom. Synod. (1725) pertin. per Fulg. Bellelli, *Cod. S.* 3-6, Biblioteca Angelica, Rome;

such energy and ability that everybody was amazed. It was unfair, he said, to attribute to him an intention of introducing inopportune innovations; his real purpose was, on the contrary, to set the Bishops an example for their own provincial and diocesan synods. He uttered grave words on the duties of the Bishops whom he exhorted to restore the collapsing discipline.¹

Thereafter the Pope was so taken up with the labours of the Council, at which he presided, that his ministers no longer got any audiences and all affairs of Government were at a standstill²; religious functions alone he still insisted on carrying out in person.³ With a view to investing the Council with greater splendour and stimulating the Bishops, he had a special Requiem Mass celebrated at the Lateran for the Bishops who had participated in previous Councils. He himself gave the absolution at the end of the function.⁴

The Roman Council passed a number of excellent decrees on the obligation of Bishops and parish priests to preach, on the instruction of children in town and country, on preaching, which should be adapted to the understanding of the hearers, on the Bishops' duty of making an annual visitation of their dioceses, on the choice of Vicars-General and their qualities, on the qualities of candidates for Holy Orders, on a just and suitable distribution of benefices and canonries, on the drawing up of inventories in all churches and charitable institutions, on the conduct of the clergy, on the sanctification

**Diarium pontif. Benedicti XIII., Cod.* 1320, Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome; **Diario del conc. Rom., 1725*, descritto da Aless. Formagliari, *Cod.* 352, Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna; I. WALCH, *De emendat. eccl. Rom. per noviss. concilium Lateranense*, Ienae, 1726. Pier Leone Ghezzi's painting of the Council has disappeared; see THIEME, XIII., 540.

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of April 21, 1725, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn. On the apprehensions, see *ibid.* *Report of the same of March 17, 1725.

² *Reports of the same, April 28 and May 5, 1725, *ibid.*

³ *Reports of the same, May 5 and 25, 1725, *ibid.*

⁴ *Report of the same, April 28, 1725, *ibid.*

of holy days, on the fulfilment of the duty of residence by Bishops and parish priests, on the duty of attending pastoral conferences and on the celebration of provincial and diocesan synods every three years.

In the discussions the Pope did not at first display his characteristic obstinacy,¹ but later on he strongly pressed his views, especially in matters concerning ecclesiastical immunity.² On May 28th, the anniversary of his election, the Pope closed the Council with a procession from the Lateran to S. Croce in Gerusalemme.³ His satisfaction at the termination of the Council was mixed with sorrow because the rights of the Holy See over Parma and Piacenza had been ignored in the treaty of peace of April, 1725, between Charles VI. and Philip V. of Spain.⁴ In a lengthy address at a consistory of June 11th, 1725, Benedict pointed out that in the interests of religion he had had no keener desire than to see peace restored between the Emperor and Spain; now that peace had been concluded, it had been spoilt for him by certain clauses detrimental to the Holy See; in particular he could no more recognize the right of succession to Parma and Piacenza which the Emperor had conceded to the Infante Carlos, than his predecessor Innocent XIII., who had raised a protest against this arrangement at Cambrai.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Cardinal Cienfuegos on May 19, 1725, *ibid.* Cf. *letter of the same of September 23, 1725, *ibid.*

³ The decrees were not published until October 25, 1725. *Bull.*, XXII., 284.

⁴ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letter of May 23, 1725, *loc. cit.*

⁵ **Acta consist.*, Vatican Library; Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of June 9 and 12, 1725, *loc. cit.*; BORGIA, *Vita*, 70 *seq.*; MURATORI, XII., III *seqq.* Cf. also BAUDRILLART, III., 192 *seqq.* The Congress which opened in June, 1728, at Soissons, and at which nearly all the European States were represented, caused Benedict XIII. many anxieties; cf. the *Brief to the King of France of October 28, 1728, Papal Secret Archives, and HÖFLER in *Fontes rer. Austr. Dipl.*, XXXII., 229 *seqq.* When the treaty concluded at Seville in November, 1729, between France, Spain

June 15th, 1725, saw the publication of a Bull on the Constitution of Gregory XIV. concerning ecclesiastical immunity, and on the 18th another Bull, addressed to the Bishops of Italy, on the duty of erecting seminaries, as prescribed by the Council of Trent. At the same time a special Congregation of Seminaries was created.¹ A decree of March 7th, 1727, prescribed the use of the revised *Cæremoniale episcoporum* for the universal Church,² and Lambertini was ordered to draw up an Instruction on the Bishops' duty of periodically going to Rome—*Visitatio liminum Apostolorum*.³

Few Popes have done so much for the veneration of the Saints as Benedict XIII. His first step was the promulgation, on June 4th, 1724, of a number of canonizations effected by his predecessors.⁴ On December 10th, 1726, he raised to the altars Turibius Mogrobejo (*ob.* 1606), Archbishop of Lima, the Franciscan Observant Giacomo della Marca and the Dominican nun Agnes of Montepulciano⁵; to these were

and England, which Holland also joined in March, decided, among other things, that in order to safeguard the hereditary claims of the Infante Don Carlos, Parma, Piacenza, Leghorn and Porto Ferrajo should be garrisoned by 6,000 Spaniards, Benedict XIII. appealed to Philip V. in a *Brief of January 28, 1730, but in vain. Papal Secret Archives.

¹ CRACAS, JUNE 23, 1725. The Constitution of June 8, 1725, on the immunity in *Bull.* XXII., 198 *seqq.*, that of May 9, 1725, on the Seminaries, *ibid.*, 174 *seqq.* On the tax on the seminaries, see *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, XI.², 109, and circular letter of Pius X., January 23, 1912.

² *Bull.* XXII., 508.

³ AUG. LUCIDI, *De visitatione sacrorum liminum seu instructio S. C. Concilii iussu Benedicti XIII. super modo conficiendi relationes de statu ecclesiarum exposita et illustrata*, 3 vols., Romae, 1888. Cf. *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, III.², 862, and the most recent of the liturgical books of the Roman Rite, viz. the *Memoriale rituum* (or *Parvum Rituale*), latest edition by I. BRAUN, Ratisbon, 1923.

⁴ *Bull.* XXII., I, 7, 12, 16, 23, 31, 36, 41.

⁵ A. WALZ, O. PR., *Die hl. Agnes von Montepulciano*, Dülmen, 1922, especially p. 155 *seq.*

added, on December 27th of the same year, the Spanish Franciscan Observant Francis Solano, the Servite Pellegrino Laziosi and the Carmelite John of the Cross, and finally, on December 31st, the Jesuits Aloysius Gonzaga and Stanislaus Kostka.¹ Whit-Sunday of 1728 saw the canonization of Marguerite of Cortona, and March 19th, 1729, that of John Nepomuk. The feasts of Pope St. Gregory VII., St. Wenceslaus, Duke of Bohemia, and the Augustinian Hermit, John of Sahagun [John a S. Facundo], were extended to the whole Church.²

The following were beatified by Benedict XIII. : in 1726 Giacinta Marescotti, of the Order of Poor Clares ; in 1728 the Spanish Franciscan Observant John de Prado ; in 1729 the Proto-Martyr of Propaganda, Fidelis of Sigmaringen ;

¹ *Bull.*, XXII., 460, 464, 466, 474, 477, 480, 483, 487 ; NOVAES, XIII., 97 *seqq.* Cf. *Vera e distinta relazione di tutto il maestoso apparato, descrizione di medaglioni, e veridica misura di tutto il recinto dello steccato, e trono pontificio, come anche funzioni e ceremonie fatte in S. Pietro dalla S. di N. S. Papa Benedetto XIII. per la solenne canonizzazione de' gloriosi ; S. Turrìbio Mogrobesio, arcivescovo di Lima ; S. Giacomo della Marca, Min. oss. di S. Francesco ; S. Agnese da Montepulciano, monaca di S. Domenico. Fatta li 10 Dicembre, 1726, Roma, 1726.* The magnificent *paliotto* for the canonization of St. John of the Cross is in the treasury of St. Peter's ; cf. *Annuaire pontif.*, 1913, 564. On the occasion of the canonization of the two Jesuits, their confrère, G. B. MEMMI, published the learned work entitled : *Il sacro rito di canonizzare i santi spiegato*, Roma, 1726. Cf. GIUS. ROCCO VOLPI, *Vitae sanctorum octo a Benedicto XIII. fastis sacris adscriptorum a. 1726, Romae, 1727.*

² *Bull.*, XXII., 771, 781, 800 ; NOVAES, XIII., 107 *seqq.*, 111 *seqq.* ; *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, VI.², 1659. The canonization of St. John of Nepomuk led to the erection of statues of this Saint on bridges in all Catholic countries ; one of the first to be erected was in Rome, for in June, 1731, Cardinal Althan had a statue of the Saint by Pornachini, erected on Ponte Molle, at his own expense ; see Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of June 10, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. Consequently, the assertion (which is very common) that this statue dates from the seventeenth century (thus NIBBY, *Dintorni*, II., 581), must be corrected.

in 1730, Pierre Fourier.¹ The Pope also did much for the veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary.² He likewise furthered devotion to St. Joseph,³ St. Juliana, St. Catherine of Siena, St. Vincent Ferrer, St. Vincent de Paul and other Saints.⁴ Among the many Indulgences granted by him, note must be taken of the Bull extending the privileges attached by Innocent X. to the exercise of the Way of the Cross.⁵ When the Bishop of Pavia ordered an examination of the relics of St. Augustine, which are preserved in that city, the Pope confirmed their authenticity by a Brief dated August 5th, 1728, and by a solemn Bull of September 23rd of the same year.⁶

The Pope cherished a great personal devotion to St. Charles Borromeo⁷ and St. Philip Neri as is shown by his encouragement of the Oratorians.⁸ He introduced the Society of the

¹ *Bull.*, XXII., 389, 787, 837, 861; NOVAES, XIII., 113 *seqq.*

² *Bull.*, XXII., 101, 102; *Freib. Kirchenlexikon* ², V., 1928; VIII., 804, 808, 818, 819, 825; X., 1280, 1283; XI., 692.

³ *Ibid.*, VI., 1844.

⁴ NOVAES, XIII., 115 *seqq.*; *Freib. Kirchenlexikon* ², II., 341, 347; XI., 2010; XII., 998. On the erection of the statue of St. Francis in St. Peter's, see the periodical *Roma*, V. (1927), 172, 174.

⁵ *Katholik*, 1895, I., 335.

⁶ CAPPELLETTI, *Chiese d'Italia*, XII., 484 *seq.*, 485 *seq.*; *Bull.*, XXII., 710.

⁷ *Zeitschr. für Schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, IV., 73; *Theol. Revue*, 1926, 216 *seq.*

⁸ MORONI, 155 *seq.*; periodical *Filippo Neri*, Roma, 1894, Nos. 19-20; HEIMBUCHER, II., 341. Cf. the *Documents in *Cod. H.* 76, Bibl. Vallicelliana, Rome. A magnificent cope with Benedict XIII.'s coat of arms, in the sacristy of the Chiesa Nova, Rome. See also " *Misura e stima de' lavori di muro et altro ad uso di stucature . . . per farsi il nuovo oratorio . . . " (with the specifications of the architect, D. Gregorini), Archives of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's, Rome. Besides these, the Pope made donations also to the church of St. Philip Neri in Naples (a chasuble given to him by the Queen of Poland) and to the Library of the Oratorians; the Pope's bust is still to be seen in the great reception room of the Oratory.

French Doctrinarians into Italy.¹ The Benedictine Congregation of the Holy Ghost of Augsburg was granted divers privileges.² He also showed great favour to the much attacked Jesuits.³ To his love for the Dominican Order, to which he himself belonged, he gave expression on every occasion.⁴

¹ *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, III.², 1875.

² HEIMBUCHER, I., 158. On the protection of the Cistercian Monasteries by Benedict XIII. against the abuse of the *commenda*, cf. DOM. WILLY, O. Cist., *Päpste, Kardinäle und Bischöfe aus dem Zisterzienserorden*, Bregenz, 1912, 4, n. 8.

³ CORDARA, ed. DÖLLINGER, III., 3; *Bull.*, XXII., 207. On the German College, cf. above, p. 119. In a *Brief of September 16, 1724, to the prefect and the assistants of the "congregatio nobilium in domo professae Soc. Iesu Neapolit.", in which he thanked them for their congratulations, he said that he knew the Institute "ab adolesc. ineunte cum in sodalitiū vestrum adsciti ad colendam disciplinam optima exempla haurire potuimus". This "iucundissima recordatio" made their homage still more acceptable; he would rely on their prayers (*Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Arch.). On December 22, 1725, Benedict XIII. strongly recommended "Conr. Herdegen et collegas S.J." to the Archbishop of Salzburg for popular missions in his diocese (*Epist.*, II.-III., *ibid.*) and to the Archbishop of Trèves *on July 2, 1727, the "causa collegii Neoburg, S.J." (*Epist.*, IV.-V., *ibid.*). The celebrated Fr. Caravita had the honour of preaching before Benedict XIII.; see **Diarium in Cod.* 1324, Bibl. Casanatense, Rome. In his "Lezioni" on the book of Exodus (lez. 46, n. 24, *Opera*, I., 188) Benedict speaks of "S. Ignacio, patriarca della venerata Compagnia di Gesù".

⁴ Cf. above, p. 119, and below (Bull of November 6, 1724). In the *Brief of August 7, 1724, to the Provincial of the Dominicans of Lombardy, Benedict speaks in a very touching manner of his love for the Dominicans; in *that of the same day to the "conventus S. Dominici Castellae", he recalls God's goodness which he experienced in this Order in his early youth; by a *Brief of October 6, 1724, he sends the Dominicans of Lyons a donation "pro reficiendo conventu", on October 13, 1724, he *recommends the Dominicans to the Archbishop of Lyons (*Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Archives). Complaints about the Pope's preference for religious in the appointment of Bishops, see BARB. MOROSINI, **Relazione* of 1731, State Archives, Venice.

The Pope also personally interested himself in the growth of Bartholomew Holzhauser's Congregation of secular priests.¹ Paul of the Cross, whilst planning a Congregation for the purpose of promoting home and foreign missions, received permission from him, in 1725, to receive novices. Thus arose the Order of the Passionists or Discalced Clerics of the Sacred Passion and Cross of our Lord.² He approved the College of the Holy Family founded at Naples by that most deserving man, Matteo Ripa, for the education of young Chinese.³

Benedict remained extremely attached to his diocese of Benevento. He treasured the memory of his long residence there,⁴ during which he had been able to give free play to his attraction towards the pastoral work; even as Pope he felt more at home in Benevento than in Rome. Such was his predilection for that city and diocese that his real confidants

¹ Cf. the *Briefs to the Emperor, to the Elector of Bavaria, to the Archbishops of Trèves, Salzburg, Vienna, Posen, Gnesen, Cracow, Prague and Constance, May 2, 1725, to the Bishops of Eichstätt, Würzburg and Freising, October 25, 1726, to the Bishop of Ratisbon, February 18, 1727, *Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives.

² HEIMBUCHER, II., 286 *seq.*

³ M. RIPA, *Storia d. fondazione d. Congregazione e del Collegio dei Cinesi*, 3 vols., Napoli, 1832; CEVA-GRIMALDI, *Della città di Napoli*, Napoli, 1857. The rights of the Pope over this foundation are based on the Bull of Benedict XIII. and on those of his successors, though the Italian Government has employed its income for a secular institution; see *L'Antico Collegio dei Cinesi contro il Ministero d. pubbl. Istruzione innanzi alla corte di appello di Napoli*, Napoli, 1883; *Memorandum del Collegio dei Cinesi di Napoli al Senato italiano*, Roma, 1888; [R. DE MARTINIS], *Osservazioni sull'intervento giudiziario d. S. Congreg. de Propaganda Fide nella vertenza del Collegio dei Cinesi di Napoli*, Roma, 1889. See also below, Book III., Chapter IV.

⁴ Brief of February 22, 1726, to Cardinal Coscia, Papal Secret Arch. On the records of the Pope in the archiepiscopal palace, in the Chapter House, the Cathedral, the Tesoro and the Archives of Beneventum, see ISERNIA, *Storia di Benevento*. Cf. GIUS. MARIA DA ROMA, **Vita et de rebus gestis Benedicti XIII.*, in *Cod.* 8693, pp. 108-200, Vatican Library.

in Rome were all Beneventans. Equally characteristic was his preference for Beneventan artists, regardless of their ability, or lack of it.¹ His very first Brief was addressed to the Chapter of Benevento. In addition to his thanks for their congratulations it includes, characteristically enough, an exhortation to maintain discipline.² When at a later date the Government of Venice presented him with the relics of Blessed John Orsini, who had been Bishop of Traù in Dalmatia,³ the Pope sent them to Benevento in a precious reliquary, and great was his joy that by this means the holy Bishop, his kinsman, would become a special Patron of his beloved diocese.⁴ But he longed to revisit in person the scenes where he had laboured so long. His intention became first known at the close of 1725. The Cardinals urged him to desist, for they were afraid lest he should unduly prolong his stay, or even take up his residence there.⁵ But Benedict XIII. refused to give up his intention. It was in vain that Cardinal Polignac represented the serious drawbacks of a conclave at Benevento in the event of his death. Other Cardinals pointed to the heavy cost of the journey.⁶ But the Pope stuck to his plan.⁷ In March, 1726, he instructed Cardinal Corradini to draw up the itinerary as far as Terracina, from whence he wished to visit San Felice near Cape Circeo; his intention was to inspect the new fisheries which the Apostolic Camera had established in that locality at great cost, on the model of those of Comacchio.⁸ It would seem that it was the death of Cardinal Paolucci and the nomination of a new Secretary

¹ SCATASSA, *Benedetto XIII. e i suoi artisti Beneventani*, in *Rassegna bibl. d. arte ital.*, XVI. (1913), 112 seqq.

² *Brief of June 5, 1724, *Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Archives.

³ *Brief of thanks to Venice, April 6, 1725, *ibid.*

⁴ Thus, in the Brief of January 19, 1726, to the Chapter of the Duomo of Benevento, *Epist.*, II., *ibid.*

⁵ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of December 22, 1725, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

⁶ *Report of the same, December 29, 1725, *ibid.*

⁷ *Report of the same, January 5, 1726, *ibid.*

⁸ *Report of the same, March 16, 1726, *ibid.*

of State that prevented the journey from being undertaken in 1726.¹

However, the Pope had not by any means given up his plan. In a brief address to the Cardinals assembled in consistory on March 17th, 1727, he announced his intention of going to Benevento in order to consecrate in person the new church of St. Philip Neri which he had made a vow to build at the time of the earthquake of 1688. He added that he would return before long. In the meantime the Cardinals were to take charge of affairs. He had drawn up a Brief to the effect that the conclave must be held in Rome. The Pope had gone to the consistory with a feeling of anxiety: he left it radiantly happy. The prospect of once more seeing his beloved Benevento seemed to have rejuvenated him.² The journey began on March 24th. Early in the morning the Pope went to Chiesa Nuova to say Mass at the tomb of Philip Neri. After a prayer at St. Mary Major he set out from Rome, escorted by a very small suite and with none of the customary pomp. Some found fault with this arrangement and pointed to the pomp displayed on their journeys by Clement XI. and Innocent XIII.; others excused it on the ground of his humility. At Albano Benedict stopped at the house of Cardinal Lercari who had had the table laid as in a monastic refectory. The Pope blessed the table but ate nothing whatever because it was a vigil and a fast day, though he derived great enjoyment from watching the appetite of the company.³ On the following day he said Mass at the cathedral. So great was the concourse of people that but for the guards the Pope would have been crushed. He left on March 25th without having taken any food, owing to its being a fast day. Nettuno was reached before nightfall.

¹ Already, in April, 1726, he had postponed his journey until October in order to consecrate the church of St. Philip Neri at Benevento which he had built at his own expense; see Cardinal Bentivoglio's *letter to the Duque de Ripperda, April 13, 1726, Simancas Archives.

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of March 22, 1727, *loc. cit.*

³ *Report of the same, March 29, 1727, *ibid.*

On the 26th he arrived at Torre Paola where, as a result of his severe fast, he was taken ill and compelled to rest one day.¹ When he set out again he narrowly escaped falling into the hands of Turkish corsairs who had made a raid on San Felice on the 26th in the course of which they carried off twenty-six persons into slavery.² At the frontier of the kingdom of Naples he was greeted by the Viceroy, Cardinal Althan, who accompanied the Pope as far as Fondi where the Pontiff spent the night at the Dominican convent. On the 29th, escorted by Neapolitan troops, he journeyed to Gaeta, and on the 30th to Capua. In each of these towns he spent the night in a monastery.³ As soon as he entered the territory of his diocese the Pope began to hold the episcopal visitation of the churches along his route, and to administer Confirmation.⁴ Benevento was reached on April 2nd. He repaired at once to the cathedral and in an address of three-quarters of an hour, exhorted the Canons to punctuality in the celebration of the canonical Hours.⁵

The Pope remained at Benevento until May 12th. During that time he was unwearied in giving audience to all and sundry, consecrating churches, teaching the catechism, administering the Sacraments, preaching, and at night, waiting upon the sick in hospital. He carried out in person all the functions of Holy Week. On the return journey he confirmed 506 children at Monte Sarchio, consecrated an altar in the cathedral and gave the first tonsure to a nephew of Cardinal Caracciolo.⁶ From May 17th to 21st the Pope stayed at Monte Cassino where he took part in all the religious exercises. On the 19th he consecrated the church which had been reconstructed and splendidly decorated after the havoc of the last earthquake.⁷ The feast of the Ascension was

¹ *Report of the same, April 5, 1727, *ibid.*

² *Report of the same, May 10, 1727, *ibid.* Consequently, GUGLIELMOTTI, *Ultimi fatti*, 86, must be corrected.

³ NOVAES, XIII., 132.

⁴ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of April 5, 1727, *loc. cit.*

⁵ NOVAES, XIII., 133.

⁶ NOVAES, *ibid.*

⁷ *Miscell. Cassinese*, I., Montecassino, 1897, 21 *seqq.*

kept at Frosinone. On 25th May he consecrated a new altar dedicated to St. Philip Neri in the cathedral of Sezze and on the 28th, the eve of the anniversary of his election, he re-entered the Eternal City amid the acclamations of the Romans.¹

In 1729, to the very great displeasure of the Romans,² the Pope paid a second visit to Benevento. Accompanied by a small suite, he set out from Rome on March 28th. During the whole of the journey the nights were invariably spent at some monastery. The Viceroy of Naples wished to give him an escort of a hundred Grenadiers, but he declined the offer. At Benevento he carried out with great devotion all the functions of Holy Week, and held a Provincial Council between April 24th and May 12th. On May 8th he had the body of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, Benevento's Patron Saint, translated from the *duomo* to the new church which he had erected at his own expense. On the return journey, which began on May 23rd, he again consecrated Bishops, churches and altars. On June 10th he was back in Rome.³ Even more than by these journeys, the Romans were annoyed by the fact that the Pope continually sent on to Benevento nearly all the presents made to himself, as well as important sums of money.⁴ He also honoured the cathedral of Benevento by the bestowal of the Golden Rose.⁵

In the autumn of 1727 it became known that the new Elector of Cologne, Clement Augustus I., who simultaneously held the sees of Münster, Paderborn and Hildesheim,⁶ intended to come to Rome for the purpose of receiving episcopal consecration there. The difficulties of the ceremonial were overcome by Benedict XIII. deciding to meet the Elector

¹ NOVAES, XIII., 134 *seqq.*

² VALESIO, in *Rassegna bibl. d. arte ital.*, XVII. (1914), 139.

³ NOVAES, XIII., 162 *seqq.*

⁴ VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, XVI. (1913), 157 *seqq.*; XVII. (1914), 139.

⁵ Reproduction of the Golden Rose, which exists to this day, in MEOMARTINI, Benevento, 72.

⁶ Cf. ENNEN, *Frankreich und der Niederrhein*, II., 165-370, and *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, IV., 302 *seqq.*

at Viterbo, and to carry out the consecration in that city. He persisted in this intention in spite of the Cardinals' efforts to dissuade him. On November 6th, in a storm of rain and snow, he left for Viterbo, where he arrived two days later, taking up residence at the Dominican convent of S. Maria di Gradi. On Sunday November 9th, at the early hour of half-past six, he repaired to the celebrated Dominican sanctuary of S. Maria della Quercia, two kilometres distant from the city. Half an hour later the Elector arrived, when the consecration began at once. The midday meal was taken at the Dominican convent. Afterwards the Pope consecrated an altar in the church of St. Bonaventure.¹ The Elector, who was accompanied by his sister Violante of Bavaria, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, presented the Pope with six golden candlesticks, a diamond cross and a cheque for 24,000 scudi for his travelling expenses.² The drive to Orvieto for the purpose of venerating the Corporal preserved in that town, had to be abandoned on account of the bad weather. On November 13th the Pope left for Rome, not without having expressed his disapproval of the very worldly court of the Elector.³

Whilst thus absorbed in religious functions, Benedict XIII. allowed himself to be far too much distracted from the much more important duties that were incumbent on him. In his efforts for reform he lost himself in minutiae. But the worst was that he continued to give his confidence to Cardinal Coscia and the latter's Beneventan followers. When in August, 1727, he learnt that his prohibition of wigs was not being observed, he spent a sleepless night,⁴ but to Coscia's intrigues the unworldly Pontiff remained blind. He lived in habitual disagreement with the Cardinals but obstinately refused to heed the warnings of men who shared the strict

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of November 15, 1727, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

² NOVAES, XIII., 143.

³ See the *report referred to in n. 1.

⁴ Thus Cienfuegos in his letter of August 23, 1727, *loc. cit.*

views of the "Zelanti". The consequence was that his well-meant intentions to bring about a reform failed to yield the fruits which might have been expected to result from the excellent decrees of the Provincial Council. The intrigues of Coscia and his clique were bound to have a demoralizing effect on the officials, hence also, on the clergy. This explains how no less a man than Benedict XIV. could say that the decline of the Curia began with Benedict XIII.¹ It is tragic that this should have happened precisely under so devout and well-meaning a Pope, for there can be no doubt as to Benedict XIII.'s good intentions.

How greatly the Pope had at heart the reform of the secular and regular clergy outside Rome also, appears from a long list of his ordinances. These extend not only to Italy, where he sought in particular to revive the holding of synods,² but likewise include Avignon,³ Germany,⁴ Switzerland,⁵ the

¹ BENOÎT, XIV., *Lettres à Tencin*, II., 282.

² *Briefs to Michele Bologna, Archbishop of Amalfi, October 7, 1724; to Iosaphat Battistelli, Bishop of Foligno, December 8, 1724; to Vincenzo Ferrero, Bishop of Gravina, May 4 and June 5, 1725; to Cardinal F. Pignatelli, July 3, 1726; to Alessandro Borgia, Bishop of Fermo, July 26, 1726; to Antonio Fonseca, Bishop of İesi, September 26, 1726; to Alessandro Litta, Bishop of Cremona, September 30, 1728. *Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives.

³ *Briefs to the Archbishop of Avignon, May 10 and July 26, 1726, and February 25, 1728, *ibid.*

⁴ *Briefs to the Archbishop of Trèves, October 27, 1724, and May 4, 1725 (reform of the Cistercians); to the general Congregation of the Swabian and the Bavarian Benedictines, March 22, 1726; to numerous German Bishops, May 2, 1726 (recommendation of the "institutum clericorum in commune viventium"); to the clergy of Constance, September 5, 1726 (new seminary); to the Emperor, November 15, 1726 (recommendation of the "Seminarium Soeterianum" of Trèves); to the Archbishop of Mayence, and to Duke Leopold of Lorraine, March 14, 1727 (on the same subject); to the Elector, Clement Augustus of Cologne, September 5, 1727 (nullity of his election capitulation). *Ibid.*

⁵ *Brief to Joseph, Abbot of St. Gall, July 26, 1727, *ibid.*

Spanish Netherlands,¹ Poland² and Spain. Innocent XIII.'s Bull against abuses among the Spanish clergy was approved by a royal decree of March 9th, 1724, and its observance strictly enforced.³ On September 23rd, 1724, Benedict XIII. confirmed the reform decrees of his predecessors, and ordered them to be printed and dispatched to all the Bishops.⁴ As they met with opposition, especially on the part of the Orders,⁵ they were inculcated anew and further elucidated in a Bull of March 27th, 1726.⁶ The nuncio in Madrid was instructed to see to their strict execution.⁷ This was no easy task, for there was question of the most diverse subjects, such as admission to the clerical state and the excessive number of clerics of low degree, the learning and other qualities of the candidates for Holy Orders, the action to be taken by Bishops against unworthy clerics who forgot the duties of their state, the presence of the clergy at the solemn conventual Mass and the pastoral conferences, the conscientious fulfilment by priests having the cure of souls of the obligation of preaching, the erection of new parishes and dioceses, the preservation of the Bishops' prerogatives and honours, the enclosure of convents of nuns, abuses in the sphere of the liturgy, Masses and private oratories, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and in general, the observance of the disciplinary decrees of the Council of Trent.⁸ However, in spite of every effort, the Bull

¹ *Brief to the Archbishop of Tournai, March 21, 1726 (exhortation to fulfil the duty of residence), *ibid.*

² *Briefs to the "congregatio Benedict. Poloniae", July 1, 1726; to the Archbishop of Gnesen, April 3, 1728; to "Iacobus Ludovicus princeps regni Poloniae", April 29, 1728 ("Colleg. pontificium Leopoli institutum commendat"). *Ibid.*

³ HERGENRÖTHER in *Archiv. für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, X. (1863), 189.

⁴ *Bull*, XXII., 100. *Letter to nuncio Aless. Aldobrandini, October 14, 1724, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 365, Papal Secret Arch.

⁵ Brief to Philip V., April 3, 1726, *Epist.*, *ibid.*

⁶ MERCATI, *Concordati*, 297 *seqq.*

⁷ *Letter to nuncio Aldobrandini of April 3, 1726, *loc. cit.*

⁸ HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.*; MARTINI, *Pontificato di Benedetto XIII.*, II *seq.*

with its wealth of prescriptions for the strict observance of ecclesiastical discipline was carried into effect only by slow degrees, and not in its entirety.¹

¹ *Briefs to Philip V. and to the Spanish episcopate, both of March 22, 1727, and to the Prior of the monastery of the Escorial of March 23, 1727. A *Brief to "Tarraconen, et coepiscopi in concilio provinc. congregati" of May 22, 1728; he praises them; *another to the Spanish Bishops, August 24, 1728, concerns the reform of preaching ("we have heard with sorrow gravissimum praedicandi ministerium, quod in spiritus alimentum est institutum, nonnullos in suae ambitionis alimentum et inanem gloriam vertisse", as though they preached not Christ, but themselves; "fucato dicendi genere ad capiendam vulgi auram, ad audiendum verbum convenientibus illudunt levissimis argumentis et concisis ad ingenii ostentationem. Hanc corruptelam avertere cupientes, zelum vestrum hortamur, ut qui simplicibus imbuere mundi contemptum verbo et exemplo debent, vobis advigilantibus officio respondeant," so that they be not accused at the Judgment by those whose praise they have sought. "Qui ministerium susceperunt, christianae doctrinae articulos aut divinae legis praeceptum, prout animarum necessitatibus opportunius, simplici stylo explicant; inobedientes canonicis poenis coerceri volumus, sublata praedicandi facultate, et ecclesiasticis censuris ubi opus"). A *Brief to the same of October 1, 1728, concerns catechetical instruction (one of the most important pastoral cares is the instruction of the faithful, especially of the children, in the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion. It belongs to our office to stir up your zeal; we are speaking of the most important duty of Bishops, the neglect of which will be severely judged; imitate the zeal of your predecessors. "Exponendae doctrinae methodum certam proponendam curavimus, quam editam utilissimam et parvulis accomodatam experti sumus." We are very happy that some devout men, especially among the clergy, have devoted themselves to this work "et vicis circumcunctes doctrinam populis annuntiant nullis laboribus deterriti"; nothing is more pleasing to us. "Hortamur, ut has exercitationes in dioecesibus vestris instituere et ad eas clericos vestros excitare nitamini." Indulgences are granted both to those who teach Christian doctrine and to those who attend such lessons). A Brief to Philip V., July 12, 1729, recommends the execution of a Brief "pro Cisterciens reformatis". Papal Secret Archives.

On the whole Benedict XIII. was on good terms with the Spanish Government and with most of the other Catholic Governments. He took advantage of this circumstance to obtain the support of these authorities for such Catholic interests as lay outside their respective territories. By this means he sought to obtain relief for the oppressed Catholics of the German *Diaspora*,¹ the Grisons,² Great Britain³ and

¹ After the death of the Vicar Apostolic of North Germany, the excellent Agost. Steffani, Bishop of Spiga, Benedict XIII. *wrote to Charles VI. on May 18, 1728, in order to induce him to intervene on behalf of the rights of the Catholics of Hanover. The opportunity was favourable as the Duke of Hanover was asking for favours and the Emperor could make the "fidem pactorum" a condition. To this period also belong the *Briefs of May 11, 1726, to the King of Spain and to other princes "pro principe Sulzbach" in Iüllichberg, and of January 18, 1727, to the Emperor; recommendation of the "rationes domus Palatinae et de Sulzbach contra molitiones march. Brandenburg". (*Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives.) To Benedict XIII.'s solicitude for the converts, the following *Briefs bear witness: to the Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain, July 16, 1726: recommendation of the "baro de Heinscheck", to the Kings of France and Spain, October 2, 1726: recommendation of the "baro de Tann"; to the Emperor, February 21, 1728: recommendation of "Fredericus princeps Saxoniae"; to the Elector Clement Augustus of Cologne, July 9, 1729: recommendation of the former preacher, Herm. Heinrich Peters; to Prince Eugene, September 1, 1729: recommendation of a convert (*Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives). *Letter to the Spanish nuncio, A. Aldobrandini, August 16, 1727: he should interest the King in Catholic affairs in Iüllich-Cleve. *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 365, Papal Secret Arch.

² *Brief to the Emperor, March 28, to the King of France, June 22, 1729, Papal Secret Archives.

³ Brief to the King of France, June 5, 1726, to the same and to Cardinal Fleury, June 4, 1727, *loc. cit.* Cf. *ibid.*, the *Brief to the former of July 16, 1726: your "regia beneficentia ad fovendos catholicos Nos adducit, ut de tua observantia praeclare sentientes opem tuam ad religionis amplificationem imploremus. Cum Thom. Domin. Williams O. Pr. episc. Tiberiopolit. in meridion. Anglia Vic. Apostol. nullis redditibus vitam sustentare et opus

Holland.¹ His solicitude likewise embraced the Catholics of Serbia,² the Maronites oppressed by the Turks,³ the Catholic Patriarch of Antioch⁴ and the Catholics of the island of Naxos who had to suffer from the vexations of the schismatics.⁵

(2.)

During his pontificate of five and a half years Benedict XIII. carried out twelve creations of Cardinals, in which twenty-nine prelates were invested with the purple. At the first nomination, on September 11th, 1724, two Romans received the red hat. They were Giambattista Altieri, who had long been a cleric of the Camera under Clement XI., and Alessandro Falconieri, a man universally esteemed on account of his excellent administration as Governor of Rome.⁶ Falconieri

iniunctum perficere non possit, obsecramus, ut pensionem aut beneficium ei conferendum cures”.

¹ Transmission of a *letter of Propaganda to the Spanish nuncio, dated March 3, 1725, on using his influence for the admission of the Vicar Apostolic in Holland. *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 365, *loc. cit.*

² *Brief to the Emperor and to Prince Eugene, January 26, 1726, Papal Secret Archives.

³ Briefs to the Kings of Spain and Portugal, July 8 and December 2, 1727, to the King of Spain and to the Emperor, July 17, 1728, to the King of Poland, August 11, 1729, to the King of Spain, September 20, 1729, *ibid.*

⁴ *Brief to the King of France, August 12, 1729, *ibid.* To “Ioseph patr. Chaldaeorum” he sent a *letter on March 12, 1725, encouraging him to resist the Nestorians. *Ibid.*

⁵ *Brief to the King of France, September 30, 1727, *ibid.*

⁶ GUARNACCI, II., 430 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 201. Cardina Cienfuegos thus describes the new Cardinals: *Altieri Romano è un uomo di ottimi costumi, umile, di tratto amabile e ritirato, poco meno del card. Lorenzo suo fratello, è più giovine di lui di qualche anno, non avendo grande spirito nè dottrina, ma buon cuore. Falconieri pure Romano è dotato d'un animo signorile ed eroico, è bene conservato nella sua età di 68 anni, è alquanto

restored the famous Villa of the same name at Frascati, partly Borromini's work, as we see it to-day; his name is seen on the first gate with the date 1729. Benedict XIII. himself consecrated the chapel of the Villa which Falconieri had embellished.¹

On November 20th, 1724, the Neapolitan Vincenzo Petra, and on 20th December Prospero Marefoschi and Agostino Pipia, were raised to the cardinalate.² Petra, who was Secretary to the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, happened to be with Cardinal Cienfuegos when he was informed of his promotion. He was no less surprised than the whole of Rome, but there was general satisfaction that a man should be honoured who had faithfully served the Holy See for many years and who had made a name for himself in the learned world by a work on the Penitentiaria and by his commentaries on the Apostolic Constitutions.³ Prospero Marefoschi had been *Uditore Santissimo* since the pontificate of Clement XI. Agostino Pipia, a native of Sardinia, had been General of the Dominicans since 1721. He was one of the Pope's intimates. At the last nomination, the Pontiff had informed the ambassadors of the great Cathoëic Powers that he intended

forte nelle cose che imprende, ed è nobilmente fornito di dottrina, avendo sostenuto con somma laude per più anni la carica di auditore della S. Ruota. Though formerly attached to the French party, he has given proofs of his devotion to the Emperor. Letter of November 25, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

¹ On the lower gateway to the garden, now closed, we read: "Alexander | S. Mariae de Scala Diaconus | Cardinalis Falconerius | A° 1729"; in the interior of the villa, over the entrance: "Benedictus [XIII.] Dominus nobis haec ostia fecit 1724." The frescoes are by Maratta, Ciro Ferri, a pupil of Pietro da Cortona and Ghezzi (by the latter also caricatures and a portrait of himself, 1727), the oil paintings are by Hötzenndorf. Cf. D. SEGHETTI, *Die Villa Falconieri*, in *Westermanns Monatsheften* 1906, 742 seq.; F. ZIDEK, *Villa Falconieri* (Progr.), Kalksburg, 1907.

² GUARNACCI, II., 438 seq., 443 seq.; CARDELLA, VIII., 203 seq.

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of November 25, 1724 (*loc. cit.*); here also he emphasizes Petra's devotion to the Emperor.

to create twelve Cardinals in all.¹ On June 11th, 1725, Niccolò Coscia and Niccolò Giudice received the red hat.²

Under Innocent XIII. the Portuguese Government had failed to obtain the purple for Bichi, a former nuncio in Lisbon; its efforts were renewed in the summer of 1724. Though Bichi had been recalled, Portugal persisted in regarding him as a nuncio, refused to allow Giuseppe Firrao, who had been recently appointed in his place, to enter on his office, and declined during the vacancy of the Holy See to receive the letter by which the Sacred College informed it of the demise of Innocent XIII. When the new Pope informed the King of his elevation, the Government intercepted the letter and pretended that it had never arrived. Thereupon the Portuguese ambassador was handed a duplicate of the letter which he dispatched to Lisbon by a special courier. In this he saw a great triumph, so that he thought he would be able to extort Bichi's elevation. Benedict XIII. replied that so long as Bichi remained in Lisbon he would not receive the red hat; let him come to Rome and justify himself; after that it would be decided whether he was worthy to be admitted into the Sacred College. The ambassador's threat to take his departure did not at once induce the Pope to change his mind,³ but as the peace-loving Pontiff was anxious to avoid a rupture, he yielded in 1725 to Portugal's ceaseless pressure, in spite of the disapproval of many Cardinals, to the extent of promising Bichi's elevation as soon as the latter left Lisbon.⁴

On September 11th, 1726, at the request of the French ambassador, Cardinal Polignac, the purple was bestowed on André Hercule Fleury who had been Bishop of Fréjus from

¹ Report of the same, December 24, 1724, *loc. cit.*

² Cf. above, p. 125. On Giudice, see MARCHESI BUONACCORSI, 504 *seq.*

³ These incidents are recorded by Cardinal Acquaviva in his *letter to Juan Baut. de Orendayn, August 5, 1724, Simancas Archives.

⁴ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of June 9, September 15 and 22, 1725, *loc. cit.*

1698 to 1715, then tutor to Louis XV., and, finally, leader of France's policy as head of the Council of State.¹ The candidate of the French Government was a remarkable statesman, religiously minded and of irreproachable morals and altogether worthy of the purple.² The Emperor had let it be known that he approved of Fleury's elevation, on condition that Polignac gave a guarantee that in any future creation of Cardinals the Pope would not exceed the number of twelve or thirteen.³

In the sequel Benedict XIII. saw himself pressed from every quarter to fill the vacancies in the Sacred College. At a consistory held in the first days of September, 1726, the Portuguese Cardinal Pereyra complained bitterly of the fact that, without consulting his sovereign, the Pope had named Fleury and passed over Bichi, though he had promised to make no promotion without including Bichi. Having made his protest, he left the hall and remained in the ante-room until the end of the meeting. On the previous day Polignac had prayed the Pope not to appoint more than twelve Cardinals after his election. Benedict replied that he could not set a dangerous example to his successors by consenting to a restriction of his right of nomination, but he would promise to create fewer Cardinals than his predecessors. When Polignac continued to press him, the Pope, speaking in a loud and excited tone, so that the bystanders were able to hear him, declared that he would not yield—he would rather return to Benevento.⁴

¹ GUARNACCI, II., 411 *seqq.*; *Rev. d'hist. ecclès.*, 1910, 830. On September 16 the Pope charged Gualterius to take to the King of France the red biretta destined for Fleury. *Ep. ad princ.*, Papal Secret Archives.

² Monograph by VERLAQUE (Paris, 1879).

³ *Letter of the imperial Chancellor to Cardinal Cienfuegos, dat. Vienna, September 1, 1726. Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

⁴ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of September 14, 1726, according to which the Pope said to Polignac: "Non imponam iugum sacerdotio, non imponam iugum sacerdotio, e più tosto con queste lane di cui vesto, sarò capace di ritornare a Benevento. *Ibid.*

At an audience in October, 1726, Cardinal Pereyra complained that the Pope had had knowledge of a memorial of the Sacred College against Bichi's nomination and that he had inspired it. Benedict was able to deny both statements.¹ About mid-November an order came from Lisbon commanding all Portuguese subjects to leave Rome should Bichi not be promoted within eight days.²

Cardinal Bentivoglio, who had become Spanish ambassador in July, 1726,³ had been pressing the Pope since September to bestow the red hat on the Portuguese Infante Emmanuel. Benedict's answer was that the thing was only possible if the Prince first took Holy Orders and if Portugal gave its consent. Against this Bentivoglio argued that sovereigns had never been obliged to take Orders and quoted some precedents. However, the Pope maintained his point of view, observing that it was not possible so suddenly to exchange the helmet for the mitre.⁴ Meanwhile Bichi's nomination had become impossible, although the Portuguese threatened to leave, for the Cardinals, more particularly Corradini and even Polignac, had vigorously protested against the unseemliness of bestowing the purple on a man who refused to obey the Holy See.⁵ In like manner when Bentivoglio, supported

¹ Report of the same, October 12, 1726, *ibid.* On November 9, 1726, Cienfuegos writes to the Emperor: the Pope is in a predicament, many dissuade him in order that the party of the Cardinals of Clement XI. might retain its strength for the Conclave; on the other hand the candidates urge him on. The latter course is the better one for Your Majesty, because the predominance of the Albani would be pernicious, and if he delays, more Cardinals will die, so that in view of the Pope's chronic indecision and his advanced age, the crowns would never see their "nomina" realized. *Ibid.*

² *Report of the same, November 16, 1726, *ibid.*

³ According to Cienfuegos' *report of July 27, 1726 (*ibid.*), the nomination caused a great sensation at the court, as Bentivoglio was known to be very hot-headed and irritable; even Polignac was not enthusiastic.

⁴ *Report of the same, September 28, 1726, *ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

by Cienfuegos, renewed his demand for the nomination of the Portuguese Infante, the Pope insisted on the Prince first taking Orders.¹ At this time several Cardinals prayed Benedict XIII. to include his nephew, the Oratorian Mondillo Orsini-Gravina, Bishop of Melfi, in the impending promotion. The Pope, who abhorred every form of nepotism, refused to comply with the request.²

The nomination was confidently expected to take place at a consistory fixed for the beginning of December, 1726. Bentivoglio and Belluga, whose wishes in regard to the Portuguese Infante were certainly not going to be realized,³ stayed away from the meeting. The Pope arrived an hour later than announced. When the voting on the canonization of Stanislaus Kostka was over everybody present thought that the promotion would surely follow, but the Pope asked

¹ *Report of the same, dat. December 17, 1726, *ibid.* Already on September 28, 1726, the Secretary of State had written to the Spanish nuncio that the canons required that the Prince of Portugal be ordained before the promotion; therefore explain "che volentierissimo S. B. ammetterà la petizione del Re promuovendo S. A., ma salva la quiete della propria coscienza, non essendosi potuto superare sin'ora questo suo grave scrupolo" (*Nunziat. di Spagna*, 365, Papal Secret Archives). See also " *Manifestando al Papa el sentimento de S. M. ", on the refusal to promote Don Manuel, Archives of the Spanish Embassy at Rome, 1726, f. 126. Cf. *ibid.*, f. 134; 1727, f. 1, 55, 60, 255.

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of November 30, 1726, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. On Benedict XIII., the enemy of nepotism, see NOVAES, XIII., 169 *seqq.*

³ On Bentivoglio's unceasing efforts, with Cienfuegos, Coscia and others, see his *letters to Grimaldi after his nomination as Minister, August 3, September 21, 25, 28, October 26, November 2, 9, 16, 23, 27, 30, 1727. On December 2 he *reports the last, very lively conversation he had with the Pope and the final negative decision of the Secretary of State of the same day (Simancas Archives). In spite of everything, Bentivoglio made fresh attempts; see his *letters of January 1, February 1, 15, 22, March 8, 12, April 26, June 28, September 20, November 12, 1727, and January 10, 1728 (*ibid.*).

what time it was, and as the hour was advanced, he rose from his throne and withdrew whilst giving his blessing. All present were beside themselves with astonishment.¹

At length, on December 9th, 1726, nine Cardinals were created, but seven of them were reserved *in petto*, owing to the impossibility of providing for them. In his allocution the Pope commented on the fact of his nephew being passed over. As a Dominican he had long ago renounced all inclination towards flesh and blood, and at this time also he recalled to mind what God spoke to Abraham: "Go out of the house of thy fathers!"² The two Cardinals proclaimed on December 9th were the Secretary of State, Niccolò Maria Lercari, and the devout General of the Franciscans Observant, Lorenzo Cozza, whom the Pope held in the highest esteem.³ Of the seven reserved *in petto*, several were remarkable for their learning, such as the Venetian Angelo Maria Quirini, a Benedictine of Monte Cassino and Archbishop of Corfu since 1723⁴;

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of December 7, 1726, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

² *Report of the same, December 14, 1726, *ibid.*

³ GUARNACCI, II., 479 *seqq.*, 499 *seq.*; CARDELLA, 217 *seq.*, 223. On Benedict XIII.'s affection for Cozza, see Cienfuegos' *report of November 30, 1726, *loc. cit.* In his *letter of December 14, 1726 (*ibid.*), Cienfuegos thus characterizes Cozza: he is reputed to be learned, pious, peaceful, and gentle, is 75 years of age, and in poor health; in the spring he had a stroke. Cf. *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, III.², 1172 *seq.* A caricature of Cozza by Ghezzi in the periodical *Roma*, V. (1927), 173. On Lercari, *cf.* above, p. 129.

⁴ GUARNACCI, II., 474 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 214 *seqq.*; HURTER, II.², 1395 *seqq.*; monograph by BAUDRILLART, Paris, 1889; life by C. CASTELLI in *Brixia sacra*, 1920, 79 *seq.*; A. SAMBUCA, *Lettere intorno alla morte del card. A. M. Querini*, Brescia, 1757; autobiography of Quirini in *Comment. de rebus pertin. ad A. M. card. Quirini, Brixiae*, 1749. On November 29, 1729, Cienfuegos *reports: Quirini, a friend of Polignac, "sa bene il fatto suo," "ha spirito ed arte," "un naturale placido," in speech "schietezza de' sentimenti", is said to have won the favour of the Pope by such means and even by flattery (*loc. cit.*).

the Bolognese Prosper Lambertini, Secretary of the Congregation of the Council and one of the principal advisers of the Pope in questions of Church policy¹; Marcantonio Ansidei of Perugia, assessor of the Inquisition since 1722, and the Dominican Gregory Selleri. To these were added Antonio Banchieri of Pistoja, who had succeeded Falconieri as Governor of Rome in 1724; the Treasurer-General Carlo Collicola, of Spoleto, and the *Maestro di Camera* Francescantonio Fini.²

There was a widespread belief that Bichi was one of those reserved *in petto*, hence the Cardinals' opposition to his nomination became increasingly sharp. At the end of January, 1727, the Secretary of State, Lercari, presented to the Pope a memorial in this sense bearing the signatures of many Cardinals.³ This did not remove the anxious feeling that Benedict would nevertheless carry out the promotion on the occasion of his journey to Benevento.⁴ However, this

Cf. FR. LAUCHERT, *Die irenischen Bestrebungen des Kardinals Aug. M. Quirini, speziell in seinem literarischen Verkehr mit deutschen protestantischen Gelehrten*, in *Studien u. Mitt. aus dem Benediktinerorden*, XXIV. (1903). Quirini *Epistolae, quotquot latino sermone edidit*, published by N. COLETI, Venetiis, 1756. On his correspondence in the Brescia Library, see *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XXXI., 47 seq.; *Rev. des langues romanes*, XL. (1897), 501 seqq. Letters in the University Library, Udine; see *Raccolta Veneta*, I., 82 seqq. A very unfavourable criticism of Benedict XIV. on Quirini as a scholar in HEECKEREN, I., 141, 317.

¹ Above, p. 139 seqq.

² GUARNACCI, II., 483 seqq.; CARDELLA, VIII., 218 seqq.; MARCHESI BUONACCORSI, 485 seq., 494 seq. On Selleri, *cf.* TAURISANO, *Hierarchia ord. Praed.*, Romae, 1916, 117 seqq.

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of January 4 and 25, 1727, according to which Ottoboni refused to subscribe, declaring that the Cardinals could not lay down the law for the Pope (Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn). The text of the petition in *Cod. ital.*, 190, p. 345 seqq., State Library, Munich; a copy in *Cod.* 2670, Bibl. Casanatense, Rome.

⁴ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of January 25 and April 5, 1727, *loc. cit.* In the *report of August 2, 1727 (*ibid.*), Cienfuegos writes: because the Pope introduced the custom of holding

fear did not materialize, any more than that felt by not a few that Bichi might be promoted without the concurrence of the Cardinals.¹ In September it was rumoured that the Pope was about to proclaim both the Cardinals reserved *in petto* and those proposed by the Great Powers.² This anticipation also proved premature. The death of Cardinal Fabroni on September 19th caused a fourth vacancy in the Sacred College.³

The Pope had promised the ambassador of Venice to take into consideration the Venetian candidate at the creation of the crown Cardinals. As on the one hand Cienfuegos became ever more insistent, and the Infante of Portugal had withdrawn his candidature, whilst on the other hand there were only four vacant places in the Sacred College, Benedict resolved, in order not to try the ambassadors' patience any longer, to begin by proclaiming the Venetian Quirini, one of the seven reserved *in petto*, with a view to satisfying the other Powers with the four remaining seats.⁴ Accordingly, on November 26th, 1727, the following nominations took place : Sigismund Kollonitsch, Archbishop of Vienna, on whose behalf Cienfuegos had exerted himself since the beginning of the year⁵ ; Diego of Astorga, Archbishop of Toledo, for Spain ; John de Motta y Silva, a brother to the Portuguese Consistories at an early hour in the morning and of beginning them with only two or three Cardinals present, it was feared that he intended to proclaim Bichi in the presence of but a few Cardinals. For this reason the Cardinals handed in a new memorandum on Monday, through the Dean, in which they declared that they had heard with regret certain complaints against the Cardinals, to the effect that they showed but little consideration for the Pope and that so few of them appeared at the consistories ; however, they were not to blame, as the Pope began much earlier than was customary, hence they asked for an alteration.

¹ According to Cienfuegos (*report of July 7, 1727, *ibid.*), this had been considered.

² *Report of the same, September 27, 1727, *ibid.*

³ *Reports of the same, September 27 and October 20, 1727, *ibid.*

⁴ *Report of the same, November 26, 1727, *ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

ambassador in Rome, for Portugal,¹ and Philip Louis von Sinzendorf, the son of the Imperial Chancellor of Austria, for Poland²: Quirini's elevation was published at the same time. Cardinal Ottoboni had sought, at the last moment, though in vain, to get the creation postponed, as he was anxious to procure the purple for his nephew, Minotti Ottoboni, who was also the Venetian candidate. He was very much annoyed when, out of consideration for Cienfuegos, the nomination took place in spite of him.³

Of those reserved *in pectus* on December 9th, 1726, Fini's nomination was made public on January 26th, 1728,⁴ and that of Ansidei, Lambertini, Selleri, Banchieri and Collicola on April 30th, 1728.⁵ On the latter date two members of religious Orders were likewise admitted into the Sacred College, namely the Dominican Vincent Louis Gotti and the Benedictine Leander Porzia, Abbot of St. Paul outside the Walls since 1722. Gotti was born at Bologna in 1664. Under Clement XI. he had taught for eleven years at the University of Bologna, and for a time (in 1715), had acted as Inquisitor-General at Milan. He had also written a book on the true Church of Christ to confute the Swiss Calvinist Giacomo Picenino. He was an old friend of Benedict XIII. Gotti's theological erudition, on which the Pope rightly set a very high value, is attested by the sixteen volumes, remarkable both for matter and form, in which he expounds dogmatic theology in the spirit of St. Thomas, and by his *Apologia* of the Christian religion.⁶

¹ SCHÄFER, *Portugal*, V., 184, 198.

² From 1726 onwards the "nomina di Polonia" constitutes the principal theme of Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letters (Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn). The Pope declined for a long time the nomination of a German proposed by Poland. Biographies of the new Cardinals in GUARNACCI, II., 478 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 229 *seqq.* ³ Cienfuegos' *report of November 29, 1727, *loc. cit.*

⁴ **Acta consist.*, Papal Secret Archives

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ GUARNACCI, II., 530 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, 232 *seq.*; QUÉTIF, II., 814; RICCHINI, *Vita card. Gotti*, Romae, 1742; HURTER, IV., 1353-1357; *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, V.², 939; COULON, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, VI., 1503 *seq.*

On September 20th, 1728, two more Cardinals were named, viz. the Neapolitan Pierluigi Carafa, a kinsman of Innocent XII., who had been nuncio in Florence from 1713 to 1717, Secretary of Propaganda in 1717, and Secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars in 1724; and Giuseppe Accoramboni, *Subdatarius* under Innocent XIII., and *Uditore Santissimo* under Benedict XIII.¹

In the summer of 1728, the Portuguese Government decided to carry out the retaliatory measures which it had so long threatened on account of Bichi having been passed over. In the first days of December the Portuguese subjects in Rome, both ecclesiastical and lay, left the city, whilst at the same time the nunciature was closed at Lisbon and a decree issued forbidding Portuguese subjects to apply to Rome for any benefice.² A year later, with a view to paving the way for a compromise, the Pope invoked the mediation of Spain,³ but Lisbon declined to enter into negotiations.⁴ On March 23rd, 1729, Camillo Cibo, a member of the princely house of Massa-Carrara, who had been Benedict XIII.'s *Maggiordomo* since 1725, was received into the Sacred College.⁵

Francesco Borghese, Fini's successor as *Maestro di Camera* and later on Benedict XIII.'s *Maggiordomo*, was given the red hat on July 6th, 1729, at the same time as the Dominican

¹ GUARNACCI, II., 537 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 236 *seqq.*; KARTTUNEN, 238.

² MURATORI, XII., 123; *Reports from Rome of November 26, December 3 and 24, 1728, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

³ *Brief to Philip V., December 3, 1729, Papal Secret Arch.

⁴ *Report from Rome of December 30, 1729, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁵ GUARNACCI, II., 547 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, 239 *seqq.*; the above quoted [p. 132, n. 1]: " *Vita del card. C. Cibo da lui stesso descritta " in *Fondo Gesuit.*, 94-104, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome. *Ibid.*, 86, on his earlier activities. Part of the papers left by Cibo has been preserved in the Archives of the Congregation of Religious; in 1924 they were transferred to the Papal Secret Archives.

Carlo Vincenzo Maria Ferreri. In his allocution in the consistory the Pope said that it was his wish to close the octave of St. Peter with the bestowal of the purple on a Dominican in place of the recently deceased Selleri.¹ On February 8th, 1730, Benedict XIII. proceeded to his last cardinalitial creation when he summoned into the supreme senate of the Church Alemano Salviati, a scion of the ancient Florentine family of the Marchesi of Montieri-Bocchigiani, a prelate distinguished by his virtues and his liberality.²

(3.)

In the mission field Benedict XIII. had occasion to extend his solicitude to the Christian East. He confirmed the decrees of the provincial synod of Zamosc of 1720,³ and following the example of his predecessors, he guaranteed their possessions to the Ruthenians who became reunited to Rome.⁴ The Bishops and Archbishops of the Ruthenians were usually taken from the Basilian Order, with the result that not a few of the monks sought outside recommendation for these high posts. Benedict XIII. countered this abuse by decreeing that solicitation of offices without leave of the Archimandrite rendered the persons concerned *ipso facto* incapable of the desired dignity.⁵ In the district around Damascus a movement towards the Catholic Church had made itself felt since the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁶ In 1724 a former pupil of Propaganda, Seraphin Tanas, having been elected Patriarch of the Melchites, took the name of Cyril VI. and dispatched to Rome another student of Propaganda, John Amenio, for

¹ Cf. *Acta consist., loc. cit. Cf. GUARNACCI, II., 549 (where instead of " June " read " July "); CARDELLA, VIII., 241 *seqq*

² GUARNACCI, II., 559 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 242 *seqq.*; MARCHESI BUONACCORSI, 499 *seq.*

³ On July 19, 1724, *Ius pontif.*, II., 365.

⁴ August 12, 1724, *ibid.*, 366. Cf. above, p. 67.

⁵ December 16, 1728, *Ius pontif.*, II., 411.

⁶ Vol. XXXIII., 375.

the purpose of getting his election confirmed.¹ The Capuchin, Dorotheus of the Blessed Trinity, was commissioned to do this,² but only after receiving Cyril's profession of faith and a promise not to introduce any changes in the Greek Liturgy. The privileges of the Holy Land, which were enumerated in detail in the document, were also confirmed by a papal decree.³

The Franciscans' missionary zeal is proved by the fact that they sought and obtained permission⁴ to found a College in each of their Provinces of the East and West Indies for the formation of future missionaries. One of the main theatres of the activity of the Franciscans and the Jesuits was Mexico. A report to the Viceroy, dated June 20th, 1725, speaks in terms of high praise of the Jesuits' work in Ostimuri, Sonora and Cinaloa; the Indians, we read, earn their livelihood by agriculture; they are decently dressed, and in many places they were able to enhance the religious ceremonies by a musical accompaniment.⁵ In 1690 there were ninety Jesuit missionaries in Mexico; about the middle of the next century they numbered 120.⁶ The Jesuit Ugarte [*ob.* 1730] introduced agriculture into California with a view to making the mission independent of outside aid, but the poverty of the soil and the lack of water prevented him from realizing his plans everywhere. In spite of formidable obstacles in the shape of polygamy, magic, immorality and endless wars and epidemics, a number of missions were successfully founded in California.⁷ In 1726 only 1,000 Christian Indians were left in the mission of Florida.⁸ In the North, the Jesuits of

¹ Cf. the Consistory of February 3, 1744, in *Magnum Bullarium*, XVI., 179.

² On August 13, 1729, *Ius pontif.*, II., 414. Cf. LEMMENS, 28.

³ March 3, 1727, *Ius pontif.*, II., 396; cf. 368.

⁴ On April 3, 1727, *ibid.*, 401.

⁵ ASTRÁIN, VII., 305 seq. For the Franciscans, cf. XXXIII., 391.

⁶ ASTRÁIN, VII., 245.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 274 seq.; Z. ENGELHARDT in *The Catholic Encyclop.*, III., 178; ID., *Missions and Missionaries in California*, I., 130; SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 411.

⁸ SCHMIDLIN, 412.

Canada went among the wild Indian tribes, such as the Sioux, as far as the western shore of Lake Superior, whilst Aulneau penetrated even further West.¹ In the rising of 1729 the Jesuit Poisson was murdered by the Natches, and his brother in religion Souel by the Yagus,² whilst Rasle was put to death in 1724 at Nanrantsuak by some English who had recently occupied Nova Scotia.³

In South America a visitation report of 1730 mentions twenty-two settlements in the Jesuit mission on the Marañon, with 5,194 Christian Indians.⁴ At the close of 1727 the General, Tamburini, expressed his satisfaction to the Provincial of New Granada with the progress in the mission of the Llanos.⁵ In Paraguay, in 1715, there were 116,488 souls in twenty-two Reductions and 133,117 in 1730.⁶ Generally speaking the Indian missions were making constant progress; thus the Franciscans worked successfully in Peru from their centre at Okopa, the Capuchins in the Llanos from their base at Caracas, the Jesuits among the Chiriguans and the Dominicans on Haiti in the Small Antilles.⁷

Benedict XIII. also intervened indirectly in the American missions when in 1726 he appointed Bishop Nicolas of Herrea Vicar Apostolic and Commissary for the district of the Orinoco, including the Antilles.⁸ As we learn from Gumilla, a certain Canon Nicolas Labrid of Lyons and three other priests had approached Benedict XIII. with the request that he would send them as missionaries whithersoever he pleased, whereupon the Pope made them Bishops for four continents, the territory of the Orinoco being assigned to Labrid. After

¹ ROCHEMONTEIX, I., 182 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 353 *seqq.*

³ *Cath. Encyclop.*, X., 386; GOYAU in *Rev. d'hist. des missions*, I., 121.

⁴ ASTRÁIN, VII., 415.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 461.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 565.

⁷ SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 401, 404, 406; ID. in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, 1929, 15 *seq.*

⁸ *Ius pontif.*, II., 390 *seq.*

waiting for a long time in Cayenne for his Bull and Spain's assent, he went among the Caraihs on the Aquire where he was murdered by the savage natives. Years after that event the name of the Pope was still pointed out on the fragments of the broken altar which Benedict XIII. had himself consecrated for the use of Labrid.¹

In India the Church of the Uniat Christians of St. Thomas maintained itself under the guidance of the Carmelite John Baptist of St. Teresa ; in 1725 a colleague of his started new missions at Mahe and Ramatali.² Among the old Orders the Franciscans of the Province of St. Thomas, in 1724, had three convents, five colleges, two seminaries, forty-eight parishes, fifteen missions and one hundred and sixty religious³; in their oldest convent, that of Schaul, the Dominicans numbered scarcely more than twelve to fifteen friars⁴; outstanding figures among the Carmelites were Innocent (Kollonitsch) of St. Leopold, a brother of the Archbishop of Gran, and Peter of the Holy Trinity, both Vicars Apostolic in Malabar and Bombay.⁵ In 1738 the Capuchins maintained two hospices in Bengal and three in Nepal where in consequence of too scanty results, Propaganda saw itself compelled to reduce their numbers.⁶ The Jesuits continued to be the most zealous and the most successful labourers on India's soil. A number of Jesuit missions bore evidence of intense vitality, as, for instance, and apart from Goa, the stations in Malabar, where Fr. Hanxleden, a native of Osterkappeln near Osnabrück, distinguished himself as a Sanscrit scholar⁷; in Madura where ten Fathers were at work in seven residences⁸ [their

¹ JOSÉ GUMILLA, *El Orinoco ilustrado*, Madrid, 1745; SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 406.

² MÜLLBAUER, 314.

³ *Ibid.*, 329.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 354.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 348.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 361.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 289; HUONDER, *Jesuitenmissionäre*, 174 *seqq.*; SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, IV., 80 *seq.*

⁸ MÜLLBAUER, 239 *seq.*

Superior, Father Vieira, baptized 818 persons at Marara ¹; at Carnate 8,000–9,000 Christians were looked after by five missionaries; in 1727 and 1730 new churches were erected there at the sovereign's expense.

Frenchmen from the Seminary of Foreign Missions, Portuguese Jesuits, Spanish Franciscans and Italian Barnabites—all of them in one vicariate—were at work in Cochinchina. The Paris Seminary accordingly proposed a partition of the missionary territory. In 1727 Benedict XIII. sent out, as Apostolic Visitor, Bishop des Achards de la Baume, of Avignon, who took a large number of their missionary stations from the Spanish Franciscans, though these Fathers had been sent for by the Vicar Apostolic Perez who had confirmed them in all their missions before his death. The Franciscans lodged an appeal with the Pope but the question was only decided under Benedict XIV.² In 1729 a persecution broke out in Siam on account of the Christian books; the Vicar Apostolic Tessier of Querelay was summoned to surrender them and when he refused a decree prohibiting Christianity carved in stone was set up in front of the Church.³ The priests of the Paris Seminary stayed at their posts throughout the period of persecution, viz. in Tongking, under Nééz, who died in 1739 after an exemplary government of the mission over a period of sixteen years; in Cochinchina under Labbé, up to 1723 and after that date under the Italian Barnabite Bishop De Alexandris.⁴ In November 1724, the Bavarian Franciscan Valerius Rist and the Italian Seraphin of Borgia opened a mission in the Empire of Cambodia, the sovereign having given them leave to spread Christianity.⁵

Under Benedict XIII. the Chinese mission continued as a source of painful anxiety for the Roman See. Most of the

¹ *Ibid.*, 246.

² LEMMENS, 114. Acts of the visitation in LAUNAY, *Hist. de la mission de Cochinchine*, II., 45 *seqq.*

³ LAUNAY, 517 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 509 *seqq.*

⁵ LEMMENS, 112; E. SCHLUND, *Nach Cochinchina. Die Missionsreise des P. Valerius Rist*, Trier, 1911.

missionaries had been expelled; they only maintained themselves in Kiangnan and Tshekiang, on the plea of age and sickness, whilst they were allowed to remain in Peking solely because the Emperor had need of them. Christian worship continued, but without musical accompaniment. For the benefit of the women Mass had to be said in private houses, whilst in the provinces catechists acted as substitutes for the priests.¹ A few decades later it was reported that the missionaries were returning in secret and resuming their activities as much as possible.²

Benedict XIII. did not remain an indifferent witness to the ruin of the mission. Soon after his accession he sent the two Carmelites, Gothardt Rinaldi and Ildefonsus Wolfgang, to Peking³ with two Briefs for the Emperor Yong-Tshing; the first was one of congratulations on the Emperor's accession; in the second, dated October 6th, 1724,⁴ the Pope expressed his satisfaction at the liberation of Pedrini and prayed for a similar favour for Appiani and Guigues. Yong-Tshing received the papal embassy in solemn audience and accepted the two Briefs on the following day. His reply was to the effect that if Appiani and Guigues had not been set at liberty, in spite of the amnesty, the fact was due to forgetfulness on the part of the Mandarins.⁵ The two Carmelites were scarcely given a chance to utter a word.

Meanwhile Propaganda's decree of September 13th, 1723, against the Jesuits, with its formidable accusations and corresponding penalties which, if executed, would have amounted to the suppression of the Order, was still in force.⁶ In January, 1724, the Jesuit General Tamburini presented to the Pope the apology which he had laid before his predecessor.

¹ CAR. SLAVICEK, **Relatio de missione Sinica* of Nov. 20, 1725, State Archives, Munich, *Iesuit. ingen. fasc.* 16, n. 277.

² *Report to the Bishop of Noyon, September 12, 1759, *Lettres édif.*, IV, Paris, 1843, 89.

³ SLAVICEK, *loc. cit.*; DE MAILLA, XI., 430.

⁴ Translation in THOMAS, 326.

⁵ On the replies, *cf. Anecdotes*, V., 91, 93; DE MAILLA, XI., 430, note.

⁶ *Cf. above*, p. 84.

However, it soon became necessary to supplement that document, for on October 12th, 1724, Tamburini received from the papal Secretary of State a fresh letter with further charges. A report had come from China that though Kanghi's successor had granted complete liberty to preach the Gospel, the Jesuits nevertheless refrained from administering the Sacraments, and that at Macao they were very remiss in the cure of souls and the evangelization of the pagans. It goes without saying that the Jesuits did not remain silent in the face of these accusations. In January, 1725, Tamburini submitted a fresh apology¹ in an appendix to which he gave extracts from letters of his missionaries with statistics of the Sacraments administered and various details of their zealous work for souls at Macao.² Thus the charges against the Jesuit missionaries under these two heads were shown to be no less inaccurate than the statement that the new Emperor favoured Christianity. Consequently Tamburini took the liberty of drawing the attention of the Congregation to the fact that one could not rely on the account of a situation by one side only; it was necessary to hear the other side also. It had long been only too evident that the aim of many informers was to render the Jesuits hateful in Rome and throughout Europe. Many missionaries of Propaganda, when setting out for the mission field, had received instructions not to side with the Jesuit party, and not to subscribe to anything that might be written in their defence. Whenever one of these missionaries wrote in favour of the Jesuits he was severely rebuked; it was even said that in the preceding year four of their number had been recalled to Europe for that reason. From Peking false reports spread to the provinces; if an identical report came from Peking and the provinces, the agreement between the two accounts led Rome to conclude that it must be true.

¹ “*Informazione in risposta sopra i nuovi ordini spettanti alla Cina intimati al P. Generale della Compagnia di Gesù sotto li 12 ottobre 1724,” Property of the Jesuits (as also all the unpublished documents quoted in the sequel).

² See *Appendix* No. 8.

These two apologies were not without effect. On February 27th, 1725, Benedict XIII. quashed the worst of the penalties by word of mouth.¹ The Jesuits were once more allowed to receive novices and the General was empowered to propose ten of his subjects for the mission in China. An inquiry by Propaganda would make it clear whether the remaining dispositions of the decree should not be abolished likewise. For the rest the apology of 1725 had drawn attention to the fact that, as a result of Kanghi's death and Pedrini's liberation, many of these dispositions had become meaningless.

The Congregation was in no hurry with its investigation, a circumstance that enabled the Jesuits to submit fresh evidence in their own defence in September, 1725.² The main charges against them were that they had not obeyed Clement XI's. prohibition of the rites and that they had shown their insubordination to the papal command by completely abstaining from all pastoral work in China. Now with regard to the Jesuits of Canton, the missionary and notary apostolic Domenico testified on December 8th, 1724, and on December 2nd, the Provincial Commissary of the Franciscan mission, Miguel Roca, that as soon as they received the text of the Clementine Constitution *Ex illa die*, they immediately took the prescribed oath and resumed their pastoral ministry.³ "I never heard it said that they were wanting in submission to the papal decree," Roca adds. The same testimonial was given on July 15th, 1722, by the

¹ Text in *Anecdotes*, V., 286.

² *" Summarium continens testimonia iurata pro vindicandis missionariis S. J. in Sinis a pluribus criminationibus contra illos delatis ad S. Sedem annis praeteritis."

³ *" Administraron," Roca writes, " siempre los sacramentos a los neofitos : estando en esta ciudad algunos años, por la falta de ministros que havia, acudian a administrar las christianidades de esta mision serafica ; y en las demás misiones en que se hallaron siempre me consta, que administraron, sin que aya oido fama ni rumor en contrario, ni tam poco de que faltassen a la puntual observancia de los preceptos de la dicha constitucion."

Franciscan Observant Emmanuel a Plagis, Vicar-General of the Bishop of Nanking, Emmanuel of Jesus and Mary, to a Jesuit in Tshekiang, and to another on November 22nd, 1724, by the above-named Roca.¹

To these declarations by outsiders must be added the assurances of the Jesuits themselves. With reference to the decree of Propaganda of September 13th, 1723, the Vice-Provincial of China, Charles von Rezende, attests on October 30th, 1724, that both he and his subordinates submitted fully and punctually to the Apostolic decrees on the rites, more especially to the Constitution *Ex illa die*; that they administered the Sacraments and devoted themselves to the pastoral ministry in accordance with the oath taken and hitherto kept by them. At the same time he protests in his own name and in that of his subjects, that they had done nothing to encourage the Emperor in his opposition to the papal prohibition of the rites. In like manner it was sheer calumny to say that they had had anything to do with the arrest and imprisonment of Pedrini, Appiani and Guigues. Fresh inquiries and sworn evidence had shown that none of his subordinates were involved in the two last named crimes, "which one could not mention without shuddering." With regard to the other commands of Innocent XIII., the Vice-Provincial promises obedience but observes that in view of altered circumstances, they have become partly objectless, or hardly capable of execution on account of the persecution and the dispersion of the missionaries.²

¹ *Summarium, § 1-5.

² *. . . testor et profiteor me et meos subditos integre et exacte parere apostolicis decretis ad ritus Sinenses spectantibus, sacramenta administrando et missionum munia (ut tempus praesentis persecutionis fert) obeundo, praecipue vero sincera submissione ea omnia adamussim exequi, quae continentur in praecepto Clementis XI. p. m., iuxta tenorem iuramenti, quod et praestitimus et per Dei gratiam hactenus servavimus. Similiter protestor pro me et meis subditis, nos nunquam egisse apud imperatorem aut eius ministros, ut persisteret in proposito non admittendi decreta S. Sedis circa ritus Sinenses. . . . Praeterea

These statements of the Vice-Provincial were personally confirmed by the six Jesuits of the Chinese Vice-Province on October 22nd, 1724,¹ and on 30th October they were joined by the five French Jesuits of Peking.² The blame for the Emperor's prompt withdrawal of his alleged permission of the omission of the rites by the Christians, was laid on the Jesuits Bouvet and Suarez who, after the others had been dismissed, were detained by Kanghi at the conclusion of the audience of January 14th, 1721. To destroy "a suspicion so horrible, rash and most false", the two above-named missionaries swore on November 2nd, 1724, on their word of honour as priests and before God, that there was no truth whatever in the whole accusation. The Emperor had never said that he was prepared to tolerate the omission of the rites, in fact he was not even in a position to grant such toleration.³

Whereas the documents quoted up till now are content with a mere statement of facts, a letter of the six Jesuits of the Chinese Vice-Province to their General expresses their pain at these terrible accusations.⁴ After refuting all the charges as unfounded, they draw attention to the fact that it was not very likely that men who could furnish testimony to the blamelessness of their conduct whilst they were still in Europe, from those who knew them, would suddenly fall into enormous crimes in China.

testor nec me nec meos subditos ullam habuisse partem in comprehensione et detentione tam D. Pedrini quam DD. Ludovici Antonii Appiani et Antonii Guigues. . . . De duobus his postremis facinoribus, scil. molitione, ut imperator Sinarum persisteret in proposito non admittendi decreta S. Sedis circa ritus Sinenses, et instigatione, ut comprehenderentur illi tres missionarii, modo per me facta Pekini interrogatione, ubi ea machinatio solum strui poterat, interposito plurium nostrorum iuramento ad me refertur, nullum e nostris in calumniose nobis imputata ea crimina, quae sine horrore dici non possunt, lapsum fuisse. . . . *Summarium*, § 7.

¹ *Ibid.*, § 8.

² *Ibid.*, § 9.

³ *Ibid.*, § 6. Cf. Appendix, n. 9.

⁴ **Summarium*, § 88. Cf. Appendix, n. 8.

“ But if our protests and attestations are not received, or if they are powerless against the arguments, or rather the sophisms of our accusers, and if the charges against us continue to be regarded as incontestable, there remains nothing for us but to throw ourselves, as guilty children, at the feet of His Holiness and the feet of our General and to humble ourselves under the fatherly hand that chastises us. Though we feel innocent of the crimes of which we are accused, we do not deny that we have all offended in many things ; far be from us the blasphemy of saying that we are without sin, thus making a liar of Him who is just and true and who cleanses us from all guilt. But even though the Pope be resolved to punish his guilty sons, we cease not to pray that he would at least spare the innocent mother (viz. the whole Order) who has no share in the guilt of her children. The supreme Judge of all judges has laid it down that the father—and the mother also—should not bear the guilt of the son. For the sake of ten just He was willing to spare five cities ; is it possible that the most lowly Society of Jesus should be deemed worse than Sodom and Gomorrah, and that the whole body should suffer for the guilt of a few, seeing that it is adorned by so many holy men and by numberless just ones.”

In spite of all representations the accused were unable to obtain an acquittal in the cardinalitial Congregation of September 14th, 1725. The Jesuits accordingly made a fresh assault. Up to this time they had only been able to adduce in their discharge the testimonies of members of the Society, or of other Congregations, but now, with a new collection of documents,¹ they threw into the scales the sentence pronounced by Juan de Casal, Bishop of Macao, on

¹ “ *Ristretto de' nuovi documenti, che li missionarii della Compagnia di Gesù dimoranti nella Cina, nel Tunkino e nella Cocincina, esibiscono alla S. Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, in prova della loro obediienza al precetto Apostolico della Costituzione ' Ex illa die ', ed agli altri ordini intimati al P. Generale della medesima Compagnia in nome d'Innocenzo XIII. di glor. mem. da Msgr. segretario della stessa Congr. alli 13 di Settembre l'anno 1723.”

the basis of a judicial inquiry conducted by Emmanuel of Jesus and Mary, Bishop of Nanking. The latter attests submission to the Clementine Bull and the continuation of the administration of the Sacraments for thirteen Jesuits on December 1st, 1724, and on the 11th for another five, all of them being mentioned by name ; for a short time only, some of the five had refrained from administering the Sacraments, from scruples of conscience.¹ Two of the above-mentioned thirteen and six others were similarly defended by Bishop Laghi of Lorima, Vicar Apostolic of Shansi, by the Bishop of Nanking once more, by his Vicar-General and by four Franciscans, in duly authenticated depositions.² Testimonies from outsiders were not obtainable everywhere, as for instance, in places where there were no other missionaries except Jesuits. Accordingly ten of the latter swore on their word of honour as priests³ that some of their number had administered the Sacraments immediately after swearing to the Clementine Constitution, and that all did so long before Innocent XIII's. decree was communicated to them.⁴ This statement amounts to an admission that some of the above-mentioned ten had not done so immediately after taking the oath to the Constitution, but in this matter those chiefly inculpated were not these ten, but the Jesuits of Peking. Thereupon the six Jesuits of Peking attested under a joint oath signed by them on October 22nd, 1724,⁵ that they obeyed, as punctually as possible, all papal decrees, especially the ordinance *Ex illa die*, and that they had always obeyed them. From motives stated by Laureati, the Visitor at the time, motives which Mezzabarba had approved at least in practice, they had refrained for a time, as they explained in a letter to Tamburini, dated October 28th, 1724, from administering the Sacraments publicly, though they had never ceased to do so privately, to such as were prepared to submit to the papal decrees. In view of the Emperor's commands and threats they could

¹ *Ibid.*, n. 1 and 4.

² *Ibid.*, n. 2-3, 5-10.

³ " In verbo sacerdotis."

⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 13.

not do so publicly without the obvious risk of the whole mission being destroyed at a single stroke. That the Sacraments were secretly administered is proved by the fact that after Mezzabarba's departure a family of the imperial blood, numbering seventy persons, became Christian almost in its entirety, the only exception being its head.¹ They further protest that they made no attempt to dissuade Kanghi from tolerating the prohibition of the rites nor were they aware that "anyone was guilty of so enormous a crime". The five French Jesuits of Peking issued a similar declaration,² as did Placid Hervieu, the Superior of the whole French Mission in China.³ As Joseph Suarez and Mourao, more especially the latter, were particularly charged with having strengthened the Emperor in his resistance to the papal decree, and with having been the cause of the imprisonment of the three missionaries, documents were furnished in justification of Mourao in particular.⁴ That Pedrini's imprisonment had been

¹ On this converted family, many members of which saved themselves from the Emperor's wrath by renouncing Christianity, cf. Parennin, Aug. 20, 1724, in *Lettres édif.*, IV., 366-393.

² **Ristretto*, n. 14.

³ In a letter of November 21, 1724, to Tamburini "attesta in primo luogo che tutti i suoi sudditi, che stavano divisi per le provincie, o da che fu loro intimata la costituzione *Ex illa die*, o almeno più anni prima di quel tempo in cui scriveva, avevano amministrato i sacramenti ammettendoci que' christiani che giudicavano essere debitamente disposti a riceverli, de' quali però aggiunge che esso con suo molto dolore, n'aveva trovati pochi. 2. The Sacraments were invariably given to persons dangerously sick. 3. Che fuori di questi casi, quei di loro che nelle provincie fuori di Pekino s'astenero per alcun tempo dall' amministrazione de' sacramenti . . . , protestarono dinanzi a Dio, e di nuovo protestano, che ciò non fecero per mancamento del rispetto e della obbedienza dovuta alla Sede Apost., ma perchè sapevano esserci una gran varietà d'opinioni tra li missionarii, anco degli altri ordini, et tra gl' istessi Superiori ecclesiastici intorno alla natura del precetto contenuto nella già detta costituzione e il sin dove si stendesse. . . ." *Ibid.*, n. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 17-18.

occasioned by his having told a lie about Kanghi¹ is also confirmed by Yong-Tshing's reply to Benedict XIII.'s second Brief.² The conclusion declares that the documents submitted are a justification of 40 Jesuit missionaries in China.

The Jesuit missionaries of Tongking were defended by the Dominican Giuseppe Valerio, the Cleric Minor Giovanni Andrea Masnata³ and Simon Soffietti, and those of Cochinchina by the Vicar Apostolic and Bishop of Buggio, two Franciscans, a missionary of Propaganda and an Annamite cleric. The native Christians, the Bishop wrote, are of opinion that the Jesuits upheld most strictly the Clementine prohibitions and it was quite false to say that some of them had ceased to administer the Sacraments. All and each of them worked with exemplary and indefatigable zeal. But for them no missionaries would be left in Cochinchina, especially in these days of persecution.⁴ One of the Franciscans expressed the opinion that it would be a good thing if the accusers of the Jesuits would imitate their zeal.⁵

In September, 1726, the accused submitted all these testimonials, together with the three earlier memorials to the same effect, to the Cardinals; at the same time they presented a fresh memorial⁶ in which the whole of the material submitted is surveyed and its bearing appraised. With regard to the testimonies without legal authentication, they were so numerous and so weighty as at the very least to counterbalance the statements to the contrary which were also without judicial authentication. This being so the Jesuits' guilt was not established and they must be acquitted.⁷

¹ Cf. XXXIII., 459.

² **Ristretto*, n. 19.

³ *Ibid.*, n. 20-2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ “*Memoriale informativo con la giustificazione de' missionarii della Comp. nella Cina presentata alla S. Congregazione nel settembre del 1726.”

⁷ *Ibid.*, n. 10.

It was difficult to see why the word of the accusers should carry greater weight than that of the Jesuits and their friends ; on the other hand ¹ there were objections to the persons of their detractors on account of which their evidence ought to be rejected ² ; this was true of Mezzabarba ³ and a number of others, many of whom were avowed enemies of the Jesuits whilst others were friends of the Jansenists.⁴ To all this should be added the duly authenticated evidence in discharge of the accused. The charge of disobedience, the "enormous calumny" that they were responsible for the failure of Mezzabarba's legation to Kanghi and the accusation that they were accomplices in Pedrini's imprisonment were thereby disposed of.⁵ After such a justification there was no need for the Jesuits to furnish yet another apology.

The question of the Malabar customs made a step forward under Benedict XIII. The Congregation set up by Innocent XIII. for the purpose of studying this delicate matter, was confirmed by his successor. It approved the decree of the Legate Tournon on the administration of the Sacraments to the pariahs. Thus Benedict XIII. went farther than Clement XI. who had declined to decide this matter.⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, n. 11-12.

² *Ibid.*, n. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, n. 14-16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 17-20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 26 *seqq.*

⁶ É. AMMANN in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, IX., 1728.

CHAPTER IV.

JANSENISM IN FRANCE AND THE NETHERLANDS—DEATH OF BENEDICT XIII.

(1.)

Benedict XIII. had no sooner ascended the throne of St. Peter than a rumour spread in France that, as a Cardinal, the new Pope had been an opponent of the Bull *Unigenitus* and that he had pleaded on his knees with Clement XI. not to publish it.¹ More than one circumstance seemed to give substance to the rumour. The customary Jubilee Bull published at Benedict's accession² contained not a single phrase excluding the Appellants from the graces of the Holy Year; on the contrary, some of its expressions appeared to favour the Jansenist teaching about irresistible grace.³ The Dominican Church historian Noël Alexandre, though an Appellant, was informed that he might resume his correspondence with Benedict, whereupon Alexandre expressed the hope⁴ that the Pope who, as a Dominican, had been reared on the pure

¹ FLEURY, LXXI., 719 *seq.* He is still suspected of Jansenism in M. MARTIN, *Hist. de France*, XV., 142.

² June 10, 1724, *Bull.*, XXII., 50.

³ [CADRY], IV., 78. *Cf.* Letter of the Jansenist Bishops Soanen and Colbert to Benedict XIII., February 1, 1725 (in [NIVELLE], II., 1, 285), who exult over the expression of the Jubilee Bull "divinae voluntati resistere neminem". *Cf.* [CADRY], IV., 231.

⁴ On August 13, 1724, [CADRY], IV., 8 *seq.* Before his death, on August 24, 1724, Alexandre probably retracted his appeal. *Cf.* COULON, O. P., in *Rev. des sciences phil. et théol.*, VI. (1912), 49 *seqq.*, 279 *seqq.*, who, however, does not take into consideration the letter of August 13, 1724, and merely glides over that of Prior Jainville of January 8, 1725 ([NIVELLE], I., 268; [CADRY], IV., 191). *Cf.* XXXIII., 279.

teaching of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, would restore peace to the Church. A pamphlet, in the form of a letter to the Pope, actually demanded that he should withdraw the Bull against Quesnel.¹ The Bishops of Auxerre, Bayeux and Rodez, whose Jansenistic opinions had been condemned by the Inquisition on July 14th, 1723, addressed to the Pope a lengthy apologia in which they sharply criticized the ignorance and presumption of that tribunal which had presumed to summon the supreme shepherds and teachers in the Church before its bar.²

However, if there ever were those who doubted Benedict XIII., they were destined to be promptly undeceived. If the presumptuous letter of the three Bishops was not condemned, it was probably due to the fact that it had not been printed. The rumour about Cardinal Orsini's opposition to the Bull *Unigenitus* was laid when a Franciscan Provincial of Avignon appealed to Cardinal Corsini and when the Pope himself described the report as untrue.³ The deficiency in the Bull of 10th June was made good by a supplementary declaration of 14th July,⁴ which became known in Paris during Advent. It was to the effect that the favours of the Jubilee did not extend to those whom the Pope's predecessors had cut off from the charity of the Christian community. The Appellant Bishops ignored this declaration.⁵ Further Indulgences granted on 22nd July, were limited to persons in communion with the Holy See.⁶ If Benedict XIII. had communicated with Noël Alexandre, it was in the hope of winning over that aged scholar.⁷ The Pope spoke quite plainly when praising the zeal of the Bishop of Gap for the Constitution against Quesnel,⁸ as well as in a further Brief in which he commented

¹ [CADRY], IV., 97.

² *Ibid.*, 83-9.

³ FLEURY, LXXI., 719 *seq.*

⁴ *Bull.*, XXII., 68 *seq.*

⁵ [CADRY], IV., 174.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 5. *Cf. Bull.*, XXII., 76.

⁷ COULON, *loc. cit.*, 292.

⁸ On November 19, 1724, in [CADRY], IV., 173.

on the advice given him by the Bishop of Blois at the beginning of his pontificate. There were two parties, the Bishop had explained,¹ viz. the Jansenists and the Molinists. Up to that time the Popes had only struck at the Jansenists, hence the Molinists were triumphant. The Bishop accordingly prayed Benedict XIII. to defend grace, as his predecessors had fought for freedom, and by expounding the truth, to put an end to the disputes. The Pope replied in courteous language² but at the same time he made it perfectly clear that there was only one remedy for the French troubles, namely, simple obedience, and that the Apostolic See could not be blamed if peace had not been restored long ago. People were for ever looking for help which they themselves owed to the suffering Church.

These steps reveal clearly enough why Benedict XIII.'s elevation gave rise both to fear and hope among the various parties in France. As a Dominican the Pope had held the doctrine of efficacious grace. Now one reason why Noailles and the Appellants had rejected the Bull against Quesnel was that it put unjustifiable limits to the freedom of theological schools—in other words, it created difficulties for the advocates of efficacious grace.³ Since the publication of Pascal's last *Provincial Letter* the Jansenists had, on the whole, taken the standpoint that their teaching on grace was none other than that of the Dominican school.⁴ The Jesuits sought to deprive them of this defence by pointing to the divergences of the Dominican from the Jansenist teaching,⁵ but a few Molinists had also gone so far as to assert that the Bull *Unigenitus* was irreconcilable with efficacious grace.⁶ This opinion was

¹ *Ibid.*, 132-5.

² Brief of January 12, 1725, *ibid.*, 194.

³ Cf. XXXIII., 251.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ [PATOUILLET], I., 291-308, III., 183. Cardinal de Bissy affirmed the divergences in his *mandement* of 1710 (*ibid.*, I., 301), the Jesuit Annat enumerates eighteen differences (*ibid.*, 302).

⁶ In a censure of Douai, 1722, the Dominicans Massoulié and Contenson were accused of Jansenism, an accusation which called forth many apologies. [CADRY], III., sect. 5, p. 76, 79.

shared by a number of Dominicans who sided with the Appellants for that very reason¹; in their eyes, to receive the Bull was the same thing as deserting the school of St. Thomas for that of the Molinists.² It was, of course, exceedingly painful for an Order which until then had always been a bulwark of the Holy See, to find a spirit of insubordination insinuating itself into its ranks. Antoninus Cloche, the General, took action at once and declared the appeal null and void, and when this measure led thirty-two Dominicans of Saint-Jacques in Paris to appeal both from the Pope and from all present and future ordinances of their General, he forbade all such steps under pain of excommunication.³

It seems probable that the divisions within the Order and the suspicions from without, could have been prevented if the Pope himself had spoken one word with a view to settling the dispute. Ever since July, 1714, the Dominican Graveson had sought to influence Benedict XIII. in this sense. He prayed

¹ The Appellants of the Monastery of Saint-Jacques, Paris, give as one of the motives for their appeal of October 10, 1718, the following: "cognita denique aemulorum doctrinae Thomisticae pertinacia, quae eo perducta est, ut passim iactitent tum voce tum scripto, a praefata constitutione ultimum vulnus esse inflictum doctrinae Thomisticae de gratia Dei suapte natura efficaci" ([NIVELLE], I., 266). Sharper still are the Dominicans of Angoulême, January 5, 1719: "The Bull has been extorted par les ennemis déclarés de l'école de saint Thomas" who want to do away with a doctrine that is and remains "la lumière et le flambeau de l'Église, voulant substituer en sa place et faire régner des opinions dérégées, une morale relâchée", etc. (*ibid.*, II., 2, 311).

² "Pour le groupe des 'appellans' de Saint-Jacques quicônque recevait la bulle, était considéré comme déserteur de l'école de saint Thomas et s'inscrivait par le fait même parmi les partisans de l'école rivale" (COULON, *loc. cit.*, 281).

³ Letters of Cloche, February 26, 1717, and December 6, 1718; in COULON, *loc. cit.*, 77 *seq.*, 79 *seq.* Cf. BRUCKER in *Études*, L. (1890), 31. Appeal of the "Grand Couvent" of April 1, 1717, in [NIVELLE], I., 114. On Cloche (*ob.* 1720), cf. *Rev. Thomiste*, XIX. (1911), 421 *seqq.*

for a papal declaration to the effect that efficacious grace and gratuitous predestination to eternal life had not been condemned by the Bull *Unigenitus*, on the contrary, that this was the teaching of the Church based on the unshakable principles of St. Thomas and St. Augustine. The Pope did not seem disinclined to grant the request. On October 24th, 1724, he requested Graveson that a petition to this effect should be addressed to him in the name of the whole Dominican Order.¹

The new General, Augustine Pipia, accordingly sent in a petition² in which he expressed three demands. The first concerns the doctrine of efficacious grace and predestination to eternal life, independently of any *scientia media*, or any merits foreseen by such a knowledge. The Pope was asked to declare that this was the ancient teaching and that it was the one most in harmony with Holy Writ, the papal decrees and the principles of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, and that it was in no way condemned by the Bull *Unigenitus*. The Pope was further requested to declare that no doctrine of St. Thomas, either in dogmatic or moral theology, was affected by the aforesaid Bull; lastly the Pontiff was invited to proceed with canonical penalties against those who dared to censure the doctrine of efficacious grace. The three petitions were followed by a postscript referring to a Bull said to have been drawn up by Paul V. at the conclusion of the celebrated discussions on grace.³ If the Pope deemed it expedient, with a view to tearing out all new opinions by the roots, as well as benefiting the Church, let him publish that Bull.

It is evident that the petition was not immediately aimed at the Jansenists who made a show of favouring the Thomists, whilst they opposed the Bull, but rather against the protagonists of that document and the enemies of the Thomist teaching, viz. the Molinists. This is evident from the nature of the arguments made use of in the petition. In the very first sentences, protection is asked for the opinions which the

¹ BRUCKER, *loc. cit.*, 34 *seq.*

² Published, *ibid.*, 37-42; ASTRÁIN, VII., 171-6.

³ On the Bull, *cf.* the present work, XXV., 249, n. 1.

Dominicans were stated to have defended so brilliantly and so powerfully in the Congregations *De Auxiliis* under Clement VIII. and Paul V. The petition then goes on to assert that since the days of Innocent I. the Popes had declared the doctrine of efficacious grace to be in conformity with the teaching of the Fathers of the Church, more especially with that of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, but that at the present time false rumours were being spread, especially in France, by means of writings, theses, sermons, to the effect that these two points of doctrine had been condemned by the Bull *Unigenitus*. There follows a quotation from the Bull *Pastoralis* in which Clement XI. rejects, in the severest terms, the Jansenists' false claim that the Bull *Unigenitus* had condemned Thomism. This papal declaration, the petition states, had made no particular impression on the opponents of the Thomist school because the twin doctrines of efficacious grace and gratuitous predestination had not been expressly mentioned.¹ In order to secure concord and peace in the Catholic schools and to guarantee to the Order of Preachers its teaching, Benedict XIII. was accordingly asked to supplement the omission of Clement XI.

There can be no doubt that Benedict XIII. personally held the opinions of the Dominican school, but even a friend of the Dominicans could not comply with everyone of these requests. The Pope issued neither dogmatic decision nor Bull addressed to the universal Church: all he did was to address a Brief² to the Order of Preachers in which he exhorts its members to scorn, in their magnanimity, the false accusations against their teaching, more especially against the doctrine of efficacious grace and predestination *ante praevisa merita*,

¹ "Ex eo Clementis XI. silentio adversarii scholae nostrae Thomisticae ansam etiamnum arripiunt huic doctrinae de gratia . . . censurae notam inurendi eamque cum haeresi Ianseniana, quae iure optimo ab Ecclesia damnata est, perperam confundendi, ut his atrocibus calumniis in scholam Thomisticam coniectis omnium catholicorum odium et invidiam ei conflare possint." BRUCKER, *loc. cit.*, 39.

² "Demissas preces," November 6, 1724, *Bull.*, XXII., 109 *seq.*

viz. independently of any merits foreknown by God. The Pope likewise refrained from declaring that the Dominican opinion was better in keeping with the sources of the faith and the principles of St. Augustine and St. Thomas ; all he did was to observe that the Order had laudably taught these opinions until then and that it gloried, with commendable eagerness, in having deduced them from the writings of St. Augustine and St. Thomas and the sources of revelation. Alluding to those Dominicans who were also Appellants, the Brief pointedly observes that the genuine disciples of St. Thomas should be distinguished for their unimpeachable loyalty and submission to the Holy See. This amounts to an official statement that in spite of their constant appeal to St. Thomas, the Appellants could not claim to be true followers of the Angelic Doctor. The Brief designates the enemies of the Apostolic See, that is the Jansenists, as the authors of the calumnies against the Dominicans and sees in the accusations against the preaching Friars a sequel to those proffered against the Holy See.¹ Just as these people twisted the Scriptures and the papal definitions, so did they distort the teaching of St. Thomas. If none of this could prove acceptable to the Appellants, least of all could they relish the eulogy of the Bull *Unigenitus* which the very first sentences described as a most salutary and most wise pronouncement by Pope Clement XI. The fact that there was no opposition between the Bull and the Thomist teaching was thus confirmed by the recognition of both.

The Brief did not meet with everybody's approval in Rome. The Pope had not submitted the draft—it was probably from the pen of Graveson—to the Cardinals of the Holy Office.²

¹ "Indeque audere nonnullos apostolicæ auctoritati ac vestrae existimationi detrudere, quod . . . quodque alienæ prorsus calumniosæque interpretationes ad conflandam memoratæ constitutioni invidiam temere excogitatæ [by the Jansenists ; cf. Bull "Pastoralis", 52, *Bull.*, XXI., 810] ad iniuriam quoque vestri nominis redundarint."

² [CADRY], IV., 165.

On the whole it failed to make the desired impression on the Appellant Dominicans, even though Benedict went so far as to write an autograph letter to the community of Saint-Jacques in Paris¹; nothing less than the complete withdrawal of the Bull *Unigenitus* would have satisfied the Appellants of that house. Nor did the Brief lead to the slightest change in the dispute between the theological schools. In a publication by a friend of the Jesuits, an attempt was made to show that the Brief gave the Molinists no cause for anxiety and to the Thomists no reason to exult, nor could the Quesnellists appeal to it; the Brief left the Thomists free to advocate their opinions, but the same was true of the other Catholic schools.² A few over-enthusiastic Dominicans did indeed enormously exaggerate the bearing of the papal document. This was particularly the case with the distinguished but passionate Billuart who composed a whole series of polemical pamphlets on this occasion.³ But more than all the rest the Quesnellists claimed that the Pope had declared that the Thomist doctrine of grace was derived from St. Augustine and St. Thomas, thus completing that which had been begun by the Congregations held under Clement VIII. and Paul V. In this way the Jesuits had been unmasked as calumniators, innovators and seducers of the people, whereas the gentlemen of Port-Royal had been justified.⁴ On the whole the Brief confirmed the Appellants in their opposition to the Bull. They regarded the Brief as a kind of payment on account: if the Pope had consented to make declarations on one point of the doctrine of grace, there was reason to hope that he would do likewise

¹ COULON, *loc. cit.*, 306. They made a full submission in 1728 (*ibid.*, 307).

² [CADRY], IV., 169 *seqq.*

³ BILLUART, *Supplementum cursus theologiae*, Würzburg, 1760, *Vita auctoris ad a.* 1724. One of these polemical writings is entitled: *Le Thomisme triomphant par le bref "Demissas preces"*.

⁴ [CADRY], IV., 171 *seq.* Cf. the letter of the Jansenist Bishops Colbert and Soanen to Benedict XIII., February 1, 1725, in [NIVELLE], II., I, 285.

on other points, until nothing remained of the Bull.¹ As for the French Government, Fleury prevented the registration of the new Constitution which the Dominicans had demanded.²

In Spain the Brief gave rise to a veritable theological struggle, which it took all the Inquisition's authority to repress.³ On the other hand Cardinal Bentivoglio, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, who records the fact, is himself a striking example of the strange notions which the papal Constitution had called forth. When the Pope meditated yet another similar step in 1727, Bentivoglio communicated the matter to Madrid in terms full of positive alarm. It would be remembered, he wrote, that on March 26th, on the occasion of the Pope's projected journey to Benevento, he had expressed a suspicion that advantage might be taken of this journey of the Pontiff to pass some measure against the Bull *Unigenitus* which would upset the Catholic religion throughout the Christian world. That suspicion was now a reality for, on His Holiness' return he had ascertained that a Bull was in print which, on the plea of confirming the privileges of the Dominicans, approved the Dominican teaching in terms that amounted to a condemnation of the Bull *Unigenitus* and robbed it of its efficacy. Suspicion was further increased by the mystery in which the printing was wrapped. The manuscript text of the Bull was sent in, sheet by sheet, the printing was done in the presence of the Dominican Arnia,

¹ *Ibid.*, 172; COULON, *loc. cit.*, 306. On November 13, 1724, NOAILLES wrote to Rome: "L'amour que le S. Père a pour la vérité, ne doit pas se renfermer dans l'école de saint Thomas. Il doit s'étendre sur toutes les vérités auxquelles la bulle donne atteinte" ([CADRY], IV., 132). Cf. his letters to the Pope of November 17, 1724 (*ibid.*, 178), and January 15, 1725 (*ibid.*, 209; cf. 212); Soanen, August 28, 1726 ([NIVELLE], II., 1, 93, n. XVI): "Sa Sainteté a déjà accompli une partie de nos vœux, et nous ne nous laissons pas d'attendre de sa part de nouveaux secours."

² HARDY, 26.

³ Cardinal Bentivoglio, memorial of June 6, 1727, in [CADRY], IV., 832 *seq.*

who at once took possession of the printed sheets. The excitement which these things called forth in the Sacred College and the ferment throughout Rome could not be imagined. The worst was to be feared; the publication of the Bull might prove the signal of a general war of religion throughout the Christian world and the schism which up till then had been restricted to a few corners of France, might well spread to every country. If one Pope altered the dogmatic definitions of another, what became of papal infallibility? And what security for the future was there for the faithful in matters of faith?

In these circumstances Cardinal Belluga had called on him on Thursday morning and Cardinal Cienfuegos on the previous morning; they had unanimously decided to represent to the Pope that their respective Governments could not remain indifferent in the matter on account of the political disturbances which there was cause to fear. For this reason they prayed His Holiness to communicate the Bull to them previous to its publication as otherwise there was a danger of its not being accepted. A number of envoys had presented a memorial in this sense.¹

¹ *Tendra V. S. muy presente que en mis cartas de 26 marzo, en que dí cuenta del viage del Papa a Benevento, motivé al mismo tiempo la sospecha y ponderable temor que aquí se tenia de que S. S^d en este su viage hiciese alguna cosa perjudicial a la constitucion Unigenitus que disturbase por todo el mundo christiano la religion catolica, y ahora debo decir a V. S. que este mi rezelo con grande dolor mio viene a verificarse, por averse descubierta en la buelta de S. E. que se imprimió una bula en la qual con pretexto de renovar los privilegios a la religion Dominicana se entra a aprobar su doctrina con tales terminos que la constitución Unigenitus queda totalmente condenada e inutil, siendo lo que maiormente aumenta el temor, el gran recato y cautela con que se ha hecho esta impresion que fue remitiendo aquí el original pliego por pliego, y hechoso imprimir en presencia del Pre M^{ro} Arnea Dominicano quien luego que un pliego se acababa da imprimir lo retirava y tenía siempre la imprenta. Asseguro a V. S. che no podra S. M. figurarse la justa commocion que esta noticia ocasionó a todo el s. colegio y el tumulto de toda Roma :

The watchword "efficacious grace", the memorial explains,¹ was a cloak for every Jansenist heresy; in its name they lodged appeals and demanded explanations; the Bull in question would be considered as the desired explanation and the Constitution against Quesnel would be rendered ineffective. Noailles and the Appellants would not fail to misuse the new Bull; they would be triumphant. The expression "efficacious grace" was first used by Calvin. Why then, in opposition to the opinion of many theologians, was the doctrine of efficacious grace ascribed to St. Thomas since it was first propounded by Calvin? Other expressions and definitions in the draft of the Bull were similarly objected to.

The Spanish ambassador had yielded to unfounded fears. Benedict XIII. had indeed had a gigantic Bull drawn up² which contained a list of all the privileges of the Dominican

ciertamente la cosa puede ser de mas funestas consecuencias, y que si el Papa publica esta su bula, sera indicio de una guerra universal de religion por todo el mundo christiano, y el scisma que iba picando en pocos angulos de la Francia se hará universal a todos los reynos, y si un pontifice retrata las decisiones de otro en materia de fé, en donde estará la infalibilidad de la cathedra de S. Pedro? y que certeza tendran de qui adelante los fieles en su creencia? Sin embargo yo escribo una carta y no una disertacion. En este tal estado de cosas vino a verme el s. card. Belluga el jueves por la mañana para excitar con su acostumbrado e innato zelo el mio, y ahier mañana viene tambien el s. card. Cienfuegos, y aviendo juntos comparado y examinado la materia, hemos concertado de representar a S. S^d el interes de nuestros respectivos soberanos en esta importantissima materia por las turbulencias civiles que podian temerse en sus reynos y dominios. Por lo que suplicamos a S. B. se dignase comunicarnos dicha bulla antes de arreglarla al borron de no ser admitida [?]; el qual passo ambos hemos executado ahier con las memorias que con copia del billete que he scritto al card. secretario de estado incluyo a V. S. Correspondencia del card. Bentivoglio al Marques de la Paz, Simancas Archives.

¹ Extract in [CADRY], IV., 832 seq.

² By the auditor Accolamboni under the direction of Mola, Procurator-General of the Dominicans. *Ibid.*

Order and confirmed and further amplified them; even a lengthy section on the teaching of St. Thomas in the Dominican Order was not wanting. However, the Pope had no intention to trench too closely on the Bulls *Unigenitus* and *Pastoralis*, though they were not expressly mentioned in the first draft of that particular section.¹ It was likewise a fact that Benedict XIII. had his Bull drafted and printed with the utmost secrecy, though the affair nevertheless came to the knowledge of some of the Cardinals in a roundabout way, whereupon these, that same night, from July 5th to 6th, conferred with the two Albani, Pico, Zondadari and Salerni; they decided to inform Cienfuegos, Polignac and Bentivoglio, the ambassadors of the Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain. The latter failed to see the Pope in time, but they sent a letter to the Secretary of State in which they complained that the Pope was taking important decisions without the advice of the Cardinals, deprived the Molinists, so it seemed, of their freedom to express their opinions and put the Dominicans in a false position in more than one diocese. The Bull should be withdrawn for the Government would not receive it. Cardinal Belluga further objected that as recently as Innocent XIII.'s reign the privileges of the Orders had been curtailed.²

The Pope yielded to these representations to the extent of submitting his Bull to an examination by the Inquisition and as a sequel to its observations and those of Bentivoglio, and in order to prevent the various courts from interfering with it, he had it revised and reprinted.³ In its definitive form the Bull has a much impugned paragraph in which the teaching of St. Thomas is extolled and earlier papal approbations of his works confirmed anew. Then to stop the calumnies of the troublesome and obstinate disturbers of the Church's tranquillity, it strictly forbids all offensive attacks on the

¹ There is nevertheless question of the "erreurs proscrites de Quênel". *Ibid.*, 835.

² *Ibid.*, 831 seq.; FLEURY, LXXII., 433 seqq.

³ Bull *Pretiosus* of June 28, 1727, *Bull.*, XXII., 522-554. Some doubts are removed on September 28, 1728 (*ibid.*, 730).

teaching of St. Thomas and that of his school, which stands in such high repute in the Church, as if it were identical with that of Jansenius and Quesnel, especially where in that school there was question of efficacious grace and predestination.¹

The final text of this paragraph differs from the draft chiefly by the fact that the doctrine of efficacious grace and unconditional predestination is no longer ascribed to St. Thomas, as it is in the draft, but only to his school. Moreover a clause is omitted which had placed under papal patronage not only those two points of doctrine, but even all those opinions which, in the Thomist view, are intimately connected with it.² Furthermore it is no longer stated that up to that time the Order of Preachers had studied the works of its master unflinchingly.³ In view of the appeals of the French Dominicans such a eulogy may have been considered no longer in place.

Naturally enough the new Bull also led to endless discussions. The Dominicans are triumphant, we read in a Jansenist publication,⁴ the Molinists are crushed. It will not be difficult to show that efficacious grace and unconditional predestination were nothing but Quesnel's teaching. At the Archbishop's palace the Bull gave great satisfaction though on account of the numerous privileges granted to the Dominicans and the recognition of the Bull *Unigenitus*,

¹ " Ut autem turbulenti ac pertinaces tranquillitatis Ecclesiae catholicae perturbatores desinant, orthodoxam s. Thomae doctrinam calumniari . . . , mandamus, ne doctrinam memorati s. Doctoris eiusque insignem in Ecclesia scholam, praesertim ubi in eadem schola de divina gratia per se et ab intrinseco efficaci ac de gratuita praedestinatione . . . agitur, ullatenus dicto vel scripto contumeliose impetant, ac veluti consentientem cum damnatis ab Apost. Sede et signanter a constitutione . . . Unigenitus Iansenii, Quesnellii et aliorum erroribus traducant. . . "

² " Aliasque [sententias] cum ipsis in D. Thomae schola intime connexas." Cf. [CADRY], IV., 838.

³ " Inoffenso pede," *ibid.*

⁴ July 22, *ibid.*, 839.

it could not be received in France. The innovators, the Archbishop of Arles wrote,¹ were jubilant because they saw the fire started at the Vatican and they merrily danced round the flame. The Jesuits of Paris, we learn from another quarter,² behaved as if the affair did not concern them, but those in the provinces felt the blow very deeply. In Rome itself the "Zelanti" among the Cardinals raised yet another protest on account of their not having been consulted in these most weighty decisions. A further ground for complaint was likewise the fear of yet another Bull in favour of the Thomists.³

With a view to forestalling unfortunate developments the General of the Jesuits, Tamburini, addressed a circular to his subjects.⁴ The Bull, we read, certainly put no obstacle in the path of the Jesuits' teaching, but harm might be caused if one or more Jesuits failed to practise the requisite restraint. In the name, therefore, of the General, Provincials should recall to the attention of everyone the Order's particular obligation of showing the utmost reverence and obedience to the Apostolic See; let no one presume to utter one word against the Constitution or any one of its clauses. Professors of philosophy and theology in particular should give proof of the greatest esteem for the Dominican Order and its teaching; in view of existing circumstances, if the slightest complaint reached the ears of Rome, the worst consequences might ensue.

Benedict XIII.'s successor explicitly stated⁵ that it had not been the purpose of his predecessor's ordinances to circumscribe the liberty of the Catholic schools.

¹ *Ibid.*, 840.

² *Ibid.*

³ "Han temido y temen que se maquine alguna nueva bulla acerca de la doctrina de los Thomistas." Bentivoglio to De la Paz on September 20, 1728, Simancas Archives.

⁴ July 12, 1727, in ASTRÁIN, VII., 181.

⁵ On October 2, 1733, *Bull.*, XXIII., 541 *seq.* The Bull *Pretiosus* had already been revoked before (February 13, 1731, and March, 1732, *ibid.*, 232, 324), in so far as it contained any innovation.

(2.)

In his pronouncements on the teaching of St. Thomas, the Pope was undoubtedly also prompted by consideration for Noailles whom he hoped to win over by acknowledging the concept of efficacious grace as uncensurable from the Church's standpoint.

The Archbishop had taken advantage of the accession of the new Pope to attempt a *rapprochement*. He promptly addressed a letter to Benedict XIII.,¹ in which he lavished eulogies on the newly elected Pontiff and expressed the hopes that he would give peace to the Church: the time for action had come, peace must be the everlasting memorial of his reign. He himself yielded to none in humble submissiveness to the Apostolic See; in fact this man of endless changes of opinion went so far as to protest that he wished he were in Rome, as he would then convince the Pope of the straightforwardness which had marked all his actions. Since 1717 no papal document had come into the hands of Noailles hence the Archbishop could look upon it as an event when Benedict XIII. sent him a friendly reply,² though not without hinting that it was for Noailles to contribute his share to the restoration of peace. To such exhortations the Archbishop would not listen. He began by enlightening the Pope on the state of affairs in France in a long letter.³ In his opinion all the mischief was due to the fact that the papal Constitutions were exploited for party purposes. In this way things have come to such a pass that it was not enough to subscribe to Alexander VII.'s formula, unless one renounced at the same time the teaching of St. Augustine and St. Thomas. Noailles himself was considered a supporter of the Jansenists and distinguished writers contended that the doctrine of efficacious grace was at variance with the papal Constitutions against the Jansenists. With the publication of the Bull *Unigenitus*

¹ July 16, 1724 [CADRY], IV., 7 *seq.*

² August 21, 1724, *Epist. ad princ.*, I., 191, Papal Secret Arch. [CADRY], IV., 80; SCHILL, 213.

³ October 1, 1724, [CADRY], IV., 119-126.

confusion rose to its highest degree and the parties of Molina and Jansenius conspired in falsifying and misusing the Bull by their explanations. It was the Pope's business to provide a remedy; let him, Noailles suggested, explain the Bull. He then enumerates a whole series of points on which the Holy See should give its decision.¹ In the hope of receiving explanations in his own sense, Noailles assured the Pope that he fully submitted to him and to the Church all that he had written, spoken or done, and that he received the Bull *Unigenitus* in the same sense in which the Pope wished it to be accepted and himself accepted it.² The fact is that Majella, through his agent, the Dominican Graveson,³ had let the Cardinal Archbishop know that if he complied with all that was asked of him, Benedict XIII. would grant whatever Noailles would ask for, with a view to the peace of the Church, such as declarations on efficacious grace, against lax moral teaching and abuses in the administration of the Sacrament of Penance.

The Pope was delighted with Noailles' letter,⁴ as a matter of fact it meant a step forward. How greatly the Archbishop realized the insecurity of his position appears from a somewhat later circular with which he sought to obtain, though in vain, the adhesion of his followers among the Bishops to the step

¹ *Ibid.*, 124.

² " Je soumetts entièrement à V. S. et de [sic !] l'Église tout ce que j'ai écrit, dit ou fait " (*ibid.*, 122); " que je reçois la constitution non d'une autre manière, mais précisément dans le même sens, dans le même esprit et dans les mêmes vues, que V. S. veut qu'elle soit reçue et la reçoit elle même " (*ibid.*, 123).

³ Graveson on August 29, 1724, *ibid.*, 80 (*cf.* 117).

⁴ The Pope read the letter aloud in his private chapel before the Blessed Sacrament to the indescribable jubilation and joy of the whole court, *Cardinal Cienfuegos reports to the imperial Chancellor Sinzendorf on November 11, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. *Cf.* *Cardinal Acquaviva to Grimaldi, November 25, 1724, Simancas Archives. The Pope is said to have exclaimed several times: " Che poteva dire di più questo buon cardinale ! " [CADRY], IV., 175.

he had taken in regard to the Pope. In this document Noailles expressly states that it was no longer possible to maintain that the Bull against Quesnel had not been universally accepted by the Church.¹ However, Noailles desired a retreat which would allow him to appear as a victor; the Pope of Rome should issue declarations of the kind desired by the Pope of Paris and submission was to be based on these declarations. Through some intermediaries negotiations in this sense were opened.² Noailles offered to submit a draft for a Bull which would give precise directions as to what was to be thought on every single dogmatic or moral dispute that had arisen since the Council of Trent. Those who submitted to the Bull would have done their duty and could no longer be attacked by reason of the distinction of right and fact. As against this Rome insisted that before any declarations Noailles must withdraw his appeal and his pastoral instruction of 1719, or at least include such a measure in his declaration of obedience.³ The Pope's reply to the Archbishop of Paris' letter was in this sense. The Brief⁴ is couched in a conciliating tone, but for all its friendliness it insinuates that the time had come for Noailles to do what remained for him to do, in other words, that the assurances hitherto given were inadequate. The Pope promised to use the utmost mildness in recalling those who had gone astray in France, though the almost unheard of scandals that had occurred there demanded very different treatment; accordingly the Archbishop should join his efforts to those of the Pope with a view to the restoration of peace.

¹ Letter of February 1, 1725 (*ibid.*, 141): "L'argument qu'on tire du silence des églises étrangères, se fortifie par le nombre des années et le laps du temps. En France l'acceptation de la part de tous les évêques, à la réserve de trois ou quatre, est expresse. Comment peut-on dire aujourd'hui que la constitution n'est pas reçue?"

² [CADRY], IV., 127-133.

³ *Ibid.*, 129, 198; Polignac to Noailles, November 29, 1724, *ibid.*, 176.

⁴ *December 5, 1724, *Epist. ad princ.*, I., 364, Papal Secret Arch.; [CADRY], IV., 179 *seq.*; SCHILL, 213.

Thereupon Noailles sought to obtain another Brief on the model of the one to the Dominicans, with declarations on various important points. On his part he would follow up the Brief with the pastoral letter that was asked of him and in which he would correct his instruction of 1719 ; after that the formal Bull might follow and serve to cover Noailles' retreat. Noailles forwarded ten articles for which he desired a place in the Bull ; these are probably the first draft of the twelve articles which subsequently gave rise to much discussion.¹ In a letter of January 14th, 1725,² the Archbishop voices his surprise that anything further should be asked of him at all, though he once more submits everything he has written to the judgment of the Pope, with express mention of his pastoral instruction of 1719. The conclusion of his letter has a retort to the papal summons that he should complete what he had begun against the Pope, as if the Holy See were to blame if peace had not been restored.

Noailles had instructed Graveson not to hand in his answer to the Pope if the examination of the twelve articles was entrusted to the Congregation of the Council³ ; he wished the examination of the twelve articles to be made with the utmost secrecy and without the concurrence of the Inquisition, as had been done in the case of the Brief to the Dominicans.⁴ The twelve articles were not submitted to the Congregation of the Council, but to a joint discussion by five Cardinals, viz. Paolucci, Ottoboni, Corradini, Tolomei and Pipia.⁵

Meanwhile a rumour spread in France to the effect that

¹ [CADRY], IV., 201 *seq.* (Noailles' instruction of January 1, 1725). Noailles' printed report dates the dispatch of the twelve articles as from the beginning of December, 1724. Text of the twelve articles in [CADRY], IV., 341 *seq.* ; PICOT, II., 170 *seq.* ; LAFITAU, II., 217.

² [CADRY], IV., 208 *seqq.* ; FLEURY, LXXII., 103 *seq.*

³ [CADRY], IV., 207.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 202.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 243 ; LAFITAU, II., 221. *Cf.* also *Voyages de Montesquieu*, II., 47 *seqq.*

Cardinal Polignac had let Noailles know ¹ that Benedict XIII. was willing to confirm the twelve articles; that the text of a pastoral letter was being drawn up in Rome in which Noailles was made to announce his submission to the Bull *Unigenitus*; that as soon as Noailles returned this pastoral letter with his signature, the twelve articles would be approved and peace could be said to have been restored. The twelve articles were already being spread in a pamphlet,² on the very title-page of which they were described as approved by Benedict XIII. At the instance of the nuncio the Royal Council put a stop to this barefaced forgery.³

These reports created a great stir. Bishop Languet of Soissons published an open letter⁴ addressed to the Jesuit De Vitry in Rome, in which he said that, according to the rumours circulating, Noailles was going to accept the Bull against Quesnel solely on the basis of declarations suggested by himself, but that this would amount to an admission by the Pope that that Bull jeopardized the truth. The Jansenists exulted whilst the Catholics were depressed. The letter in which the Archbishop of Paris announced his submission was equivocal. He avoided those expressions which were considered as evidence of real submission, that is, that he accepted the Bull "without addition or distinction",⁵ and that when he said that he accepted it as the Pope himself accepted it, in Noailles parlance this only meant that he accepted with the explanations which he had himself suggested to the Pope.⁶ Several French Bishops, headed by Cardinals Rohan and De Bissy, forwarded to Rome a memorial against the twelve

¹ February 22, 1725, [CADRY], IV., 245; cf. 247 seq. On Polignac's activity in Rome, 1724-1731, cf. also E. GRISSELLE, *Vers la paix de l'Église de France d'après les lettres inédites du négociateur le card. Polignac (1725-1732)* in *Rev. de l'hist. de l'Église de France*, II. (1911), 271 seqq., 404 seqq.

² March, 1725, FLEURY, LXXII., 114.

³ June, 1725, *ibid.*, 115; [PATOUILLET], II., 120 seqq.

⁴ [CADRY], IV., 251 seq.

⁵ "purement et simplement."

⁶ [CADRY], IV., 252.

articles.¹ The Cardinal Archbishop Du Boussu of Malines, in an open letter to the Pope² pronounced himself strongly opposed to Noailles whose plain duty, he said, it was to submit sincerely to the Bull *Unigenitus*.

Opposition to the twelve articles was no less decided in Rome. It was said that a protest against them by twenty-two Cardinals had already been drawn up.³ The pastoral letter which Noailles was to have published, was submitted by the Pope to the Inquisition which condemned it in severe terms, on the ground that it contained no profession of submission but rather a justification of the Archbishop's rebellion. Noailles was accused of introducing, on his own authority, many alterations into the text sent to him from Rome. To say that he accepted the Bull as Benedict XIII. accepted it, was meaningless for the Pope submitted to it without addition or distinction, expressions which Noailles refused to use. Furthermore Noailles accepted the Bull on the basis of the Pope's learning and piety and that only in the sense expressed in the Brief to the Dominicans. The new formula of acceptance in the sense of Benedict XIII. would only give rise to fresh confusion ; one man would go by the new formula, another by the old one ; disputes would arise as to what was Benedict XIII.'s meaning ; one man would interpret it in the light of the Brief to the Dominicans, another in that of the approval of the twelve articles, and so things would go on.⁴

The commission of five Cardinals charged with the examination of Noailles, gave its decision at the end of March : it was to the effect that Noailles must accept the Bull *Unigenitus* without addition and distinction and withdraw any utterances, writings, or actions of his, which the Holy See had condemned, more especially his appeal and his pastoral instruction.⁵ As for the twelve articles, the Pope was resolved to defer

¹ *Ibid.*, 250, 252.

² March 16, 1725, *ibid.*, 264-8.

³ *Ibid.*, 256.

⁴ Report of Ansidei, *ibid.*, 257 *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 259.

judgment until after the great Provincial Council¹ which he had planned for some considerable time already and which was actually held in Rome from the middle of April until the end of May, and was attended by thirty-two Cardinals, forty-four Bishops, three Abbots and thirty-five representatives of absent Bishops.² The Council had an unpleasant surprise for the Jansenists: the assembled Bishops, with the Pope at their head, recognized the Bull *Unigenitus* as a canon of faith. The Jansenists claimed that the words to that effect had only been fraudulently inserted in the text at a later date by the Secretary of the Council, the future Cardinal Fini. However, Benedict XIII. made no protest when the acts were printed in Rome³; moreover, quite apart from the expression "rule of faith", the Council demanded complete submission to the Constitution and qualified every opposition to it as a rebellion against which the Bishops were bound to take action. A second edition of the acts of the Council made no change in the expression in question.⁴ In the same year the Council of Avignon also described the Constitution as a rule of faith.⁵ By the time the Council concluded its work, the decision of the five Cardinals was in Noailles' hands. On July 23rd he replied that he was unable to publish the pastoral letter which had been sent to him from Rome.⁶

The negotiations were nevertheless not yet at an end. The Pope seemed resolved, in dealing with Noailles, to go to the uttermost limits of what was permissible. The draft of a new pastoral letter which Polignac dispatched to Noailles on 29th August, dropped the demand for submission without

¹ *Ibid.*, 339.

² Tit. I, c. 2, in *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 346; LAFITAU, II., 223 *seq.* In France the acts of the Council of Rome were confiscated. [CADRY], IV., 480.

³ SCHILL, 319; FLEURY, LXXII., 5-10.

⁴ [CADRY], IV., 602.

⁵ *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 479 *seq.*

⁶ [CADRY], IV., 405-410; FLEURY, LXXII., 116 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 119, on the proposal for a reconciliation by the Oratorian Girard, July 26, 1725.

addition or distinction hitherto insisted upon, and no longer demanded the publication of the pastoral letter with the submission as a preliminary condition of the approval of the twelve articles. The Inquisition was not to be consulted about the Brief which would be simply addressed to the Dominicans as had been the earlier Brief on efficacious grace.¹ However, Noailles remained unsatisfied; he submitted a fresh draft;² one that differed completely from the Roman one and which, in fact, was not presented in Rome.

Meanwhile the Pope's readiness to yield filled a number of people in France with serious misgivings. Polignac was given a commission which had been least expected by those hostile to the Inquisition, namely not to let pass anything in connection with Noailles' affairs which had not been approved by the Inquisition!³ This decision was subsequently altered in the sense that only that was to be accepted which the Pope had decreed together with the Cardinals.⁴

When Noailles' fresh draft of his acceptance of the Constitution became known in France, Cardinals Rohan and Bissy and a little later Cardinal Fleury also, warned Rome of the ambiguity of that document.⁵ Noailles, they wrote, proposed a new formula for his acceptance of the Constitution, that is, he was ready to submit to it in the same way as the French clergy. But why a new formula? Its very novelty rendered it suspect. Why was Noailles unwilling to express himself like the others? Why does he not submit like the French clergy? Does that clergy's submission differ from that of the rest of the Catholic world? The Appellants claimed that the French Bishops were not unanimous in

¹ [CADRY], IV., 413

² September 17, 1725, *ibid.*, 415.

³ *Ibid.*, 416.

⁴ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letter to the imperial chancellor Sinzendorf, October 6, 1725, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

⁵ October 9, 1725 [CADRY], IV., 427-432; FLEURY, LXXII., 235 *seq.*; HARDY, 33 *seq.* The letter was printed secretly. [CADRY], IV., 729.

their acceptance of the Bull, hence for that reason alone the new formula was of no use.

The letter of the three Bishops—the “Three Powers” as the expression was—then takes up Noailles’ declaration on the subject of his pastoral instruction of 1719. There could be no doubt that that instruction was incompatible with Catholic dogma and the authority of the Church. Could the recantation proposed by Noailles be considered adequate? He merely declared that his thoughts and sentiments were quite alien from whatever might displease the Holy See; should anything of the kind be found in his pastoral instruction, he desired that instruction to be considered as non-existent, if there was in it anything offensive to the Holy See. Now there could be no doubt that there were many things in that instruction at which the Holy See took offence. Hence Noailles must not speak in the conditional but condemn his instruction in simple and direct terms.

As regards the twelve articles, it was a strange request that the Holy See, with a view to an explanation of the Bull *Unigenitus*, should approve articles some of which had nothing whatever to do with that Constitution, or formulated articles of faith which no one impugned, whilst yet others concerned matters of such delicacy that they could not be touched upon without calling forth fresh controversies. The twelve articles had no sooner become known in France than troubles and disputes arose which rendered necessary an ordinance of the Royal Council! Moreover it was dangerous to enter on the path of concessions. The Appellants would feel encouraged to put forward fresh doubts; for ten years already they had done their best to represent the Constitution as equivocal, obscure and as endangering sound doctrine. Should the Pope consent to issue declarations, he would thereby admit that the Bull was in need of explanations, hence also that it was obscure.

The Pope had himself realized that it would be dangerous to issue a formal Bull. On the other hand difficulties would not be removed if the new papal manifesto was given the form of a Brief addressed to the Dominicans. In matters of faith

it was indifferent to whom the decision was addressed. It was accordingly impossible to circumvent consultation with the Cardinals; in any case the Brief would either not be accepted in France or it would be badly complied with. If the Brief were addressed to the Dominicans, the act might be construed as a sort of silent rebuke for other theological schools, since this time there was question of teaching common to all schools. The three prelates conclude with a prayer that every appearance of political huckstering should be avoided; obedience must be sincere and perfect in every respect.

When Polignac laid this new document before the Pope he was given a promise that, in compliance with the King's request, the affair would be examined anew by some of the Cardinals. Accordingly the previously appointed commission met once more, Falconieri taking the place of Pipia who was absent. To them were added the Secretaries of the Congregation of the Council and of Briefs to Princes, Lambertini and Majella, the Master of the Palace, Selleri, the General of the Franciscans Conventual Baldradi, and the Abbot of Montecassino, Porzia, whilst Ansidei, Archbishop of Damietta, acted as Secretary.¹ The discussions opened on January 8th, 1726, and soon took an unfavourable turn for Noailles. His assertion that the Bull *Unigenitus* was being misused in France, was countered by the letter of the "Three Powers", and Noailles' persistent silence when repeatedly challenged to furnish proof of this misuse, could scarcely make a good impression.² His case was also grievously damaged by a small publication of the Jesuit De Vitry. How was it possible, so we read there, to give to the Appellants explanations of the Bull, since their heresy consisted precisely in the fact of their demanding such explanations? ³ On top of everything, Rome came to hear of a pastoral letter ⁴ in which Fénelon's nephew, Beaumont, Bishop of Saintes, severely criticized the twelve articles and the small publication which they had spread

¹ [CADRY], IV., 476.

² *Ibid.*, 479.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ November 26, 1725, extract, *ibid.*, 516-19.

as approved by Benedict XIII. Cardinal Paolucci praised the pastoral letter.¹ It was followed by similar pastorals by the Archbishops of Marseilles² and Malines³ and several other Bishops were preparing *mandements* of the same kind or sending drafts of them to Rome.⁴

The Congregation of Cardinals finally declared⁵ that the decision of March, 1725, must be upheld. In this way all Noailles' successive steps were declared null and void. Thereupon Polignac secured a mitigation of some of the expressions in the pastoral letter to which the Archbishop was to put his signature,⁶ in particular, instead of acceptance of the Constitution "without addition or distinction", acceptance "without limitation or qualification" was now demanded.⁷ For the rest, in a letter to the Paris nuncio,⁸ Paolucci said that the cardinalitial Congregation would remain adamant in its demands.

Cardinal Polignac was satisfied with these conditions, as was the French court,⁹ but not so the jurists and officials whose opinion Noailles had sought. They viewed the draft of the pastoral that had come from Rome as a work of the Inquisition and were appalled that, in opposition to the Gallican liberties, a decree of that body should have force in France.¹⁰ As was to be expected, the consequence was that Noailles refused to sign the draft and laid all the blame for the miscarriage of the compromise on his opponents, as did his adherents. This he did, even before he had in hand the final decision of the Cardinals' Congregation, in a letter to the

¹ FLEURY, LXXII., 116.

² January 14, 1726 [CADRY], IV., 520-4.

³ January 20, 1726, *ibid.*, 526.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 525; HARDY, 35.

⁵ [CADRY], IV., 532; FLEURY, LXXII., 236 *seq.*

⁶ In the sessions of February 5 and 12, 1726. Ansidei in [CADRY], IV., 533.

⁷ "Sans aucune limitation ni relation." *Ibid.*

⁸ February 6, 1726, *ibid.*, 553.

⁹ Paolucci to the nuncio in Paris; see ANSIDEI, *loc. cit.*, 538.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 558.

Pope overflowing with assurances of his innocence and laments over the wickedness of men.¹ His friends, on the other hand, exercised their ingenuity in finding objections to the demands of the cardinalial Congregation. Noailles, they said had submitted to the Constitution in 1720, "in its true sense," were he to accept it now out of obedience to the Cardinals "without restriction or reference", he would be accepting it without reference to its real sense and without excluding its false interpretation! He was unable to withdraw his pastoral instruction of 1719 since it had only been condemned by a decree of the Inquisition, so that his withdrawal would mean recognition of an authority that was banned in France.² The Bishop of Bayeux exhorted his colleague to make it clear to the whole Church, by means of a pastoral, that for the sake of peace and charity he had consented to ask for an explanation of the Bull *Unigenitus* and to concur in the efforts by which it was proposed to restore unity and to safe-guard the honour of the Holy See. Let Noailles repeat his appeal, other Bishops would join him; the names of the Bishops of Auxerre, Blois, Troyes, Rodez were mentioned.³ The parish priests of the archdiocese came to the assistance of their Archbishop with a declaration against the pastoral letter of the Bishop of Saintes and in defence of the twelve articles; at the beginning of April this manifesto appeared in print.⁴ However, the document, which bore the signatures of 163 parish priests and 400 other clergy, met with the displeasure of the Government which had already stated its view on the twelve articles; a decision of the *Conseil* prohibited it on 18th May.⁵ For all that fresh negotiations for Noailles' submission were being constantly initiated. This is not surprising. Rome and the Bishops attached to Rome were of opinion that opposition to the Bull *Unigenitus* would be almost completely broken, and not in the archdiocese of

¹ It begins with the words: "Ergone quem amas deseris?" *Ibid.*, 540; FLEURY, LXXII, 239-245.

² [CADRY], IV., 554 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 559.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 560-3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 577 *seq.*

Paris alone, if they succeeded in winning over the Archbishop. The latter himself felt uneasy in his conscience on account of his obstinate disobedience. Moreover the year 1726 had brought him a fresh embarrassment: 1725 had been kept in Rome as a year of jubilee, with all its rich graces and Indulgences and the Pope had extended the jubilee to the whole of Christendom for the year following; the appellants Bishops, however, had been excepted. In the archdiocese of Paris the Indulgences of the jubilee could not be gained, however much the faithful longed for them, and Noailles felt it greatly that he was to blame for it.¹ The task of finally winning over the Archbishop, who was already wavering, was considered as his particular task by a man who had just then seized the reins of government, for after the fall of the Duke of Bourbon, on June 11th, 1726, André Hercule Fleury was in effect the first minister even though he did not bear the title of one.² Noailles promptly got in touch with him through his niece, the Marquise de Grammont, but Fleury insisted, though in the most courteous and gentle terms, on the Archbishop withdrawing his pastoral instruction without any declarations.³

In July, 1726, Noailles submitted yet another *mandement* ⁴ for examination by Rome and this time Benedict XIII. entrusted this task not to a Cardinal, but to a commission of four prelates and four theologians.⁵ Now it so happened that

¹ *Ibid.*, 644 *seqq.*, 733 *seqq.*; FLEURY, LXXII., 273-7. Cf. also the three “*Lettere de’ zelanti cattolici della Francia scritte alla S. di P. Benedetto, XIII. sopra la dottrina e condotta del sig. card. di Noailles, 1726,” in *Cod.*, 14, 1, 14, p. 89 *seqq.* Library of the Frascati Seminary.

² HARDY, 36 *seq.*

³ Letters of June 30 and July 3, 1726, *ibid.*, 41-3.

⁴ Extract in [CADRY], IV., 633.

⁵ The prelates were: Lambertini, Ansidei, Majella and Fini; the theologians: the Benedictine Abbot of St. Paul, Porzia, the Commissary of the Inquisition, Lucini, the Generals of the Dominicans and the Franciscans Conventual, Ripoll and Baldradi. [CADRY], IV., 635.

previous to this twenty-four Cardinals had lodged a protest against the fact that the Pope had not consulted them, especially in the negotiations with Sardinia and over Noailles.¹ Their being passed over this time also added to their discontent,² but in answer to the representations of Cardinal Albani, the Pope stated that he had appointed the commission of prelates for his own benefit, and for his own personal information. On September 21st and 22nd the commission approved the first two articles out of the twelve, but its decision remained without effect because Polignac promptly declared that the French court would only accept decrees of the Congregation for which it had itself prayed. The Pope repeated to Polignac what he had already told Albani, but the meetings of the Congregation were nevertheless put off until October and they were not resumed in the sequel. In December the Pope informed the Cardinal of Paris that he must submit without addition or distinction; in other words he renewed his earlier demands.

For all that yet another *mandement* was being prepared in Paris! In February an extraordinary courier arrived for Polignac, the bearer, it was rumoured, of Cardinal Noailles' definitive compliance with the Roman demands. Now it so happened that precisely at this time Benedict XIII. was unwilling to receive any ambassadors; however, Polignac

¹ It appeared in print: *Mémorial présenté à S. S. Benoist XIII. par les cardinaux soussignés en l'année 1726, ibid.*, 557 seq.

² *Queda esta corte con summa agitacion por haver mandado el Papa al P. Porcia Benedictino y al P. Graveson que examinasen una carta circular del card. de Noailles sobre la constitucion Unigenitus temiendo de esto que Su Santidad no obstante la justissima oposicion de la congregacion del S. Oficio y sus representaciones, que se le tienen hecho contra las malsonantes pretensiones del referido card. de Noailles y sus parciales, resuelva tan delicado punto sin intervencion de la expresada congregacion, lo qual si sucediesse, seria de considerable escandalo a toda la christianidad, y de summo perjuicio a la iglesia universal. Bentivoglio to the Marquis de la Paz, December 7, 1726, Simancas Archives. Cf. [CADRY], IV., 635 seq.

insisted so much on the necessity for him to see the Pope at any price, that the latter heard him, half sitting, half standing, in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel of St. Peter's. Noailles, so it was rumoured in Rome, had at last really submitted and executed all that was asked of him.¹ In Paris also everybody in January, 1727, awaited the pastoral letter announcing Noailles' submission.²

As a matter of fact at the end of November, 1726, Fleury had entered into negotiations with Noailles, with a view to a compromise and numerous discussions had taken place in the Archbishop's palace and at Fleury's house for the purpose of bringing matters to a head.³ A royal letter requested the Pope to compel Noailles, the Benedictines, the Genovefans and the Oratorians to accept the Bull, promising that after an interval of two months the Government would lend support to the measures taken by the Pope.⁴ The Jansenist clergy began to feel anxious about the constancy of its leader; accordingly at Christmas seven parish priests of Paris,⁵ and at the beginning of February another thirty, made representations to their ordinary which they further substantiated in a

¹ " *A esta corte llegó al card. Polignac un extraordinario de Paris sobre la importantissima materia de la constitucion Unigenitus y se dice sea la aceptacion de ella arreglada al proyecto que de aqui se le embio al card. de Noailles rechazandole al mismo tiempo diversos temperamentos que este purpurado propuso para ella; el referido card. de Polignac despues del arrivo de dicho correo hizo tanto rumor en protestarse tener precisa necesidad de hablar al Papa que ultimamente enfadado S. Santidad sin embargo de no querer oir absolutamente ningun ministro medio sentado y medio en pie oyò a este en la capilla del Sacramento de la iglesia de S. Pedro y se espera que esta ultima aceptacion del card. de Noailles que se vocifera sea verdadera y la que se deseaba, sobre cuyo particular procurarè informarme." Bentivoglio to De la Paz, February 22, 1727, *Corresp.*, p. 253, Simancas Archives.

² [CADRY], IV., 682.

³ *Ibid.*, 676 *seqq.*, 679, 693. Draft of the *mandement* that ought to satisfy Rome, *ibid.*, 680. Cf. HARDY, 50-6.

⁴ HARDY, 45. ⁵ [CADRY], IV., 678; [NIVELLE], I., 584.

memorial.¹ The tone of these documents was exactly the same as that of Noailles' letter to Rome: they began with protestations of deepest regard, after which they announced that he would not be followed should he submit and demand submission from his priests, and as the Archbishop had behaved towards the Pope, and the priests towards their Bishop, so would the laity act towards the clergy: the memorial of the thirty priests states that people of every condition and sex came to them, declaring that they would immediately leave the church if the acceptance of the Bull was announced there. Thus there was rebellion on all sides and all the bonds of ecclesiastical obedience seemed to dissolve.

Even before the opening of the discussions with Fleury, Noailles had drawn up an account of the interrupted negotiations with Rome, in order to justify his conduct. The document is dated September 16th, 1726,² and in April of the following year it appeared in print without, it was said, the concurrence of the Archbishop.³ Rome put it on the Index of forbidden books⁴ and published another account of the negotiations written by Ansidei.⁵ Thus for the moment relations with Rome were rendered impossible. Moreover Noailles was taken very seriously ill and for a whole year he was almost completely incapable of any mental application. In the course of his illness the representations of the thirty city parish priests received the approval of their colleagues in the country⁶; on the other hand, by a decree of the *Conseil* of June 14th, 1727, the Government proceeded against the thirty, whereupon the parish priests made representations to

¹ [CADRY], IV., 683; [NIVELLE], I., 585-592; FLEURY, LXXII., 429 *seq.*; 426-8.

² [CADRY], IV., 531; HARDY, 57 *seqq.* Polignac was greatly distressed by it and thought of writing a personal apology; see *Cardinal Cienfuegos to the imperial chancellor Sinzendorf, May 31, 1727, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

³ [CADRY], IV., 776.

⁴ September 20, 1727, *ibid.*, 777.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 777 *seq.*

⁶ June 7, 1727, *ibid.*, 781; [NIVELLE], I., 592.

the King, only to draw on themselves a rebuke by the Council of State.¹

(3.)

Whilst negotiations with Noailles were pending, the French Government had had to occupy itself in other ways also with the Jansenist disputes. The Regent Philip of Orleans had died in 1723, but his death brought about no substantial change in the religious policy of the Government. His successor, the no less dissolute but much less able Duke Louis of Bourbon-Condé also opposed the innovators, not indeed from any religious motives, but for the sake of peace.²

The first Jansenist Bishop to come into collision with the Duke was François Armand of Lorraine, Bishop of Bayeux. In spite of his noble lineage, Lorraine had been debarred from the episcopal dignity by Louis XIV. and then for a whole year by the Pope after the Regent had named him for Bayeux in 1718.³ That he really advocated Jansenist opinions was seen soon after his entry upon office. The Jesuit De Gennes, who was engaged in a dispute with the professors of theology of the University of Caen, appealed to Lorraine⁴ and requested him to take steps against various errors, this being his duty as a Bishop. The Bishop, in fact, did take action,⁵ but in such a way that the Inquisition prohibited his *mandement*.⁶ With the publication, in 1727, of another ordinance against divers small publications,⁷ in which he attacked the Bull

¹ HARDY, 60 *seqq.*; [NIVELLE], I., 592-5; PATOUILLET, III., 450 *seqq.*

² SCHILL, 220.

³ JEAN, 347.

⁴ March 28, 1721, [CADRY], III., 44. Cf. SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, III., 1315; FLEURY, LXXI., 583, 585.

⁵ January 5, 1722 [CADRY], III., 46 *seqq.*; [NIVELLE], II., i, 686 *seqq.*

⁶ July 14, 1723; see REUSCH, *Index.*, II., 741. Cf. above, p. 205.

⁷ July 17, 1724, [CADRY], IV., 69 *seq.*

Unigenitus and the compromise of 1720, Lorraine challenged the Government also, with the result that an ordinance¹ prohibited not only the pamphlets attacked by Lorraine, but likewise the episcopal manifesto on the subject. In October, 1725, the Assembly of the Clergy also dealt with Lorraine's ordinance of 1722; it was resolved to request the Government to allow the holding of a Provincial Council for the purpose of condemning the Bishop of Bayeux.²

Lorraine did not suffer these attacks in silence. Together with the Bishops of Auxerre and Rodez he appealed to Benedict XIII. against the decree of the Inquisition.³ To the King he made lengthy representations on the subject of the prohibition, by the Government, of his second *mandement*. As that prohibition had faced him with the compromise of 1720, he impugned its validity on the plea that the requisite conditions had not been observed.⁴ His protest against the decree of the Assembly of the Clergy was rejected by that body⁵; he accordingly defended himself in a detailed pastoral instruction addressed to his diocese⁶ and forwarded his protest to the Duke to whom he represented that the root of the religious troubles lay in the fact that the Bull *Unigenitus* was considered as a law both of the State and of the Church.⁷ Bourbon replied that he was not a theologian, but this much he knew, viz. that with few exceptions, all the Bishops accepted the Bull. Thereupon Lorraine sought to produce evidence that it had not been accepted unanimously.⁸ Bourbon had not been content to reply with the pen only; decrees of

¹ September 4, 1724, *ibid.*, 73.

² *Ibid.*, 443 *seq.*

³ REUSCH, *Index*, II., 742.

⁴ [CADRY], IV., 74-8; [NIVELLE], II., I, 699-706.

⁵ [CADRY], IV., 444 *seq.*

⁶ October 25, 1725, *ibid.*, 445; [NIVELLE], II., I, 690-3.

⁷ [CADRY], IV., 568.

⁸ Lorraine's letters of April 5 and 22, 1726, and that of Bourbon, of April 9 in [CADRY], IV., 568 *seq.* Nivelles (II., I, 706 *seq.*), is mistaken in putting the correspondence in August.

banishment against Lorraine's adherents were dispatched to Caen and Bayeux.¹ But this was not warning enough for the incautious Bishop of Bayeux; in a pastoral letter of January 15th, 1727, he declared that a General Council was necessary and defended the twelve articles.² Several parish priests now pronounced against their Bishop and at the instigation of the Government the pastoral letter was suppressed by the Parliament of Rouen.³

Lorraine had defended the Appellants and their right to appeal, though he himself was not of their number, on the contrary, in 1720 he had accepted the compromise the validity of which he later on impugned. Colbert of Croissy, Bishop of Montpellier, who had always been in the front line of the Appellants, asserted himself even more loudly though with much less skill. When in 1722 the Government demanded a fresh subscription to the formula, Colbert provided it with an introduction in which he declared that the signature was only given with the distinction of right and fact in the sense of the Clementine Peace.⁴ However, the Government insisted on a signature without any such declaration⁵ and on March 11th, 1723, it ordained that if it should become necessary, the subscription might be executed in presence of the Archbishop of Narbonne, Colbert's metropolitan.⁶ Owing to the negligence of the Intendant of Languedoc this

¹ [CADRY], IV., 74, 569.

² *Ibid.*, 699-701; [NIVELLE], II., 1, 708-715.

³ [CADRY], IV., 784 *seq.* Bishop De Caylus, of Auxerre, also came in conflict with the Government. He had censured some propositions of the Jesuit Le Moine; a correspondence followed between the Jesuits and the Bishop in which the Duke of Bourbon and Fleury intervened. A pastoral instruction of the Bishop was confiscated, but it got into print in a roundabout way (*cf. ibid.*, 315, 505, 620, 745 *seqq.*; SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, II., 141, V., 1356). That the instruction savoured of Jansenism appears from the extract in the *Mémoires* of Trévoux, 1727, 1553-1557.

⁴ [CADRY], III., sect. 5, p. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, sect. 6, p. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, sect. 8, p. 51.

decree was only put into execution on February 26th, 1724. The majority of the clergy subscribed whilst three Canons who proved recalcitrant, lost their positions.¹ In a letter to the King² and another to his diocese,³ Colbert sought to justify his introduction to the formula with a claim that it was in agreement with the Clementine Peace. Colbert's temerity earned for him the praise and approval of persons in the highest quarters, but a governmental decree of September 21st, 1724, declared that not only was subscription to the formula demanded by a Brief of Alexander VII., but that in addition to this a supplementary royal ordinance decreed the sequestration of the revenues of such Bishops as refused to sign. Colbert was liable to this penalty; the Intendant of Languedoc was to see to it that the Bishop's revenues were administered for the benefit of the poor.⁴ This sentence, together with a warning to vigilance in procuring the signature of the formula, was forwarded to all the Bishops, Universities and Cathedral Chapters and for the most part it met with willing compliance.⁵ After some delay it was carried into effect in regard to Colbert; the Bishop was accordingly compelled to reduce his household expenses for now he only retained the benefices which he possessed outside his diocese.⁶ He now appealed to the Pope himself.⁷ He began by extolling the merits of Benedict XIII. and those acts of the Pontiff which were interpreted as opposed to the Bull *Unigenitus*. His election was a manifest proof of divine omnipotence; scarcely had he been raised to Peter's throne when, in the Jubilee Bull, he had spoken of the irresistibility of the Divine Will, and shortly after, to the delight of some and the despair of others, of efficacious grace. Let the Pope

¹ *Ibid.*, IV., 11 *seqq.*

² May 2, 1724 (64 pages in 4°), *ibid.*, 15-19; [NIVELLE], II., I, 293-315.

³ June 4, 1724 (69 pages in 4°) [CADRY], IV., 19-21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 107-111.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 112 *seqq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 111.

⁷ February 1, 1725, *ibid.*, 231-4; [NIVELLE], II., I, 284-291.

finish what he had begun. The Bishop then recounts all the encroachments which the French Government had committed against the Bishops and against himself in particular. As a matter of fact in November, 1724, the court had excluded him from the meeting of the States of Languedoc and had forbidden both him and the Jansenist Bishop of Pamiers to take part in the election of the delegates to the Assembly of the Clergy.¹ The Bishops, who had come together for this election, thereupon deliberated whether they should ask for a Provincial Council against Colbert. As soon as the hot-blooded man heard of it, he raised a protest in a circular letter addressed to all the Bishops of France.² His letter was printed in July; in November it was prohibited by the State. In Paris it had been the talk of the town. As if he had not already sufficiently proclaimed his Jansenism, Colbert extolled Pavillon as the model and the father of the French Bishops, as the peculiar glory of the ecclesiastical province of Narbonne, as the saintly and magnanimous champion of truth. In like manner the gentlemen of Port-Royal also obtained their meed of praise: "Who has rendered better service to Church and State than those famous men whom it is intended to represent as the enemies of both?" They have helped to win for France that superiority which raises her above other nations; they constituted a seminary of heroes whom God raised in order to cleanse the temple and the sanctuary and to cause Israel to flourish anew. There are no Jansenists for no one defends the five propositions and who are they who are listened to against the alleged Jansenists? They are people who have been induced to propound throughout the world principles and moral teaching so corrupt that the very pagans would blush thereat.³ Colbert's writings abound in such sallies against the Jesuits.

Two letters to colleagues written at this period⁴ give us further insight into the state of mind into which the Bishop

¹ [CADRY], IV., 183.

² May 2, 1725, *ibid.*, 334-9; [NIVELLE], II., I, 344-9.

³ [CADRY], IV., 336 *seq.*

⁴ June 20 and August 25, 1725, *ibid.*, 381-6.

had worked himself. "Above all, no compromise! No concessions!" is the gist of them. However much they might deplore the statement of the Roman Council on the Bull *Unigenitus* as a rule of faith, he nevertheless rejoiced thereat, inasmuch as it was bound to defeat every attempt at a compromise. Even with the twelve articles the Bull was unacceptable; the Pope was sure to withdraw it; God's omnipotence guaranteed it; already the Pope had defended efficacious grace, whilst miracles went to show that God was with the Appellants. "So long as every disguise, all secrecy, all lies, are an abomination to us, so long are we invincible, but as soon as we begin to call good evil and evil good, we are lost beyond redemption. I doubt not, and hold it as certain that the day will come when the Bull will be generally scorned and rejected by the Church. I believe that that day will come as firmly as if I already saw it before my eyes."

Meanwhile the Assembly of the Clergy had come together on May 30th, 1725. In his inaugural speech the Bishop of Angers turned sharply upon the Appellants, whilst the Bishop of Toulouse did so in the address to the King.¹ A special commission was set up for the examination of doctrine. On its proposal the Assembly resolved to pray the King for a Provincial Council for the purpose of condemning the Bishops of Montpellier and Bayeux.² However, the Assembly had to break up without having done anything. It refused to grant to the Government a fresh heavy tax, namely one-fiftieth on Church property. Thereupon the Duke of Bourbon's anger, which the Appellants had had to feel until then, burst upon the Bishops who were true to the Church. Bourbon dissolved the Assembly on 20th October. He allowed it to sit till the 28th, but on 9th November Maurepas arrived in Paris, entered the Archives of the Assembly and cancelled all the discussions which referred to the fiftieth or which had taken place after 20th October.³ A letter from the pen of Languet, in which the Bishops laid the situation of the

¹ [CADRY], IV., 337 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 442, 443.

³ *Ibid.*, 448-455.

Church before the King,¹ nevertheless appeared in print after the termination of the Assembly, but the Parliament of Paris suppressed it.² The bitter remarks which the Advocate-General passed on the letter on that occasion were greatly surpassed by the Procurator-General of the Parliament of Rennes when that body likewise prohibited the letter.³ However, the Procurator-General's invectives were so offensive for the Bishops that the Royal Council suppressed his speech and administered a personal rebuke to him.⁴ The speech of the Advocate-General in the Paris Parliament hinted at a wish to see the twelve articles approved ; Noailles accordingly made haste to forward them to the Pope.⁵

It goes without saying that Colbert did not accept in silence the judgment pronounced upon him by the French Clergy. However, the pastoral letter ⁶ in which he informed the diocese of Montpellier of his protest against the Assembly of the French Clergy, was prohibited by the State,⁷ together with another pastoral letter ⁸ in which he sought to exploit an alleged miracle as God's witness in favour of the Appellants. In spite of everything Colbert soon reappeared in the field to defend the twelve articles and to attack, in his usual style, their opponent, the Bishop of Saintes. In his eyes "the pastoral letter of Saintes is a fresh scandal, which one finds it difficult to believe, even when it is impossible to doubt it". In it the most ordinary Christian truths were trampled under foot. "Will it be believed at last," he exclaims, "that there is a conspiracy on foot which aims at eliminating the

¹ *Ibid.*, 453 *seq.*

² January 10, 1726, *ibid.*, 487 *seq.*, 509.

³ February 27, 1726, *ibid.*, 511.

⁴ May 4, 1726, *ibid.*, 575 *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 489. A correspondence between the Jansenist Bishops and Bourbon on the occasion of the general assembly in CROUSAZ-CRÉTET, 26 *seq.*

⁶ December 1, 1725 [CADRY], IV., 472 *seqq.*; [NIVELLE], II., 1, 349-352.

⁷ April 15, 1726 [CADRY], IV., 565.

⁸ October 20, 1725, *ibid.*, 470.

most solid truths of faith and morals? How often have we not drawn attention to it! This criminal purpose is now unveiled before the whole world.”¹

(4.)

No Provincial Council took place against Colbert ; on the other hand such an assembly was convened against another prelate, less noisily self-assertive than the Bishop of Montpellier, but reputed the real saint of the party, viz. Jean Soanen. Born at Riom in 1647, Soanen had entered the Oratory as a young man in 1661 when Quesnel became his spiritual guide. On the completion of his studies he became an appreciated preacher, even before the court and the Assembly of the Clergy. At that time he employed his oratorical gifts in combatting Jansenism.² It was undoubtedly his ability as an orator that led to his elevation to the see of Senz. Quesnel took it in very bad part that he did not refuse the mitre. “Soanen,” he wrote, “is a little diplomatist whose head has been turned by a desire to make a name for himself. I was his best friend but I think that that is all over now ! ”³

In spite of his preaching against Jansenism, Soanen stuck to his former spiritual director. Even after the Bull *Unigenitus* Quesnel remained in his opinion “an innocent man whom the Jesuits wish to stone and to turn into a heretic against his will, because he has uttered too many truths”. In the same way the “*Moral Reflections*” remained for him “a book full of piety, which during thirty years has led to a vast number of conversions and has produced in myself, as in a thousand others, two great effects, viz. that of filling the heart with sorrow for one’s wretchedness and with courage to do one’s duty ”.⁴

¹ Pastoral instruction of May 19, 1726, *ibid.*, 616.

² JEAN, 200.

³ LE ROY, *La France et Rome*, 504, n. 2.

⁴ Soanen to Noailles [NIVELLE], II., I, 35.

Soanen stuck to Quesnel even after the papal decision against the latter, hence the Bull *Unigenitus* gave a new turn to his life at a time when he had reached his sixty-sixth year. It was he who, in 1717, instigated the appeal to the General Council and up to the time of his death, in his ninety-fourth year, he displayed the greatest zeal for Quesnel and against the Bull. When the Inquisition condemned his appeal, he convened a synod against the Inquisition. When Clement XI. published the Bull *Pastoralis*, Soanen appealed once more; when the compromise of 1720 came about he appealed again; when Clement XI. died, he instructed his successor, in the letter of the seven Bishops, about the Bull and on the means of getting it out of the way. When the *Conseil* prohibited the letter of the seven, he offered advice to the *Conseil*. In this spirit he replied to De Bissy's pastoral instruction; jointly with De Langle he admonished the newly elected Benedict XIII. not to suffer Molina to triumph over St. Augustine and St. Thomas and a medley of all sorts of corrupt opinions and a sacrilegious mixture of true religion and idolatry to take the place of the religion of Christ.¹

It was amid such effusions and manifestos, in which the eloquence of the aged author is still perceptible, that Soanen attained his eighty-first year, in fact it was even rumoured that he was dead. Foreseeing that, in effect, his end could not be very far off, Soanen, on August 21st, 1726, took occasion of the rumour to leave his diocese a kind of spiritual testament with his supreme admonitions. As the farewell speech of a dying man, as the last blessing of a Bishop, the document is sufficiently curious. It is a polemical pamphlet of portentous length,² born of a fighting spirit and spending itself in fighting. In the very first sentence he speaks of the conflicts of the times on which, he declares, he had sufficiently spoken in the past, on which, however, he could not be silent, and that for six reasons which he develops at length. Even in the introduction Soanen deals hard blows to his opponents :

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, XII.-XV., 30-57.

² Two dozen folio pages, in [NIVELLE], II., I, 87-100. Extract in [CADRY], IV., 693-9.

a certain professor of theology—a note carefully gives his name—has taught this and that, for which reason his Archbishop—the Archbishop of Rheims—defends him; when French Bishops condemn false doctrines they are opposed by the Inquisition.¹ Moreover Soanen invariably represents the opponents whom he combats as wicked men; according to him there exists a conspiracy for the purpose of robbing the Church of its most sacred and venerable possession²: for several years efforts have been made to infect France, and though the first attempts did not lead to the desired end, evil men pursue their purpose with greater zeal than ever and cherish the hope to see its speedy fulfilment.³

After this introduction Soanen casts a retrospective glance at the history of the Bull *Unigenitus* and the subscription to the formula and endeavours to justify every one of his own acts.⁴ He then proceeds to defend at great length the twelve articles.⁵ He declares himself expressly in favour of Quesnel's book and the 101 condemned propositions extracted from it and condemns the Bull *Unigenitus*.⁶ In like manner, in his opinion, subscription to Alexander VII.'s formula was enforced for the sole purpose of provoking fresh troubles.⁷ In this concluding part of his farewell letter

¹ [NIVELLE], II., I, 88, n. III.

² *Ibid.*, n. II.

³ *Ibid.*, 89, n. IV.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 90 *seqq.*, 93 *seqq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 96–108.

⁶ “ Nous [Soanen in 1714] fûmes persuadés après de sérieuses réflexions, que le livre [Quesnel's] ne méritoit pas plus d'être proscrit que les 101 propositions qui en ont été extraites. Aussi lorsque nous fûmes de retour dans ce diocèse, bien loin de faire aucune démarche pour le condamner, nous en fîmes l'éloge en mille occasion...” (*ibid.*, 90, n. II.). He was convinced, “ qu'avec quelque correctif que la constitution pût nous être proposée, nous ne pouvions jamais l'accepter ” (*ibid.*, 91).

⁷ “ Les ennemis de la paix... imaginèrent en 1722 un autre expédient pour exciter de nouveaux troubles ” (*ibid.*, 93, II.³ Partie). By demanding the formula they had “ cherché de dessein prémédité à aigrir et à multiplier les maux de l'Église. Tel est en effet l'usage qu'on fait des nouveaux ordres du Roi... dans la seule vue de vexer les appellants ” (*ibid.*, 94).

Soanen also attacks a number of opponents: Cardinals Sfondrati and De Bissy, the Bishops of Soissons and Saintes and half a dozen Jesuits, "the scandalous teaching of one Antoine Sirmont and the infamous Amadeus Guimenius,"¹ and the casuists in general, whose teaching was worse than that of the pagan philosophers.² Apart from his pastoral Soanen had also given scandal by illegally ordaining twelve clerics for the schismatical church of Utrecht.³ In these circumstances it was impossible to wait for the death of the octogenarian yet it was necessary to tie his hands as soon as possible. The occasion seemed propitious. In mid-June, 1726, the Duke of Bourbon was sent into banishment; sixteen-year-old Louis XV. now announced his intention of taking the reins of government into his own hands. However, this did not happen: in the place of the youthful, indolent prince, the destinies of France were guided by his tutor, seventy-three-year-old Hercule André de Fleury, at one time Bishop of Fréjus and a Cardinal since 1726. Fleury was not only a gifted statesman but also a man of a truly ecclesiastical character. Were it only to restore peace to the distracted realm, he sought to put an end to the religious disputes, and that on the basis of the Bull *Unigenitus*.

The favourable occasion of obtaining a Provincial Council against Soanen⁴ was taken advantage of by his Metropolitan, Pierre Guérin de Tencin, recently appointed to the archiepiscopal see of Embrun. Guérin had gone to Rome with Cardinal de Bissy in 1721; after the conclave he remained in Rome as French *chargé d'affaires* and at the beginning of July, 1724, Benedict XIII. himself gave him episcopal consecration on his appointment to the archiepiscopal see

¹ *Ibid.*, 102, n. IX.

² *Ibid.*, 107, n. XIX.

³ FLEURY, LXXI., 172 *seq.*

⁴ The acts of the Council in Coll. Lacensis, I., 615-742. Cf. SCHILL, 224-233. The documents also in [NIVELLE], I., *Appendix*, 1 *seqq.*, and II., I., 87 *seqq.* Cf. P. A. KIRSCH, in *Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXXVII. (1907), 3-24, and especially J. CARREYRE in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, 1929, 47 *seqq.*, 318 *seqq.*

of the little Alpine town of Embrun.¹ In the letter by which he convened the Bishops for August 16th, 1727, the Archbishop was able to appeal to the royal permission.² The real object of the Council, the trial of Soanen, is only lightly hinted at in that letter, and even more lightly in another letter inviting Deans, Chapters, Abbots, etc. The Pope had been informed of the intention of holding the Council; he approved it in a letter to Cardinal Lercari.³ It goes without saying that Soanen nevertheless realized what was toward. He accordingly asked the advocates of the Paris Parliament what he should do if he himself or his instruction were denounced to the Council. No less than twenty advocates signed a memorial⁴ stating that Soanen could not be interfered with by the synod seeing that he had appealed to a General Council; this recourse to a higher tribunal bound the hand of the lesser authority; now, according to the Gallican right the Council was above the Pope. The Government's declaration of 1720 had indeed pronounced the appeals null and void and forbidden them for the future, but for a number of reasons the appeal could still be considered valid. If he were summoned to appear before the Council, Soanen should renew his appeal to the General Council as well as to the Parliament of Paris on account of abuse of power.

If further proof were needed that the Gallican liberties meant the abolition of all ecclesiastical discipline, this Paris decision furnished it. Every step of every ecclesiastical authority could be stultified in France by a simple appeal

¹ JEAN, 188; CH. DE COYNART, *Les Guérin de Tencin*, 1520-1758, Paris, 1910; M. BOUTRY, *Intrigues et mission du card. de Tencin*, Paris, 1902, 62-122.

² Tencin's letter of June 15, 1727, in *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 617, his petition to the King for a Council, April 5, 1727, the royal permission to Tencin and the letter to the Suffragan Bishops, May 24, *ibid.*, 732. Tencin had obtained the permission personally in Paris; on his return journey he issued the convocation in Grenoble. [CADRY], IV., 811.

³ July 23, 1727, *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 734.

⁴ July 1, 1727, in [NIVELLE], I., 2, 2-6; [CADRY], IV., 858 *seq.*

to a General Council, and that by an appeal which could scarcely be meant seriously, for Soanen was fully aware that at a General Council the Church would pronounce for the Bull *Unigenitus* in the same way as she had done without a Council. For all that several Doctors of the Sorbonne issued a memorial¹ on the same lines as that of the advocates and a number of priests subscribed to various memorials and protests in favour of the Bishop of Senz and against the forthcoming meeting of the Bishops.²

Soanen decided to attend the Council in person though his great age would have been sufficient excuse, but whilst on the way thither he stated, in the small town of Savine, before a notary and witnesses, that in view of his appeal to the General Council he did not acknowledge the assembly of Bishops as competent to judge his person or his writings.³ The Bishops of the province who appeared at Embrun were, besides Soanen, the Bishops of Vence, Glandève and Grasse; the ailing Bishop of Digne sent a deputy⁴ whilst the Bishop of Nice was only consecrated during the Council.⁵

In its second plenary assembly the Council took up the affair of the Bishop of Senz. A proposal was made⁶ that Soanen should be asked whether he stood by his pastoral letter; that document should be condemned because of its outbursts against Alexander VII.'s formula and because it commended the condemned book of Quesnel.⁷ The quite

¹ July 20, 1727 [NIVELLE], I., 2, 6 *seq.* ² *Ibid.*, 10-24.

³ August 11, 1727, *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 646 *seqq.*; [NIVELLE], I., 2, 7-9; II., I, III-13. On August 23 he informed the King of the steps he had taken. [NIVELLE], II., I, 114.

⁴ *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 637.

⁵ September 21, 1727, *ibid.*, 695. He was a subject of the King of Sardinia, who on July 9 had given him permission to attend the council. *Ibid.*, 732.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 643.

⁷ "Eo scripto continentur monstruosa, ut ita dicam, errorum semina, principia seditionem concitantia, errores ipsi capitales, non semel damnati nec uno Ecclesiae anathemate perculti." *Ibid.*, 644 d.

unknown theologians whom Soanen had brought along with him, were not allowed to defend him. Thereupon Soanen, who had unhesitatingly declared that he stood by his pastoral letter, acted on the advice of the Paris advocates: he demanded judgment on the notary's deed in which he had denied the competence of the synod. His request was acceded to, but his objections against the competence of the synod were rejected as without foundation.¹ The accused then sought to decline his judges—the Archbishop, on the plea that in the course of a trial he had been accused, at one time, of simony, of which he had never been declared innocent, the other Bishops, because they had spoken of him in a manner which betrayed their partiality. Tencin thereupon submitted documentary evidence in his defence and as a proof that he had not been accused of simony; the Council also refused to acknowledge the objections to the other Bishops as valid in law.²

Thereupon the accusation was repeated; it was also decided to summon the Bishops of the neighbouring provinces of Aix, Arles, Vienne, Lyons and Besançon.³ In this measure some allowance for the Gallican opinion that a Bishop could only be judged by twelve episcopal colleagues is unmistakable.⁴ Whilst awaiting their arrival, the Council discussed the questions which were to constitute the substance of its decisions on dogma or Canon Law⁵ and which were made generally known in the five public sessions of the Council. Meanwhile Soanen renewed his protest against the competence of the Council, but the assembled Bishops merely put the document among the acts.⁶ In a circular letter he also

¹ *Ibid.*, 645–9.

² *Ibid.*, 650–8.

³ *Ibid.*, 659.

⁴ Cf. the present work, XXX., 292; XXXI., 243 *seqq.*

⁵ Printed in *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 621–634.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 661, 664. Text of the protests in [NIVELLE], II., I, 118. *Ibid.*, 120. Soanen's complaint that he had been excluded from the "Te Deum" for the delivery of the queen. The reply of the Bishops in *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 672.

protested to his fellow Bishops¹ and a little later even to the King.² The following Bishops from outside the province were present at the third session,³ viz. those of Gap, Marseilles, Belley, Fréjus, Sisteron, Autun, Viviers, Apt, Valence and Grenoble. Proceedings against Soanen were now resumed. Three times he was cited and three times he refused to appear in person.⁴ But not long after the last citation he attended the conciliar assembly, but only to read the fresh appeal to the Pope and the General Council which he and Colbert of Montpellier had already interposed in June and July.⁵ In the evening of the same day he brought forward objections against seven out of the ten newly arrived Bishops and refused each of them individually as his judge.⁶ The Assembly declared these objections to be groundless; moreover they came too late for as soon as the outsiders had arrived, Soanen had been asked whether he was content to have them for his judges and he had kept silence.⁷ After the Bishops of Grasse and Glandève had given a detailed report on Soanen's pastoral instruction and other matters concerning him,⁸ the accused was thrice admonished to condemn his pastoral instruction; after that there followed the Council's sentence on him.⁹ That document condemned the pastoral instruction as rash, scandalous and seditious, offensive towards the Church, the Bishops and the royal authority, filled with a heretical spirit and teeming with errors and favouring heresy. The author was forbidden to exercise the episcopal

¹ August 27, 1727 [NIVELLE], I., *Appendix*, 29 *seqq.*; letter to the Bishop of Riez, August 18, *ibid.*, 27 *seq.*

² September 10, 1727, *ibid.*, 26 *seq.*

³ September 8, *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 667. Of those that were invited five did not appear (*ibid.*, 660).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 674 *seq.*

⁵ [NIVELLE], II., I, 125-131.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 122, incomplete in *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 680 *seq.*

⁷ *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 678-682.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 707-711, 711-15; *cf.* 673 *seq.*, 683 *seq.*

⁹ September 20, 1727, *ibid.*, 690-4. On 15th and 19th Soanen had again protested. [NIVELLE], II., I, 132-5, 136 *seq.*

office and jurisdiction and every episcopal and priestly function, until he should have withdrawn his instruction. In view of the fact of his being particularly odious to the condemned prelate, Bishop Belsunce of Marseilles had asked to be allowed to abstain from the sentence of condemnation ; after some hesitation his request was granted.¹ Soanen did not fail to protest against the judgment.²

In the last general session,³ on the report of the Bishop of Marseilles,⁴ the Council condemned two dissertations by Le Courayer, a Canon Regular of the Congregation of St. Genovefa. With a view to paving the way for reunion with the Anglicans, Le Courayer had defended the validity of Anglican Orders, and in so doing had denied a whole series of dogmas of the Catholic Church, especially such as bore on the Eucharist. His writings created a sensation and met with both approval and reprobation. Belsunce published a pastoral letter against him⁵ and shortly before the Council of Embrun he had also been condemned by an assembly of Bishops presided over by De Bissy.⁶ During three whole years Noailles had allowed Le Courayer to say Mass publicly, day after day, in spite of his views on the Eucharist. So as not to lag behind De Bissy, he too now published a sentence of condemnation, bearing an earlier date than De Bissy's sentence, thus saving at least the appearance of zeal.⁷ Benedict XIII. likewise condemned Le Courayer's writings.⁸

At the request of the Assembly of Embrun,⁹ Benedict XIII. confirmed the decrees.¹⁰ Previously to this¹¹ he had given

¹ *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 687 ; *cf.* 695.

² [NIVELLE], II., I, 150-3.

³ September 26, 1727, *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 698 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 715-724.

⁵ [CADRY], IV., 790 *seqq.*

⁶ PICOT, II., 208-215 ; *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, III², 1162 *seq.* ; FLEURY, LXXII., 518.

⁷ FLEURY, LXXII., 516 *seqq.*

⁸ June 25, 1728, *Bull.*, XXII., 665.

⁹ September 27, 1727, *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 702 *seq.*

¹⁰ December 17, 1727, *ibid.*, 727.

¹¹ July 31, *ibid.*, 684 *seq.*

permission for the consecration of the Bishop of Nice at the Council and both on this occasion, as well as at a later date,¹ he had praised the holding of the episcopal meeting.

Soanen's behaviour at the Council was not calculated to create an impression favourable to himself. His position was exactly similar to that of the Bishop of Montpellier. In the latter's case he had recognized, and that in his pastoral instruction, the competence of a Provincial Council²; how then could he refuse to acknowledge its judicial power in his own? But once he had taken up such an attitude, it was necessary for him to maintain it and not to reject the tribunal, on the ground of the unworthiness of individual judges, for by so doing he acknowledged its competence in general. Moreover, though he had solemnly proclaimed the unworthiness of his first judges, when challenged to substantiate his assertions, he had remained silent, thereby confessing his inability to do so, and he only objected to seven of the Bishops of other Provinces after the expiration of the legal time limit. With regard to Tencin, he admitted that most of the documents published under his name were not from his pen.³ In a word, throughout the proceedings he does not give the impression of outstanding capacity but rather of self-opinionatedness and obstinacy.

Throughout the proceedings the Council had carefully refrained from pronouncing upon, or setting itself at variance with, the Gallican views on the superiority of a General Council over the Pope and the lawfulness of an appeal to a General Council. The papal approval of the Council does not refer

¹ August 26 and October 25, 1727, *ibid.*, 735.

² " Il faudroit donc au moins qu'en ce cas le procès fût fait à un évêque par le concile de la province, qui seul a droit de le juger en première instance lorsqu'il s'agit de la doctrine." [NIVELLE], II., I, 95.

³ *Coll. Lacensis.*, I., 728 c. : " Je sçai par vôtre propre aveu, que la plupart des actes qui ont parû sous votre nom, Monseigneur, n'étoient pas de vous, et que le plus souvent vous n'y aviez d'autre part que la complaisance de les avoir signés ou de les avoir adoptés."

to this attitude ¹; it only refers to its decrees and the decision concerning Soanen. The Bishops likewise carefully avoided pronouncing an explicit sentence of deposition against Soanen, for according to the decrees of Trent this was the prerogative of the Pope; they merely spoke of the suspension of the Bishop of Senez.²

The King confirmed the sentence of the Council and confined the obstinate Bishop within the Benedictine Abbey of La Chaise-Dieu, in the diocese of Clermont. He was eighty-three years old but lived to be ninety-three, an object of constant anxiety for the Bishop of the diocese, the celebrated Massillon.³

It was to be expected that the synod would meet with opposition. Even before its conclusion Colbert of Montpellier sought to induce the episcopate to intervene with the King and Fleury in favour of Soanen.⁴ The Bishop of Castres took similar steps and in so doing described Soanen as the Chrysostom of the age.⁵ A little later ⁶ twelve Bishops, headed by Noailles,⁷ presented to the King a memorial in favour

¹ To the King, on April 15, 1728, *Epist. ad princ.*, IV.-V., 327, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 635.

² According to [CADRY], IV., 865, the Pope gave his consent for the holding of the Council of Embrun on condition that no attempt was made to depose Soanen: "Nous avons vu qu'en l'année 1726 lorsqu'on parloit beaucoup du concile de Narbonne contre M. de Montpellier les lettres de Rome portoient que cette cour y consentiroit, pourvu que le concile ne procédât point jusqu'à la déposition ou privation: Ce fut sur le même pied qu'elle consentit à la tenue du concile d'Embrun... C'est la vraie raison pour laquelle nous verrons que le concile d'Embrun s'est borné à interdire M. de Senez et à le priver de sa juridiction, sans l'excommunier, ni le déposer, ni le priver de son titre." Cf. *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 635 seq.

³ JEAN, 108, 201; HARDY, 85. "Chaise-Dieu" is the translation of "Casa Dei" (JEAN, 109).

⁴ September 7, 1727 [NIVELLE], I., 2, 35.

⁵ October 9, 1727, *ibid.*, 38. ⁶ October 28, 1727, *ibid.*, 39-41.

⁷ Besides him, the Bishops of Mâcon, Angoulême, Montpellier, Montauban, Auxerre, Castres, Blois, Rodez, Troyes, Bayeux and the retired Bishop of Tournai. *Ibid.*, 42.

of the condemned prelate. The Government returned their letter with the remark¹ that His Majesty could only disapprove of the attitude of the twelve which caused them to prefer the protests of a single prelate to the unanimous sentence of fourteen or fifteen Bishops, and to rise, "even before they had seen the acts of the Council," against a legitimate assembly whose decisions had the approval of the authorities of the Church and State. Ten out of the twelve replied with fresh representations to the King,² but this time the Bishop of Castres refrained as he had already previously appealed to the King³ and the Bishop of Mâcon soon broke altogether with the Appellants. The Government replied by forbidding the ten to leave their dioceses. In addition to the Appellant Bishops a great number of priests of the diocese took the part of Soanen,⁴ but once more the advocates of the Parliament of Paris distinguished themselves above all others by their keenness in opposing the Council. A memorial drawn up by them⁵ declared the sentence of the Council against Soanen as null and void, on the ground of the non-observance of legal formalities, the incompetence of the Council to act as judge, and the complete innocence of the accused. Once more they base their arguments chiefly on Soanen's appeal to the General Council which withdrew him from the competence of all

¹ [PATOUILLET], II., 411; HARDY, 94.

² May 14, 1728 [NIVELLE], I., 2, 42-6.

³ December 8, 1727, extract, *ibid.*, 47-50. Three letters of Soanen to Noailles as head of the twelve and the two replies of the latter, *ibid.*, 50 *seqq.*

⁴ [NIVELLE], I., 2, 54-71, and II., I, 174 *seqq.*

⁵ October 30, 1727, extract, *ibid.*, I, *Appendix*, 73-88. Cf. [PATOUILLET], I., 321 *seqq.* According to the date the letter of the twelve Bishops is two days older than the consultation of the advocates; there is, however, a suspicion that both documents are by the same hand and that the advocates were first. Their consultation paved the way for the passing of Jansenism into the hands of the jurists (HARDY, 94 *seq.*). Not all the advocates approved of the memorial of the fifty. CROUSAZ-CRÉTET, 37.

other judges. In their dogmatic explanations the lawyers start from the principle that ecclesiastical power was only bestowed on the totality of the Church¹; according to them the Pope is not the visible head *of* the Church but only *in* the Church. To condemn this arrogant document the Government called together thirty-one Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops who happened to be in Paris, with Rohan, De Bissy and Fleury at their head. The Bishops' final judgment² was to the effect that the lawyers had made statements about the Church, on the Councils, on the Pope, and so forth, which deserved the severest censure. Accordingly a decree of the State Council³ condemned the memorial and ordered its suppression. A Brief of condemnation had come before this from the Pope⁴ and there followed condemnations by the Bishops of Soissons, Marseilles, Carcassonne, the Archbishop of Cambrai, the Bishops of Evreux, Valence, Saint-Brieuc, Châlons, La Rochelle and Cardinal De Bissy. Guérin de Tencin of Embrun condemned an apology of the memorial and commended to his flock the instruction of the Bishop of Evreux.⁵

The twelve Bishops—subsequently reduced to ten—had meanwhile sunk to nine in consequence of the resignation of the Bishop of Montauban. They drew attention to themselves once again by their opposition to Benedict XIII.'s confirmation of the Council of Embrun. Soanen had appealed to the Procurator General and the first President of the Parliament of Paris,⁶ with a view to preventing the registration of any document or Brief which might lend support to the Council. The nine Bishops joined in this appeal,⁷ with the result that they too were hit by the sentence of the thirty-one.

After the Council of Embrun the diocese of Senez was lost

¹ "Non uni, sed unitati." [NIVELLE], I., 2, 78.

² May 4, 1728, [PATOUILLET], I., 324.

³ July 3, 1728, *ibid.*, 324 *seq.*

⁴ June 9, 1728, *Bull.*, XXII., 659.

⁵ [PATOUILLET], I., 327-9.

⁶ February 25 and April 7, 1728, [NIVELLE], I., 92, 93.

⁷ May 7, 1728, *ibid.*, 94.

to the Quesnellists. Soanen indeed provided for its administration by naming a Vicar-General who claimed to be the sole holder of ecclesiastical authority and who, from his hiding-place, fought the Vicar-General appointed by the Council up to the time when he was arrested¹; but Soanen's following shrank from day to day. In a letter to the King,² in the year 1729, in which he made yet another attempt to defend himself, he mentions only a small number of priests who were still suffering for his sake.³ Some nuns of Senez stuck to him longer than anyone else⁴; for the rest Alexander VII.'s formula was being subscribed to throughout the diocese.⁵ Soanen lived up till 1740, strengthened in his resistance by the applause of the party and by the pilgrims who came to visit him.⁶ Before his death he ordered to be read once more the testament⁷ drawn up in 1735, in which he had restated his opposition.

The last years of the prisoner of La Chaise-Dieu had been lonely ones. Of the twenty Bishops who had at one time jointly appealed to a General Council, only two remained in office at the time of his death, viz. Bossuet of Troyes and Caylus of Auxerre who died, the one in 1742, the other in 1754.⁸ During the last decade of his life, almost every year saw the disappearance of one of the Appellant Bishops⁹;

¹ His ordinances in [NIVELLE], II., I, 214-250. Soanen confirmed these ordinances (*ibid.*, 250-5). From the Parliament of Aix he got a decision in his favour for the portion of the revenues of the bishopric which had been assigned to his opponent; the Government, however, annulled the decision. FLEURY, LXXII., 513.

² March 1, 1729 [NIVELLE], II., I, 166-173 (extract).

³ In the notes, *ibid.*, 171, six are enumerated.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 185-212.

⁵ FLEURY, LXXII., 514.

⁶ [NIVELLE], II., I, 257.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 256. Cf. on Soanen in exile E. JALOUSTRE in *Bullet. hist. et scientif. de l'Auvergne* June-July, 1902.

⁸ Ségur of Saint-Papoul, *ob.* 1748, had resigned already in 1735.

⁹ Cf. the statements in JEAN and GAMS.

1731 saw the death of Tilladet of Mâcon, 1732 that of Arbocave of Dax, 1734 that of Milon of Condom, 1735 that of Berthamon of Pamiers, 1736 that of Beaujeu of Castres, 1737 that of Resay of Angoulême, 1738 that of Colbert, Soanen's old friend, 1739 that of Desmaretz of Saint-Malo. Not a few of the above-named had been lost to Jansenism even before their death, a result to which the Council of Embrun had greatly contributed. Desmaretz informed the Pope of his submission at the end of 1727, a step which secured him recognition on the part of the Pontiff.¹ The following year was particularly disastrous for the Appellants. Lorraine of Bayeux and Hébert of Agen died in 1728; the latter had previously withdrawn his appeal.² Tilladet of Mâcon and Resay of Angoulême withdrew their appeals in the same year; for both the Council of Embrun proved the occasion for making their peace with the Church.³ As for Arbocave of Dax, he was moved to make his submission by an event which proved to be the heaviest blow of all for the Appellants⁴; this was the final submission of their spiritual leader, Cardinal Noailles.

(5.)

The constant hesitations, negotiations and delays of the aged Archbishop show clearly enough that he was aware that his position was untenable. Serious bouts of illness in March and April, 1727, convinced him that he could not long put off a definitive step. Among his friends and the persons of his immediate entourage, his niece, the Marquise de Grammont, the General of the Oratorians, De la Tour, Chancellor Vivant, the Abbé Couet and the celebrated jurist D'Aguesseau, who from an opponent of the Bull *Unigenitus* had become an ardent advocate, pressed him to make his

¹ JEAN, 447; FLEURY, LXXII., 711.

² JEAN, 127, 348; [CADRY], IV., 775.

³ JEAN, 133, 232.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 68.

submission, but more than anyone else Fleury threw into the scales the whole weight of his influence with his fellow Cardinal and with prudent moderation and gentleness kept urging him to do all that lay in his power to repair the harm which he had done to the Church in France.¹

However, prolonged discussions were required between December, 1726, and May of the following year, to establish the text of a pastoral letter which safeguarded as much as possible the honour of the susceptible prelate whilst it was considered adequate by Cardinals Rohan, De Bissy, Gesvres, and by Noailles' eventual successor, Vintimille du Luc, Archbishop of Aix. It had been agreed that the three Cardinals and Noailles should separately write to Rome and forward the draft of the pastoral, when a stop was put to further action by Noailles' grave illness, May 21st.²

A year went by before another step was taken. When nine Bishops lodged a protest with the Procurator-General against the registration by Parliament of any Brief or any other document favouring the Council of Embrun, Noailles' name was added to the protest, without the latter's knowledge, though in virtue of an earlier authorization.³ Thereupon, on May 19th, 1728, Noailles withdrew his signature. Of all the things mentioned in the protest, he declared, he would

¹ FLEURY, LXXII., 309 *seqq.*, 419 *seqq.*; [CADRY], IV., 677 *seqq.*, 723 *seqq.*, 777 *seqq.* A detailed exposition of the part taken by Noailles in the discussions from 1721 onwards in *MSS.: "(1) Considerazioni sopra il trattato . . . per la riconciliazione del sig. card. de Noailles; (2) Relazione [sul Noailles]; (3) Osservazioni sopra il libello . . . 'Relazione'; (4) Relazione di lettere e brevi scritti di congregazioni deputate sotto Benedetto XIII. . . dal sig. card. de Noailles" all in *Cod.*, 14, I., 13, Archives of the Frascati Seminary. Cf. also BARTHÉLEMY, *Le cardinal de Noailles*, Paris, 1888.

² See above, p. 234. [CADRY], IV., 777.

³ "Attendu que cette signification a été faite à l'insçu et sans la participation dudit Seigneur card. de Noailles, sur le fondement d'une procuration sous seing privé du 8 avril dernier, dans laquelle il ne juge pas à propos de persister," etc. [NIVELLE], I., Appendix, 97.

only do one, that is, he would pray the Pope, for whose person he cherished so great and so deserved a veneration, to take the means that he deemed most suitable for the removal of the divisions and disturbances in the Church of France.¹ Encouraged by the example of the Bishop of Saint-Malo, who withdrew his appeal about this time, Noailles wrote to Benedict XIII. on July 19th, 1728,² that he was resolved to obey the commands of His Holiness in all things, and that with perfect and sincere submission; that he wished to blot out entirely the memory of those things by which he may have displeased His Holiness and to leave to posterity an attestation that his own teaching differed neither now nor in future from that of the Pope, the Cardinals and the Bishops. In presence of Christ, his Lord and Judge, he attested that he received the Bull *Unigenitus* with a sincere heart, that he rejected the book of "Moral Considerations" and the 101 propositions, in the same sense in which the Constitution rejected them; that he withdrew his pastoral instruction of 1719; that he would issue another *mandement* and publish it throughout his diocese in order to ensure the observance of the Bull. Twice he states that, since he had decided to submit, he felt such joy and peace as he had not experienced for a long time.

In Rome the Cardinal's protestations were at first received somewhat coldly. The authorities there had had too painful experiences with the Clementine Peace and with Noailles himself to trust him at once. Benedict XIII. charged seven Cardinals with the examination of the affair. These began by drawing up a document urging caution which was to be signed by all the Cardinals and which, in fact, had already gathered twenty-two signatures. After that, they stated their misgivings to the Pope in writing.³

¹ *Ibid.*

² FLEURY, LXXII., 712.

³ " *Aviendo tenido el cardenal de Polignac orden de su corte para tratar con el Papa e la S. Sede la reconciliacion del card. de Noailles, quien prometio la aceptacion de la bula Unigenitus, destino S. S^d una congregacion particular (fuera de la general

Their first difficulty was Noailles' assurance¹ that he accepted the Bull in the same sense in which the Holy See accepted it. Now in his pastoral Noailles had endeavoured to prove that the Bull *Unigenitus* was not a dogmatic definition but a simple administrative or disciplinary measure and that as such, it was revocable. In what sense then does he accept it now? The Cardinals take it as certain that he considers it merely as a disciplinary measure. He goes on to say that he "condemned the 101 propositions of the Bull with the same censures with which the Holy See condemned them". Now in his pastoral letter Noailles had precisely endeavoured to prove the non-dogmatic character of the Bull by the fact that the Constitution did not state with which of the many censures there enumerated each of the 101 propositions was struck. It is in "this same sense" that Noailles now intends to condemn these propositions, that is, he condemns them in a manner which, in his opinion, is not that of a dogmatic Bull.

Of his pastoral instruction the Archbishop says that "he withdrew it", but not that he declared it to be false. Between "withdrawing" and "recanting" there is a vast difference: the latter implies a change of opinion, but not the former. With a withdrawal of the instruction the Archbishop does not alter the judgment therein passed on the Bull and

que estava establecida antes de ahora sobre esta materia) que se compone de siete cardenales y se juntò ahier, pero no se save el resultado por tratarse este negocio con el secreto del S. Oficio; y teniendo el s. colegio que [no] pudiese admitirse la referida reconciliacion del card. de Noailles en terminos perjudiciales a la Iglesia catolica, formò un memorial representando todos los motivos para que este negocio se tratase con toda la debida atencion, el qual se havia de firmar de todos los cardenales y de hecho la avian ya firmado 22, pero despues crehieron mas conveniente poner por escrito en forma de consulta las consideraciones que ocurrían en esta importancia y presentarlas a S. B., como se ha executado." Bentivoglio to De la Paz, August 21, 1728, *Corresp.*, 1728, p. 1031, Simancas Archives.

¹ Memorial in the appendix of the letter quoted.

proclaimed to the whole world: the withdrawal would in the end amount to a mere ceremony and in time to come it might be said that the Holy See had attached no great weight to the whole affair. Noailles has always objected to the expression "to recant", but much less to the word "withdraw".

Moreover it was impossible to ascertain *why* Noailles accepted the Bull and rejected Quesnel's propositions, whether it was because the Holy See rejected them, or because he himself recognized them as false. In this way the Jansenists might claim that Noailles had confirmed the papal sentence by his own, but not that he had submitted to it. For that reason alone the retraction of the Cardinal must be considered as inadequate and ambiguous, "for it was well known what subterfuges the heretics have had recourse to in writings of this kind: they had at all times sought to deceive the Holy See, the Jansenists more than all the others, as we have learned by an all too frequent experience."¹ Nor was Noailles' appeal to the General Council mentioned with as much as one word, though that had been so enormous a scandal as to demand an explicit withdrawal, and besides his pastoral instruction Noailles had published, both before and since, other writings no less scandalous yet not mentioned by him in his withdrawal.

The best thing was not to approve Noailles' letter as in that case the Jansenists would appeal to the Roman confirmation and fresh troubles would ensue, to the great spiritual injury of many who would become more obstinate in their errors. At no time had the Church re-admitted a repentant heretic on the basis of a retraction that was manifestly ambiguous: if this were done now Church history would speak of it as a repetition of the case of Liberius.

On the other hand it would have been exceedingly imprudent

¹ "Essendo ben noto quanti siano li raggiri degli eretici in somiglianti progetti, con li quali hanno sempre procurato d'ingannare la Santa Sede, e principalmente i Giansenisti, de' quali abbiamo tutti pur troppo tanta sperienza."

to repel Noailles abruptly. Accordingly the Pope's reply¹ recognizes all that was good in Noailles' letter but points out with sufficient clearness that everything was not as yet in order. All those who had seen his letter, the Pope wrote, had found in it tokens of true obedience and complete acceptance of the Constitution *Unigenitus*; the Pope eagerly looked forward to the rich fruits which he promised himself from Noailles' submission; all the more willingly and gladly would he grant him a full pardon for everything.

On October 11th, 1728, the Archbishop published his *mandement* with his retractation.² He accepts the Bull with sincerest respect and submission, rejects Quesnel's book and the 101 propositions extracted from it, "in the same way and with the same censures with which the Pope had rejected them." And "in order to give still further proof of the sincerity of our submission to the Holy See, we withdraw our instruction of January 14th, 1719, together with all that has been published in our name and which is at variance with this our acceptance". The Bull and the *mandement*, it says in conclusion, were to be registered in the archiepiscopal chancellery, proclaimed and publicly posted up. Thus the Constitution—the long opposed and proscribed Constitution *Unigenitus*—was at last published in the archdiocese, and it was no gain for the Jansenists that isolated copies were torn down on the day of the publication and all of them in the course of the night. The latter action had been foreseen by the police: when the Parisians woke up the next morning, fresh copies had been put up. It is true that when the first copies were posted up the protection of armed men had been necessary.³ The *mandement* was not to be read in the churches, as it was impossible to rely on the parish priests of Paris.

¹ *August 21, 1728, *Epist. ad princ.*, IV.-V., 476, Papal Secret Archives; FLEURY, LXXII., 715-18.

² Printed in [NIVELLE], I., *Appendix*, 100 *seq.*; translation in FLEURY, LXXII., 726-730.

³ HARDY, 116 *seqq.*; FLEURY, LXXII., 731. The ordinance seems to have been drawn up by D'Aguesseau; FLEURY writes

Far worse for Noailles than these isolated outbreaks against the *mandement* was the fact that even before the publication of the retractation a document, dated August 22nd, was being broadcast, which stated that Noailles would go back on his subscription to the nine Bishops' memorial of May 7th, 1728,¹ and protest against the misunderstandings that might arise from his withdrawal of his signature: this withdrawal was to be explained as the result of a momentary weakness and surprise. A postscript stated that this declaration of his should serve against any contrary pronouncement which he might be made to subscribe to, either whilst still in full health or on his death-bed. An attestation by twenty parish priests of Paris² certified the authenticity of this document and Noailles had to protest continually against being faced with it. In the introduction to his *mandement* of October 11th he complains that the sincerity of his profound respect for the Holy See was being called in question³; in a circular⁴ in which he brings his *mandement* to the notice of the Bishops, he says that he had begged both Pope and King to attach no credence to a document which, he was told, was being broadcast and which was calculated to give rise to suspicions about the sincerity with which he spoke in his *mandement*. On October 23rd the Archbishop informed the Pope that the publication of the Bull *Unigenitus* was at last an accomplished fact; at the same time he forwarded his *mandement*. He concluded by praying the Pope to give no credence to a

to him: "Gloire en soit rendue à Dieu premièrement, à vous et à madame la marquise de Grammont" (GAZIER, I., 274). Of the posted-up sheet Gasier says (*ibid.*, 237): "Je l'ai sous les yeux, on dirait qu'elle a été imprimée de manière à ne pouvoir pas être lue." But the posting up was a mere matter of form; an edition in the form of a pamphlet followed and the Parisians knew very well what the printed poster meant (HARDY, *loc. cit.*). On the ordinance, cf. PICOT, II., 243.

¹ [NIVELLE], I., *Appendix*, 98 *seq.*

² March 27, 1729, *ibid.*, 99.

³ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁴ October 30, 1728, *ibid.*, 102; FLEURY, LXXII., 733.

secretly printed document which was being thrown to the public as signed by himself on August 22nd ; he asked, on the contrary, that his conduct should be judged by his letter to His Holiness and by the *mandement* which he was forwarding.¹

Seeing that in his *mandement* Noailles had stated with sufficient clearness that he accepted the Bull out of submission to the Holy See, and that out of obedience to the Pope he also withdrew his pastoral instruction of 1719, as well as all other writings of his which had given offence, there seemed to remain no further justification of the misgivings hitherto felt as to the sincerity of the Archbishop of Paris. Benedict XIII. accordingly announced a public consistory for November 8th, 1728, for the purpose of communicating the great news to the Cardinals.² The intervention of Cardinals De Bissy, Rohan and Fleury on behalf of Noailles had greatly helped to dissipate the last misgivings.³ In their letter they said that the Cardinal had properly and dutifully rendered the obedience due to the Constitution according to Canon Law⁴ ; hence the three Cardinals had received him with all charity, for once truth had had its due and the cause of the division had been removed, no good purpose could be served by insisting on trifles.⁵ They therefore prayed the Pope to give some unmistakable token of reconciliation at a solemn consistory ; this would be of immense help to the Archbishop in restoring concord among the faithful ; it would likewise strengthen him in the struggles and difficulties he was bound

¹ " Finiens has literas percipio, infaustum quoddam scriptum ceu a me die 22 Augusti hoc anno signatum ac furtive impressum in vulgus spargi. Rogo autem Sanctitatem V., ut . . . nullam ei fidem adhibeat." FLEURY, LXXII., 741 ; PICOT, II., 245.

² *Ibid.*, 735 *seqq.*

³ October 26, 1728, *ibid.*, 743-8. Cf. *Voyages* DE MONTESQUIEU, I., 197 *seqq.*

⁴ " Rite ac debite obedientiam iuxta canones constitutioni Unigenitus debitam exsolvit." FLEURY, LXXII., 743 *seq.*

⁵ Inutile est . . . ad singula descendere, omnes rimas investigare et turbas inde concitatas discutere." *Ibid.*, 745.

to encounter with the Jansenists. In their conclusion they repeat that Noailles had acted in accordance with the demands of Canon Law, his letter of July 19th to the Pope was a token of submission, with his *mandement* he had rendered to the Constitution the obedience due to it and had striven to tear out by the roots all that by which he had at one time caused scandal. This was their view of Noailles and his cause—the words are a clear hint that not a few people in Rome may have been of a different opinion. With regard to the secretly distributed document of August 22nd, the three Cardinals refer to Noailles' own statements. Whether there was question here of a forgery under his name, or that the retractation was based on an intrigue, it showed at any rate that the enemies of the Church left nothing untried in order to represent the Cardinal, whose prestige had been their strongest support, as a partisan of theirs.

In addition to the three Cardinals, congratulations reached Noailles from other quarters also: the King sent him a special letter,¹ and he received expressions of satisfaction from Tournely and Syndic Romigny in the name of the Sorbonne, from the Canons of Notre-Dame, the Generals of the Oratorians, Doctrinarians, Benedictines, the Superiors of various religious houses, including even the Jesuits: to the latter Noailles restored the faculties of which he had deprived the Fathers in 1716.² The Archbishop was particularly gratified by the visits of his colleagues in the episcopate who until then had kept away from religious functions whenever Noailles took part in them.³ The faculty whereby the Jubilee Indulgence of 1725 was granted to the archdiocese of Paris for the year 1725 could also be considered as a proof of reconciliation. Crowded processions, in which even the ladies

¹ October 22, 1728, in [NIVELLE], I., *Appendix*, 102.

² March 6, 1729, HARDY, 132.

³ FLEURY, LXXII., 734. A *letter of congratulation of the Roman Cardinals, November 17, 1728, in *Bibl. Sessoriana*, Rome, *Cod.*, CCLXIX., *Miscell. hist. eccl.*, f. 165; *another of the Pope to the King, November 13, 1728, in *Epist. ad princ.* IV.-V., 542, Papal Secret Archives.

of the aristocracy joined, marched through the streets, and the King made the prescribed visits on foot.¹

When the Spanish ambassador in Rome, Cardinal Bentivoglio, informed Madrid of the solemn consistory in which Benedict XIII. announced the recantation of the Archbishop of Paris, he felt he might write: "Thus, then, the dispute is ended, let us thank God for it!"² In reality, however, the troubles were far from ended. Noailles himself was indeed preserved from further struggles and difficulties by death which overtook him on May 4th, 1729, though even he was not spared a foretaste of what was to come. At the time when his retractation was drafted but not yet published, six or seven parish priests called on him to inform him that they would never accept or publish the Bull.³ A little later twenty parish priests of Paris handed in a declaration on the subject at the Archbishop's palace⁴ which, however, did not come to Noailles' knowledge. When on October 23rd the Archbishop's retractation was affixed on the churches and the walls, his alleged protest of August 22nd was posted up by the side of it.⁵ The Archbishop's state of mind, it was rumoured, was such that he no longer knew what it was that he was made to sign, only his alleged statements of a Jansenist character were taken at their full value.⁶ Five months after his death he was shown in the worst possible light. On September 25th, 1729, Soanen published a paper⁷ in which he alleged that Noailles had declared for all time to come that it had never been his intention to accept the Bull against Quesnel without additions and declarations, to withdraw his appeal to a General Council and the teaching contained in his instruction of 1719, or to approve the Council

¹ Brief of November 23, 1728; ordinance of the Archbishop, April 1, 1729, HARDY, 133 *seqq.*

² To De la Paz, November 10, 1728, Simancas Archives.

³ [NIVELLE], I., *Appendix*, 101.

⁴ October 16, 1729, *ibid.*, 101 *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, I., XXVI., note.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XXVI. *seqq.*, 100 *seqq.*

⁷ Dated February 26, 1729, *ibid.*, 103.

of Embrun. It is difficult to believe that Soanen had this document from Noailles, otherwise he would not have spoken in such vague terms of its origin.¹ After the Archbishop's death, his Vicars-General declared it to be spurious.² Had it been genuine, the Jansenists would have had Noailles with them once more, but assuredly not as an ornament and support of the party. For the rest his contemporaries bear witness to the strict and blameless conduct of the unhappy Cardinal Archbishop; they speak in high terms of his piety and liberality, his solicitude for his clergy and his Cathedral church of Notre-Dame; thus, for instance, he restored at his own expense the large rose window over the doors of the south transept and the whole of the lead roof.³ It was his misfortune to have been raised to a position to which he was not equal. On the day on which he died the Queen wrote⁴ that his demise would grieve but few people on either side; may God forgive him the evil he has done to the Church. His insubordination, Lafitau writes,⁵ did much harm, his submission came too late to do much good.

However, if Noailles resipiscence in the days of his strength would have had very different consequences, even his belated recantation did not fail to make some impression. After the Cardinal's submission Caumartin of Blois, who had not been personally an Appellant, at least ceased to speak against the Council of Embrun.⁶ De la Chatre of Agde never broke

¹ "Sa déclaration du 26 Février qui m'est confiée comme un dépôt de sa piété et un gage de sa bienveillance" (*ibid.*, 104). "En même temps qu'il a quitté la terre, je suis devenu le dépositaire de ses deux déclarations" (*ibid.*, 105).

² *Lettre de MESSIEURS LES VICAIRES GÉNÉRAUX DE L'ARCHEVÊCHÉ DE PARIS, le siège vacant, à S. E. monseigneur le card. de Fleury*, extract in *Mém. pour l'hist. des sciences*, Trévoux, 1730, 355-362.

³ GAZIER, I., 275; MARCEL FOSSEYEUX, *Le card. de Noailles et l'administration du diocèse de Paris, 1695-1729*, in *Rev. hist.*, CXIV. (1913), 261 *seqq.*, CXV. (1914), 34 *seqq.*

⁴ HARDY, 140.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 141.

⁶ JEAN, 294.

completely with the Jansenists but in 1729, for some reason or other, he promulgated the Bull.¹ Tourouvre of Rodez acted in like manner on September 25th, 1729, sought to help Soanen and became reconciled with the Jesuits from whom he had withdrawn all faculties at his entry into the diocese.² Tilladet of Mâcon, who withdrew his appeal immediately after the Council of Embrun, also published the Bull in May, 1729.³ The only remaining Jansenist Bishops were Coislin of Metz (*ob.* 1732), Kerlivio of Tréguier (*ob.* 1731), Beaujeu of Castres (*ob.* 1736), who, however, kept quiet, and in addition to them the three spokesmen of the party, viz. the Bishops of Troyes, Montpellier and Auxerre. Thus the extinction of the Jansenist Bishops was only a question of time. Moreover, after Noailles' death the party remained without a head. Though he had been made a leader against his will, and had been pushed rather than himself led, he nevertheless provided guidance and pace. After his disappearance the Quesnellists lacked both head and centre.

As was to be expected Fleury saw to it that a friend and defender of the Constitution succeeded Noailles. Charles de Vintimille du Luc, at first Bishop of Marseilles and then for thirty years Archbishop of Aix, had drawn the attention of the Government to himself by his moderation, his zeal against the Jansenist superior of his seminary and his self-sacrifice during the plague.⁴ In spite of his seventy-four years he accepted the archiepiscopal see of Paris⁵ and retained it for

¹ *Ibid.*, 255.

² *Ibid.*, 13. Cf. HARDY, 148.

³ JEAN, 232.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 19, 41; Fleury to the Dean of the Cathedral Chapter, in FLEURY, LXXIII., 39; HARDY, 146. The judgment on Vintimille in M. MARTIN, *Hist. de France*, XV., 164, 207, is one-sided and too unfavourable.

⁵ The Pope *congratulated him on October 8, 1729 ("opus ab antecessore card. de Noailles demum per sincerum resipiscente inchoatum tibi reservatum perficiendum"), *Epist. ad princ.*, VI., 165, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, 253, papal *recognition of his activities for peace and unity, January 5, 1730.

a period of seventeen years, viz. up to 1746. From the first he was fully aware of the difficulties he would have to deal with in the utterly distracted diocese. In his first pastoral letter,¹ in which he exhorts the faithful to submit to the Bull, he draws a gloomy picture of existing conditions. Many Appellants, he writes, had, indeed, come back : some Bishops, the simple faithful without number, several communities, Chapters and theological Faculties ; but the sad consequences of the appeals could be seen on every side : religion shaken in the hearts of men, the spirit of docility, which was the hall-mark of the children of the Church, destroyed or weakened, reverence for the Vicar of Christ forgotten or trodden under foot, the honour of the Bishops attacked by calumny, their authority slighted or attacked from every quarter, their censures scorned and the subordination due to them set aside.²

Among the corporations of whose return Vintimille speaks, the Chapter of Paris came first. On the very first occasion of the new Archbishop presenting himself before his Chapter—even before he had taken possession of the archiepiscopal See—for the purpose of guaranteeing to it its privileges on oath, he demanded the immediate acceptance of the Bull and the Canons obeyed.³ Fleury, working in secret, had been instrumental in bringing about this change.⁴ Even more important was the submission of the Sorbonne. A royal letter⁵ informed them that the Government's patience was at an end and that all those who had renewed their appeal after 1720, all adherents of Bishop Soanen, all those who had withdrawn their submission to the formula, had forfeited their privileges as Doctors. Accordingly many who attended the next assembly of the Faculty,⁶ found themselves deprived

¹ September 29, 1729, extract in *Mémoires* of Trévoux, 1730, 320-330.

² *Ibid.*, 329.

³ [NIVELLE], I., *Appendix*, 109 *seq.* ; FLEURY, LXXIII., 40.

⁴ HARDY, 173 *seq.*

⁵ October 22, 1729, in FERET, *Époque moderne*, VI., 95 *seq.*

⁶ November 4, 1729, FERET, VI., 96 ; FLEURY, LXXIII., 48 *seq.* ; HILD, 170 *seq.*

of their right to vote, hence, after the reading of the royal letter, on the proposal of Syndic Romigny, the decision was put off until the next session which was not attended by those who had been excluded. Romigny had suggested this course in his speech and exhorted them by letter to peace.¹ He renewed his exhortations at the next assembly of the Faculty,² in which he referred to Noailles and the Metropolitan Chapter, to the example of the simple faithful and the religious bodies which, especially since the pastoral letter of the new Archbishop, were coming back day by day.³ On the proposal of the Syndic twelve delegates were then elected⁴ for the purpose of examining ways and means of restoring peace. Acceptance of the Bull *Unigenitus* by the Faculty was considered as an accomplished fact. Forty-nine Doctors made a last attempt to create difficulties by appealing to Parliament which, however, refused to receive it. The next session of the Faculty⁵ approved the decisions of the previous meeting by 94 votes against 13. In the discussion of the twelve deputies, Tournely, as chairman, advocated the view that the best means of persuading the recalcitrants would be an account of what had taken place at the time of the acceptance of the Constitution in 1714 and its rejection at a later date. Tournely's clearly drawn up account⁶ was read between December 15th and 17th, and achieved its object: by 95 out of 101 votes, five decisions were arrived at: the Faculty's decree of 1714 on the acceptance of the Constitution was stated to be authentic and was re-affirmed; the Constitution itself was described as a dogmatic judgment of the universal Church; the Faculty's appeal of 1717 against that judgment was revoked; a delay of two to four months

¹ *Ibid.*

² November 8, 1729, FLEURY, LXXIII., 50 *seqq.*; HILD, 171.

³ FLEURY, LXXIII., 53.

⁴ The names in FERET, VI., 96; HILD, 172, n. 1.

⁵ December 1, 1729, HILD, 172.

⁶ FLEURY, LXXIII., 59-88; [NIVELLE], I., LXII.-LXIII., *Appendix*, 154-173; HILD, 170 *seqq.*

was granted to those living at a distance for their recantation ; in future no one was to be allowed to take part in the discussions of the Faculty who refused to submit to the Bull.¹

Thus, on the whole, the Faculty had abandoned its opposition to the Bull. Those Doctors who still remained recalcitrant were repeatedly granted a delay for reflection in the course of the ensuing months² and a great many of them gave up their opposition.³ The provincial Doctors made known their agreement ; in the end some 707 had accepted the Bull, including thirty-nine Bishops.⁴ The efforts of a few obstinate men to delay the march of events by protests to Parliament,⁵ proved unsuccessful. Tournely, the most distinguished theologian of the period, who at one time had been excluded from the Faculty on account of his submission to the Bull, became, now that he was dead (*ob.* 1729), the object of the highest eulogies at the sitting of the Faculty of January 2nd, 1730.⁶ The King, the Queen, Cardinal Fleury and Chancellor D'Aguesseau gave a most gracious reception to a deputation sent by the Faculty for the purpose of presenting the decisions.⁷ The Pope sent a Brief expressing his gratification⁸ and the Universities of Cologne and Prague, in lengthy communications, congratulated the Sorbonne on its submission.⁹ The Faculties of Angers, Nantes, Rheims, Caen, Toulouse and Poitiers followed the example of their sister Faculty of Paris.¹⁰

¹ FLEURY, LXXIII., 88-92 ; LAEMMER, *Melet.*, 405 *seq.*

² FERET, VI., 102.

³ *Ibid.*, 102 *seq.* ; FLEURY, LXXIII., 212

⁴ HARDY, 180.

⁵ FLEURY, LXXIII., 187 *seq.*, 193 *seq.*

⁶ HILD, 175.

⁷ FERET, VI., 100 *seqq.*

⁸ January 27, 1730, **Epist. ad princ.*, VI., 266, Papal Secr. Arch., also *February 8, 1730 (*ibid.*, 281), to the King, thanking him because "aditus novitatibus obstruatur et unitas coalescat".

⁹ FLEURY, LXXIII., 221 *seqq.*, 226. Chronologically the letters belong to the pontificate of Clement XII.

¹⁰ FERET, 104.

The joy of the loyal sons of the Church was countered by the rage of the Quesnellists which vented itself in furious attacks.¹

The clergy of Paris was less tractable than the Sorbonne. From Vintimille's action with his Chapter the parish priests were able to gather what treatment awaited them. Even before the publication of the Archbishop's first pastoral letter some twenty-five of their number requested their new ruler, in writing,² not to carry out an intention with which rumour credited him, namely that of depriving a number of priests of their faculties to preach and to hear confessions.

This was undoubtedly meant as a threat, for it was to be expected that Vintimille would summon the priests, as he had done at Marseilles and at Aix, in order to satisfy himself as to their fitness to hear confessions. However, up till February, 1730, only 30 out of 1,110 priests had their faculties refused to them as a result of this examination, but even this small number was enough for the revolutionary party among the clergy to raise a storm against their Archbishop.³ Besides scattering a number of loose sheets, they addressed a second letter to Vintimille,⁴ together with a detailed memorial, in which they meant to refute the Archbishop's first pastoral paragraph by paragraph. In this the country priests had made common cause with their colleagues of the capital.⁵ As these writings were intended for the public, Vintimille also appealed to the public by addressing a printed letter to the King, giving an account of the state of affairs and invoking the protection of the Government.⁶ In this communication he was able to point out that, as a result of his pastoral instruction, several religious bodies had made their submission, viz. the Dominicans, the Carmelites, the Premonstratensians and the Doctrinarians, and even a number of parish priests,

¹ HARDY, 181.

² September 23, 1729, [NIVELLE], I., *Appendix*, III *seq.*

³ VINTIMILLE, *ibid.*, 128.

⁴ December 28, 1729, *ibid.*, 112 *seq.*

⁵ October 16, 1729, *ibid.*, 124-6.

⁶ February 8, 1730, *ibid.*, 126-9.

who had signed the first memorial addressed to him, were now withdrawing their subscription.¹

In the memorial of the parish priests of Paris to Vintimille,² they had attacked another papal ordinance which gave the enemies of the Constitution fresh occasion for polemical writings. On September 25th, 1728, Benedict XIII. had prescribed for the whole Church the annual observance of the feast of the great Pope Gregory VII. in Mass and Breviary.³ The Paris police prevented the impression of the Breviary Office and Fleury would gladly have contented himself with this assertion of the Gallican liberties.⁴ The Parliament of Paris was of another opinion; all that Fleury could do to counteract its zeal was to examine the manuscript of the speech of the Advocate-General, in order to deprive it of its sharpest points and to refuse to allow the prohibition of the Breviary lessons⁵ to be publicly hawked by street vendors.⁶ The Parliaments of Rennes, Metz and Bordeaux⁷ followed the example of Paris; when the others made mien to enter on the same path they were prevented by the Government.⁸

Among the Bishops the first to speak out was the keen Appellant Caylus of Auxerre.⁹ "In order to fulfil all justice and to give to the King fresh proofs of our loyalty and our zeal for the safety of his sacred person and the tranquillity

¹ *Ibid.*, 128; HARDY, 176 *seq.* On the submission of the Dominicans of Saint-Jacques, on October 13, 1729, *cf.* COULON in *Rev. des sciences phil. et théol.*, VI. (1912), 312 *seq.*

² [NIVELLE], I., *Appendix*, 115.

³ *Cf.* above, p. 155.

⁴ HARDY, 163.

⁵ July 20, 1729 ([NIVELLE], III., 961), printed in Paris in 1729. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

⁶ HARDY, 164 *seq.*

⁷ August 17, 1729, September 1 and 12, 1729, in [NIVELLE], III., 962-4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 965. In a *Brief of August 18, 1729, Benedict asks for the assistance of the King in the matter. *Epist. ad princ.*, VI., 78, Papal Secret Archives.

⁹ July 24, 1729, [NIVELLE], I., 657-660.

of his realm", he forbade the feast prescribed by the Pope. He was followed by the no less zealous Bishop Colbert of Montpellier¹ and after him by the Bishops of Castres,² Metz, Troyes and by the Bishop of Verdun from among the supporters of the Constitution.³

Rome did not suffer these fresh encroachments in silence: special Briefs⁴ condemned the pastoral letter of the Bishops of Auxerre, Metz and Montpellier. Thereupon Caylus of Auxerre protested to Parliament against the papal Brief⁵ and a lengthy memorial by a hundred lawyers⁶ was meant to add weight to the episcopal request. Not content with this, Caylus followed with letters to the King, the Assembly of the Clergy and to Vintimille.⁷ Colbert of Montpellier also appealed to the King⁸ and the Assembly of the Clergy,⁹ but the efforts of the two Bishops yielded no result. The King would not even open Caylus' letter, ordered the suppression of his pastoral letter and forbade Parliament to have anything to do with the matter.¹⁰ The result of Colbert's letter to the Assembly of the Clergy was that that body prayed the King for a Provincial Council, for the purpose of deposing the Bishop,¹¹ but it proved impossible to get the Government to participate in measures of this kind against a gentleman of such noble lineage. Rome had issued a condemnation of all the measures of the secular power against the Breviary Office of St. Gregory VII.¹² Parliament did

¹ July 30, *ibid.*, 363-5.

² November 11, *ibid.*, 732-6.

³ August 12, 1729, HARDY, 167.

⁴ September 17, October 8, December 6, 1729, *Bull.*, XXII., 841, 858 *seq.* Cf. [NIVELLE], III., 966.

⁵ FLEURY, LXXIII., 110 *seqq.*; [NIVELLE], II., I, 660.

⁶ February 14, 1730, [NIVELLE], II., I, 661-6.

⁷ February 11, August 18, 1730, March 3, 1733, *ibid.*, 666 *seqq.*, 669 *seqq.*, 673-5.

⁸ December 31, 1729, *ibid.*, 365 *seqq.* ⁹ *Ibid.*, 371.

¹⁰ FLEURY, LXXIII., 120. ¹¹ [NIVELLE], II., I, 371.

¹² December 19, 1729, *ibid.*, III., 967; FLEURY, LXXIII., II4 *seq.* Cf. REUSCH, *Index*, II., 788 *seqq.*

not fail to prohibit this decree also, together with the Office of St. Gregory VII. and the three papal Briefs concerning it.¹ By his conciliatory representations Cardinal Fleury obtained at least that the motives of the prohibition were not made public.²

As a matter of fact it was due to Fleury that no more serious complications arose. Rome was anxious about the subject as anything might be expected from French irritation. The Viceroy of Naples had also written on the subject to Charles VI.³ For Belgium the new Breviary lessons were actually prohibited in 1730.⁴ On May 12th, 1730, the Jansenist Bishop of Utrecht also forbade the Office of St. Gregory VII. The Dutch Government made it known that the public recitation of the forbidden Office would be punished by a six months' closure of the churches in which this was done, whilst its impression and sale would entail a fine of 1,000 florins and the forfeiture for Catholics of the right to trade.⁵

Though Caylus' and Colbert's letter did not achieve their immediate purpose, they are none the less characteristic of Jansenism at that time. In his letter to the King, Colbert

¹ February 23, 1730, [NIVELLE], III., 968 *seq.*; FLEURY, LXXIII., 120.

² HARDY, 169.

³ *On the prohibition of the feast of St. Gregory by four French Bishops: “*se discurrio largamente en la congregacion del S. Oficio del miercoles passado, dudando fuertemente que este negocio quiera tomar gran cuerpo en Francia, y corriendo aqui copia de un despacho del viceroy de Napoleos al S. Emperador en el mismo asunto, incluyo a V. S.” (Bentivoglio to De la Paz, September 3, 1729, Simancas Archives, 1729, f. 724.) “*Yo temo mucho que esta novedad pueda magnamente irritar los animos ya destemplados de los Franceses en perjuicio de la verdadera observacion de la nuestra s. religion y debida obediencia a la S. Sede” (*ibid.*, f. 826).

⁴ VAN ESPEN, *Opera*, Suppl., Venetiis, 1769, XXIX.; REUSCH, II., 790.

⁵ FLEURY, LXXIII., 122 *seqq.*; SCHILL, 252, n.

did not neglect to represent the Appellants as the staunch supporters of the throne.¹ "What a comfort it is for us," he writes, "that we cannot be attacked without undermining the foundations of the monarchy. Yes! Sire, we assume the defence of Your Majesty, whereas all the friends of the Constitution, with only one exception, do not open their mouths when Your Majesty's rights are attacked." In his view the Popes are the enemies of the throne; with cold calculation they proceed step by step in order to subjugate Kings, and they miss no opportunity in the pursuit of that end.² The Bull *Unigenitus* was but a mesh in the net knitted in Rome. In it, according to Colbert, the rights of Bishops are trodden under foot, "nor are your rights, Sire, respected. Up till then Rome had not dared to attack the sovereignty and independence of the crown. But when the Bull condemned proposition 91, which states that fear of an unjust excommunication must not stop us from doing our duty, all those who still retained some zeal for the cause of the sovereign, understood that the Roman court aimed at nothing less than the extension of its domination over the sacred person of the King."³

Caylus of Auxerre writes to the King in exactly the same strain. He too has knowledge of the wicked *arrière-pensées* of the Roman See and urges that the return of the days of Gregory and his pretensions be made impossible⁴; in other words, according to him Rome is the enemy. The two Bishops had no inkling that the death blow to the monarchy was already being prepared in a very different quarter and that the ideas which they and their partisans advocated, would bring about the subversion of the State even though for the time being, they aimed at no more than the dissolution of all

¹ N. IV., [NIVELLE], II., 1, 366.

² N. IX., *seq.*, *ibid.*, 368.

³ N. XI., *ibid.*, 369.

⁴ N. II. and IX., *ibid.*, 666, 669. He also speaks of Quesnel's proposition 91 (*ibid.*, 670), as did many others at that time; see PICOT, II., 250, 282, 292.

ecclesiastical bonds. A pamphlet against Vintimille's first pastoral ¹ already expounds the subversive notion that there may be circumstances in which it is the shepherd's duty to obey his flock; that if a Bishop crushed truth, it was the duty of the faithful to defend it in opposition to him. If the whole body of Bishops fell into error, they must be taught, corrected and even judged by the people. But once the people was proclaimed to be the supreme judge in ecclesiastical matters, it was the natural sequel that it would not be long before it would also refuse any higher authority than its own in the political sphere.

For the Jansenist party itself, the fact that it had arrived at such conclusions, was a sign of internal dissolution. Its external decay also became apparent for it was easy to foresee that soon it would be unable to rely on a single Bishop. The Appellants sought to remedy this deficiency, a deadly one according to Catholic principles, by appealing to miracles which, it was claimed, had been wrought in favour of the sect. In the Faubourg Saint-Antoine in Paris there lived a woman who, as a result of twenty years' loss of blood, had become so weak that she could scarcely move even with the help of crutches. On May 31st, 1725, as the Corpus Christi procession was passing her house, she was seen endeavouring to drag herself on hands and knees after the Blessed Sacrament, whilst crying aloud: "Lord, if thou wilt thou canst make me whole!" All of a sudden she rose and followed the procession to the church. In a pastoral letter Noailles declared the incident to be a real miracle.² Now the priest who had carried the Blessed Sacrament was an Appellant. This circumstance Colbert sought to exploit; in a pastoral letter ³ he explained

¹ *Remontrances des fidèles du diocèse de Paris à M^{gr}. leur archevêque, au sujet de son ordonnance du 29 Sept., 1729* (ROCQUAIN, 54; [PATOUILLET], III, 444). The document was condemned to the flames on February 23, 1730.

² [CADRY], IV., 374 *seqq.* The cured person was presented to the King (*ibid.*, 485). Cf. PICOT, II., 150 *seqq.*

³ October 20, 1725, appeared 1726, [CADRY], IV., 470 *seqq.*; [NIVELLE], II., I, 355.

that the miracle implied the approval of the principles of the Appellants.

Further "miracles" followed in July, 1725, in the church of St. G enevi e which was in the hands of Appellant Canons. For that very reason the Bishops of the Assembly of the Clergy, on the occasion of a visit to the shrine of the Saint, had deprecated the customary ceremonial reception on the part of the Canons.¹ The truth is that even if there had been question of true miracles, they could not have been construed into an evident approval of the righteousness of the Appellants' cause. Bishops Languet of Soissons and Belsunce of Marseilles disapproved Colbert's assertions to that effect,² but the latter continued to uphold his pastoral letter.³ But about this time miracles were beginning to be wrought by Quesnel's relics in Paris⁴ as well as by several Appellants in the provinces as, for instance, by a live Oratorian of the name of Celoron at Lyons⁵ and by a dead Canon of the name of Rouse at Avenai⁶; one miracle was also ascribed to the Jansenist Archbishop of Utrecht.⁷ The body of an Appellant parish priest of Rheims was found incorrupt five years after his death and a sick woman thought she felt better after placing Colbert's pastoral letter on her breast,⁸ nay even a Jesuit, said to be dead,⁹ was extolled as an Appellant and a wonder worker until, by means of an open letter,¹⁰ he furnished proof that he was still alive. None of the above named Jansenists attained any celebrity though twenty-two parish priests wrote to the Vicar-General of Paris and three others to the Archbishop in support of Rouse, after the authorities of the Church had forbidden

¹ *Ibid.*, 368 seq.

² *Ibid.*, 598 seq.

³ *Ibid.*, 795.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 757.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 849.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 672 seq.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 851.

⁹ PIERRE CHAMILLART (*ob.* 1733). Cf. SOMMERVOGEL, *Biblioth eque*, II., 1052; SCHILL, 260, n. 7.

¹⁰ February 15, 1732, in *La clef du Cabinet*, May, 1732, 345-350.

pilgrimages to his grave. On the other hand a great stir was created by the alleged miracles at the grave of the Jansenist deacon Pâris, in the cemetery of Saint-Médard, in Paris. Pâris had died on May 1st, 1727, at the age of thirty-seven. He had led a strict life in a Jansenist sense, so much so, that on one occasion, in keeping with the spirit of the sect, he omitted his Easter Communion and, on the plea of humility, he steadily refused to allow himself to be raised to the priesthood.¹ His funeral was said to have been marked by a miraculous cure and a second one was reported to have taken place not long after at his grave.

However, the miracles of the Jansenist deacon only played an important rôle during the pontificate of Clement XII. The opponents of the Jansenists complained that "the sect's furious desire" to have as many miracles as possible, and the zeal of its adherents in circulating so many false reports about them, was doing religion incalculable harm. Unbelievers took occasion of this conduct to call in question and to pour ridicule on the miracles of bygone times, especially when one saw the newspaper writers of the sect drawing a comparison between the alleged miracles of François de Pâris and the miracles of Christ.²

(6.)

The rebellion against the Constitution had found its mainstay in the religious communities. However, with the support of the Pope and the Government, Superiors took energetic steps to bring about a change, and an improvement did actually take place even under Benedict XIII., though the efforts for a reform were still meeting with powerful opposition on all sides.

¹ [CADRY], IV., 751 *seqq.* On the writings of Pâris: [PATOUILLET], II., 116; on his manuscript extracts from the theology of Juenin. Cf. D'ALÈS in *Recherches de science relig.*, XI. (1920), 373-387.

² [PATOUILLET], III., 375.

The General of the Oratorians had undertaken to get his subjects to subscribe to the formula, yet in 1724 Cardinal Fleury had to complain that all those who refused to submit found a refuge in Paris. Roused by the writings of Bishop Colbert of Montpellier, the students of the Congregation declared they would rather leave the Oratory than subscribe to the formula. At Condom every one of the Oratorians refused to sign.¹ Only one member of the Congregation of the Lazarists joined the Appellants,² though there too the Bull met with not a few opponents, even Bonnet, the General, being among them at first. The Bishop of Castres withdrew all faculties from his house because Bonnet tolerated some Jansenists among his subjects.³ However, from 1722 onwards, when he had realized that the Constitution had been universally accepted in the Church, Bonnet began to give it his decided support. Together with some theses on grace, which he had had defended since 1723, he forwarded to Rohan and De Bissy a promise to get the Society to accept the Bull at its next general assembly.⁴ From Rome he received information that, if he failed in his efforts, the Pope would withdraw the Italian and Polish Lazarists from his authority and suppress the Society.⁵ Besides the Pope, the French Government also took up the cause of the Bull; it issued an order⁶ that only those were to be admitted to the forthcoming general congregation who had submitted to the formula and to the Bull against Quesnel.

So it was to be expected that the decree on the acceptance of the Constitution⁷ would be subscribed to by the members of the Assembly, but it was no less clear, as De Bissy and Fleury told the General,⁸ that all would be in vain unless

¹ [CADRY], IV., 190.

² [NIVELLE], II., 2, 278 *seq.*

³ [CADRY], IV., 34.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁶ February, 1724, *ibid.*, 29.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁸ August 14, 1724, *ibid.*, 46.

every individual subscribed and such a subscription was demanded before the profession and ordination of members. By carrying into effect these demands the Congregation was purged from Jansenism, but their execution required great sacrifices. Even before the assembly of 1724 Bonnet had been obliged to dismiss his first Assistant and the representative of the Society in Rome for many years, because they worked against him and against the acceptance of the Constitution.¹ Thereupon thirty-five of his subjects declared² that one half of the Congregation was against the Constitution, that to accept it would mean the ruin of the Society and that they would never agree to it. Even before the conclusion of the Assembly a memorial appeared urging resistance to its decrees³ and Bonnet was obliged to dismiss a number of his subjects to break the opposition.⁴ But he remained firm; better a few good members, he said, than many bad ones.⁵

Thanks to this ruthless principle the famous Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris was also purged of Jansenism which had penetrated it deeply and thus this important institution was saved for the Church.⁶ With this object in view the two Directors Brisacier and Tiberge were prepared for any sacrifice. In October, 1720, Tiberge wrote that for some time already he had admitted no one into the Seminary; that out of every four candidates three were "on the wrong side".⁷ The two Directors even thought of handing over the institution to the Lazarists or the Sulpicians in order to save it; there were so many dismissals that by November, 1725, the Seminary had shrunk to four members.⁸ The Pope approved

¹ *Ibid.*, 28 *seqq.*, 32 *seqq.*

² June, 1724, in [NIVELLE], II., 2, 277 *seq.*

³ [CADRY], IV., 95; *cf.* 190.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 384 *seqq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 36 *seq.* *Cf.* PICOT, II., 258.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 290-313, 876-883; A. LAUNAY, *Hist. génér. de la Société des Missions Étrangères*, I., Paris, 1894, 491 *seqq.*; J. BRUCKER in *Études*, LXVII. (1896) 510 *seqq.*

⁷ BRUCKER, *loc. cit.*, 511.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 512; [CADRY], IV., 427.

their conduct¹; that it was the right one is proved by the magnificent expansion of the institution after its seeming self-destruction.² Nowhere, perhaps, was the unsuspected bearing of the contemporary controversy on grace more plainly revealed than in the history of that seminary. In the opinion of the Jansenist Superior Jobard, Molinism was very unfavourable to the conversion of the pagans³ whereas Tiberge considered that the rigid and stern Thomism, with which Jansenism masked its countenance, was but little suited to the seminary and the missions.⁴ In 1729 Jobard entertained a plan for a mission in Indo-China which was to be independent of the Pope, under missionaries who would have nothing to do with the Constitution against Quesnel.⁵

In May, 1725, the General Chapter of the Carthusian Order adopted stern measures against the rebels in its bosom.⁶ An earlier ordinance against them was renewed⁷ and fresh penalties were added. Thus the twenty-five members who had not submitted to the earlier decree and to the Constitution, were forbidden to exercise their priestly functions; the fourteen Appellants were excommunicated together with ten others who had withdrawn their subscription to the formula; their cell was to be their prison and on three days a week they were to fast on bread and water.⁸ One must take it as a proof of ignorance of the world, perhaps only possible in a Carthusian, that eleven of their members now appealed to the Pope⁹ in the hope of putting a stop to the action of the General Chapter! It is easier to understand the action of some thirty of the rebels, who carried insubordination to such length that they fled to Holland. There they settled in two

¹ Brief of August 18, 1727, [CADRY], IV., 882.

² Cf. the figures in BRUCKER, *loc. cit.*, 498 seq.

³ [CADRY], IV., 297.

⁴ BRUCKER, *loc. cit.*, 511.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 512.

⁶ [CADRY], IV., 50-62, 151-164, 268-290, 398-403, 459-466.

⁷ Cf. above, p. 57.

⁸ [CADRY], IV., 288.

⁹ April 10, 1725, *ibid.*, 358-360.

houses near Utrecht, under the authority of the Jansenist Archbishop, and published protests as well as an apology¹ which was suppressed by Parliament.² The example of the Carthusians was followed by fifteen Cistercians of the Abbey of Orval in Luxemburg, after the Premonstratensian Abbot of Grimberghe had opened a visitation there on September 14th, 1725, by command of the Pope.³ On the other hand, at a General Chapter held towards the end of April, 1725, the Cistercian Congregation of the Feuillants threatened to punish rebellion against the formula and the Bull with the loss of the active and passive voice in the Chapters of the Order. Protests against this decree were raised in about a third of the monasteries.⁴

The Bull continued to meet with strong opposition in the Benedictine Congregation of St. Maurus. True, in 1724 the General, Denis de Sainte-Marthe, sent his submission to Rome, but he applied himself with but little success to the task of inducing his subjects to take the same step. Nevertheless forty of the Monks withdrew their appeal⁵; on the other hand 130 of them protested in writing to the Chapter assembled for the election of a new General, against any step that it might take in favour of the Bull *Unigenitus*.⁶ To the next General Chapter⁷ a great number of Maurists presented a memorial,⁸ requesting it to refrain from any decision concerning the Constitution, as otherwise 600 members of the Order would raise a protest. In spite of everything the new General, Thibault (1725-1729), proposed that the Bull be accepted, but he was unsuccessful though by the King's command all

¹ *Ibid.*, 398-403, 459-466.

² April 15, 1726, *ibid.*, 565; [PATOUILLET], I., 95. Letter of April 13, 1726, to the General Chapter, in [CADRY], IV., 593 *seqq.*, PICOT, II., 162.

³ [CADRY], IV., 456-9, 592 *seq.*, 597 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 316.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 135 *seqq.*; FLEURY, LXXII., 134 *seq.*, 228.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 319.

⁷ Begun on May 2, 1726, *ibid.*, 588.

⁸ May 23, 1726, in [NIVELLE], II., 2, 657-9.

those who had renewed their appeal to the General Council after 1720, were to be excluded from the Chapter as well as from the preliminary meetings.¹ Thibault nevertheless continued during the whole of his three years of office as General to press for submission to the Holy See. To this end Fleury counselled him gradually and quietly to remove the Appellants from their offices.² Meanwhile the situation of the Maurists grew steadily worse. Already in March, 1726, De Bissy had let it be known that the Congregation must either submit or perish.³ In December Cardinal Lercari sent for Dom Maloët, their procurator in Rome, and informed him that the Pope gave them a time limit of three months within which they must submit.⁴ Every letter from Italy spoke of the imminent peril of dissolution.⁵ Thibault, as a matter of fact, did his best to satisfy the Pope, his efforts being supported by Dom Maloët who, as Prior of Saint-Médard at Soissons, had secured the submission of that house to the Constitution.⁶ Cardinal De Bissy repeatedly called together the higher Superiors of the Congregation, with a view to persuading them to obey, but, for the time being, these efforts yielded no result. A letter appeared in print⁷ which represented suppression on account of the Bull *Unigenitus* as an honour for the Congregation and as suffering endured for the truth. After all, the Congregation could not endure for ever; so glorious an end would outweigh anything that it might yet have accomplished. Thibault, thereupon, published an appropriate circular⁸ in which he explains that the Bull did not combat St. Augustine and St. Thomas and that in the sphere of

¹ *Ibid.*, 659; [CADRY], IV., 587.

² [CADRY], IV., 588.

³ *Ibid.*, 587.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 676, 685.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 687.

⁶ See MAURICE LECOMTE, *Les deux derniers procureurs des Bénédictins à Rome, Dom Convade et Dome Maloët, d'après leur correspondance*, in *Rev. Mabillon*, IV. (1908), 366-379.

⁷ March 18, 1727, [CADRY], IV., 689.

⁸ April 5, 1727, *ibid.*, 690. Cf. [NIVELLE], II., 2, 660.

Moral Theology Benedict XIII. had re-enacted, at the Roman Council, St. Charles Borromeo's principles for the administration of the Sacrament of Penance. Nearly all the Bishops of the world had agreed with three Popes who had, with one voice, ordered that the Bull should be accepted. "If we do not listen to them, where is the Church, which must be at all times visible, to whose views we owe submission? Let us give up our feeble understanding and cling to the pillar of truth." However, the General's circular achieved very little¹; in two-thirds of the houses of the Congregation it was not even publicly read, at Corbie the Prior left the room as soon as the reading began and the other Monks followed him; from Dijon the answer to the circular was a declaration that the house would not submit.²

For all that the way for the acceptance of the Constitution was being gradually prepared. In spite of isolated signs to the contrary, the number of the Appellants does not seem to have been so very great; the General, Sainte-Marthe, wrote to Cardinal Polignac³ that it did not amount to one-fourth of all the Monks and at none of the General Chapters had a decree against the Bull been passed. The final settlement of the dispute was greatly helped by a letter of the Maurist Vincent Thuillier,⁴ himself a former Appellant. From his letter we gather that many Maurists went so far as to seek support in the Jansenist miracles; one of their number, they alleged, had several times spent the whole of Lent without food.⁵ "All your miracles," Thuillier wrote,⁶ "even if they were

¹ [CADRY], IV., 764-775.

² *Ibid.*, 768, 769.

³ In SCHILL, 239, n. 1.

⁴ *Lettre d'un ancien professeur en théologie de la Congrég. de Saint-Maur, qui a révoqué son appel, à un autre professeur de la même Congrég., qui persiste dans le sien*, Paris, 1727. There followed a "seconde" and "troisième lettre". CH. DE LAMA, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Congrég. de Saint-Maur*, Monaco, 1882, n. 419 *seqq.*

⁵ [CADRY], IV., 691, 767.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 691.

more numerous, better attested and more brilliant, could not do away with the plain fact that the Jansenists are a party separated from the Church." He himself would reject an Angel from heaven if he taught a doctrine other than that of the official teachers of the Church. It was beside the point to object that many of the condemned propositions were echoes of sayings of the Fathers of the Church. Criticism was in place even in regard to the Fathers of the Church. It was possible to adduce expressions of writers of the first three centuries against the consubstantiality of the Word or text against the doctrine of original sin from Chrysostom and against Christ's real presence in the Eucharist from St. Augustine. These arguments did not prove generally acceptable in the Congregation. At the General Chapter of 1729 a proposal was made that action should be taken against Thuillier. The Chapter's partiality for the Jansenists also betrayed itself in the elections; in not a few instances these were quashed by the Government. The new General, Alaidon, was not allowed to present himself at court.¹

Benedict XIII's reign came to an end before the submission of the celebrated Congregation had made any considerable progress. Whilst fully recognizing the great achievements of the Maurists, the Pope was at times profoundly dissatisfied with them and not sparing of threats.² In the end a waiting policy seemed advisable and this attitude was rewarded by the Monks' eventual submission.

(7.)

In the course of the last year of his life Innocent XIII. had received information of the election of Cornelius Steenoven as Jansenist Archbishop of Utrecht, and he had ordered a Brief to be drawn up on this illegal step. Further information

¹ PHIL. LE CERF, *Hist. de la Constitution Unigenitus en ce qui regarde la Congr. de Saint-Maur*, Utrecht, 1736; P. DENIS in *Rev. Bénéd.*, 1909, 350 seq.; [NIVELLE], II., 2, 663 seqq.

² [CADRY], IV., 852-6; FLEURY, LXXII., 531 seqq.

was received after the Pope's death by the Cardinals assembled in conclave. It was, of course, known in Holland that the Pope would not confirm Steenoven's election; hence it was a burning problem to know what to do in the circumstances. A publication appeared in Amsterdam which sought to prove that the elect might have himself consecrated by any Bishop, in spite of the Pope.¹ Accordingly the assembled Cardinals charged the internuncio of Brussels, Giuseppe Spinelli,² to instruct those under his care that the Utrecht electors had no right to style themselves a Chapter and that they had no power to institute parish priests and that the faithful could not receive the Sacraments at the latter's hands. Neighbouring Bishops must be warned against the pretensions of the so-called Chapter which presumed to issue dimissorial letters, appointed parish priests and had ended by electing as Archbishop an excommunicated priest for whose consecration it looked to Varlet, a Bishop who was himself suspended, irregular and excommunicated. Thereupon Spinelli enjoined the Dutch Catholics by letter³ to have nothing to do with the schismatics. Spinelli begins by declaring that the Holy See had charged him with the government of the Dutch missions⁴; he received episcopal consecration in the following year in order that Holland might have once more a legitimate pastor.⁵ The men of Utrecht foresaw that the Cardinals in conclave and the internuncio would speak out and that their warnings would make an impression, hence they took their own measures to counter them.⁶ On May 2nd, 1724, they addressed a letter to the Cardinals together with various documents⁷ and on June 1st they addressed themselves to the Chapters of Germany.⁸ Varlet appealed to the whole Catholic Church⁹

¹ MOZZI, II., 144; [CADRY], IV., 142.

² April 8, 1724, in MOZZI, III., 85-90.

³ May 4, 1724, *ibid.*, 91-5.

⁴ "Ad regimen missionum Hollandicarum a S. Sede specialiter deputatus." *Ibid.*, 91.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 171; GUARNACCI, II., 689.

⁶ MOZZI, II., 147 *seqq.*

⁷ [CADRY], IV., 142

⁸ MOZZI, II., 150.

⁹ June 6, 1724, [CADRY], IV., 143.

and, after the Pope's election, to Benedict XIII.¹ who was also requested by Utrecht to confirm Steenoven.² No reply was made and they now felt justified to go forward without the Pope. For form's sake they requested five neighbouring Bishops to consecrate their chosen candidate; when they received no reply from that quarter, Varlet remained their only refuge³; on October 15th, 1724 he performed the rite in a private house, thus infringing yet another law of the Church.⁴ The matter was kept secret, as the consent of the States had not been sought, but by the evening all Amsterdam knew about it. The burgomaster summoned three of those who had engineered the affair to give an account of their conduct, but they were easily satisfied.⁵ After that Steenoven informed the Pope of his consecration and prayed for the archiepiscopal pallium. But as he expected excommunication rather than such a distinction, he sought to insure against it by appealing, together with his electors, to the next General Council.⁶ In a Brief to the Catholics of Holland⁷ Benedict XIII. laid no censure either on the electors or the elect; he, however, declared the election of Steenoven invalid, his consecration illicit and himself suspended. Steenoven was forbidden, under pain of immediate excommunication, either to appoint parish priests or to administer the Sacraments; no one was to communicate with him or receive a Sacrament at his hands. The Brief reached Steenoven on March 1725; by April 3rd he was a corpse. As recently as March 30th he had repeated his appeal to a General Council⁸ and on December 6th, 1724, he had published, in Latin and French, a lengthy manifesto on the rights of the Church of Utrecht.⁹

¹ August 6, 1724, *ibid.*

² August, 1724; MOZZI, II., 153.

³ [CADRY], IV., 145.

⁴ MOZZI, II., 164 *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 167; [CADRY], IV., 147.

⁶ November 23, 1724; [CADRY], IV., 148.

⁷ February 21, 1725, **Epist. ad princ.*, I., 438, Papal Secret Archives; MOZZI, II., 175 *seq.*; III., 96-9; *Bull.*, XXII., 125; FLEURY, LXXI., 760.

⁸ [CADRY], IV., 237.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 236 *seq.*

After Steenoven's death the Pope strove, through the intervention of the Catholic Powers with the Dutch Government¹ and through that of a friend with Varlet,² to prevent the election of another Archbishop, but on May 15th Barchman Vuytiers was chosen to succeed Steenoven and on September 30th Varlet consecrated him. He informed the Pope of his nomination and consecration—as all subsequent Jansenist Bishops have done up to our own times. The Pope, as was to be expected, protested.³ Barchman and his Chapter replied with a fresh appeal to a General Council⁴ and Varlet with another apologia.⁵ The French Carthusians and the Cistercians of the Abbey of Orval in Luxemburg, who had fled to Holland on account of their Jansenism, joined in the appeal.⁶ The French Jansenists recognized Barchman as Archbishop⁷ whilst the latter, after the French model,

¹ Briefs of February 27, 1725, to the Emperor, the Kings of France, Spain, Portugal, Poland, to Venice, to the German Electors, etc., *Epist. ad princ.*, I., 450, Papal Secret Archives; cf. [CADRY], IV., 392 seq. *Ibid.*, 393, and in [DUPAC], 519 seqq., the letter of the Doge Mocenigo and the reply of the States.

² [CADRY], IV., 395; MOZZI, II., 207; [DUPAC], 531.

³ To the Dutch Catholics, August 23, 1723 (*Epist. ad princ.*, I., 79, *loc. cit.*), in MOZZI, III., 100-3; *Bull.*, XXII., 241; December 6 (*Epist. ad princ.*, I., 153, *loc. cit.*), in MOZZI, II., 104-7. Barchmann had received his education from the Oratorians and at Louvain under Hennebel ([DUPAC], 525); he and Brodersen were expelled from the College of Louvain ([CADRY], III., Sec. 8, p. 23).

⁴ [CADRY], IV., 503.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 504.

⁶ August 21, 1726, *ibid.*, 596. Cf. H. J. ALLARD, *De Orvalisten te Rijnwijck*, in *Studiën*, 1878 and 1886.

⁷ Namely, the Bishops of Montpellier (July 29, 1725), Auxerre (October, 1725), Bayeux (November 22, 1725), Senz (December 7, 1725); 41 and later 36 ecclesiastics of various dioceses (June 20 and December 10, 1726), 11 ecclesiastics of Arras and Tournai (March 5, 1727), 30, and then 17, ecclesiastics of Nantes (July 31 and August 17, 1727) besides some isolated approvals. [DUPAC], 539 seq. *Recueil des témoignages*, 217-231, 247-276.

appealed to a miracle as a proof of the righteousness of his cause.¹ It happened, however, that on one occasion when he attempted to induct a Jansenist parish priest, the indignant countryfolk forced him to flee in disguise; as for the parish priest, to avoid ill-treatment he had to seek shelter in the house of a Protestant, whilst the community swore it would accept no parish priest from Barchman.²

Thereafter the Chapter of Haarlem remained separated from that of Utrecht and subject to the Holy See. Steenoven had assumed the title of Vicar-General of Haarlem. After his death the Chapter of Utrecht bestowed the same dignity on Barchman which he then retained even as Archbishop. When the Canons of Haarlem protested, Barchman replied with another protest.³ The papal Brief against Barchman, dated December 6th, 1725, was respectfully received by the Canons of Haarlem, but a pastoral letter which the new Archbishop sent to them was returned by them.⁴ In spite of this Barchman urged them to elect a Bishop for their own city, but his letter remained unanswered.⁵ Some parish priests of Haarlem now claimed that, after the Archbishop's three warnings to the Canons, the right of election had passed to them and that they transferred it to the Archbishop who now appointed a certain Doncquer who, however, was never consecrated.⁶

For his own person Barchman endeavoured to secure a declaration of the States—independently of the nuncio—subjecting all the Catholics of Holland to himself. But he encountered strong opposition. One Catholic travelled all over the country for the purpose of collecting signatures to a petition to the States. After that a Catholic deputation presented itself before the States declaring that they could not accept

¹ [CADRY], IV., 672 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 671.

³ MOZZI, II., 184 *seq.*, 198 *seqq.* The Haarlem protest, May 19, 1725, *ibid.*, 201 *seq.*; renewed protest, October 2, 1725, *ibid.*, 223–227.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 239–241.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 256.

⁶ [CADRY], IV., 787.

Barchman as their Archbishop. The Government were surprised that there were so many Catholics opponents of Jansenism but gave the petitioners a favourable answer. From that time onwards Barchman was simply described, even by the Protestants, as the Jansenists' Bishop.¹

Some compensation for this disappointment seemed to await Barchman in the East. Irina Petrowna Gallitzin, wife of Sergius Petrowich Dolgoruki, having accompanied her husband on a journey to western Europe, remained for some time in Holland after the latter's return. Whilst there she became a Catholic, thanks to the influence of a keen Jansenist, the Princess d'Auvergne. On June 11th, 1727, at Leiden, Barchman received her into the Church with great solemnity. Now it so happened that just then the Dolgorukofs were all-powerful under youthful Tsar Peter II. ; Catherine Dolgoruki was his fiancée and Alexis Gregorowich Dolgoruki was the real leader of the State. If a priest with knowledge of the world could be sent to Moscow in the capacity of tutor to Irina's children, there might be a prospect of founding a Jansenist patriarchate there. For this difficult post choice was made of Jubé de la Cour, the same who had introduced a liturgy after his own taste at Asnières. Barchman invested him on his own authority and without reference to the Pope, with all the faculties he might require, that is power to absolve, to dispense, to bless and to consecrate, to approve priests, to send them forth and to recall them. At Moscow, Jubé had a serious discussion with the Spanish ambassador on the means for bringing about the reunion of the Churches, for which he himself sought to prepare the way by circulating printed works. Peter II's premature death and the accession of the Empress Anne, an enemy of Catholicism, put an end to these prospects.² Under her rule Irena Dolgoruki had occasion to experience what was meant by Russian freedom

¹ MOZZI, II., 241 *seqq.*

² P. PIERLING, *La Sorbonne et la Russie, 1717-1747* Paris, 1882 ; *Ibid.*, *La Russie et le St-Siège*, IV. (1907), 308 *seq.*, 329 *seqq.*, 332 *seqq.*, 354 *seqq.* ; H. J. ALLARD, *Utrecht en Moskou*, in *Studiën*, XL. (1893) ; [DUPAC], 546 *seqq.*

of conscience. Through a common soldier Anne sent to her, an aristocratic lady, an order to go to confession and Communion. Irena preferred exile. When, at her farewell audience, she stooped in order to kiss the Empress' hand, the latter gave her a heavy box on the ear and inveighed against her in the best fishwife's style. Eventually under pressure of the Empress Elizabeth, Irena apostatized from the Catholic religion.¹

Besides union with Russia, Barchman also busied himself with a mission among the pagan Laos in Farther India. When on May 17th, 1719, Propaganda demanded acceptance of the Bull *Unigenitus* from all the missionaries in the foreign mission field, Barchman conceived the idea of founding, for a mission among the Laos, a seminary which would be independent of Propaganda. Some missionaries, under the Oratorian Terrasson, were actually preparing to set out, armed with faculties from Barchman, but after the latter's death nothing came of the plan.²

Barchman's episcopal consecration proved disastrous for the widely known Louvain professor of Canon Law, Zeger van Espen. He was known to sympathize with the Jansenists, hence when the question of Barchman's consecration arose, he was asked for his opinion as to whether the consecration would be valid if, contrary to the provisions of Canon Law, it was conferred without special papal dispensation and not by three Bishops but by only one. Van Espen not only replied in the affirmative but even spoke unreservedly in the sense of the men of Utrecht. Thereupon the internuncio protested to the Emperor. Charles VI. ordered the document in question to be publicly torn up at Brussels and proceedings to be taken against Van Espen if it was proved that he really was its

¹ PIERLING, *Russie*, IV., 366 seq., 386.

² [DUPAC], 552 seq. In the Jansenist Colony of the island of Nordstrand, to the West of Slesvig, founded in 1652 (A. MALET in *Études*, CX. [1907], 268), and placed under the Dutch mission by Clement IX., dissensions arose among the parish priests under Benedict XIV. FLEURY, LXXVI., 731-760; cf. LXXIV., 514 seq.

author.¹ The upshot of the affair was that Van Espen was condemned. He escaped to Holland and died there at the Jansenist seminary of Amersfoort.²

(8.)

Thanks to ceaseless work, extreme moderation in food and drink, and regular exercise, Benedict XIII. had preserved an enviable robustness up to the threshold of his eightieth year. During the whole of his pontificate we only hear of one really serious illness, namely in the summer of 1729.³ Passing indispositions were for the most part due to excessive fasting and overwork. At no time would he hear of husbanding his strength: in the hottest as well as in the coldest seasons he carried out long religious functions. When people drew his attention to his advanced years and urged moderation, he was wont to reply that a Pope should die with a cope on.⁴

Even during the severe winter of 1729–1730 the Pontiff refused to spare himself in the slightest degree, though in view of his fluctuating state of health—one day he was full

¹ MOZZI, II., 193, 217 *seqq.* Copy of the imperial edict of September 12, 1725, *ibid.*, 218–221.

² *Ibid.*, 261–269. Text of the sentence of February 1, 1728, *ibid.*, 266 *seq.* Cf. FLEURY, LXXI., 765–769. An earlier consultation of Van Espen on the appeal of 1718 in [NIVELLE], II., Suite, *Appendix*, 29.

³ Reports from Rome, July 14 and August 26, 1729. The latter says: "Il sig. card. Coscia sta molto agitato, va mattina e sera a veder la S. Stà e con persone di sua confidenza sò aver detto, che il Papa cala alla giornata." Coscia has already dispatched "robbe e pitture" to Beneventum. But on September 2 an improvement is *reported and on December 16: "La salute di S. Stà va a meraviglia bene." Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁴ " *Conclave doppo la morte del P. Benedetto XIII.," *Ms.* in my possession [now in Baron v. Pastor Library].

of energy, the next day he felt exhausted¹—some care would have been advisable. He seemed to be quite well when on February 2nd, 1730, he kept his eighty-second birthday. On the 11th, in spite of his feeling very weak, he held a consistory.² An epidemic, which was raging in Rome at the time,³ attacked him suddenly on the 18th and hastened his end. On the 19th he was unable to rise to say his Mass as was his habit. On the following day he asked for holy Viaticum. Owing to inability to take any food, his weakness grew rapidly. For all that he was anxious to hear Mass on the morning of the 21st in his oratory, but was prevailed upon to desist. He then heard Mass in his own room, remaining on his knees the whole time and with head uncovered. He continued his prayers for another quarter of an hour, at the end of which his weakness was such that he had to take to his bed. Towards four o'clock in the afternoon he expired peacefully.⁴

The news of the Pope's death was not at once made public as it was the last day of the carnival and there was some fear of disorder if a stop were put to the amusements. The streets were filled with masked people, onlookers and carriages, and everybody was anxious to watch the races of the Barberi in the Corso. The races were held and in the evening the theatres opened their doors but during the performance news of the Pope's death began to circulate. Thereupon the performance

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports to the imperial Chancellery, January 7, 14, and 28, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

² *Report of the same, February 11, 1730, *ibid.*

³ *Report of the same, February 21, 1730, *ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, and Bentivoglio's *report to De la Paz, dat. Rome, February 21, 1730, Simancas Archives. Cf. " *Conclave doppo la morte ", etc., *loc. cit.* According to the report on the post-mortem here quoted, the cause of death was complete exhaustion. At a later date [1780], Cardinal Zelada, the celebrated librarian, occupied the room in which Benedict XIII. died. Gregory XVI. turned it into the Museo Etrusco ; see *Pubblicazioni della Specola Vaticana*, I., Roma, 1891, 17.

was stopped and the people went home, but many refused to give credence to the report. However, the display of armed forces in the streets and the ringing of the big bell of the Capitol soon convinced them of the truth of the report.¹

Mention must be made of the fact that Benedict XIII., himself a theological writer, encouraged every scholarly endeavour.² He published a very useful Constitution about

¹ “*Conclave doppio la morte,” etc., *loc. cit.* Cf. also the *letter of Fra G. B. Gagliardi to his father, Giulio, dat. Rome, February 25, 1730, in *Cod. II.*, VI., 9, Bibl. Queriniana, Brescia.

² On the furtherance of the theological Faculty in Rome, see BORGIA, *Vita*, 84 *seqq.*; on B. Perfetti's poems, *cf.* above, p. 162. On the honours bestowed on Crescimbinì, see BAUMGARTNER, VI., 492, on the theological studies at the Sapienza: *Bull.*, XXII., 349. On the foundation of the University of Camerino, see *ibid.*, 579; NOVAES, 141; NARDONE, 25. How greatly Benedict XIII. valued serious scholarship appears from his *Briefs to E. Martène, May 1, 1725, and B. Montfaucon, October 3, 1725. Cf. also the *Briefs to Ferd. di Sanfelice, May 4, 1726 (thanking him for the dedication of the book *De situ Campaniae*), to the Academy of the Crusca in Florence, June 12, 1727 (thanking it for its *Vocabularium*), Papal Secret Archives. In 1724 G. Vignoli dedicated to the Pope his edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*. Cf. also *Componimenti poetici dedicati a . . . Benedetto XIII. dalla ragunanza degli Arcadi nel gettarsi la prima pietra ne' fondamenti del nuovo teatro per li Congressi Letterari della medesima l'anno MDCCXXV.*, Roma, 1725. (Benedict XIII. was a member of the Arcadia under the name of Teofilo Sancio, which name he retained as Pope; see NARDONE, 27.) To this place also belongs the *Brief to Cardinal B. Pamfili, March 1, 1729 (Papal Secret Archives): “In order to reward Laur. Phil. de Rubeis for his efforts ‘ad publicam studiorum utilitatem in antiquis Urbis et sacris monumentis aere excudendis’ and to encourage him to continue, we thought it befitting, ‘tuis suffragiis accedentibus, ut eum Vaticanae Bibliothecae ministerii dignaremur. Ipsum de conservanda antiquitatis memoria et propagatione insignium operum et sacrarum aedium celebritate egregie meritum Chalcographum Vatic. constitimus; privilegium quod ei Clem. XI. per Breve, 24 aug. 1720 concesserat, perpetuum volumus pro heredibus et successoribus, ut nemini praeter ipsos liceat opera a Io. Iac. seu a Dominico de

ecclesiastical archives.¹ He was keen on lowering taxation, to assure the provisioning of the city and to promote agriculture.² He made generous provision for mentally afflicted persons at the Hospital of S. Maria della Pietà, in the Via Lungara,³ and for the destitute victims of skin diseases in the new Hospital of S. Gallicano.⁴ Innumerable destitute persons were in receipt of assistance from him.⁵ He carried out restorations at St. Paul's outside the Walls, St. Mary Major, S. Maria in Domnica and S. Sisto.⁶ S. Niccolò dei Prefetti and S. Filippo in via Giulia were completely

Rubeis incisa vel excusa vel ab ipso Laurentio vel heredibus excudere vel excusa vendere sub poenis expressis. Volumus, ut omnium imaginum typon seu exemplar unum Bibliothecae gratis inferre debeant. Pro singulari studio, quo artes et apostolicam Bibliothecam prosequeris, eum tuearis.' Cf. *Brief to Card. Borgia, March 22, 1727 (*ibid.*): 'Quas Annibal card. Albanus impendit curas ad selectos pios libros e Typographia Urbinatè sub patrocinio Nostro instituta magnifice edendos, cupimus, etc.' "

¹ Loewinson, *Un Papa archivista*, in the periodical *Gli archivi italiani*, III., 159 *seqq.*

² BENIGNI, 76 *seq.*; DE CUPIS, 298 *seqq.*

³ FORCELLA, XII., 385 *seqq.*, 394 *seq.* The building was demolished in 1910 (*cf.* TONETTI, *Ipazzi a Roma*, in *Giorn. d'Italia*, 1910, February 6); it was the first real lunatic asylum in Rome, founded in 1725.

⁴ Bull, XXII., 440; FORCELLA, XI., 409 *seqq.*; *Breve ragguaglio dello spedale eretto in Roma dalla S. di N. S. Benedetto XIII. sotto il titolo di S. Maria e di S. Gallicano e delle opere di carità che vi si praticano*, Roma, 1929. Cf. VALESIO, in *Rassegna bibl. d'arte ital.*, XVI. (1913), 115 *seq.*, 156. By Brief of July 14, 1728, Benedict XIII. recommended the new hospital to the Emperor and to the Kings of France, Spain and Sardinia.

⁵ BORGIA, *Vita*, 112, 126 *seqq.*

⁶ FORCELLA, VIII., 177; X., 535; XI., 290; XII., 3; JOZZI, *S. Maria Maggiore*, Roma, 1904, 15 *seqq.*; *Rassegna bibl. d. arte ital.*, XVI. (1913), 116; CRACAS, October 28, 1725; *ibid.*, July 20, 1726, on the new bell presented to St. Peter's. Cf. *Rassegna bibl.*, *loc. cit.*, 115. On the paintings for S. Clemente, see NOLAN, *S. Clemente*, 57; restoration of the chapels in the Vatican:

rebuilt.¹ All these undertakings were as unsuccessful as was the new façade of S. Maria sopra Minerva which is wholly devoid of taste, as a result of the Pope's trust in his beloved Beneventans. These also restored, after their fashion, the chapel of St. Dominic in the church of the Minerva.² In this chapel Benedict XIII. was buried on February 22nd, 1739,³ in a sepulchre erected by Cardinals Alessandro Albani, Quirini,

MORONI, IX., 154. Paving of the Piazza of St. Peter's, *ibid.*, XII., 267. During the renovation of the pavement of S. Agnese fuori le Mura, carried out by order of Benedict XIII., the inscription which Pope Damasus had put on the tomb of the Saint, was discovered. The Dominican Brémond wrote an essay on it at the request of the Pope; see *Bull. ord. Praed.*, VII., 521 *seq.*; *Romana Tellus*, I. (1912), 92 *seqq.* The excavations on the Palatine which had been begun in 1720 by order of Francesco, Duke of Parma, were continued; Bianchini gave a description of them; see HÜLSEN, in *Röm. Mitteilungen*, 1895, 252 *seq.*; EGGER, *Verzeichnis der Sammlung architektonischer Handzeichnungen der K. K. Hofbibliothek*, I., Wien, 1903, 36 *seq.* On the buildings put up by Benedict XIII. in Civitavecchia, see CALISSE, 543.

¹ FORCELLA, X., 233; *Rassegna bibl. d. arte ital.*, XVII. (1914), 138. The most important travel book about Italy, in the German language, and of the first half of the eighteenth century, viz. *Joh. Georg Keyblers Reisen, 1729/1731*, bears witness to an increased general interest in art; see FRIEDLÄNDER in *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1876, 243.

² Cf. the extracts from Valesio's *Diario* in *Rassegna bibl. d. arte ital.*, XVI. (1923), 113 *seqq.*, XVII. (1914), 138 *seqq.*; BERTHIER, *Minerve*, 296 *seqq.* Berthier (214 *seq.*) describes also the new high altar presented by Benedict XIII., which, on account of its bad taste, was removed during the last restoration. On the renovation of the Baptistry and of the pavement of the side aisles, see SPINELLI, *S. Maria sopra Minerva*, 20 *seq.*

³ " *Documenta varia de morte et funeralibus PP. Benedicti XIII.," fasc. X., 529, General Archives of the Dominicans, Rome, and " *Documenta varia de translatione corporis Benedicti XIII., in ecclesiam Minervitanam de Urbe ", *ibid.*, fasc. X., 530. *Ibid.*, fasc. X., 528, also " *Documenta varia de pontificatu Benedicti XIII. " ; cf. also GHEZZI, " *Diarium Benedicti XIII.," *Cod. XX.*, III., 23, Bibl. Casanatense, Rome.

Lercari, Fini, Duke Domenico of Gravina and Tommaso Ripoll, General of the Dominicans, with the magnificence of which the deceased would assuredly have found fault. The plan was furnished by Carlo Marchioni, who also executed the relief on the sepulchral urn representing the Provincial Council of Rome and the angels supporting the coat of arms. The white marble statue of the Pope, which is very effective against a dark background, is the work of Pietro Bracci. The figures on either side of the urn symbolize Religion and Innocence.¹

The representation of the dead Pontiff on this monument differs from the traditional one in that the aged Pope is shown engaged in fervent prayer, half kneeling and facing towards the altar. As a matter of fact he was one of the most devout and humble Popes. Of this there can be no doubt, but neither can there be any doubt that, in consequence of his lack of knowledge of the world and of men, he relied with an almost childish trustfulness on favourites who deceived him shamefully. He possessed the evangelical simplicity of the dove, says Cardinal Pacca, but not the guileless prudence which is required for escaping the snares of human malice.²

¹ GRADUCA, *P. Bracci*, plate 8; BORGIA, *Vita*, 136 *seqq.*; BERTHIER, *Minerve*, 298 *seqq.*; DOMARUS, *Bracci*, 19 *seq.*; NARDONE, 29 *seq.*; SPINELLI, *S. Maria sopra Minerva*, 83. A bust of Benedict XIII. is in the Bibl. Ambrosiana, Milan, another by Fr. GIARDONI in the Museo Piersanti, Matelica, and yet another in marble, very expressive, in the Baptistry of S. Maria Maggiore.

² B. PACCA, *Notizie istor. intorno alla vita di Msgr. Fr. Pacca*, 3^a ediz., Orvieto, 1839, 15. Cf. B. MOROSINI, *Relazione di Roma* (see above, p. 127, n. 5), who says: "Egli era di santissimi costumi e di ottima volontà, ma la stravaganza del pensare, l'inesperienza del principato, l'avversione che aveva a Roma, l'abbandono à favoriti di pessimi talenti hanno prodotto le irregolarità che a V. Serenità sono note." See also CORDARA, ed. DÖLLINGER, III., 4. An *account in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican says: "Di Papa Benedetto diceva il card. Boncompagni che era il s. sepolcro tra le mani de' Turchi." *Satires against him after his death in *Cod.* 3, II, 7, Bertoliana Library, Vicenza.

This simplicity rendered him most credulous towards his confidants, more especially Coscia, to a degree almost beyond belief.¹ Nor was he free from great obstinacy, in spite of all his piety² and there was a tinge of pettiness and narrowness in his character.³ Apart from his credulity, his greatest misfortune was the fact that he was unprepared for the management of the affairs of State and too old to learn the difficult art of government for which he lacked all natural aptitude.⁴ If even as Pope he treated the General of the Dominicans as his Superior and kissed his hand,⁵ the thing may have been a mere formality, but a formality that showed that nature had prepared him for obeying rather than for commanding.

¹ CORDARA, ed. DÖLLINGER, III., 4.

² Acts of a process of canonization which was not carried through are in the General Archives of the Dominicans, Rome : “ *Processus auctoritate ordinaria compilatus in civitate Derthonensi in causa beatificationis et canonizationis Benedicti pp. XIII. (fasc. X., 531) ; *Testimonia varia de sancta vita Benedicti XIII. (fasc. X., 532) ; *Documenta de miraculis per intercessionem ven. servi Dei Benedicti P. P. XIII. obtentis sive in eius vita sive post mortem (fasc. X., 533) ; *Manuscripta Rmi P. Brémond magistri generalis studio exarata de vita et miraculis ven. servi Dei Benedicti XIII. (fasc. X., 534) ” ; *Notes and accounts from the correspondence of the Generals of the Order (up to 1750) on miracles wrought through the invocation of Benedict XIII. (IV., several vols.).

³ That the Pope frequently lost himself in small matters has been observed already by Kaunitz in an entry in his *Diary, June 10 1724, Wrzna-Kaunitz Archives, Holleschau.

⁴ “ Benoît XIII. n’avait pas la première idée du gouvernement,” says Benedict XIV. (*Lettres à Tencin*, II., 282). “ Tout son mal,” writes Polignac, July 17, 1727, “ est de prendre des partis brusquement et sans consulter. On ne saurait les prévenir et il en coûte pour y remédier. Mais avec un peu de temps et de peine, on en vient à bout, car il a toutes les intentions pures et assez d’humilité pour avouer qu’il aurait pu aller plus doucement et pour revenir sur ses pas,” *Rev. de l’hist. de l’Église de France*, II. (1911), 411.

⁵ MURATORI, XII., 114.

Coscia and his associates exploited his weakness of character, his credulity and good nature with unheard of impudence. The ensuing grave abuses injured not only the financial position of the Holy See, but its interests and its prestige also—one need only think of the agreement with the Emperor and the court of Turin on the *Monarchia Sicula*. They cast a deep shadow over the pontificate of five and a half years of high-minded Benedict XIII. and strengthened the widespread dislike of the choice of a Frate: to be an able Pope it is not enough to be an excellent religious.

CLEMENT XII. 1730-1740.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION AND CHARACTER OF CLEMENT XII.—HIS ACTION AS A REFORMER.

(1.)

BENEDICT XIII.'s death was the signal for the overthrow of the domination of the Beneventan favourites at the Curia.¹ However, the irritation of the public had for its object not so much the unhappy Pontiff, whom the people rather pitied and to whom, with rare affection and fervour, it gave a supreme proof of gratitude,² but chiefly Cardinal Coscia and his followers.³

¹ The general demoralization, the maladministration of the Beneventans and the indifference of the Pope (*cf.* ZANELLI, II *seqq.*) are vividly described by Ruele, **Storia del conclave, Cod.*, 5746, State Library, Vienna ("Si può dire al non plus ultra"; even the locks on the doors were stolen). *Cf.* **Conclave nel quale è stato eletto . . . Clemente XII. (1730)*, A. I, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican, and various **papers* on Coscia in *Cod. Barb.*, 4686, Vatican Library; also **Pasquino poet. che descrive l'ottavo sacco di Roma sotto il pontif. di Benedetto XIII.*, *Cod.*, XV., D 35, National Library, Naples. Other **satires* are in *Codd. Vat.*, 9372, 9390, 9728, Vatican Library; in *Cod.*, I, 8, 5, National Library, Florence; in L. Benveduti Library, Gubbio. The **Vita, dottrina e miracoli di P. Benedetto XIII.*, *Cod.*, 39, D 2, Corsini Library, Rome, is also satirical.

² Thus at the last kissing of the feet of the corpse, *"poichè da gran tempo non si ricordava la gran calca di persone affolate per toccargli o bacciargli i piedi."* As the people even cut off pieces from the garments, the guard of honour had to be

By order of the Camerlengo, Cardinal Annibalè Albani, the *Maggiordomo* began with a purge of the Apostolic Palace; he proceeded with un pitying severity against Cardinal Coscia, Monsignore Santamaria and Cardinal Fini.¹ The day after the Pope's death—it happened to be Ash Wednesday—they had to clear out of the palace. Coscia had his clothes taken to the house of a friend on the Corso, the Marchese Abbati, where he found a refuge for the next few days.² He was ill at the time. An angry crowd was waiting in the square of St. Peter's, ready to vent its fury against any Beneventan. After a sudden downpour of rain and the prudent dispositions of the Swiss Guard had prevented a dangerous outbreak,³ strengthened (*Conclave doppo la morte del P. Benedetto XIII., see above, p. 292, n. 4). A slipper of Benedict XIII. was taken to Innsbruck, where it is preserved in the Museum Fernandinum.

³ The reason was: "aver veduto che il Papa era dalli loro così miseramente sedotto, a non riguardarli con quell'affetto che dalla sua santità di vita e affetto paterno si ripromettevano maggiore"; details proofs (*loc. cit.*). Cf. *Storia del conclave 1730, Cod. 9240, State Library, Vienna: "Nel governo passato s'erano indegnamente abusati della dolcezza del principe."

¹ " *Quali furono li più sleali et odiati ministri e famigliari nella corte " (" Conclave nel quale . . ." [1730], A. I, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). *Ibid.*, details of the measures taken against Coscia, etc.; Fini could hardly get lodgings. On the measures taken for re-establishing order, cf. *Cod. Barb., 4686-7, Vat. Library, also WAHRMUND in *Archiv. für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXVIII. (1892), 105 seqq.

² His servants were recognized and molested. Santamaria likewise had his effects taken to the brothers Vinc. and Fil. Oreste. " *Conclave nel quale . . ." (1730), *loc. cit.*

³ " *Conclave doppo la morte del P. Benedetto XIII., *loc. cit.* *Ibid.* also an account of the disturbances. See also Cardinal Cienfuegos *report of February 23, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican; Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report to La Paz of February 25, 1730, Simancas Archives; *Autobiography of Cardinal C. Cibo in *Fondo Gesuit.*, 120, pp. 30 seqq., Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome; Gagliardi's *letter (see above, p. 294, n. 4), an extract of which is printed in *Arch. Rom.*, XIII., 17. Cf. BROSCHE, II., 73.

Coscia had himself carried out of the Vatican on a stretcher, in the dead of night, without being recognized.

However, his whereabouts soon became known when the excitement of the masses broke out in a regular mutiny. On the third day of the vacancy of the See, February 23rd, Abbati's house was made to undergo a regular siege; a hail of stones broke every window; the populace, uttering terrible threats, threw itself on anyone suspected of being a Beneventan¹ and demanded the death of the "assassins".² It became necessary, for their own protection, to take Coscia's friends Ramone and Negroni³ to prison in a carriage guarded by mounted troops and a posse of police. At night the bridge of S. Angelo was closed by soldiers in order to prevent some of the mutinous elements of the Trastevere from penetrating into the interior of the city. The Bolognese ambassador Cipro Aldobrandini and the Camerlengo helped Coscia to escape that same night from Rome to Cisterna.⁴ Soldiers continued to march through the streets day and night until, as a result of further stern measures by the Camerlengo and the *Capi d'ordini*, tranquillity was at last restored.

At the first cardinalitial congregation, which also took place on February 28th, the Sacred College provisionally replaced the treasurer Negroni by Carlo Sagripanti and the *Commissario dell'armi* Sardini, by Francesco Ricci.⁵ On the

¹ " *Tiratelli, tiratelli, amazatelo, che è Beneventano!" (" Conclave nel quale . . ." [1730], *loc. cit.* Only Fini was spared because he was less discredited; Santamaria, whom they wanted to get hold of particularly, fled to the Monastery of the Minerva (*ibid.*).

² " *Gridò l'infuriato popolo che voleva in mano gl'assassini per trucidarli, tentò di sforzar la guardia, sinchè sopraggiungendo la soldatesca fu dissipato." *Storia del concl.*, 1730, *Cod.* 9240, State Library, Vienna.

³ He was " *tesoriere, notorio concubinario di Bettuccia del medesimo Ramone sorella carnale." *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* Cf. " *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), *loc. cit.* In Cisterna Duke Gaetani took him into his house.

⁵ " *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), *loc. cit.*

occasion of the customary presentation of condolences by the Powers¹ the diplomatic representatives of Venice and Malta alone spoke. In the absence of the imperial, French and Spanish ambassadors, Cienfuegos, Polignac and Bentivoglio spoke in their place. Ormea and Grasso were not admitted as legitimate representatives of Savoy and Sardinia.²

At the conclusion of the solemn obsequies Cardinal Barberini said the Mass of the Holy Ghost on March 5th, in the place of the Dean of the Sacred College, Pignatelli, who was still absent. Amadori Lanfredini delivered the opening discourse after which the Cardinals present³ entered the conclave.⁴

¹ The letters of condolence of the Emperor and of the Kings of France and Spain in EISLER, 320 *seq.*

² Cf. *Conclave doppio la morte del P. Benedetto XIII., *loc. cit.*, and *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), *loc. cit.*

³ The figures given vary: *Conclave nel quale . . . 1730 (*loc. cit.*), says 39, but enumerates only 38 by name. ZANELLI (17) says (according to letters of March 8 and 11, 1730), 30, whilst (66 *seq.*) only 27 are enumerated. CRACAS (LIII., 1906, March 11) gives only 25 Cardinals who on March 5 entered the conclave. NOVAES (XIII., 164) mentions 26.

⁴ The following sources were used here: (1) " *La storia del conclave . . . 1730 composta dall'abb. Ruele di Roveredo nel Tirolo stato conclavista del sig. card. di Colloniz." Orig. with autographed dedication to the Emperor, *Cod.* 5746, State Library, Vienna; Copies: *Cod.* 6310, *ibid.*; *n. 138, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican; also two copies in **Cod. white*, 366 (BÖHM, 719), State Archives, Vienna. (2) " *Storia del conclave . . . con le note dell'autore ", evidently by a conclavist of Cardinal Cienfuegos (at the end: " dentro il conclave fu dal suo primario ministro molto adoperato il mio zelo, la mia esperienza e la mia fedeltà "), only about external matters, *Cod.* 9240, State Lib., Vienna. (3) *Conclave doppio la morte del P. Benedetto XIII., *loc. cit.* (4) *Conclave nel quale è stato eletto . . . Clemente XII., evidently by a friend of Corradini, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican A. I, in **Cod. white*, 706 (BÖHM, 383), 392-443, State Archives, Vienna, in **Cod. ital.*, 55, pp. 124-265, 184, pp. 697-803, and *Cod.* 319 (with annotations by Cardinal Lamberg), State Library, Munich. (5) *Relazione del conclave di Clemente XII., in *Cod. Barb.* 4686, Vatican Library,

At the death of Benedict XIII. the Sacred College counted 67 members, of whom only 55 intervened in the election. On the day of the election their number had been reduced to 53¹ as Schönborn had been obliged to leave the conclave through sickness, whilst Conti was carried off by death.²

utilized and edited in part in *Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXVIII. (1892), 105 *seqq.* (6) *Conclave per la morte di Benedetto XIII., *Cod.* 2970-9, Consistorial Archives of the Vatican, with protocols of the Congregations, scrutinies, mandates, petitions and reports of the nuncios, etc. (*cf.* WAHRMUND in *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, 170, n. 5, pp. 45 *seqq.*) (7) *Reports of Bentivoglio and of his agent "al Marchese de la Paz", Simancas Archives, fasc. 82. (8) Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports to the imperial Chancellery, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican, n. 138; *ibid.* *Letters from Vienna to Passi and others. (9) *Relazioni di . . . Rambaldo di Collalto amb. straord. to the imperial Chancellery, *ibid.* (10) Reports to the courts of Turin and Florence, utilized and edited in part by Zanelli. (11) CRACAS, t. LIII.-LIV. (12) Some documents of a history of the Conclave by Pietro Polidoro (auditor of Annibale Albani) which has been lost, in BELLINI, 2 *seqq.* *Cf.* also PETRUCELLI, IV., 56 *seqq.*; NOVAES, XIII., 158 *seqq.*; WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 226 *seq.* On Zanelli's account see especially the review in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XII., 125. Other manuscript *reports in *Cod. Borg. lat.*, 28, Vatican Library, in *Miscell.*, XV., *cod.* 130 f., 165 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives, and in EISLER, 144.

¹ A list of the fifty-three who were present and of the eleven absentees in *Storia del Conclave, *Cod.* 9240, State Library, Vienna; the former also in CRACAS, LIV., 2020, July 15, 1730, and in ZANELLI, 98 *seq.*

² On Conti's death in the conclave, see below, pp. 314 *seq.* Pamfili did not enter the conclave; he died, aged 76, on March 20, after having been a Cardinal for forty-eight years (see *Conclave nel quale . . . Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican, and CRACAS, LIII., 1972, March 25). The following were absent on account of ill health: Porzia from April 24 to 30 and from June 21 to July 11, Cibo from June 4 to July 11, Ruffo from June 9 to July 11; see CRACAS, LIII., 1897 (April 29), 2005 (June 10), and 2020 (July 15). Schönborn left the conclave on July 1; see *ibid.*, LIV., 2017, July 8; on the state of his health

Cardinal Pamfili died during the interregnum. The eleven absentees were the Roman Cusani, the Germans Schratzenbach and Czacki, the Frenchmen Gesvres and Fleury, the Fleming Boussu, the Spaniards Borgia and Astorga, and the Portuguese Motta, Cunha, and Pereyra. Of those present, twenty-five owed the red hat to Clement XI. and twenty-two to Benedict XIII. Of the Cardinals of Innocent XII. and those of Innocent XIII. only one survived from each pontificate, but of those created by Alexander VIII. there remained four survivors.¹

On this occasion the number of the parties was extraordinarily great, but it is not easy to differentiate them. The prolonged uncertainty of the negotiations, the absence of any one determining and prevailing party by reason of its numbers, and the undecided attitude of many Cardinals and factions render a general survey difficult.

The numerous Cardinals of the previous Pope might have provided a basis for a powerful party of exclusion or inclusion,² but their lack of concord was too great, with the result that many passed over to the "Zelanti" or to the political factions.³ Somewhat more important was the group of the Clementine Cardinals led by Annibale Albani, though it by no means included all the Cardinals of that pontificate. On the other hand the "Zelanti" soon reached an agreement: Benedict

during the election, *cf.* the letter to his brother, the imperial vice-chancellor, July 11, 1730, in *Zeitschrift für die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, LXXII. (1918), 194 *seqq.* See also NOVAES, XIII., 164

¹ ZANELLI, 98 *seqq.*

² At the beginning Bentivoglio was afraid of the existence of such an exclusion party of about twenty votes; see his *letter to La Paz, February 23, 1730, Simancas Archives. In the course of the conclave the number shrunk to sixteen, some of whom continued uncertain (Quirini and Banchieri rather favoured France, Collicola and Marefoschi were for Albani). The question of leadership also remained unsolved: at first it was G. B. Altieri; when he went over to the *Zelanti*, Collicola, and after him Gotti; see RUELE, **Storia del conclave*, Cod. 5746, State Library, Vienna.

³ PETRUCELLI, 58.

XIII.'s accommodating policy was sufficient encouragement for determined action at the election.¹

Greater still was the excitement of the political Powers²; extraordinary envoys came to Rome, as, for instance, the German Collalto, the Spaniard Monteleone, the Savoyard Ormea. The relative attitude of the crown parties was determined by various points of view. The Savoyard privileges formed the main theme of the discussions³ and the Powers were fundamentally divided in their attitude for or against them. Conscious of its recently acquired strength, the Kingdom of Savoy was, naturally enough, unwilling to give up any of its acquisitions and for that reason intervened with particular energy in the discussions.⁴ For the first time, under pressure of King Vittorio Amadeo II., a Savoyard party arose in the Sacred College⁵; it consisted of Cardinals

¹ Already before the conclave they made propaganda both for their programme of reform and for their candidate (ZANELLI, 13). " *Erano tanti giusti motivi ai card. più zelanti di far la scielta d'un Papa di senno, d'esperienza e di capacità tale che fosse bastante a rimediare a tanti mali, a rimettere in credito la Camera Apost., sollevare agli sudditi e per fine al far rifiorire l'onore del pontificato, che si vedeva quasi totalmente abbattuto " (Ruele, *Storia del conclave*, *loc. cit.*). Also *Cod. Barb.* 4686-7, Vatican Library; see *Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXVIII., 112. The number of the *Zelanti* grew to about fifteen in the course of the conclave; see *RUELE, *loc. cit.*

² On the political situation and its influence on the conclave see ZANELLI, 5 *seqq.*, 9 *seq.*

³ " *Se l'uno scrisse omelie, l'altro stampò sermoni Mariani di consultar in casi gravi il s. Collegio d'abolire le pregiudizievoli concessioni fatte alla Savoya e di rivocare l'accomodamento di Sicilia, benchè l'utimo articolo si giudicò meglio d'omettere." *Storia del conclave*, *Cod.* 9240, National Library, Vienna.

⁴ Cf. ZANELLI, 7, but especially G. M. BELLINI, *Il Marchese d'Ormea ed il conclave dell'anno 1730. Documenti inediti*, Teramo, 1892; *Id.*, *V. Amadeo II. e il M. d'Ormea nel conclave dell'anno 1730*, Lanciano, 1907.

⁵ BELLINI, *Documenti* 2. An attempt was made to strengthen the party by promises of pensions, but this was turned down by

Coscia, Lambertini, Fini, and Lercari, captained by Alessandro Albani. The latter was an irreconcilable opponent of his brother Annibale whose party, Clement XI.'s Cardinals,¹ together with the "Zelanti", disputed all the privileges of Savoy.

This party was reinforced by another opposition, that between France and Austria, which was due to the decisions of the Congress of Seville in connection with the succession of Parma and Tuscany.² France, represented by Polignac as leader, desired a Tuscan Pope; on the other hand Cienfuegos, even before the opening of the conclave, declared in the most unmistakable terms, which interpreted the sentiments of the Emperor, that he was opposed to any Tuscan candidate.³ Now the Tuscans were either Clementines or "Zelanti", hence opponents of the Savoyards; this necessitated a tactical association between Austria and Savoy. In view of this tense political situation war on Italian territory was generally expected,⁴ an event for which each of the

Petra. " *Ormea ha tentato quasi tutto il s. Collegio non meno con offerte di pensioni che con pronti donativi." It is believed that a number of Cardinals were won over. Collalto to the imperial Chancellery, April 11, 1730. Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

¹ Only a few could be completely relied upon, as Corradini, Origo, Olivieri; Albani won over some by promises of offices or by threats; see RUELE, **Storia del conclave, loc. cit.* Already on account of the last conclave and for other reasons also Albani stood in very strained relations with the Emperor, so that in 1728 a union of the crowns against him was being considered on the Austrian side; see " *Copia di trascritta a S. M. quando si mandò il giudizio de' cardinali", Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican A. I.

² ZANELLI, 6, 14; PETRUCELLI, 57.

³ Thereby he alarmed all the Tuscans; see Bentivoglio to La Paz, February 23, 1730, Simancas Archives. Cf. ZANELLI, 16.

⁴ RUELE, **Storia del conclave, loc. cit.*; *Cardinal Cienfuegos to the imperial Chancellery, June 3, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican A. I. Cf. *Relazione della guerra imminente sotto il pontif. di Clemente XII. (1730), *Cod.* 33, G 7, pp. 305-396. Corsini Library, Rome.

interested parties was anxious to secure the goodwill of the next Pope.

As regards numbers, the imperialist party had the advantage: it included four nationals, seven Neapolitans, two Milanese, four other subjects, five Savoyards and Bentivoglio,¹ who on this occasion was in permanent opposition to his Spanish colleague Belluga. France was in a weaker position, with five votes; these only gained some importance after a closer junction with the Cardinals of Clement XI. and Alexander VIII.

Thus the discussions could only lead to a result if both parties came to an agreement—which seemed almost impossible—or if the “Zelanti” joined the imperialists, as they eventually did.²

Political considerations also played a large part in the choice of candidates. A year before the death of Benedict the Emperor had had drawn up a character sketch of all the Cardinals,³ and yet another in which, after excluding the “young ones, of whom there could scarcely be question”, and the “senile ones”, the Cardinals were divided into “suspects”, “well-disposed” and “indifferent” ones, according to their

¹ Thus in all 21-2 votes could be confidently expected, to which perhaps a few “Benedettini” would be added; see RUELE, *Storia del conclave, loc. cit. In the event of all the subjects arriving and conforming with instructions, twenty-eight adherents could be counted upon in 1728; see *Copia di trascritta . . . , Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. Althan made the strongest opposition to the imperialists and was very obstinate; see *Collalto to the imperial Chancellery, June 3, 1730, *ibid.* On the importance of the imperialists in the Conclave see *Bentivoglio to La Paz, February 21, 1730, Simancas Archives.

² Thus RUELE, *Storia del conclave, loc. cit. This decisive rôle of the *Zelanti* was foreseen; see *Relazione del conclave, 1730, e delli due partiti opposti, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican A. I.

³ “*Giudicio che si fa di quei cardinali che al presente compongono il s. Collegio” [on the back page: Memorie per il conclave], drawn up for the Emperor, 1728/1730, *ibid.*

attitude towards the court of Vienna.¹ However, it was not intended to exclude the younger ones on principle; for many reasons their inclusion seemed advisable.² On the other hand the imperial party would have to proceed very carefully with the open exclusion, as that weapon was most effective when it remained in the scabbard.³

A certain agitation began even before the conclave; thus the "Zelanti" opened a campaign in favour of Imperiali, Cienfuegos for Ruffo and Colonna and the Clementines for Zondadari and Marefoschi⁴; there was talk of close on thirty *papabili*.⁵

Coscia was one of the many absentee Cardinals at the

¹ The *Copia di trascritta a S. M., *ibid.*, enumerates: 17 "nazionali", 5 "protettori delle corone", 15 "giovani e di difficile riuscita", 5 "decrepiti et inabili per la cattiva salute", 6 "sospetti", 8 "ben affetti", 12 "indifferenti" (5 of these "ma non desiderabili"), 18 "cardinali nati sudditi", 4 "dipendenti", 6 friendly.

² The reasons are: A lack of suitable old Cardinals, too great a power of resistance on the part of a younger one against excessive pretensions, perhaps also greater moderation and more prudent dealing with existing disorders. *Ibid.*

³ " *In somma l'esclusiva de' principi è una spada che sfoderata non può servire che due o tre volte al più, ma ritenuta nel fodero fa quanti omicidi si vogliono." *Ibid.*

⁴ Savoy also made a selection, a very large one, of *papabili*. Ormea's letter to the King, February 25, 1730, in ZANELLI, 18, n. 1.

⁵ Three Neapolitans (Pignatelli, Ruffo, Petra), two Milanese (Borromeo, Odescalchi), two Venetians (Ottoboni, Porzia), two Genoese (Imperiali, Nic. Spinola), four Tuscans (Corsini, Zondadari, Banchieri, Salviati), one from Mantua (Pico), one from Piacenza (Alberoni), and twelve papal subjects (Barberini, Boncompagni, Davia, Corradini, Conti, G. B. Altieri, Marefoschi, Gotti, Altieri, Colonna, Olivieri, Falconieri). Detailed appreciation of these twenty-seven in RUELE, *Storia del conclave, Cod. 5746, State Library, Vienna; eighteen specially important *papabili* are also discussed in " *Relazione del conclave 1730 e delli due partiti opposti", Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

moment of the closure of the conclave on the evening of March 5th. The day before he had sent a letter from Cisterna to the Sacred College in which he expressed his willingness to attend the conclave and begged that the most necessary clothes and other articles of his confiscated property might be restored to him.¹ On March 11th the *Capi d'ordini* granted his request as well as a free entry into the city.² He presented himself on April 4th but only a few of the members of the conclave greeted him.³

The position of the parties was very ill defined when the negotiations opened: many of the national Cardinals had not yet arrived. Only the compact group of the "Zelanti" could risk an immediate advance and this it did in favour

¹ *Copy of the letter and the reply (signed by Ottoboni, Zondadari, Colonna) in *Cod. ital.*, 548, f. 140, State Library, Munich. Coscia calls special attention to the fact that in virtue of the Bulls of Clement V. and Paul V. he could not be subjected to any proceedings during the *Sede vacante*.

² "Accompagnato per strada dalle insolenti maldicenze et imprecazioni del popolo"; see Collalto to Borromeo in Milan, in CALVI, 5. He arrived in Rome secretly during the night and found shelter with the Carmelites *alla Traspontina*; see Bassi to Borromeo in Milan, April 1, 1730, *ibid.*, 4. He had to enter the Vatican by the door of the Belvedere.

³ Among them Ruffo, Ottoboni and Giudice who embraced him, whilst most of the Cardinals were against him; see Collalto to the imperial Chancery, April 11, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. The *satires on the Cardinals in conclave (*Cod. ital.*, 548, f. 93 *seqq.*, State Library, Munich) are particularly bitter against Coscia and Lambertini; for the Carmelites who sheltered Coscia "contra ius gentium" the wish is expressed that they may have "nec pax nec requies", for the Cardinals who admitted "flagitiosissimum cardinalem", "confusio sempiterna"; Ormea is called "Romae catholicae Catilina"; angry words are also hurled against the Roman populace, "a maiorum strenua virtute degeneri ac latrocinia et cornua libenter exoptanti," they ought to have stoned and banished him. Other *satires on the conclave in *Ottob.*, 2825-8, Vatican Library, in *Ms. Diez.*, 51, State Library, Berlin, and in *Cod.* 10807 and 10834, British Museum, London.

of Imperiali. The latter had great experience in the affairs of the Curia and even more in those of the Camera, but his eighty years and his infirmities¹ seemed to render him unequal to the difficult tasks of the near future. France had excluded him at the last conclave; it was not known if she would maintain her exclusion. At the very first scrutiny on the morning of March 6th, eighteen votes were cast in his favour.² Strangely enough even the Camerlengo warmly supported this action, though his sincerity was questioned, all the more so as common experience proved that the first candidatures were, for the most part, those least seriously meant; perhaps Albani merely wished to rob one or other political power of its veto.³ In this he was successful. Imperiali met with opposition from the Spaniards because of his friendliness towards the Emperor and his attitude in the question of Tuscany, from Portugal because he had prevented Bichi's elevation, and from Savoy because he opposed the privileges granted by Benedict XIII.⁴; even the imperialists were unable to rise to any great enthusiasm for him.⁵ In view

¹ “*Prattico della corte e specialmente degli interessi della Camera [but] al governo parato [and] quasi debile di mente.” Relazione del conclave 1730 e delli due partiti opposti, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

² The results of particular ballots in *Scrutinii del conclave . . . 1730, *Cod. Barb.*, 4449, Vatican Library; also in *Cod. Vat.* 10454 (March 7 to July 12), *ibid.*, and in Cardinal Sinzendorf's *reports (May 28 to July 1, 1730), Sinzendorf Archives, Jaidhof Castle.

³ “*Con giusta ragione dunque gli più sensati cardinali rivocavano in dubio la fede del card. S. Clemente [Ann. Albani] per queste pratiche e lo riguardano per un inganno.” Ruele, *Storia del conclave*, *loc. cit.*

⁴ All these reasons are stated in *Conclave nel quale . . . , Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁵ On April 21 Albani sent from the conclave a *report to the Emperor with a warm recommendation for Imperiali (*S. Clemente al March. di Rialphi*, copy in Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican), the Emperor, however, refused to intervene on behalf of any particular person (*Rialpi to Annib. Albani, May 17, 1730, *ibid.*).

of the elimination, for similar motives, of other candidates,¹ the ground seemed ready for a successful party of exclusion ; however, events moved more rapidly.

On March 12th Bentivoglio, the Spanish Cardinal Minister, entered the conclave, in spite of the fact that he felt very unwell ; he was forced to do so because his countryman Belluga refused to carry out his Government's definite instructions, which were hostile to Imperiali.² It became increasingly clear that France would not pronounce a declaration of exclusion.³ The situation became particularly serious on March 20th when another twenty votes were cast for Imperiali, whilst it was known that ten other faithful supporters of the action in his favour had only voted "nemini" for appearance' sake. There followed a night of strenuous electoral activity, yet to the disappointment of many, the next scrutiny only yielded twenty-two votes in Imperiali's favour. Nevertheless in the morning Bentivoglio informed the leaders of the parties that Imperiali was excluded by the King of Spain.⁴

¹ RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*

² *Bentivoglio to La Paz, March 4, 1730, Simancas Archives ; *Conclave nel quale . . ., Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. In his final *report to La Paz, July 14, 1730 (*loc. cit.*), Bentivoglio complained of Belluga's lack of solidarity, he was only a hindrance and had let himself be guided by selfish motives.

³ It was becoming more and more evident that this time France would leave Spain in the lurch ; however, there was still a hope of overthrowing Imperiali, " *sin venir al golpe fatal de la esclusiva " (Bentivoglio to La Paz, March 16, 1730, Simancas Archives). Only " *en el ultimo inevitable caso " did he wish to make use of the exclusion (*Bentivoglio to La Paz, March 16 and 18, 1730, *ibid.*). Polignac even sought to persuade Bentivoglio to favour Imperiali (*to La Paz, March 16, 1730, *ibid.* ; *Cienfuegos to the imperial Chancellery by Passi, April 22, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁴ RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*, printed in part in WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 323 ; Barberini's diary,

Thereupon Imperiali's friends, mainly at Belluga's instigation,¹ began an attack on the authenticity of the letter submitted; they argued that it was signed by the Secretary of State, not by the King, and that the date was too remote (August 28th, 1720). A messenger was dispatched to Madrid, to inquire into the validity of the veto; another messenger went to Cardinal Fleury to obtain the intervention of the Paris Government with the Spanish court in favour of Imperiali. The answer was long in coming. Meanwhile the Camerlengo endeavoured to induce the imperialists to change their mind—first Cienfuegos, then Kollonitsch—but all in vain. An imperial instruction, which arrived at the beginning of April, was against Imperiali²; finally both the French and the Spanish courier also brought an answer unfavourable to him.³

The opposition party, now visibly stronger, put forward new candidates in the persons of Ruffo, Falconieri, Petra, Gotti, but none with decisive results. Meanwhile several minor incidents distracted the attention of the electors for a short time. April 8th witnessed the arrival of the imperial envoy Count Collalto; on the 10th the ambassador addressed

March 21, 1730, in *Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXVIII., 106; report to La Paz, March 27, 1730, Simancas Archives. Cf. WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 226; *Id.*, in *Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXVIII., 103; ZANELLI, 24; PETRUCCELLI, 68; EISLER, 184; GAUGUSCH, 161; LECTOR, 565 *seq.*; VIDAL, 65.

¹ “*Dicendogli che questo era uno sfogo di sua passione privata, un suo capriccioso et indiscreto sentimento.” Ruele, *Storia del conclave*, *loc. cit.*

² PETRUCCELLI, 69.

³ On April 24 the Spanish courier arrived with the explicit confirmation of the exclusion; see *report to La Paz, May 2, 1730, Simancas Archives; Collalto to the imperial Chancellery, April 29, 1730, in WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 322 (*cf.* 226). At the beginning of May the French courier also arrived with the same disappointing answer; see *report to La Paz, May 15, 1730, *loc. cit.*; RUELE, **Storia del conclave*, *loc. cit.* Cf. VIDAL, 65; PETRUCCELLI, 75.

the Sacred College; Barberini replied with an address in Italian.¹

In the scrutiny of the evening of April 17th one vote was cast for Coscia. The Sacred College was indignant,² many Cardinals, such as Annibale Albani and Barberini, demanded the annulment of the vote, but others, and they prevailed in the end, insisted that Coscia should enjoy an unqualified active and passive vote.³ Now it so happened that a few days later the Grand Penitentiary, Cardinal Conti, succumbed to a stroke of apoplexy⁴; evil tongues connected this sudden death with the vote for Coscia.⁵ Conti's body lay in state

¹ RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.* The Emperor's letter to the Sacred College of March 8, 1730, sent by Collalto, forms Appendix A in *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. *Ibid.*, also, Collalto's discourse forms Appendix B and is printed as supplement to his *report to the imperial Chancellery, April 11, 1730.

² " *Con universale scandalo: altri volea aprir la scheda, altri sebarla al futuro pontefice, altri chiamava spergiuro il vocale, che non può crederlo degno, quando giura d'eleggerne il più degno " (Storia del conclave, *Cod.* 9240, State Library Vienna). See also *report to La Paz, April 19, 1730, Simancas Archives, and Collalto's *report to the imperial Chancellery, April 23, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. In the conclave leaflets were distributed in the form of a decree from the auditor of the Apostolic camera, which said: " Comburatur schedula una cum electo et electore! " RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*

³ RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *ibid.*

⁴ CRACAS, LIII., 1987, April 29, 1730.

⁵ RUELE (*loc. cit.*) has preserved the following sonnet which was circulated at that time in the conclave:

Un voto a Coscia? E chi fu mai quel Rio
 Profanator del sacro giuramento
 Che l'infame ladron di Benevento
 Scrisse con negra man per vice Dio?
 Un voto a Coscia? Oh Santo Spirito, oh Dio!
 Punite il diabolico ardimento,

in the Cappella Paolina on the following day, after which, in the presence of the entire Sacred College, it was consigned to the parish priest and the clergy of St. Peter's at the door of the conclave.¹ Cardinal Petra was chosen to succeed him as Grand Penitentiary.²

The number of Cardinals present now exceeded fifty and the discussions became again more serious. Cienfuegos, leagued with Spain, Savoy and others,³ agitated in favour of Ruffo, but the latter was too imperialist for the French and the Clementines and too Savoyard for the "Zelanti".

Fiamma dal ciel sull'empio cada, e al vento
 Il cener sparga, e così paghi il fio.
 Un voto a Coscia? Altro briccon che Finy
 Far non potea così malvaggia impresa,
 Seguace degl'infami, ed assassini.
 Io non l'assolverò, troppo è l'offesa.
 Così disse, e lasciò vita, e scrutini
 Il gran penitenzier di santa Chiesa.

¹ This ceremony took place at 1 o'clock in the morning; the body was then taken to S. Bernardo, the titular church of the Cardinal. RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*

² As the office brought in 2,000 scudi per annum, there were several candidates (Petra, Corradini, Marefoschi, Pico) and many differences of opinion, so that it was only at a second meeting that Petra was elected with forty-five votes; RUELE, *loc. cit.*, and *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

³ Even with some of the Zelanti, as also with his relative Boncompagni and Ottoboni, a relative of the latter; the votes amounted already to over thirty (RUELE, *loc. cit.*). Against him were the Albani, Benedettini and some of the Zelanti (Collalto's *report to the imperial Chancellery, April 23, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). Ruffo had the reputation of being "ambiziosissimo di esaltazione"; see Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), *ibid.* A pamphlet against the candidature of Ruffo was circulated in the conclave, the contents of which are refuted in detail in *Storia del conclave (1730), *Cod.* 9240, State Archives, Vienna; in the end, Ruffo withdrew spontaneously; see *report to La Paz, May 20, 1730, Simancas Archives.

Fresh compromises were suggested only to be dropped as quickly, as for instance in favour of Davia,¹ Colonna and Pico. The latter was greatly favoured by the Camerlengo²; attempts were also made in favour of Zondadari³ and, for a moment, of Falconieri also.⁴

¹ As *pensionario dell'imperadore (Relazione del conclave 1730 e delli due partiti apposti, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). He was opposed by France and Spain; *cf.* PETRUCELLI, 71.

² On May 21 Albani circulated in the conclave a letter of recommendation in which he praised Pico as the most worthy and refuted all objections. Collalto sent a copy of it to the imperial Chancellery with his *report of May 23, 1730 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). In the meantime Albani's letter remained without effect (*Collalto to the imperial Chancellery, May 23, 1730, *ibid.*). Althan asserted that he knew the dispositions of the Emperor better, that he was in favour of Pico. However, during the night of May 18 Cienfuegos showed an explicit order of exclusion against Pico from the Emperor, written in Spanish, of which Ruele had to inform Cardinals Kollonitsch and Schönborn. They succeeded in collecting over twenty-five votes for the exclusion; the attempt to extort an open exclusion miscarried. Thereupon Pico " *la sera degli 19 di maggio si portò alla cella del card. Camerlengo, ove alla presenza del card. S. Agnese avanti d'un crocifisso protestò che lui si giudicava incapace del pontificato, tanto più quanto che sapeva essergli contraria Sua M. Imp., che perciò lo supplicava di voler desistere dal fare ulteriori pratiche in suo favore" (Ruele, Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* *reports to La Paz of May 22 and 31, 1730, Simancas Archives. Moreover Pico was a French pensioner (*Relazione del concl. 1730 e delli due partiti apposti, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican).

³ The Zelanti, Savoyards and Benedettini united in his support, the latter on condition that he made certain promises (*Conclave nel quale . . . [1730], *ibid.*). But Spain was against him (*Cienfuegos to the imperial Chancellery, May 28, 1730, *ibid.*); the imperialists did not want a Tuscan and a rumour was spread (*cf.* *letter to the Emperor, probably by Ruele immediately after the election, *ibid.*), that France would exclude him on account of his activities as nuncio, in justification of

Corsini's candidature called forth a more lively interest. He was known to be a conscientious administrator and his unselfish liberality had won him popularity. His house was a distinguished social centre. After the definitive failure of the action in favour of Imperiali, the French proposed Corsini¹; they were joined by Bentivoglio,² some "Zelanti" and a few of Benedict XIII.'s Cardinals. But the main opposition came from Cienfuegos who was dead against all Tuscans³ and who became all the more unyielding as the opposite side increased its efforts in favour of Corsini.⁴ In the city the latter's election was already looked upon as

which Zondadari himself drew up a report which he handed over to Rohan (Bentivoglio sent a *copy of it to La Paz on June 3, Simancas Archives), evidently without the desired effect (RUELE, *Storia del Conclave, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* *report to La Paz, May 27, 1730, *loc. cit.*).

⁴ He met with opposition as head of the Benedettini, as a friend of Coscia and the Savoyards, and perhaps also on account of his violent character; see RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*; *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), *loc. cit.*; *report to La Paz, May 31, 1730, *loc. cit.*; *reports of Collalto [who praises him very much] to the imperial Chancellery, May 27 and June 3, 1730, *loc. cit.*

¹ RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*

² *Report to La Paz, May 15, 1730, Simancas Archives.

³ The numerous objections on the part of Austria in *Relazione del conclave 1730 e delli due partiti opposti (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican): "Si conoscerà chiaramente che il card. Corsini è totalmente escluso dal pretendere e dal papato." Hence Cienfuegos was unwilling to give his consent without " *espresso e precise istruzioni dalla sua corte di Vienna " (Conclave nel quale . . . [1730], *ibid.*). *Cf.* Collalto's *report to the imperial Chancellery, May 8, 1730, *ibid.* The Austro-Savoyard league against Corsini was especially consolidated by the assemblies of May 11 and 12; see RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also the *reports to La Paz, May 2 and 6, 1730, Simancas Archives; PETRUCELLI, 77; ZANELLI, 36.

⁴ At first Rohan, then the Camerlengo himself, but both in vain. *Report to La Paz, May 15, 1730, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* ZANELLI, 37.

a certainty. On May 15th the people and the nobility assembled in front of St. Peter's, full of expectation, but they were obliged to go home disappointed for at the morning ballot Corsini's party had only succeeded in collecting twenty-six votes instead of the thirty-four they had hoped for.¹ Thereupon the Cardinal begged his supporters to desist from pushing his candidature.² The alliance between the Savoyards and the imperialists seemed, at least for the moment, to have stood this trial of strength, even without an open exclusion.

In the first days of June Davia's prospects seemed so certain that masons and other workmen in the city were engaged for the dismantling of the conclave and many Cardinals were making preparations for their departure.³ Once again there occurred a great deception: instead of the anticipated thirty-eight to forty votes, only twenty-nine were cast for Davia at the decisive scrutiny of June 7th.⁴ The

¹ Twenty-three votes in the scrutiny and three *accessi*; see RUELE, *Storia del conclave, loc. cit.; *Collalto to the imperial Chancellery, May 13, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

² The votes diminished rapidly: in the evening only twenty-five, on May 16 only five. *Cienfuegos to the imperial Chancellery, May 18, 1730, *ibid.* Cf. RUELE, *loc. cit.*

³ " *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), *loc. cit.* " *Per rendere la canzonatura più fiera [!] egli [Annib. Albani] fece venire 50 muratori per abbattere i muri, fece applicare le scale alle mura della scala grande ed altre dimostrazioni usate quando riesce l'elezione; li cardinali fecero venire le coppe, e molti trafugarono gl'argenti, tutta Roma era in confusione et in bisbiglio." Report of Cardinal Sinzendorf, June 7, 1730, Sinzendorf Archives, Jaidhot Castle.

⁴ On June 4 there were already forty adherents. An assembly of the "Zelanti" on the morning of June 7 described the intrigues against Davia under the mask of the Zelanti as " *un arrabiattissimo maneggio di Polignac e di S. Clemente ", and they maintained that the election should no longer be deferred (RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*). Some considered Davia " *avidioso et irresoluto " (Conclave doppo la morte del P. Benedetto XIII., *loc. cit.*). Personally Cienfuegos agreed, but he pointed out the

result was a great strengthening of Davia's opponents ; these now strove for the elevation of Corradini.¹ In reality the only purpose of the French when they put forward this candidature was to extort an imperial declaration of exclusion against him, so as to facilitate the promotion by them of Olivieri or Banchieri.² By their joint efforts the Clementines, the French and the "Zelanti"³ succeeded in winning over

very distressing condition of the Cardinal's health who was deaf and nearly blind ; France was opposed on account of his former nunciature ; see *report to La Paz, June 7, 1730, Simancas Archives. All objections are refuted in RUELE *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*, and in *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), *loc. cit.*

¹ *Cienfuegos to the imperial Chancellery, June 10, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican, and *report of Cardinal Sinzendorf, June 8, 1730, Sinzendorf Archives, Jaidhof Castle.

² *Collalto to the imperial Chancellery, June 10, 17, and 20, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican, the last letter also in WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 322. The Zelanti, however, were sincere in their intentions ; see RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.* Here also arises the question of a multiple exclusion by the same sovereign ; Collalto proposes that the crowns, especially the Emperor, should show that they had the right to exclude several, as Estrées, in the conclave of Innocent XI. (*cf.* the present work, XXXII., 38), had excluded "tutte le creature di Clemente X." (*to the imperial Chancellery, June 17 and 20, *loc. cit.*). A malicious *satire (*Cod. ital.*, 548, State Library, Munich), says of Corradini : "qui singulari eximiaque virtute inter cuncta semper praeclarissime gesta ad pontificatus Romani dignitatem tuendam incredibili constantia nedum alios, sed se ipsum superavit atque in praesenti summo rerum discrimine omni studio incubuit, ut claves apostolici imperii teneret et gubernacula christianae reipublicae tractaret."

³ *Cienfuegos to the imperial Chancellery, June 20, 1730, *loc. cit.* Thus Althan dissuaded Cardinal Borromeo, " *per la qual via a sviato molt'altri sudditi dell'Imperatore mettendoli il sospetto che ciò era privato capriccio del card. Cienfuegos." *Report of Cardinal Sinzendorf, June 20, 1730, Sinzendorf Archives, Jaidhof Castle. *Ibid.*, also on the very active propaganda

a number of Cardinals to their side, but Cienfuegos and Bentivoglio, whose action was decisive,¹ would neither change their minds nor suffer themselves to be persuaded to precipitate anything,² however anxious Althan in particular may have been to compromise the leader of the imperialists.³ Alessandro Albani⁴ also worked steadily in their sense. Cienfuegos answered definitely that even if all the Cardinals voted for

for Corradini and a *Enumerazione probabile delli 30 voti dati al card. Corradini.

¹ Bentivoglio told the advocate Mauri, Rohan's conclavist, " *che egli rendeva le dovute grazie a sua Em. per le compite esibizioni e che le faceva sapere che l'obbligo di buon servitore e ministro del Re Cattolico suo signore non gli permetteva d'arbitrare in questa materia ; onde gli conveniva d'essere precisamente contrario all'esaltazione del card. Corradini " (Ruele, *Storia del conclave*, *Cod.* 5746, State Library, Vienna). *Cf.* the *report to La Paz, June 3, 1730, Simancas Archives ; Collalto to the imperial Chancellery, June 27, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican, and to Borromeo in Milan, June 24, 1730, in CALVI, 20 *seq.*

² Bentivoglio worked hard against Corradini (*to La Paz, June 10, 12, and 19, 1720, *loc. cit.*), and reported daily from June 15 to 30 to La Paz on the results of the ballots (*cf.* the *reports, *ibid.*). The maximum number of votes was thirty on June 17, in the evening only twenty-seven, on June 18, 29 and 30 respectively. During the following night a strong exclusion party was formed with twenty-two votes, later increased to twenty-six (the names of the members are enumerated in the report to La Paz, June 19, *ibid.* ; later they sank to twenty-six). In spite of this Corradini continued to receive 24-8 votes up till the beginning of July ; see RUELE, **Storia del conclave*, *loc. cit.*

³ On June 19 the rumour was spread, probably by Althan, that Collalto had said that the Emperor had no objection to Corradini. However, the ambassador immediately denied this statement in a letter to Cienfuegos and in the evening he confirmed the denial by oath, before Kollonitsch's window. RUELE, *loc. cit.*

⁴ " *Si morsero allora come furie d'Averno i ministri Savoyardi " (*Conclave nel quale . . . [1730]*, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican ; added to this, as appendices, the text of the agreement among the Savoyards on the impossibility of Corradini :

Corradini, two votes would never be secured, viz. his own and Bentivoglio's, because the courts they represented had grave misgivings, as had those of Portugal and Savoy.¹ Accordingly it soon became necessary to drop all efforts for Corradini's elevation²; on July 1st a formal veto was no longer deemed necessary.³

The French now made a direct attempt in favour of Banchieri, but in the opinion of the "Zelanti" this candidate lacked experience and was engaged in a policy of self-interest.⁴ The Spaniards and the imperialists also received the proposal coldly.⁵ For a moment the imperialists considered Barberini and the opposite side Pignatelli.

Appendix C: Ormea to Al. Albani and Lambertini; Appendix D: Lambertini to Ormea; both documents are also printed in BELLINI, 2-6).

¹ RUELE, *loc. cit.*, describes, no doubt with some exaggeration, the effect on Albani: "Ad una così risoluta risposta S. Clemente tutto confuso ritornò alla sua cella, conoscendo che tutte le sue arti per indurre Cienfuegos o a concorrere in Corradini o a dar fuori la sua esclusiva, erano frustranee." In the same way *Bentivoglio "respondì francamente al de Rohan que se acordase de la palabra, que le avia dado, que no se hablaria mas de Corradini" (report to La Paz, June 7, 1730, Simancas Archives). Cf. *Cienfuegos to the imperial Chancellery, June 20, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

² Fearing this, Collalto writes already on June 17, 1730, to the imperial Chancellery: "In sostanza il conclave è in una tale dissensione, che per via di trattati si è totalmente da capo" (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican); and on June 10 to Borromeo in Milan (in CALVI, 19): "In somma il conclave è come un teatro, ove or l'una, or l'altra scena si mira de' personaggi, la cui azione poi finisce in tragedia."

³ Collalto to Borromeo, July 1, 1730 (in CALVI, 22): "avendo sicura l'esclusiva co' voti."

⁴ " *Circa Corradini comminciano a vedere l'impossibilità, non disperano però di riuscire con Banchieri, che doppo Olivieri sarebbe il loro Benjamino." *Report of Cardinal Sinzendorf, June 18, 1730, Sinzendorf Arch., Jaidhof Castle.

⁵ Collalto to the imperial Chancellery, July 1, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

The length of the conclave and the beginning of the hot season made life in the confined space exceedingly disagreeable.¹ This makes it all the more surprising that at this very moment the electors took up once more the earlier candidature of Corsini and that it led in a comparatively short time to a positive result. What was the cause of this change?

The first attempt in favour of Corsini had been wrecked against the resistance of the imperial and Savoyard party. But all the means for overcoming their opposition had not been exhausted. Work on his behalf went on in secret and with the imperial Government itself. Corsini's nephew, Neri Corsini, and with him Grand-Duke Giovanni Gasto of Tuscany,² the Electress of Bavaria, Anne of Bavaria,³ and Princess Violante of Tuscany,⁴ exerted their influence on his behalf at the court of Vienna. Several weeks of incessant effort were at length crowned with the longed for success. On the evening of July 7th Cienfuegos received an imperial messenger who was the bearer of a letter in which the Government expressed its thanks for the policy he had hitherto pursued in the conclave and instructed him that, in the event of Corsini's candidature coming up once more, the opposition

¹ On the eve of SS. Peter and Paul the fiscal of the Apostolic Camera made his appearance and pressed for a speedy conclusion in the interests of economy. RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*

² *Rispettuosissimi e caldissimi uffici da parte del Granduca: Collalto to the Emperor, July 19, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. Cf. the same, June 10, 1730, in CALVI, 19. On Neri Corsini, cf. BROSCHE, II., 74.

³ ZANELLI, 55.

⁴ Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. On the part played by Violante, cf. *Conclave doppo la morte del P. Benedetto XIII. (*loc. cit.*): "La gran principessa D. Violante di Toscana aveva sempre conservato un affetto distinto per la casa Corsini ed è certo che non ebbe di parti di aver le prime mane nella di lui esaltazione, e siccome alla corte di Vienna godeva questa distinta dama un straordinario concetto appresso l'imperatore," she spoke to him strongly on behalf of Corsini.

hitherto offered should be dropped. The French felt grievously hurt when Albani suddenly ceased to support Banchieri and began to advocate once more the elevation of Corsini. They suspected the existence of a private understanding between Albani, Corsini and the Emperor which might prove dangerous for France.¹ The impetuous Rohan demanded a French exclusion² but the more prudent Polignac was of a contrary opinion. It was resolved to form an exclusion party for the formation of which conferences were held nightly in Ottoboni's cell from July 7th to 9th. In this uncertain situation Annibale Albani formally questioned Cienfuegos on July 10th on his own attitude and that of his party to Corsini's candidature: he then received the hoped for consent. This infuriated the French, all the more so as the "Zelanti" went over in a body to Corsini and even the natural objections of Benedict XIII.'s Cardinals³ and the Savoyards to this opponent of their privileges was overcome by Cienfuegos and Collalto.⁴

France's desperate efforts for the formation of an effective

¹ *Reports to La Paz, July 8 and 14, 1730, Simancas Archives;

*Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

² Albani excused himself by saying that he had to propose one of these, namely Corsini, out of regard for the Cardinals created by his uncle, whereupon Rohan " *tutto furioso all'uso della sua nazione, poco pratico della flemma romana, disse subito, che questo era il Papa che voleva l'imperatore, onde non poter egli soffrire, che si dicesse, che fosse venuto da Parigi a Roma per fargli un Papa a suo piacere a che più dovesse subito darsegli l'esclusiva" (Ruele, *Storia del conclave, *Cod.* 5746, State Library, Vienna). Likewise a *letter to the Emperor immediately after the election, most probably by Ruele, in Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

³ Cienfuegos first personally won over Falconieri for Corsini, and Falconieri his party friends, on the plea that an even stronger opponent of Benedict XIII. could easily be elected. *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), *loc. cit.*

⁴ Collalto negotiated first with Grossi, and Cienfuegos with Alessandro Albani; see *report to La Paz, July 8, 1730, Simancas Archives.

party in favour of exclusion failed; it was found impossible to get together more than thirteen or fourteen adherents; consequently, on the morning of July 11th, Polignac and Ottoboni announced the formal adhesion of the French Cardinals amid exaggerated apologies for their hesitation.¹ In return they were given an assurance that Banchieri would become Secretary of State.²

On the forenoon of July 11th the various parties with their leaders repaired to Corsini's cell for the purpose of offering preliminary congratulations. In the evening the entire Sacred College escorted him to the Sistine chapel and back again. The final election was put off until the next day, the feast of St. John Gualbert, for whom Corsini cherished the greatest veneration.³ Already at daybreak there was great excitement in the cells. A triple signal with a bell summoned the electors one hour earlier than was customary. All the fifty-two Cardinals present cast their vote for Corsini who shed tears of emotion during the whole of the proceedings. When asked whether he accepted, he fell on his knees, turned towards the altar and after a short prayer uttered his *Accepto*. After four months and seven days it was at last possible to re-open the conclave. Out of veneration for the Pope to whom he owed his promotion, the newly-elected took the name of Clement. Everybody saw the hand of Providence

¹ " *Finalmente si rendettero consentiendo alla elezione di Corsini con incredibile ripugnanza " because they did not wish to have a Pope by the favour of the Emperor (Cienfuegos to the imperial Chancellery, July 12, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). Salviati, a friend and compatriot of Corsini, probably had a hand in the affair; see *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), *ibid.* Cf. also RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*, and *report to La Paz, July 14, 1730 (Simancas Archives): " En esta precision juzgaron conveniente los Franceses hacer virtud de la necesidad."

² *Secondo il concordato con i Francesi (Conclave nel quale . . . [1730], *loc. cit.*). Cf. PETRUCELLI, 97.

³ *" Di lui concittadino e di lui ne vive parzialmente divoto " (Conclave nel quale . . . [1730], *loc. cit.*).

in the elevation of this Tuscan, against whom the powers of this world had worked so violently and yet so vainly.¹

When the election was made public, the people displayed but little satisfaction, for the Romans had continued to hope for the elevation of Corradini² who enjoyed far greater popularity. It was said that out of the 4,000 assembled in the Piazza of St. Peter's, only four or six shouts of acclamation were heard. Only when the new Pope entered St. Peter's, escorted by the Cardinals and the Swiss Guards, were loud acclamations raised, and even more so at the coronation and the *possesso* on the following Sunday.³ Each of the political parties claimed to have been instrumental in creating the

¹ " *Recarebbe gran meraviglia l'intendere esaltato alla sovranità della chiesa Romana un soggetto, che nello stesso conclave fu contrariato dalla prima potenza dell'Europa e che da questa contro il fine d'ogni umana politica poi commendato avesse a superare felicemente i sospetti compiti dalla nazione francese " (thus begins Conclave nel quale . . . [1730], *loc. cit.*). A *letter to the Emperor, immediately after the election, most probably by Ruele, describes the whole development of Corsini's candidature ; it describes his election as " prodigioso " (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). On this change of Austria in favour of Corsini Cardinal Schönborn writes to his brother, the imperial Vice-Chancellor, on July 11, 1730: " Mithin wird diesmal wohl in den sauren Apffel müssen gebissen werden " ; " dass mann diesen so verächtlich hinweggeworffenen stein wieder hervorgesuchet hat . . . " ; " ich sehe es zwar für eine besondere hand gottes ahn, die hier hat zeugen wollen, das umbsonst seye, das der mensch gegen seine göttliche Verhengnus und wahl was erzwingen wolle " ; his one consolation is, " das ich ihn von der hand gottes gemacht finde, die ihn dann ahnfehlbar auch führen wird " (*Zeitschr. für die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, LXXII. [1918], 199, 203).

² *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), Archives of the Austrian Embassy . . . Details on the subsequent conduct of the people are also given there. Cf. PETRUCELLI, 99.

³ *Conclave doppo la morte del P. Benedetto XIII., *loc. cit.* Cf. *Collalto to the Emperor, July 19, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy . . . NOVAES (XIII., 165), gives a number of contemporary sources.

new Pope, with the sole exception of the French who left in a somewhat disgruntled mood.¹ Even the ambassador of Savoy, in his final dispatch, pays tribute to the excellent character of the new Head of the Church.²

(2.)

Lorenzo Corsini was sprung from an ancient, noble and wealthy Florentine family which, like the Fuggers and the Welsers, had risen from the merchant class. Already in the fourteenth century the Corsini had played a rôle in the party struggles of the Florentine Republic. Charles IV. bestowed on them the dignity of Counts Palatine. In the era of the Medici they rose to even greater importance.³ To the Church the family gave several Cardinals⁴ and a Saint in the person of Andrew Corsini who died in 1373 as Bishop of Fiesole.⁵

¹ They had opposed him already in earlier conclaves, had announced Banchieri's election in Paris, and now had to give way to the Emperor's initiative; see the *letter to the Emperor immediately after the election, most probably by Ruele, Archives of the Austrian Embassy . . ., also **Storia del Conclave*, 1730, *Cod.* 9240, State Library, Vienna. Polignac complained also of Bentivoglio's conduct, whose solidarity with France was not what had been expected; see *report to La Paz, July 15, 1730, Simancas Archives. On the other hand, the Emperor, by an autograph letter, thanked Cardinals Giudice, Accoramboni, Falconieri, Odescalchi and Coscia for their loyal support of Cienfuegos at the election; see *Charles VI. to Cienfuegos, dat. Vienna, August 10, 1730, with copies of the letters to the above five Cardinals, dat. Vienna, August 2, 1730 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). ² ZANELLI, 64.

³ L. PASSERINI, *Genealogia e storia della famiglia Corsini*, Firenze, 1858. On the coat of arms see PASINI FRASSONI, *Armorial des Papes*, Rome, 1906, 47.

⁴ On Cardinal Pietro (*ob.* 1405), see the present work, I., 37, n. 2.

⁵ *Acta Sanct.*, 30 Jan., III.³, 676 *seqq.*; *Bibl. hagiogr. lat. Boll.*, Brux., 1898, 74.

The Pope's father, Bartolomeo, one of the first personages at the court of Florence, was married to Isabella Strozzi. Of this marriage issued Lorenzo, born on April 7th, 1652, at Florence.¹ At the age of fifteen Lorenzo went to Rome to study at the Roman College of the Jesuits. On completing his studies he went to the University of Pisa for five years' further study. There he took a doctorate in both Laws, after which he returned to Rome,² in the hope that his career would be furthered by his influential uncle, Cardinal Neri Corsini.³ When the latter died soon after (1678), he returned to the paternal house in Florence. On his father's death in 1685, he resolved, at the age of thirty-three, to embrace the ecclesiastical state. A third time he journeyed to the Eternal City to enter the prelatore. He so distinguished himself that in 1691 there was question of him as nuncio to Vienna; however, the tension between Alexander VIII. and the imperial Government wrecked the plan.⁴

After that incident Lorenzo spent the rest of his career in Rome. In 1696 Innocent XII. assigned to him the important office of Treasurer-General which had been held by his uncle, the Cardinal.⁵ Lorenzo was no less esteemed by Clement XI. When the imperialists accused the papal Government of partiality towards France, the Pope entrusted him with the delicate mission of investigating these charges in the capacity of a Commissary at Ferrara.⁶ Lorenzo performed his task with so much skill that the Pope raised him to the purple on May 17th, 1706.⁷

¹ According to the author of the *Conclave di Benedetto XIV., in *Cod.* 38, G 20, p. 249, Corsini Library, Rome, Lorenzo Corsini was a seven months' child.

² FABRONIUS, *Vita Clementis*, XII., 4 *seqq.*; NOVAES, XIII., 175 *seqq.*

³ Cf. the present work, XXX., 66, 133, n. 1.

⁴ BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, *Alexander VIII.*, 106 *seq.* Cf. the present work, XXXII., 548.

⁵ [VITALE], *Mem. stor. dei tesorieri generali pontif.*, Napoli, 1782, LXIII.

⁶ FABRONIUS, II *seqq.*

⁷ Cf. XXXIII., 378.

In spite of his many occupations as a member of several Congregations, Lorenzo Corsini nevertheless found time to extend a munificent patronage to art and learning. At his residence in the Palazzo Pamfili, in the Piazza Navona, he collected a splendid library over which he placed the learned D'Inquembert.¹ Scholars, artists and members of the nobility met almost nightly at the house of the Cardinal whose intellectual distinction was of outstanding quality.² In this way he became extremely well informed on every event that stirred Rome and the world, whilst he also became accurately acquainted with the whole of the prelatore and Roman Society.³ People particularly appreciated the circumstance that at these brilliant meetings everyone could freely express his opinion, for no one thought that the Cardinal would one day obtain the tiara.⁴

¹ D'Inquembert's testimony on the value of the Library in *Atlante geografico (dedicated to Clement XII. in 1731) in *Cod.* 36, G 1, Corsini Library, Rome. The *Catalogo della biblioteca del card. Gualtieri acquistata dal card. Corsini (pro Clemente XII.) in *Cod.* 602, Carpentras Library.

² DE BROSSES, *Letters*, II., 117.

³ PETRUCELLI, IV., 101. Cf. FABRONIUS, 15; NOVAES, XIII., 177. " *Da cardinale si è mostrato amante della conversazione di uomini virtuosi, onde nel suo palazzo la teneva ogni sera e vi comparivano in gran copia prelati, cavalieri e letterati, ai quali sempre ha fatto dispensare con animo signorile copiosi rinfreschi e dimostrato altri atti di generosità manifestando gradimento di tale concorso di gente, della quale veniva informato di quanto accadeva in Roma e nel mondo. Per ben che questo Papa si può dire l'uomo più ben inteso delle cose che qualunque altro nel s. Collegio " (Cardinal Cienfuegos to the imperial Chancellery, July 19, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). Portrait of Cardinal Corsini, by L. Ghezzi, in *Ottob.*, 3114, p. 20, Vatican Library.

⁴ " * Ha ben egli gran conoscenza dei soggetti che componono la prelatore, perchè li ha tutti trattati nella magnifica conversazione che avea in casa sua, dove pure sopra ogni cosa ed ogni persona cadeva il discorso. Tutti in quella liberamente parlavano, perchè il cardinale per l'età sua tanto avanzata e per l'opposizione

However, after the death of Clement XI., Corsini was reckoned among the *papabili*. He sided with the party of the Albani and at the conclaves of 1721 and 1724 he was excluded by the Powers.¹ The main obstacle to his prospects was the fact of his being a Florentine, which created a suspicion that he would not be impartial when, as was to be expected, the house of Medici would become extinct.² To this was added the fear that he might unduly favour his countrymen who were by no means popular in Rome.³ No one, however, denied that he was uncommonly well acquainted with the situation in Rome, was held in high esteem by the prelates and was most liberal with his wealth.⁴ As a priest his conduct was blameless and he gave proof of his truly ecclesiastical sentiments by the firmness with which he declined every kind of transaction with the Albani at the conclave of 1724. He would enter by the door, not by the window, he declared.⁵

The ambassadors were unanimous in acknowledging that the new Pope was most just, prudent, active, affable, straightforward and dispassionate, a gentleman in every way, a lover of splendour and fame, an enemy of flattery, though sensible to certain attentions, the insincerity of which his upright

che ad esso nei decorsi conclavi aveano fatta le corone, non appariva che mai avesse ad essere Papa" (Relazione di Morosini, 1731 [*cf.* above, p. 127], State Archives, Venice). *Cf.* also GIORDANO DE VICARI'S work dedicated to M. Passeri (which is, however, very panegyric): *La perfezione nell'esercizio degli Apost. ministeri etc. di Clemente XII.*, Salerno, 1732.

¹ *Cf.* above, p. 20, note 5.

² *Conclave doppo la morte del P. Innocenzo XIII. (*cf.* above, p. 292, n. 4), and *Parere ed informazione del barone de Malanotte 1724 (*cf.* above, p. 101, n. 2). Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

³ *Giudicio . . . di cardinali and *Relazione del conclave del 1730, both in Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican; *Osservazioni intorno al presente conclave, Archives Wrtna-Kaunitz, Holleschau.

⁴ *Cf.* besides the sources indicated in the previous note also Gentilotti's report of March 25, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

⁵ *Cf.* the report in PETRUCELLI, IV., 32.

character prevented him from perceiving. He was no scholar, though a friend of learning. He loved to display his skill at chess, a game at which he excelled. Whilst he had no special experience of ecclesiastical affairs, he had a thorough knowledge of the financial system; his acquaintance with foreign affairs was adequate.¹ Unfortunately he was seventy-nine years of age and his sight was so weak that in 1732 he became totally blind.² He was much tormented by gout in his hands and feet but his mental alertness left nothing

¹ Besides Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report of July 14, 1730 (Simancas Archives) and D'Ormea's *report of July 17, 1730 (Turin Archives; cf. PETRUCELLI, IV., 100), see B. Morosini's *Relazione of 1731 where we read (p. 164): "Soggetto che alla cospicua e ricca famiglia dalla quale è nato unisce le qualità più ragguardevoli di animo nobilissimo, lontano dall'interesse, di perfetto ecclesiastico e di ottimo cavaliere. Egli ama infinitamente la gloria, e vorrebbe che le sue buone intenzioni gli conciliassero applauso; è tutto umanità e dolcezza, qualità che da cardinale in lui non si distinguevano, poichè pareva alquanto sostenuto. È di capacità mediocre, nè ha grande esperienza degli affari, perchè non fu molto impiegato nelle congregazioni dai pontifici precessori. Tutta la sua cognizione è nelle materie camerali, sendo stato tesoriere." Cardinal Cienfuegos emphasizes Clement XII.'s sense of honour in his report to the imperial Chancellery, December 22, 1733: "Il carattere e l'indole di S. Stà non la portano a fingere" (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). The author of *Memorie del pontificato di Clemente XII. describes his character thus: "Per dire qualche cosa del suo carattere, era ornato di molte virtù, specialmente della liberalità, della candidezza e della giustizia, amante degli uomini dabbene, senza bacchettoneria. Per desiderio di difender gl'oppressi, s'impegnava troppo per chi poco meritava. Tenace nella propria opinione; indefesso nelle udienze; nemico dell'adulazione, ma suscettibile delle carezze di certe arti, di cui la sua sincerità non gli lasciava scuoprire la finzione. Era di ottima comprensione e discernimento, ma non molto versato nelle scienze. Amava il gioco per divertimento, specialmente quello degli scacchi, in cui aveva pochi eguali e meno superiori." *Cod.* 38, G 20, Corsini Library, Rome.

² MORONI, VIII., 277, 287; IX., 37.

to be desired.¹ His fresh complexion testified to considerable robustness though his one-time blond hair had taken on the grey hue of age. He had blue eyes, a long, aquiline nose, a prominent upper lip, and was of middle height.²

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos *report, July 19, 1724, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

² FABRONIUS, 156, and in GUARNACCI, II., 575, the portrait of Agostino Masuccio engraved by Rocco Pozzi. Ant. David also made a portrait of Clement XII.; see THIEME, VIII., 449. A very beautiful portrait was made in Germany with the inscription: "Clemens XII. Corsinus Florentinus Pont. Max. Creatus die 12 Julii MDCCXXX Elias Baeck a[lias] H[eldenmuth] sculp. et excud., Aug. Vind. 1730" (28, 2 × 18, 7 cm.). Marble busts of the Pope in S. Giovanni de' Florentini (see Forcella, VII., 41), in the Baptistry of St. Mary Major, in the museum on the Capitol and in the Corsini Library, Rome; Bronze bust in the sacristy of the Lateran (*cf.* FORCELLA, VIII., 79). Magnificent medallions of Clement XII. were made by the Hameran firm where Hermengild and his younger brother Othmar were employed; both had a sort of monopoly of the Roman coin and medal trade which secured official recognition in 1734; see NOACK in *Archiv für Medaillen und Plakettenkunde*, III. (1921-2), 23 *seqq.* On the statues outside Rome see below, Chapter IV. There is a good portrait in S. Niccolò, Bari. The richest collection of portraits and other souvenirs of Clement XII. are in the Palazzo Corsini, Florence. On the first landing of the magnificent staircase there is a large marble statue of the Pope giving his blessing, with the inscription: "Clementi XII | Corsinio | Pontifici | Maximo | Anno | 1737." In the rich picture gallery: No. 279 (Roman school): portrait of the Pope as Cardinal; No. 429: portrait of the Pope as Cardinal by Giuseppe Passeri; No. 422 (Roman school): portrait of Clement XII.; No. 421: portrait of Cardinal Neri Corsini the younger; No. 191 (Roman school): portrait of Clement XII.; No. 434: marble bust of Clement XII. by Ed. Bouchardon; No. 435; marble bust of Cardinal Neri Corsini the elder; No. 430: portrait of Filippo Corsini (the Pope's brother) by Maratta; No. 99: magnificent portrait of Cardinal Neri Corsini the elder by Susterman; No. 204: portrait of Isabella Strozzi (the Pope's mother). *Ibid.*, the rochet of Clement XII. in fine Venetian lace, reproduced in *Vita d'arte*, IV. (1909), 347 *seqq.*

Whereas in his native city of Florence Clement XII.'s election was celebrated with splendid festivities,¹ the first impression in Rome, where the sons of the city of the Arno were not popular, was an unfavourable one. However, a revulsion of feelings occurred before long, as was shown by the enthusiasm which marked the magnificent festivities of the coronation on July 16th, 1730.²

The Pope's popularity rose still higher by reason of the readiness with which he granted audiences, appeared in public, with a pomp which had not been witnessed since Innocent III., relieved the poor and did not unduly favour the Florentines, in fact because he gave proof of his sense of justice and began to remove the abuses which had crept in under his predecessors.³

Clement XII. thought at first of appointing Cardinal Giorgio Spinola as his Secretary of State, but the objections of the French caused him to desist from this plan⁴ and to entrust that important post to Cardinal Banchieri who was as prudent as he was well informed.⁵ For the Dataria, Cienfuegos proposed Accoramboni whereas the Spaniards favoured Lambertini, the French Origo, whilst the Camerlengo, Annibale Albani, was for Corradini. In these circumstances the Pope chose a middle course by appointing as Datarius a simple prelate instead of a Cardinal, as had been the uniform

¹ G. CONTI, *Firenze dai Medici ai Lorenesei*, Firenze, 1909, 838 *seqq.*

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, July 19, 1724, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. On the coronation see the *reports quoted in NOVAES, XIII., 183, and Cardinal Bentivoglio's *letter, July 20, 1730, Simancas Archives. On the magnificent ceremony of the enthronement see CANCELLIERI, 370 *seqq.*

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of July 29 and August 5, 1730. Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁴ B. Morosini's *Relazione (see above, p. 127, n. 5) *Memorie del pontificato di Clemente XII., Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of July 19, 1730 (*loc. cit.*); the Pope consulted him before the election. Cf. also B. Morosini's *Relazione, *loc. cit.*

practice up to the time of Alexander VIII. The Pope's choice fell on Antonio Francesco Valenti, an Auditor of the Rota,¹ and as that learned and able man died already on May 9th, 1731, his place was taken by Antonio Saverio Gentili, Secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars.²

The *Maggiordomo* Trajano Acquaviva, the Treasurer, Carlo Sagripanti, and the Secretary of Briefs to Princes, Carlo Majella, Keeper of the Vatican Library, were confirmed in their posts. Giuseppe Livizzani became Secretary of the Cifra, Domenico Rivera Secretary of the Consulta, and Marcello Passeri became *Uditore Santissimo*. The latter had been for years in the service of Clement XII. who put the utmost reliance on his capacity and integrity, though the Romans found fault with the bestowal of such a post on a Calabrian of humble origin.³

Cardinal Banchieri was eighty years of age and a victim to gout.⁴ He died on September 16th, 1733, whereupon the

¹ The above details are taken from Cienfuegos' *report of July 19, 1730, *loc. cit.*

² FABRONIUS, 53.

³ *Ibid.*, 24 *seqq.*; NOVAES, 184; B. MOROSINI'S *Relazione, *loc. cit.* On Carlo Majella, titular Bishop of Emesa, *cf.* MORONI, *Indice*, IV., 230. The *Epistolae ad principes* by Majella and his successor Giov. Vincenzo Luchesini have not been preserved in their entirety. Until 1898 they were entirely wanting in the Papal Secret Archives; in that year, through Msgr. Volpino, three vols. got into the Papal Secret Archives: *Epist.*, A. I. and II. ("Archiep. Emisseno secret."), A. VI. and VIII., IX. and X. (Io. Vinc. Luchesinio secret.), from the *Archivio dei brevi ad principes et delle lettere latine* (which must not be mistaken for the "Brief Archives" which were formerly in the Palazzo Altamps and later in the Cancelleria and are now on the third floor of the Vatican). The years III., IV., and V. are also missing in the copies of the *Epist.* which are preserved in the Corsini Library, Rome. WIRZ is mistaken when he says in *Bullen und Breven in ital. Archiven*, Basel, 1902 (*Quellen zur Schweiz. Gesch.*, XXI., XXV.) that the first two years of Clement XII. are missing.

⁴ Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report to La Paz, March 17, 1731, Simancas Archives.

Pope entrusted the Secretariate of State to Giuseppe Firrao, Bishop of Aversa, who had been raised to the cardinalate in 1731.¹ Clement XII. honoured his nephews by naming Bartolomeo Corsini commander of the light cavalry and Neri Corsini Secretary of Memorials. Born in 1685 at Florence, Neri Corsini, as envoy of Cosimo III., had energetically and ably represented the interests of the Medici in London, Paris and Cambrai. On August 14th, 1730, the Pope named him a Cardinal *in pectore* and proclaimed him on December 11th, 1730.²

In view of the Corsini's wealth there was no reason to fear a recrudescence of nepotism.³ Quite apart from that, the Pope was not willing to allow his nephews undue influence. In 1731 the Venetian ambassador, Barbon Morosini, reported that Clement XII. loved his nephews, of whose ability he was fully aware, but refused to be dominated by them. Although the infirmities of age and his blindness made it difficult for the Pope to attend to everything, he nevertheless insisted on being kept fully informed, and for that reason he gave audience to all sorts of people. Cardinals Pico, Imperiali, Corradini and Passeri stood in high esteem. Bartolomeo Corsini was not allowed to meddle with affairs and even Cardinal Neri enjoyed but little influence, in spite of his great experience of State affairs.⁴

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos *reports on September 19, 1733, that he is taking great pains for the nomination of a Secretary of State who will be well disposed towards the Emperor ; probably the Pope will nominate a man who is impartial, in all probability Spinola, who will be made a Cardinal on September 28. Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

² GUARNACCI, II., 601 *seqq.* (with portrait: "Ant. David pinx., Hier. Rossi sculp."); REUMONT, *Toskana*, II., 473, 477, 479, 485.

³ "* Ama [il Papa] i nipoti, ma si crede con amore regolato, e siccome la sua casa è la più ricca di Firenze ed è positivamente ricca, così pare che non vi aggiungerà altro che splendore esterno," Cienfuegos wrote already on July 19, 1730, *loc. cit.*

⁴ "* Onora i suoi parenti con dignità, ma non vi è pericolo ch'egli voglia che dal pontificato ricavino profitto. Li ama,

In the sequel the Pope's state of health nevertheless compelled him to alter his policy. In December, 1730, he had a violent attack of gout accompanied by a high fever and since, in view of his seventy-nine years, there was everything to fear, discussions in connection with the conclave were opened already then.¹ Though the Pope made a comparatively quick recovery,² he continued, from that time onwards, to suffer from the infirmities of old age and he was frequently confined to bed by gout. Moreover, in 1732 he

ma non a lasciarsi governare da essi ; e, benchè conosca la capacità che hanno i nepoti suoi, non li adopera negli affari, in tal guisa che siano in situazione d'ottenere l'intento di ciò che potrebbero volere. Quantunque per l'indisposizione e per la cecità sia a lui difficile il badare a tutto, tuttavia vuole d'ogni cosa essere informato ; e per questo motivo e per l'ozio ancora non potendo leggere nè scrivere, amette all'udienza qualsiasi persona che voglia presentargli : dal che ne deriva che relazioni e discorsi non i più giusti egli senta e riceva cattive impressioni. Ha gran credito per li cardinali Pico, Imperiali e Corradini. . . . Il cardinale Corsini è uomo d'onore, di cuore perfetto e di buona coscienza, ha esperienza delle cose del mondo, per il lungo ministero da lui per il Granduca sostenuto in Inghilterra ed in Francia, ma le sue maniere non sono le più suavi, ed essendo ancora collo stesso Papa di carattere contenzioso, non ottiene da Sua Santità quello negli affari ch'egli vorrebbe. Il principe Bartolomeo è illuminatissimo, ha ottime ed amabili maniere, il Papa lo stima, ma in niente di esso si vale, ed egli neppure degli affari interni della corte s'informa." (B. Morosini's Relazione, State Archives, Venice ; cf. above, p. 127, n. 5.) On December 16, 1730, Cienfuegos *wrote of N. Corsini : " Uomo disinvolto che ha veduto le corti di Francia e d'Inghilterra oltre quella della M. V. Amante delle lettere, prudente e desideroso di contribuire alla gloria del zio che per lui mostra della tenerezza, ma regolata dalla ragione." Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report to the imperial Chancellery, December 3, 1730 (" Domenica passata si sono trovati i domestici del Papa nel timore di perderlo "), *ibid.* ; Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report to La Paz, December 7, 1730, Simancas Archives.

² Cardinal Cienfuegos *reports, December 23 and 30, 1730, *loc. cit.*

became totally blind. A French traveller, President De Brosse, relates that every morning the Secretaries came to the Pope's bedside with the courier of the preceding day, made their report and received instructions and the most indispensable signatures. This was done by their placing the Pontiff's hand, which held the pen, on that spot on the paper where the signature had to be appended.¹ Clement XII. still retained all his mental alertness, but after 1735 his bodily strength diminished more and more. Throughout July of that year there was much talk of a conclave; however, the Pope's rapid recovery gave the lie to the physicians' fears.² In July, 1736, we read that the Pope had a fainting fit when, one Sunday after a somewhat prolonged illness, he desired to assist at Mass and to receive Holy Communion. "He has recovered," the imperial ambassador, Count Harrach, wrote, "but he has almost completely lost the wonderful memory he once possessed and his colour is so pale that there is reason to fear his demise at the turn of the season."³ However, this time too these fears were not fulfilled. Clement XII. was confined to bed by gout during almost the whole of the first months of 1737 and so weak as to be unable to hold a consistory, though his life was not in danger. Great care was taken to prevent his catching cold,⁴ but a further loss of strength was evident. His wonted mental alertness also diminished: "the smallest thing suffices to depress him," we read in May, 1737.⁵ However, with the return of the better season he recovered once more.

¹ DE BROSSES, *Lettres*, II., 59, 118. Cf. BEZARD, *Comment le président De Brosse a écrit ses Lettres d'Italie*, in *Studi ital.*, IV. (1922).

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, July 16 and 23, 1735, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn, and *report of Cardinal Bentivoglio, July 10, 1735 (the draft of new instructions for a Conclave is being thoroughly examined), Simancas Archives.

³ *Report of July 7, 1736, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

⁴ Count Harrach's *reports of February 2 and 9 and April 27, 1737, *ibid.*

⁵ Count Harrach, May 25, 1737, *ibid.*

How great the Pope's power of resistance still was, appeared at the canonization of June 16th, 1737. He intoned the *Te Deum* with a strong voice, but the end of the function found him exhausted. He returned at once to the Quirinal, retired to bed and took his lunch, after which he slept. On waking he felt so invigorated as to give a public audience at once.¹ At a consistory in July he seemed to be in perfect health; in August it was remarked that his colour and good humour had returned. However, fainting fits were not lacking and they increased with the return of the bad season. At the same time he showed an unwonted sensitiveness to cold. For all that Harrach thought that Clement XII. might live one or two years longer.²

In these circumstances it was inevitable that a vast number of affairs had to be dealt with almost exclusively by the ministers and the Pope's nephew. For that reason it was particularly regrettable that Cardinal Neri Corsini was far more interested in learning and the arts than in the affairs of State. By his order, Fuga carried out a complete reconstruction of the old palace of the Riaros which had been occupied at one time by Queen Christine; only a small part of the original building was preserved. The new palace, with its broad façade, its monumental staircase, its bright arcades and courts opening on the evergreen gardens of the Janiculus, became a magnificent residence, one without its like in the Eternal City.³ Like Christine of Sweden, Cardinal Corsini, acting on the advice of the learned Bottari, started a collection of pictures, engravings, drawings and books.⁴

¹ Count Harrach's *report, June 22, 1737, *ibid.*

² Count Harrach's *reports of July 13, August 24 and 31, November 2 and 23, 1737, *ibid.*

³ LETAROUILLY, *Texte*, 405 *seqq.*, *Planches*, II., 191 *seq.*; BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, I., 134 *seq.*; GURLITT, 528 *seqq.*; *cf.* also GOTHEIN, I., 327 *seqq.*

⁴ When, in 1889, Tommaso Corsini sold the palace to the State he presented it also with the library and the gallery; the latter formed the nucleus of the "Galleria nazionale d'arte antica", opened there in 1895. *Cf.* MASSARETTE, *Rom seit 1870* (1919), 108.

All this interested him far more than the affairs of State for which he was further unfitted by reason of his timorousness.¹ On the other hand, on occasion the diplomatists, who frequently underestimated him, had to feel that he was not lacking in clear-sightedness.²

Fear of the Pope's early demise caused Corsini carefully to avoid taking any measures of importance, so as not to jeopardize his future career; hence he did his best to temporize.³ This explains many failures of the papal policy in the disputes with the Catholic Powers. If Corsini nevertheless maintained himself in his position, he owed his success to his agreeable manner and to his universally recognized disinterestedness in money matters. Even severe critics agreed that his faults were not due to ill-will but to a lack of statesmanslike qualities; but that which the clear-sighted could not forgive him was the jealousy with which he prevented the rise of any possible political rival. Thus after Banchieri's death, he prevented the very able Cardinal Rivera from obtaining the Secretariate of State and secured it for Firrao.⁴ Corsini's jealousy was skilfully taken advantage of by Cardinals Passeri and Gentili who in the last years of Clement XII. enjoyed far greater influence than Firrao, the Secretary of State. Cardinal Passeri, who had always stood high in the Pope's esteem, did his best to hide that fact so as not to rouse Corsini's jealousy, "who," Harrach wrote on July 6th,

¹ "Pauroso dell' ombra sua medesima," says Foscarini; see GANDINO, 4.

² Cf. ROTTMANNER, *Der Kardinal von Bayern*, 29 seqq. De Brosses underestimates N. Corsini when he describes him as a man below the average (II., 59), or as a good-natured simpleton (II., 117).

³ M. FOSCARINI, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Relazione del CAVALIER ALVISE MOCENIGO*, IV., *letta in Senato il 28 novembre 1737 reduce dall'Ambasciata di Roma, Venezia*, 1864. RANKE (III., 220* seqq.) has already given an extract. According to Foscarini, Rivera subsequently gained great influence over Corsini; see GANDINO, 3.

1737, "is exceedingly anxious to play the first rôle in directing the Pope's decisions."¹

The Prodatarius Gentili, who had been raised to the Sacred College in 1733, was even more successful, by pliancy and subservience, in winning the confidence, nay, the friendship of Corsini, to such an extent that the latter initiated him into his most secret plans and made much use of him with the Pope for the furtherance of his schemes. But as Gentili was no great personality and was but little acquainted with foreign affairs, Corsini was repeatedly compelled to consult other counsellors, as, for instance, experienced Giorgio Spinola and shrewd Rivera. However, their influence was impeded by the circumstance that Spinola was regarded as an enemy of the Corsini whilst Rivera had forfeited the confidence which the nephew had at one time placed in him.²

¹ *Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. Harrach remarks that as *proadiutor* of the Pope, Passeri is omnipotent.

² Count Harrach's *reports of March 23 and July 6, 1737, *ibid.*; in the latter he says with regard to Corsini's jealousy that he would tolerate no one by his side and that everywhere he wished to play the principal part: "A queste idee si boriose e si alte nissuno meglio sa addattarsi che il card. Gentili Prodatario, il quale pieghevole e fertile in progetti, lontano in apparenza dall'ambizione, lusinghiero senza affettazione e bastevolmente accorto, ha saputo talmente guadagnarsi l'amicizia del detto card. Corsini, ch'è diventato il depositario dei di lui più reconditi pensieri ed istromento anche presso il Papa per cavarne le risoluzioni favorevoli in quelle materie, in cui il card. Corsini per suoi fini particolari non truova a proposito di comparire, siccome però Gentili non è mente da per se grande e vasta nè versato nelle cose di stato e negl'interessi delle corti estere, delle di cui cognizioni è affatto digiuno, così negli affari più importanti non è capace di dar consiglio giovevole, e però malgrado suo Corsini talvolta è obbligato di sentire il parerè degli altri. Il card. Giorgio Spinola per la sua lunga esperienza, e Rivera per la riputazione ch'egli ha acquistata di uomo prudente, entrano dunque spesse volte nelle congregazioni che si tengono sulli negozi più gravi e di maggior interesse, e sebbene il loro parere sia comunemente libero e diretto al bene del pontificato, pure non se ne fa nella

(3.)

All these circumstances account for the fact that many of the hopes that had been set on Clement XII.'s pontificate, were not fulfilled, though he achieved more than one success, especially at the beginning of his reign, such as, for instance, a partial removal of the abuses and innovations which had crept in under his predecessor. Under Benedict XIII. he had belonged to the opposition, hence his first step was to abolish the soap monopoly and the innovations introduced in the ceremonial. The Guard of the *Lancie spezzate* and the honorary Chamberlains *di cappa e spada* were at once restored.¹ Far more important were some other steps which met with general approval. In August, 1730, four Congregations were set up. The first, called *De nonnullis*, was for the purpose of calling to account those who, amid the universal indignation of the public, had abused the late Pope's confidence in order to enrich themselves, viz. Cardinal Coscia and his Beneventan accomplices. The task of the second was to examine the many favours which Benedict XIII. had been induced to grant; the third was commissioned to look into the excessive concessions made in the ecclesiastical sphere, whilst the fourth had mission to remedy the disordered finances of the Camera Apostolica.²

The Congregation *De nonnullis* was established by a

pratica gran conto, perchè il primo si suppone assolutamente nemico de' Corsini ed il secondo ha perso quella confidenza, che prima Corsini in lui aveva, oltre di che i loro sentimenti trovandosi spesse volte in opposizione alle brame e mire personali di chi governa ora questo paese, ne nasce, che non vengono messi in esecuzione."

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, July 19, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican; *Memorie del pontificato di Clemente XII., Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.* Cf. NOVAES, XIII., 185 *seqq.*

² Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, July 27, 1730, Simancas Archives; Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, July 29 and August 5, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

Motu proprio of August 8th, 1730,¹ and provided with all necessary powers. It consisted of Cardinals Pico, Imperiali, Corradini, Porzia and Banchieri; these were soon reinforced by Cardinal Corsini and at a later date by Cardinals Barberini, Zondadari, Origo and Altieri. The Congregation met at once,² but as the secret of the Holy Office was enjoined on its members, nothing definite about their activities transpired at first.³ Coscia, a chronic victim to gout, as well as Fini, in prevision of the things that were to come, had put up the imperial arms on their residences.⁴ Both had been of service at the time of the negotiations in connection with the *Monarchia Sicula*,⁵ hence they hoped that Charles VI. would extend his protection to them.

Though this expectation was actually realized, the march of events could not be stopped thereby. A *Motu proprio* of December 1st, 1730, decreed the initiation of a formal process against Coscia and his Beneventans. Accordingly a special commissary was dispatched to Benevento in the person of

¹ The *original copy with the autograph signature of Clement XII. is in Papal Secret Archives, X., 168.

² The *acts of the "Congregatio De nonnullis" also called "S. Congregatio Beneventana" which up to now have not been made use of by anybody, are for the most part in the Papal Secret Archives, X., 148-154, 160-181, 198; they contain no less than 30 vols. practically all original documents. In addition there are 3 vols. "*Causa Coscii" in Altieri Archives, Rome, XX., 3. G. I., II., III. from the remains of Cardinal Altieri. A rich *collection of acts and writings is also to be found in *Cod. Barb.*, 4687, *Vat.* 8336, pp. 193 *seqq.*, and *Vat.* 8631, Vatican Library. Cf. also **Cod.* 2021, State Library, Trent. Ludovicus de Valentibus was "Avvocato fiscale". The Secretary of the Congregations, Domenico Cesare Fiorelli, who had conducted the process against Alberoni, was "Giudice criminale", Niccolò Iacovacci "Fiscale", Antonio Broggi "Procuratore fiscale generale".

³ Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, July 27, 1730, Simancas Archives.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Cf. above, p. 135 *seq.*

Monsignore Buondelmonte, for the purpose of gathering material for conviction and for examining witnesses.¹

Whilst in Rome the people's hatred for Coscia and the Beneventans was on the increase, popular demonstrations in his favour were taking place at Benevento²; but the Congregation did not allow itself to be influenced by them. On December 20th it resolved to summon Coscia to resign the see of Benevento.³ By a letter to the Pope, dated December 23rd, Coscia complied with this demand,⁴ though he continued to hope that he would be able to refute the accusations against him.⁵ His request to be allowed to repair to Naples had been rejected by the Pope, but in spite of this refusal, and in opposition to a decree of Innocent X., he resolved to put himself under the Emperor's protection. On March 31st, 1731, he fled in disguise to Naples where Charles VI. permitted him to take up residence. The Pope

¹ *Processus contra card. Coscia, Papal Secret Archives, *Arm. X. Cod.* 148 (*cf. ibid.*, *Cod.* 150); AMATO, *Il processo e la deposizione del card. N. Coscia*, in *Atti d. Soc. Stor. del Sannio*, IV. (1926).

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, August 12 and 22, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican and *that of Cardinal Bentivoglio, September 2 and 12, 1730, Simancas Archives.

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, December 23, 1730, *loc. cit.*, and *that of Cardinal Bentivoglio, September 30, 1730, *loc. cit.* Banchieri's *letter to Coscia in which he demands his renunciation of Benevento, dat. December 20, 1730, in *Cod. Vat.*, 8631, p. 75, Vatican Library.

⁴ *Original, dat. Di casa, December 23, 1730, with seal, in Papal Secret Archives, X., 168.

⁵ In *Cod. ital.*, 548, State Library, Munich, there is the following printed document: "Alla St^a di N. S. P. Clemente per il card. N. Coscia" with a preface by Coscia to the Secretary of State Banchieri, dat. Di casa, December 29, 1730, asking him to hand this letter to the Pope for his justification, but not "per recedere dalla rassegnazione" of Benevento which the Pope had commanded.

was indignant¹; he had Coscia's palace searched at once, but without result, for everything of a compromising nature had been removed.² A *Motu proprio* of April 23rd, 1731, deprived Coscia of all his privileges and sequestered his revenues, but in consequence of the imperial protection he was able to enjoy at least those which came to him from Neapolitan territory. May 12th saw the publication of a monitory threatening Coscia with forfeiture of all his benefices should he fail to return within six months, and with deposition from the cardinalate should he continue to be obdurate in his disobedience.³ In consequence of the fact that, in imitation of Alberoni, Coscia sought to influence public opinion in his favour by means of writings in which he represented himself as the victim of unjust persecution, he was threatened, on May 28th, with excommunication and interdict.⁴

Coscia had no intention to yield; on the contrary, in a letter to the Secretary of State he protested against the violence done to him by his deprivation of the See of Benevento.⁵ At the same he caused to be broadcast, through Giuseppe Forziati, an open letter to the Pope.⁶ On September 16th he wrote a letter to Clement XII. himself, to justify his flight; this letter was also immediately printed. To excuse his contumacy he produced medical attestations that he was suffering from gout.⁷

Coscia's publications and their diffusion in Naples and Rome obliged the Pope to inform the Catholic Princes,

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, April 5, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican; MURATORI, XII., 134. Cf. also the **Avvisi di Roma*, April 7 and 21, 1731, in *Cod.* 716 RR, Monte Cassino Library.

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, April 7 and 14, 1731, *loc. cit.*

³ MURATORI, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, June 16, 1731, *loc. cit.*

⁶ A *copy with the remark that Banchieri had received it on June 14, 1731, in *Cod. Barb.*, 4687, pp. 106 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

⁷ *Copy of this letter also in *Cod. Barb.*, 4687, pp. 244 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*

through the nuncios, of the state of proceedings which had also brought to light certain moral transgressions of Coscia.¹ The proceedings were even further extended : besides Coscia's brother, some other accomplices of his were likewise arrested.² On October 2nd it became necessary to issue a declaration of forfeiture, by Coscia, of all his benefices, on the ground that he had allowed six months to elapse since his flight without presenting himself before his judges in Rome.³ Coscia was so little intimidated by this step that on November 3rd, 1731, he wrote to the Pope to protest against the nomination of a new Archbishop of Benevento ; he had only resigned under pressure and demanded justice.⁴ Justice was indeed meted out to him ; but the investigation against him was further drawn out on account of the thoroughness with which it was conducted. Coscia ended by realizing that he must obey the summons if he did not wish to ruin his career altogether. After a stay at Naples of nearly a year he went to Terracina on April 1st, 1732 : from there he journeyed to Rome where he was interned and questioned at the convent adjoining S. Prassede.⁵ He was allowed to choose two lawyers for his defence. With the concurrence of these he succeeded in masterly fashion in drawing out the process month after month until the Pope was compelled to intervene. April 27th and 28th, 1733, witnessed the final

¹ MURATORI, XII., 135. Cf. *Informazione per il Nuncio di Vienna, Papal Secret Archives, X., 166.

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, April 5 and August 11, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican ; *Litterae monit. to Filippo Coscia, Bishop of Targa, commanding him to present himself, dat. November 27, 1730, in *Cod. Barb.*, 4687, p. 307, Vatican Library.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 250 *seqq.* Also a *letter of the Dominican Orsi according to which the Pope could compel him to resign.

⁵ Cardinal Bentivoglio's *reports, July 10 and 12, 1732, Simancas Archives. A *letter of the Neapolitan Viceroy, Harrach, dat. Naples, March 8, 1732, recommends Coscia to Cardinal Barberini. *Cod. Barb.*, 4687, p. 288, *loc. cit.*

and decisive discussion by the Congregation *De nonnullis*, in which all the ten Cardinals took part.

Coscia was unanimously found guilty. In order to gratify his insatiable covetousness, the Cardinals declared, Coscia had acquired illicit gains both before and after his elevation to the cardinalate, had committed effective extortions, had shamefully abused the confidence of his benefactor, Benedict XIII., had bought the post of Treasurer-General for Niccolò Negroni, had sold monopolies and falsified rescripts, an action which enabled him to acquire within a few years, possessions worth 400,000 scudi in Neapolitan territory. All this was proved, as was his disobedience to papal commands and his public reviling of the judicial proceedings. Final sentence was given on May 9th, 1733. Major excommunication, from which the Pope alone could absolve him—except in peril of death—was pronounced against Coscia. He was condemned to ten years' imprisonment in the Castle of S. Angelo, to restore his illicit possessions (for the benefit of the poor), to pay a fine of 100,000 scudi to be spent on charity, to forfeit his active and passive voice in the conclave for the duration of his imprisonment together with all his ecclesiastical benefices.¹ When he was notified of the judgment, Coscia behaved as if it did not concern him at all. He was at once removed to Castel S. Angelo where three rooms were allotted to him; he was likewise permitted to provide for his own maintenance.² When the Pope proclaimed the sentence in

¹ Several printed copies of the "Sententia S. D. N. Clementis P. XII. lata et publicata die 9 m. Maii anni 1733 in causa card. Nicolai Cosciae" are in the acts of the process, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. LÜNIG, *Cod. ital. dipl.*, IV., 383 *seqq.* See also Cardinal Cienfuegos' report, May 9, 1733, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

² "Il porporato non si turbò all'avviso della sentenza e si è portato con grande disinvoltura e quasi come se non si trattasse di cose a lui appartenenti. In castello egli ha due camere ed una sala fatte accomodare coi propri mobili ed al suo servizio si trovano un capellano, un aiutante di camera ed un servitore, sentendosi ch'egli stia di buon animo e che mangia con buon

the consistory, the Cardinals were unable to hide their dismay at measures of such severity against a member of the Sacred College, but no one dared speak a word in favour of the culprit.¹

Coscia's condemnation met with general approval on the part of the Romans, but the whole episode was soon forgotten, so much so that by the end of May it had ceased to be a topic of conversation.²

Meanwhile the other new Congregations had likewise been busy. That which had to look into the favours and autographs which Benedict XIII. had been enticed to issue, progressed rapidly with its task. By the end of December, 1730, it had drafted a Bull which, contrary to a permission given by Benedict XIII., forbade the raising of pensions from parishes.³

appettito." So far he has not yet been absolved from the greater excommunication, a petition on his part is expected, reports Cardinal Cienfuegos on May 16, 1733, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. On October 1, 1735, the same *writes : " Cardinal Acquaviva obtained from the Pope permission for Coscia to leave Castel S. Angelo for the baths of San Cassiano in Tuscany, on condition that he returns again and pays a fine of 15,000 scudi, a proof that his imprisonment will be commuted into banishment." On *October 8 the same : " On Wednesday Coscia left Castel S. Angelo for San Cassiano ; the Pope may deprive him of the purple if, on being commanded to do so, he does not return." Both letters in Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn (where the reports of Cardinal Cienfuegos from December 4, 1734, onwards are to be found).

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, May 16, 1733, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. According to the *report of Cardinal Cienfuegos of August 27, 1735, the Congregation " De nonnullis " which had reassembled after a long interval, decided with regard to Coscia's brother, that his long imprisonment could be considered as sufficient punishment ; Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, May 30, 1733, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

³ Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, December 30, 1730, Simancas Arch.

In the sequel a number of oral concessions, secret autograph letters, favours and decrees of the late Pope were either altered or qualified¹: among these was Benedict XIII.'s Constitution in favour of the Dominicans. In view of the fact that the passage of the Bull dealing with the teaching on grace was being exploited against the Jesuits, Clement XII. on October 2nd, 1733, whilst re-inculcating the Bull *Unigenitus*, expressly declared that the praise bestowed upon the Thomist school by his predecessors—praise with which he was glad to associate himself—by no means implied a belittling of the opposite view.² At the same time he renewed Paul V.'s prohibition of all written or oral censures or condemnations of either school, so long as the Church's supreme *magisterium* had not issued its judgment. On the other hand, Clement XII. rebuked³ those who, because of the mitigations granted by himself, called in question some earlier privileges of the Dominicans (in connection with processions).

Extraordinary difficulties were encountered by the Congregation whose task it was to revise the concordat with Sardinia. In that treaty concessions had been made, in consequence of the papal plenipotentiaries having been bribed, which had seemed so unusual even in Benedict XIII.'s lifetime, that it was generally felt that they could not be upheld.⁴ Clement XII. also judged them to be unlawful⁵ and Cardinal Fini was called upon to account for his conduct

¹ *Memorie del pontificato di Clemente XII., Biblioteca Corsini, Rome, *loc. cit.* Cf. *Bull.*, XXIII., 323; NOVAES, XIII., 209.

² " Nolumus . . . quidquam esse detractum ceteris catholicis scholis, quarum etiam erga hanc S. Sedem praeclara sunt merita, quominus sententias ea de re tueri pergant, quas hactenus palam et libere, etiam in huius almae Urbis luce docuerunt " (*Bull.*, XXIII., 541 *seqq.* Cf. above, p. 215.

³ April 10, 1733, *Bull.*, XXIII., 491.

⁴ *Voyages de MONTESQUIEU*, I., 107, 214.

⁵ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, September 16, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. Cf. *Défense du Siège Apost. contre les concordats sur les matières de Savoye et de Piémont etc.*, 1733.

in the affair.¹ The Pope accordingly informed Charles Emmanuel, the successor of Vittorio Amadeo II., who had abdicated,² through the King's ambassador, that previous to his elevation to the pontificate he had not been informed of the Sardinian concordat, that before issuing the Bull which had been asked for the Abbey of S. Stefano d'Ivrea, he had wished to examine it, and that whilst doing so he had regretfully come to the conclusion that both in form and in substance these conventions were contrary to equity; that his conscience did not allow him to have them carried into effect. In particular it was not stated in the concordats whether before concluding them the Pope had consulted the Cardinals and such persons as had a right to be heard, more especially in the matter of the *Spolia*. The ministers who had signed the concordats had not been empowered to do so by their sovereigns; there were clauses in them which were most prejudicial to the Holy See and which the Pope could

¹ *Cod. Barb.*, 4687, pp. 312 *seqq.*, 322 *seqq.*, Vatican Library. Fini accepted the penalty of not appearing at court and in the Congregations with such resignation that it was relaxed in the autumn of 1732 when he was merely commanded to abstain from meddling with affairs appertaining to the Turin Government (Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, October 4, 1732, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). * *Relazione orig. degli attentati contro l'immunità e giurisdizione eccl. nel dominio di Savoya esibita a Benedetto XIII. e dalla S. S. conservata in un libro 'Savoya. Immunità' ed ordinata a forma di sommario, consegnata dal card. Fini al card. Banchieri segret. di Stato, 1731, Altieri Archives, Rome.* Against Msgr. Giacomo Sardini also a process was instituted on account of his relations with D'Ormea which were considered harmful to the Holy See (Papal Secret Archives, X., 167, 168). It ended with his condemnation to ten years' imprisonment in the Castle of S. Angelo. Clement XII., however, commuted it into banishment to Albano; see Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, July 30, 1735, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

² For Amadeo's dispensation for a new marriage with a widow—he required such a dispensation as he was a Knight of St. Mauritius—and his abdication, see REUMONT, *Kleine hist. Schriften*, 184 *seqq.*

neither grant nor his Majesty accept. Hence it was necessary to formulate them better, otherwise His Holiness would feel constrained to forbid their execution and even to revoke at least those sections which were blameworthy. The Pope communicated these observations directly to the King of Sardinia.¹

The Government of Turin was all the more unwilling to recognize the Pope's standpoint as the Marchese d'Ormea had meanwhile become Prime Minister. It is easy to understand that d'Ormea would not on any account see his work destroyed. In its defence he was, from the first, not content with mere representations, however skilful,² on the contrary, as early as December, 1730, he threatened to break off diplomatic relations.³ On the other hand, the Pope, convinced as he was that it was his duty to recover those rights of the Church which Coscia's and Fini's venality had caused them to give up, insisted on the necessity of a revision of the concordat; in this attitude he had the unanimous support of the Congregation. On January 8th, 1731, in an address to the Cardinals assembled in consistory, he explained that the concordat injured papal authority and episcopal jurisdiction and set a bad example to the other princes; moreover it had been concluded in secret and by ministers who were not empowered to do so. He demanded that the Cardinals should hand in an expression of opinion on the matter, in writing, and within a fortnight.⁴

Whilst the documents relative to the matter were being distributed to the Cardinals, the Pope, through Bishop

¹ CARUTTI, *Vittorio Amadeo*, II., 480; HERGENRÖTHER, *Piemonts Unterhandlungen*, 60. REUMONT, *loc. cit.*, 197.

² HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.*, 60 *seqq.*; REUMONT, *loc. cit.*, 198.

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, December 16, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁴ Through an indiscretion the Pope's discourse (in **Acta consist.*, Barb., 2922, Vatican Library, and in *Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Arch.) was immediately published; the event caused a great sensation; see Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, January 18, 1731, Simancas Arch.

Guglielmi, sought to initiate negotiations for a compromise at Turin. However, the King refused to receive Guglielmi, recalled his Roman envoy, Count de Gros, and took violent action against two Bishops for not obtaining the *exequatur* for a Jubilee Bull.¹ At the same time it was learnt that pernicious ideas on the Church were being taught at the University of Turin. Thus the dispute became increasingly acute.²

As meanwhile the Cardinals had sent in their opinions, Clement XII. resolved to take energetic measures. On August 6th, 1731, he declared the concordat of 1727 null and void and suspended³ Benedict XIII.'s Brief on the appointment of Vicars by strange Bishops.⁴ Clement informed Charles Emmanuel of these steps.⁵ The only reply of the Government of Turin was a decree against the Pope's action and stern proceedings against the clergy so as to render the execution of the papal decision impossible.⁶ In Rome discussions took place on the steps to be taken in this ominous situation. Opinions in the Sacred College diverged widely. The *Zelanti*, Barberini, Imperiali, Annibale Albani, Pico, Corradini, Giorgio Spinola and Polignac advocated the strongest measures, whereas Bentivoglio, Belluga, Zondadari, Cienfuegos, Falconieri and Petra counselled moderation.⁷ In the Congrega-

¹ HERGENRÖTHER, 63 *seqq.*

² " *Sono comparse in questa corte molte proposizioni ereticali che dicono insegnarsi pubblicamente nella università di Torino. Onde sempre più si aumentano le cause delle differenze," reports Cardinal Cienfuegos on June 30, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

³ **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*; HERGENRÖTHER, 64.

⁴ *Cf.* above, p. 150 *seq.*

⁵ The Pope's *letter to Carlo Emanuele, August 6, 1731, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* REUMONT, *loc. cit.*, 202.

⁶ HERGENRÖTHER, 64 *seq.*

⁷ Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, February 9, 1732, Simancas Arch. *Cf.* " *Voti della Congreg. di 5 Febraio 1732 sopra le pendenze di Savoia ", *Cod.* 41, B 13, pp. 94 *seqq.*, Bibl. Corsini, Rome.

tion of Immunity the stern view ended by prevailing,¹ with the result that no attempts at conciliation, such as Cardinal Bentivoglio would have liked to initiate,² were made. A letter of the King, dated October 4th, 1732,³ only served to pour oil on the flame.⁴ In 1731 an official account of the dispute with the Holy See had been published at Turin.⁵ A very detailed reply by Giusto Fontanini appeared in Rome, though without the name of either author or publisher.⁶ In June of the following year the Turin Government replied with yet another publication,⁷ whilst Cardinal Alessandro Albani, the Protector of Sardinia, was all the time doing his

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, August 16 and 23, 1732, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

² Cardinal Bentivoglio's *reports, March 8 and July 19, 1732, Simancas Archives. Cf. *Viglietto e memoria (1732) by Bentivoglio, *Cod.* 41, B 13, pp. 88 *seqq.*, Bibl. Corsini, Rome; also *ibid.*, 115, 124, 224, *Piani di aggiustamento proposti, and 154-222 *Fogli diversi informativi per la Congreg. di 6 Maggio 1732.

³ *Text in *Cod.* 1198, II., pp. 50 *seqq.*, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, where there are numerous manuscript documents relating to the dispute, especially proposals for a compromise.

⁴ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, November 8 and 15, 1732, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁵ *Relazione storica delle vertenze, che si trovavano pendenti tra la corte di Roma e quella del Re di Sardegna, allorchè fu assunto al pontificato Benedetto XIII., dei trattati su di esse seguiti, etc., come anche di tutto ciò ch'è succeduto nel pontif. di Clemente XII.*, Torino, 1731. Also another work; see MORONI, LXI., 161, and G. DELLA PORTA (see next note).

⁶ *Ragioni della Sede Apost. nelle presenti controversie colla corte di Torino.* Cf. MORONI, LXI., 161 *seqq.* According to Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of November 22, 1732, the proofs were stolen, which made the Pope very angry. Peace, adds Cienfuegos, is very remote (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). On the polemical writings of that time between Rome and Turin see G. DELLA PORTA in *Miscell. di studi storici in onore di A. Manno*, Torino, 1912.

⁷ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, June 6, 1733, *loc. cit.*

best to bring about a compromise. However, every effort of this kind failed¹ as both the Turin Government and the Pope firmly maintained their respective points of view.² The sequel showed that the Holy See could afford to wait longer than the court of Turin. Through Cardinal Albani, Marchese d'Ormea, the leading personality in Turin, had learnt of the Pope's keen desire that the Neapolitan writer Pietro Giannone, one of the bitterest enemies of the Holy See, should not find refuge in Piedmontese territory. D'Ormea accordingly ordered Giannone to leave at once; in March, 1736, he lured him from Geneva, where the wretched man had found shelter, into Savoyard territory where he had him arrested and securely guarded³; he would even have extradited him to Rome if the King had not opposed the

¹ HERGENRÖTHER, 66.

² On November 14, 1733, Cardinal Cienfuegos had *reported that Clement XII., when asked about the prospects of a compromise, "disse francamente che non voleva sentirne parlare se prima il Re di Sardegna non metteva le cose nello stato in cui erano nel pontificato di Clemente XI." Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

³ Giannone was not, as Brosch (II., 5) affirms, lured to the Savoyard shore of the lake of Geneva by an "emissary of the Jesuits, but by Giuseppe Castaldi, a Piedmontese customs official, and at the suggestion of D'Ormea (see OCCELLA in *Curiosità e ricerche di storia subalp.*, III. [1879], 511 seqq). Clement XII. tried in vain to get Giannone extradited to Rome; Giannone, *Harrach writes on November 9, 1737, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn, was regarded by Rome as a heresiarch on account of his attacks against the Church. On the orders for the arrest of Giannone by the Roman Inquisition in case he should come to Bologna, see BATTISTELLA, *S. Officio*, 146. At the request of Clement XII., G. A. Bianchi took up his pen against Giannone (*Della potestà e polizia della Chiesa*, 6 vols., Roma, 1745-1751); see RENAZZI, IV., 340; BUCHBERGER's *Kirchl. Handlexikon*, I., 618; HURTER, II., 1530 seq.; *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 812 seq. Giannone's **Abiuratio* of March 24, 1738, in *Ottob.*, 3187, p. 27. Vatican Library.

plan.¹ In his letter of thanks for the arrest of Giannone, dated May 4th, 1736, the Pope gave utterance to a lively desire for the settlement of the disputes with the Government of Turin. This led to fresh negotiations, but in spite of the efforts of Cardinals Alessandro, Albani and Rivera, these were so protracted that they were not yet concluded at the time of Clement XII.'s death, February 6th, 1740.²

The fourth Congregation had met at the same time as the others.³ Its task, viz. that of putting order into the financial chaos caused by the previous pontificate, proved all the more arduous as several inveterate abuses were still at work in this department. Clement XII. nevertheless applied at least a partial remedy by the abolition of the contracts for the collection of taxes, a relic of Coscia's days, and by concluding new ones under more favourable conditions. But this measure did not remedy the constant deficit which had reached an alarming point. On the other hand it was impossible to limit expenditure as Clement XII. was unwilling to give up the traditional patronage of learning and art. In his dilemma he had recourse to an economically very risky expedient. On December 9th, 1731, lotteries, which Benedict XIII. had condemned, were once more permitted in Rome, though foreign lotteries continued to be prohibited.⁴ The

¹ CARUTTI, *Stor. d. dipl.*, IV., 171. Cf. *Fogli diversi sull'arresto del P. Giannone, *Cod.* 41, B. 13, pp. 238 *seqq.*, Bibl. Corsini, Rome.

² HERGENRÖTHER, 67 *seqq.* See also GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 37 *seqq.*

³ **Motu proprio* on its institution, August 12, 1730, in *Cod. Barb.*, 4687, p. 350, Vatican Library.

⁴ BROSCHE, II., 75. At first nine draws were held on the Capitol every year. **Cod. Barb.*, 4687, p. 2007, *loc. cit.*; Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, December 15, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican; MURATORI, XII., 189. On other restrictions see HERGENRÖTHER, *Kirchengesch.*, IV.⁶ 15. Cf. also CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 244 *seqq.*; NOVAES, XIII., 198. KATHOLICK, 1861, II., 650.

Zelanti remonstrated at once,¹ but the Pope refused to change his mind.² Though these lotteries yielded very considerable sums, they fell far short of what was needed. In the further course of Clement XII.'s pontificate, the financial straits became so acute, more especially as the result of the political and ecclesiastical complications, that his successor was forced to take immediate counter measures.³ "The higher I rose," Clement XII. is reported to have said, "the lower I descended. I was a wealthy *abbate*, a comfortably off Bishop, a poor Cardinal, but I am a ruined Pope."⁴ We can understand these words when we learn that at the end of the previous pontificate the annual deficit amounted to 120,000 scudi, and the debt of the Holy See to sixty million scudi.⁵

¹ " *Continuano le mormorazioni de' cardinali zelanti contro il Papa e il cardinale nipote " (on account of the lotto), Cardinal Cienfuegos reports on December 29, 1731, *loc. cit.*

² A new permission is *reported by Count Harrach on February 16, 1737, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. The Lotto was considered " una specie di voluntaria imposizione " ; see **Memorie* in *Cod.* 38, G 20, Corsini Library, Rome.

³ BROSCHE, II., 82 *seqq.*, 92 *seqq.*

⁴ DE BROSSES, *Lettres*, II., 117 *seqq.*

⁵ See the **Osservazioni della presente situazione dello stato ecclesiastico* (intended for Clement XII.) in *Cod.* 34, B 4, pp. 66 *seqq.* Corsini Library, Rome.

CHAPTER II.

LOSS OF THE SUZERAINTY OVER PARMA AND PIACENZA—
THE STRUGGLE FOR THE POLISH SUCCESSION AND THE
OUTBREAK OF WAR AGAINST THE EMPEROR IN ITALY—
CONQUEST OF NAPLES AND SICILY BY THE SPANIARDS—
PROVOCATION OF THE POPE BY THE BOURBONS AT
MADRID AND NAPLES—THE SPANISH CONCORDAT OF
1737.

WHEN Clement XII. out of veneration for Clement XI. took that Pontiff's name, he could hardly foresee that the Catholic Powers would treat him even worse than the Albani Pope.

Clement XII.'s very first step as a ruler was for the preservation of peace. There was danger of a new war on account of the treaty of Seville of November 9th, 1729, which was as advantageous to France as it was prejudicial to Austria. In order to secure for the son of Philip V. and Elizabeth Farnese, the Infante Don Carlos, his hereditary claims to Parma and Piacenza, it had been laid down in that treaty that 6,000 Spaniards should garrison Portoferraio, Leghorn, Parma and Piacenza, places occupied until then by troops of the Quadruple Alliance. The Emperor Charles VI. was indignant at the treaty and he posted an army between Milan and Mantua. Thereupon Queen Elizabeth of Spain, who continued to be the moving spirit at Madrid,¹ urged the allies to compel the Emperor by force of arms to accept the treaty of Seville.

In view of so dangerous a situation Clement XII., on July 28th, 1730, addressed exhortations to preserve peace to the Emperor, the Kings of Spain and France and to Cardinal

¹ DE PIMODAN, *Louise Elisabeth d'Orleans, reine d'Espagne 1709-1743*, Paris, 1923; E. ARMSTRONG, *Elisabeth Farnese*, London, 1892.

Fleury.¹ Instructions to the same effect were also sent to the nuncios at Vienna, Madrid and Paris.²

Meanwhile the situation continued tense and Grand Duke Giovanni Gasto of Tuscany prepared to resist Austria's demand that he should admit her troops at Leghorn and Portoferrio.³ In the end the outbreak of hostilities was nevertheless avoided; the disunion of the allies prevented an attack for which Spain pressed whilst Vienna had plenty of reasons for temporizing. These circumstances all worked in favour of the Pope's efforts for peace.⁴

Soon, however, a fresh crisis arose. The death of Antonio Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza, on January 20th, 1731, rendered acute the question of the succession in these territories.⁵ The Spanish Government had begun negotiations with the Pope through its representative, Cardinal Bentivoglio, already in July, 1730. Spain was anxious that the Pope should declare his readiness to bestow the investiture of Parma and Piacenza on the Infante Carlos. The Cardinal assured the Pope that a request would be made to that effect, but only if there was a guarantee of its being granted. The Pope replied that he must first consult the Cardinals; in the abstract, he would not be at all displeased if, through Don

¹ **Epist.*, I., 5, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. also BAUDRILLART, IV.: *Philippe V., Louis XIV. et le card. De Fleury 1729-1740.*

² **Memorie del pontif. di Clemente XII.*, Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.* Cf. **Cifre al Nunzio di Spagna, Nunziat. di Spagna*, 429, Papal Secret Archives; **Cifre al Nunzio di Francia, Nunziat. di Francia*, 441, *ibid.*

³ REUMONT, *Toscana*, I., 485.

⁴ LEO, V., 752; REUMONT, *Toscana*, I., 486.

⁵ The "infausta nova" came to Rome on January 24, 1731; see **Cifra al Nunzio di Spagna* of the same day, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 429, *loc. cit.* Cf. Cardinal Cienfuegos' **letter* of January 27, 1731, according to which the Secretary of State, Corsini, and A. Albani immediately held counsel with the avvocato fiscale as to how the rights of the Church over Parma and Piacenza might best be safeguarded. Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

Carlos, a Power were to arise in Italy which would counter-balance that of the King of Sardinia as well as that of the Emperor who was almost lord of Italy.¹ The Pope stuck to this point of view. He explained the delay of the investiture on the ground that a premature concession would lead to Italy being swept by imperial troops and to the forcible occupation of the Duchies. A declaration in favour of Spain would likewise render suspect his position as mediator.² But now that the Duke was dead a decision became imperative.

There remained indeed a faint hope of delaying a decision of the question in dispute as the Duke's widow was reported to be pregnant. In the event of the expectation of a posthumous Farnese remaining unfulfilled, Don Carlos was to receive the Farnese inheritance by the terms of the treaty of London of 1718 and the peace of 1720. As was to be expected, Clement XII. at once asserted his sovereign rights over Parma. Briefs to that effect were addressed to the authorities of Parma on January 25th, 1731,³ and on January 31st the Pope wrote to the Emperor and to the Kings of France and Spain.⁴ The Pope likewise charged the Cardinal Legate of Bologna, Spinola, and the Protonotary, Giuseppe Oddi, to assert the claims of the Holy See at Parma. However, as early as January 23rd the imperial General, Count Carlo Stampa, had announced that he was taking possession of the Duchies in the name of the Emperor, for the benefit of Don Carlos.

This action roused the Pope to the utmost, so much so

¹ Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report to La Paz, July 29, 1730, Simancas Archives.

² Cardinal Bentivoglio's *reports, August 16, October 2, December 7 and 11, 1730, *ibid.*; also *letter "dalla segretaria di stato" to Bentivoglio, December 11, 1730 (Supplement to his letter of December 12, 1730), *ibid.*

³ *Brief "Magistratui et populo civitatis Nostrae Parmae", January 25, 1731, *Epist.*, I., 313, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, a similar *Brief to the Bishop of Parma.

⁴ **Epist.*, I., 335, *ibid.* Also to numerous other princes.

that he talked of using spiritual weapons against the Emperor,¹ and to the representatives of Charles VI. and Philip he complained most bitterly.² In the consistory of February 12th, 1731, he gave the Cardinals an account of what had happened and protested against the penetration of the imperial troops into the Duchies³; the indignation of the Pope and his ministers continued in the sequel also. At the beginning of March prayers were prescribed in order to invoke the divine assistance in the difficult questions which pre-occupied the Pope: these also included, besides the affairs of Sardinia, France and Spain, the future of the two Duchies.⁴

On his part Philip V.'s representative, Cardinal Bentivoglio, protested against the Brief addressed to the King on March 13th on the ground that that document took it for granted that Philip's troops would participate in the invasion by the imperial troops; the Brief, he declared, could not be received. Clement listened to him quietly, sought to pacify him and pleaded the curial style as an excuse for the form of the Brief; any intention of hurting the King had been far from him.⁵

Almost at the same time—on March 16th, 1731—the Emperor concluded at Vienna an agreement with England which paved the way for an *entente* between Charles VI. and Philip V. In exchange for a guarantee of his *Pragmatic Sanction* the Emperor accepted, on July 22nd, 1731, the dispositions arrived at in Seville concerning Parma and Tuscany and consented to admit 6,000 Spanish troops in the fortresses of the two countries. Three days later an agreement was likewise reached between Tuscany and Spain.⁶

¹ Banchieri said so to Cardinal Bentivoglio; see his *report, February 7, 1731, Simancas Archives.

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, January 31, February 3, 7, and 10, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

³ **Acta consist.*, Vatican Library, *loc. cit.*; **Epist.*, I., 356, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, March 3, 1731, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, March 17, 1731, *loc. cit.*

⁶ REUMONT, *Toscana*, I., 487.

Previous to this, on May 21st, Clement had protested against the infringement of his suzerainty by the treaty of Vienna.¹ A Constitution of June 20th, based on the investiture granted in 1545 by Paul III. to Pier Luigi Farnese, declared that Parma had reverted to the Holy See, except in the event of Antonio Farnese's widow giving birth to male issue.² When this hope was frustrated in September, the Protonotary Oddi had the Constitution affixed at Parma and he himself declared in the palace of the Government that he was taking possession of the Duchy. All this was solemnly confirmed by the Pope at a consistory of September 24th, 1731.³ By way of reply General Count Stampa once more took formal possession of the two Duchies in the name of the Infante Carlos, ordered the oath of fealty to the imperial suzerain to be taken on December 29th and handed over the keys of the city to Dorotea of Parma, the guardian of Don Carlos, then still a minor, steps against which Oddi lodged an immediate protest.⁴

Clement XII. and the entire papal court were extremely hurt by the way in which the Church's claims to Parma and Piacenza had been ignored⁵; the Pope regarded the loss of the two Duchies, which had been fiefs of the Church for centuries, as a humiliation. He spoke of it so openly to all who attended his audiences that in January, 1732, Cardinal Cienfuegos began to fear that he would not be content with protests, but would have recourse to censures.⁶ The Pope had some preliminary consultations with individual Cardinals as to what steps he should take.⁷ As these yielded

¹ *Acta consist., loc. cit.; *Epist., I., 430, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, May 31, 1731, Simancas Archives.

² Bull., XXIII., 265 seqq.

³ *Acta consist., loc. cit.; *Epist., II., 34, loc. cit.

⁴ MURATORI, XII., 136 seqq., 141.

⁵ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, December 1, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁶ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, January 19 and 26, 1732, *ibid.*

⁷ Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, February 12, 1732, Simancas Archives.

no result Clement XII., at a consistory of March 31st, called upon all the members of the Sacred College to make known to him their opinion on the subject.¹

The Spanish Government sought to intimidate the Pope by threats.² But when, on the eve of St. Peter's day, the Government set up at Parma in the name of Don Carlos omitted to pay to the Apostolic Camera the feudal tribute for the ensuing year, Clement had a formal protest registered by the fiscal of the Holy See.³ This step effected no result of any kind. On September 9th the youthful ruler Carlos made his entry into Parma with great pomp. He took over the Government and paid no further heed to the suzerainty of the Holy See.⁴

Clement XII. had to put up with some other sensible defeats. In 1731 the Senate of Genoa rejected in an offensive manner his offer of mediation with the insurgents in Corsica.⁵ The politico-ecclesiastical disputes with Savoy and Portugal became increasingly acute.⁶ As late as 1730 the Pope had authorized Venice to impose a tax of 100,000 gold scudi on Church property,⁷ but in 1732 friction between the Roman police and the Venetian ambassador led to disputes with the Signoria and the expulsion of the papal nuncio.⁸ To this

¹ **Acta consist.*, Vatican Library, *loc. cit.* Cf. Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, April 5, 1732 (*loc. cit.*), and that of Cardinal Bentivoglio of the same day (*loc. cit.*).

² *Letter of a Spanish agent, dat. Rome, June 12, 1732, Simancas Archives. Bentivoglio himself was absent from Rome since May; he was in Parma.

³ Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, July 5, 1732, *ibid.*; Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of the same day, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁴ MURATORI, XII., 141.

⁵ NOVAES, XIII., 201.

⁶ Cf. above, p. 347 *seq.*

⁷ B. Morosini acknowledges with gratitude the greatness of this concession in his *Relazione of 1731, State Archives, Venice.

⁸ Cardinal Cienfuegos' reports, September 27, October 15, November 1 and 8, 1732, *loc. cit.*; also *Memorie del pontif. di Clemente XII., Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.* Cf. FABRONIUS, 65 *seqq.*; NOVAES, XIII., 211.

came to be added, at the beginning of 1733, the blockade of Avignon decreed by the French Government for trivial motives.¹ Further grave anxiety was caused to the Pontiff by the religious situation in France² and the interference of the imperialists with ecclesiastical affairs at Naples.³ The Duke of Parma renewed his pretensions to the territory of Castro and Ronciglione of which Innocent X. had deprived the Farnese when he declared it to be a possession of the Camera Apostolica. In 1664, by the treaty of Pisa, Louis XIV. had forced Alexander VII. to revoke this incorporation, allowing the Duke of Parma eight years in which to redeem it. However, the Camera had remained in possession. Don Carlos now revived the old pretensions of the Farnese, a step for which he received support from France and Spain.⁴

Clement XII.'s dispute with Venice was settled in November 1733,⁵ but the beginning of that year saw the birth of a complication which was destined to disturb the peace of Europe anew and to involve the Pope also.

On February 1st, 1732, the death took place at Warsaw of Augustus of Saxony, King of Poland.⁶ The succession of

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' reports, January 17 and 31, March 7 and 21, and April 25, 1733, *loc. cit.* Cf. FABRONIUS, 75; MURATORI, XII., 146; *Memorie del pontif. di Clemente XII., *loc. cit.*

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, April 4, 1733, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, February 28, 1733, *ibid.*

⁴ Cardinal Cienfuegos' reports, March 28, April 18, June 13, 1733, *ibid.*; MURATORI, XII., 146.

⁵ Cardinal Cienfuegos' report, November 28, 1733, *loc. cit.*; NOVAES, XIII., 211.

⁶ The Monarch, who had to atone for so many moral transgressions, died after having received the sacraments; see the report of the Polish nuncio in THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, IV., 1, 121. Cf. also *Spaccato per il lungo d. Basil. di S. Clemente ornata con apparato funebre in occasione d. solenni esequie per la gloriosa memoria di Augusto II. Re di Polonia* (by Fil. Bargione), *Andr. Rossi sculp.*, Roma, 1733. See also R. REYRICH, *Kursachsen und die polnische Thronfolge, 1733-6* (*Leipziger Hist. Abhandl.*, Heft 36), Leipzig, 1913; *Riv. stor.*, 1917, 196.

his son Frederick Augustus was not yet assured, though it had been the chief reason for which, sixteen years earlier, steps had been taken for his reception into the Catholic Church. Both the Emperor and Russia supported Frederick Augustus' candidature, whilst the French Government did everything in its power in favour of the election of Stanislaus Leszczyński, Louis XIV.'s father-in-law, who continued to style himself King of Poland. The Primate of Poland, Archbishop Potocki of Gnesen, whose duty it was to summon the Diet, favoured Leszczyński, who had also the support of the majority of the nobility. Leszczyński, who had crossed Germany to go to Poland, disguised as a merchant, was elected King by an overwhelming majority on September 12th, 1733, but the approach, at the beginning of October, of a Russian army, obliged him to flee to Danzig, there to await the arrival of the promised French assistance. On October 5th a small number of Polish nobles proclaimed Frederick Augustus of Saxony king. Danzig was encircled by Russian and Saxon troops whilst Frederick Augustus was crowned at Cracow on January 17th, 1734. Which of the two competitors would eventually secure power depended on the issue of the siege of Danzig.

As soon as he heard of the death of King Augustus, Clement XII. recommended the election of his son to the Primate, the Bishops and the Estates of Poland.¹ Though the French pressed him to declare himself in favour of Leszczyński,² he nevertheless rebuked the Primate for his action against Frederick Augustus and approved the attitude of the Polish nuncio.³ After Leszczyński's election the French demanded that the Pope should recognize him at once, whilst at the same time they taxed the Warsaw nuncio with partiality. Cardinal Cienfuegos worked against the French and represented to the Pope that he should hold back recognition

¹ THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 119.

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, July 18, 1733, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, August 15, 1733, *ibid.*

as within twenty days Frederick Augustus' election would be an accomplished fact.¹ Clement was determined to recognize the man who was actually in possession of the realm.² Cienfuegos was mistaken when he imagined he had won over the Pope for Frederick Augustus.³ With the assistance of the English Pretender and Cardinal Ottoboni the French prevailed: at the beginning of October the Pope yielded to their insistence and ordered the nuncio to recognize Leszczyński. The fact that news of Frederick Augustus' election reached Rome on October 23rd did not at first induce the Pope to change his mind.⁴

The Polish complications had provided the French war party, which saw the salvation of the country in a return to the traditions of Louis XIV., with a welcome pretext for the realization of their aims. It was a decisive factor for their policy that they had won over Spain and Sardinia, both of which hoped for an increase of power on Italian soil by driving the imperialists out of the Peninsula. On September 7th, 1733, a treaty was signed, amid the greatest secrecy, between France, Spain and Turin, by the terms of which the imperialists were to be driven out of Italy whilst Don Carlos, after surrendering the Duchies of Parma, Piacenza and Tuscany in favour of his younger brother, Don Felipo, would become King of Naples and Sicily. The King of Sardinia was promised three and a half million livres together with Milan.

The situation of the Emperor who in the autumn of 1733 found himself simultaneously attacked in Italy and in Germany, was all the more critical as a few years earlier, and against Prince Eugene's advice, the army had been reduced by 40,000 men. As there were scarcely any imperial troops left in Italy, the united French and Sardinians had an easy task. Within a short time Charles VI. lost the whole

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, September 26, 1733, *ibid.*

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, October 17, 1733, *ibid.*

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, October 3, 1733, *ibid.*

⁴ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, October 24 and November 7, 1733, *ibid.* Cf. FABRONIUS, 70 *seq.*

of Lombardy. On November 4th Charles Emmanuel entered Milan in triumph.

As father of Christendom and as an Italian ruler, Clement XII. bitterly lamented the outbreak of a war in which three Catholic Powers were arrayed against the Emperor. In his efforts for the preservation of his own strict neutrality¹ he issued once more, though in vain, exhortations to peace.² At Rome, where Clement XII. was bent on furthering learning and art, the end of peaceful days was particularly resented.³ Soon a great many deserters flocked thither so that it became necessary to prevent the city from being overrun by vagabonds and thieves.⁴ The Emperor's cause was damaged in Rome when news arrived in March, 1734, that, in order to obtain the help of the Protestants in the war against France, the Government of Vienna had dropped the clause of Rijswijk.⁵

¹ “* Mi assicurò il Papa di voler osservare una perfetta neutralità,” Cardinal Cienfuegos reports on November 7, 1733, *loc. cit.* Cf. *ibid.*, *Report of November 28, 1733.

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, January 2, 1734, *loc. cit.*

³ “Deliciosa pace,” says MURATORI (XII., 153).

⁴ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, January 2, 1734, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, March 20, 1734, *ibid.* Cf. HILTEBRANDT in *Quellen u. Forsch.*, XIII., 195. At the end of the war Clement XII. sent *Briefs to the Catholic Electors (cf. ROUSSET, I., 475) on April 14, 1736, and to Charles VI. on April 28, in order to bring about “ut quartus articulus [of the peace of Rijswijk] reviviscat et nova lege confirmetur”, as had been done by the Peace of Baden (*Epist.*, Papal Secr. Arch.). The Pope also approached the French Government on this matter. Paris agreed because it “die konfessionelle Frage im Reiche wach halten wollte; der Kaiser aber besass wieder das Objekt, das er beim nächsten Konflikt mit Frankreich den Protestanten von neuem bieten konnte.” “Die Kurie diente in Wirklichkeit den französischen und kaiserlichen Politikern nur dazu, um ihr diplomatisches Spiel zu unterstützen. Sie erreichte dafür zwar die formelle Durchbrechung des ihr so verhassten Westfälischen Friedens; als sie aber wünschte, dass das schwerste Hindernis einer tatsächlichen Rekatholisierung der Pfalz durch Bescitigung des Rezesses von 1709 aus dem

However, the Spaniards also showed but scant consideration for the Pope.

At the same time as the French crossed the Alps, Spanish infantry landed at Genoa, whilst a Spanish fleet cruised along the Italian coast. The real director of the military operations was Count Montemar, but the honour of the supreme command was reserved for seventeen-year-old Don Carlos. He arrived in Florence in the first days of February and at once moved his troops in a southward direction. He was allowed to march through the Papal States, on condition that he did not touch Rome. The progress of the Spanish army, 20,000 strong, was not unaccompanied by disorders and the oppression of the population, to the Pope's great grief. However, "Clement XII. cannot raise his head," Cardinal Cienfuegos wrote on March 13th, 1734, "for the Spaniards behave as if they had already conquered Naples." ¹

As a matter of fact they met with no resistance. On April 9th Don Carlos, whose suite included Bartolomeo Corsini, arrived unopposed at Maddaloni, where the delegates of Naples

Wege geräumt werden sollte, versagten sich—angesichts der Machtstellung der Protestanten—Ihr alle, der Pfalzgraf sowohl wie Frankreich als auch der Kaiser" (HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*). On the abolition of the clause at the preliminary peace of May 8, 1736, see MENZEL, X., 332 *seq.*

¹ *S. B^{ne} non può alzare il capo vedendo gli Spagnoli che vanno alla conquista del regno di Napoli, come se già l'avessero in mano, affidati nelle poche forze che ci sono e nelle segrete intelligenze di avervi (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). The memorandum on political economy by the imperial president of the Regia Camera of Naples, Federigo Valignani, Marchese di Cepagatti: "Riflessioni sopra il commercio del regno di Napoli" was sent to Vienna in June, 1732, but it was seized on the way and confiscated by the Spaniards; see copy in a manuscript of the Library of the Episcopal Gymnasium, Trent, and in *Cod. ital.*, 58, State Library, Munich, where there is also an interesting " *Relazione dello stato politico, economico e civile del regno di Napoli, nel tempo che è stato governato dai Spagnuoli prima dell'entrata dell'armi tedesche in detto regno". Cf. *Wiener Sitzungser.*, V. (1850), 382 *seq.*

offered him the keys of their city. On the very next day Spanish troops entered the capital. A few forts still held out, but only for a short time. On May 10th, Don Carlos was able to make his solemn entry into Naples.¹ The Spanish ambassador in Rome now demanded that he should be granted at once the investiture of Naples and Sicily. Clement XII.'s reply was that the Kingdom of Naples was not as yet conquered in its entirety and Sicily not at all, hence the investiture would be premature ; at the same time he protested against the disregard of his own suzerainty over Parma and Piacenza, whereupon the ambassador declared himself prepared to enter into negotiations on the subject.² The Pope set up a special cardinalitial Congregation for the purpose of examining the line of action to be adopted on the question of Naples, for if he gave way there was danger of a rupture with the Emperor. The Pope's excitement over this affair was such as to give rise to fears of serious injury to his health.³

The ambassadors of France and Spain now sought to dissuade the Pope from accepting the Emperor's feudal tribute for Naples for the current year. However, notwithstanding the threat of the recall of the Spanish ambassador, Clement XII., after taking counsel with the Cardinals, decided to receive the *Chinea* from the Emperor as in previous years, until the successor in Naples should have obtained general recognition.⁴ Accordingly the Emperor's representative, Scipio Publicola, Prince of Santa Croce, was able to offer the *Chinea* in the customary manner on the eve of the feast of St. Peter,⁵ an act against which Don Carlos lodged a protest.⁶ At this time the Spaniards also sought

¹ LEO, V., 160 ; REUMONT, *Carafa*, 316 seq. On the war see *Arch. Napolet.*, VII. (1882), 110, 293, 555, 685 ; on the subsequent government of the incompetent Don Carlos see M. SCHIPA, *Il regno di Napoli al tempo di Carlo di Borbone*, Napoli, 1904.

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, May 15, 1734, *loc. cit.*

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, May 22, 1734, *ibid.*

⁴ SCHIPA, 210.

⁵ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, June 12 and 24 and July 3, 1734, *loc. cit.* Cf. SCHIPA, 213.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 212.

to obtain, by means of threats, the revenues of the archbishopric of Toledo for the Infante Luis, a minor,¹ whilst the Pope was simultaneously grieved by reports of the oppression of the population of Ferrara by the imperial troops.² In consequence of his resistance in the affair of Toledo, which the ambitious Queen of Spain urged with the utmost obstinacy, the Pope was himself exposed to strong threats by the Spanish ambassador.³

Meanwhile the Emperor had also lost the greater part of Sicily.⁴ Much notice was taken of the fact that Don Carlos, who now styled himself Charles III. King of Naples and Sicily, had appointed the Pope's nephew, Bartolomeo Corsini, his lieutenant in Sicily. "It is easy to see," Cardinal Cienfuegos wrote on December 11th, 1734, "how Spain seeks to win over the court of Rome both by love and by fear."⁵

The fact that the Habsburg rule at Naples and in Sicily was replaced so easily and almost without effort by the Bourbons, acted as a powerful fillip to Spanish pride.⁶ They now felt that they were able and even entitled to make the Pope feel the power of the strong over the weak.⁷ Without a shadow of a right to do so they began to enrol soldiers even in the Pope's capital. They took no notice whatever of the prohibitions issued by the papal Government.⁸ The Pope

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, August 7, 1734, *loc. cit.*

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, August 14, 1734, *ibid.*

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, September 18, October 23, and November 13, 1734, *ibid.*

⁴ MARINO, *La cacciata degli Austriaci dalla Sicilia (1734-5) da documenti inediti*, Palermo, 1920. Cf. *Arch. Napolet.*, 1902.

⁵ " *E ben si vede che le mire della Spagna sono dirette a guadagnare questa corte a forza di amore e di timore." Cardinal Cienfuegos on December 11, 1734, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Already on June 19, 1734, Cardinal Cienfuegos had *reported that in spite of all prohibitions the Spaniards were levying soldiers in the States of the Church. *Ibid.*

⁸ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, January 1, 1735, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

was helpless.¹ At the beginning of 1735 he even had to suffer the passage through the Papal States of 5,000 men destined for Tuscany. If in the foregoing year the Spaniards had been far from maintaining perfect discipline, now their arrogance knew no bounds. Complaints from the various communities of the violence of the soldiery which conducted itself as if on hostile territory, reached Rome almost daily. When leaving they refused to give a receipt for the provisions commandeered by them and they carried off by force as many inhabitants as there were deserters from their army. The embitterment of the countryfolk knew no bounds.²

It was with some alarm that the papal Government awaited the arrival of the new Spanish ambassador, Cardinal Acquaviva.³ After the latter had presented his credentials on March 21st,⁴ discussions began at once in the utmost secrecy. It was easy to guess that the invasion of Naples was their main topic. When the death occurred of the Madrid nuncio, Vincenzo Alamani, difficulties arose in connection with the appointment of a successor to this important post. Cardinal Cienfuegos was of opinion that Spain intended to enforce her demands by threatening to close the nunciature. Acquaviva, who did all he could to obtain a candidate agreeable to the Spanish Government, observed that he was ignorant of any intention to close the nunciature, though things might come to that as Spain had many grievances against Rome.⁵ Besides the nunciature, other topics of discussion during those days were the dispensation for the nomination of the Infante Luis, then nine years of age, to the archiepiscopal see of Toledo, the grant of the *Exequatur*

¹ According to Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of October 8, 1735 (*ibid.*), Clement XII. himself said so to the Cardinal.

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, January 15, 22, and 29, 1735, *ibid.* Cf. *Riv. stor.*, 1915, 33, 52.

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, March 19, 1735, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Cardinal Acquaviva's *report, March 22, 1735, Simancas Archives.

⁵ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, April 16, 1735, *loc. cit.*, and Cardinal Acquaviva's *report, April 19, 1735, *loc. cit.*

to the Neapolitan Bishops named by the Pope and the extension of the *Subsidio* and the *Excusado*.¹ These financial concessions were granted on May 10th,² whereupon Spain yielded on the question of the episcopal nominations.³

Meanwhile the time for paying the feudal tribute for Naples was once more at hand. The result of protracted deliberations by a special Congregation of Cardinals was the expedient of not demanding payment for the current year.⁴ Cardinal Cienfuegos, as representing the Emperor, strongly protested against this decision. The fiscal of the Apostolic Camera at the same time renewed the protest already raised in 1732 against Don Carlos' refusal to pay for the investiture of the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza.⁵ With regard to the archbishopric of Toledo, the Pope proposed the expedient of naming the Infante Luis simply commendatory and administrator of the temporalities of the See, putting off his appointment as Archbishop until he should have reached the canonical age. The Brief relative to the affair was only to be expedited after the re-opening of the nunciature. After the King had given a promise to that effect, the various questions were at length settled in September. But then came a demand for the elevation of the Infante to the cardinalate⁶ and differences also arose immediately about the person who was to have the ecclesiastical administration

¹ Cardinal Acquaviva's *reports, March 29, April 7 and 25, and May 3, 1735, *loc. cit.*

² Cardinal Acquaviva's *report, May 10, 1735, *ibid.*

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, May 5 and 14, 1735, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, May 21, June 4, 7, and 25, 1735, *ibid.*, and Cardinal Acquaviva's *reports, June 5 and 11 and July 3, 1735, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, July 2, 1735, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Cardinal Acquaviva's *reports, July 21 and 28, August 18, September 1, 8, 9 and 12, 1735, according to which Carlo Gentili especially took much trouble, through his auditor, the Abbate Riganti, to obtain the dispensation for the Infante (Simancas Archives). Cf. Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, August 6, September 10, 17 and 24, 1735, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

of Toledo.¹ The occasion brought to light the extreme difficulty of satisfying the domineering nature of Queen Elizabeth who had all the strings in her hands at Madrid. On the subject of the grant of the investiture for Naples the Pope remained firm. Cardinal Acquaviva made an attempt to bribe the learned Fontanini who had been instructed to draw up a memorial on the question, but that excellent man returned the rich present he had received and informed the Cardinal that his name was *Giusto* Fontanini.²

The peace negotiations between France and the Emperor, which had been in progress for some time, were concluded on October 3rd, 1735, at Vienna. The Emperor and France agreed that Leszczyński should renounce the Polish crown in favour of Frederick Augustus; by way of compensation he was to have the Duchies of Bar and Lorraine for his lifetime, that of Bar at once and Lorraine as soon as the Grand Duchy of Tuscany devolved to Francis of Lorraine at the death of Gaston; but at the death of Leszczyński both Duchies were to go to France. To indemnify Don Carlos for Tuscany and the dominions of the Farnese, the latter was to have the Kingdom of Sicily, of which, as a matter of fact, he already was in possession, together with the Spanish maritime places and Elba. France restored to the Emperor the territories conquered by her and recognized his Pragmatic Sanction. He retained Lombardy, with the

¹ Cardinal Acquaviva's *reports, November 3, 10, 17 and 22, December 1 and 6, 1735, *loc. cit.*

² Count Harrach's *report, October 22, 1735, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn. On October 8, 1735, Cienfuegos (see his *report of that day, *ibid.*, and *Brief to Charles VI., November 12, 1735, Papal Secret Arch.) wrote to the Emperor that he desired to retire from his post of ambassador which he had held since 1722. The Emperor appointed as his successor the auditor of the Rota, John Ernest, Count von Harrach, Bishop of Neutra (see ROTTMANNER, *Der Kardinal von Bayern*, 5), whose letters are partly in the State Library, Munich, *Cod. lat.*, 11061 (*cf.* ROTTMANNER, 7), partly in Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. Harrach was succeeded by Count Joseph Thun, Bishop of Gurk.

exception of the territories of Novara and Vigevano which were the reward of the King of Sardinia, as well as the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza.

Once again the Pope had to endure a complete overriding of his suzerain rights over these Duchies. His appeal to France for help was ignored.¹ The Peace of Vienna led to the recognition by the Pope of Frederick Augustus as King of Poland. On that occasion the strange behaviour of the French ambassador nearly led to a rupture with France.² The ecclesiastical disputes with Poland were settled by means of a concordat which dealt chiefly with the bestowal of monasteries.³

The Vienna agreements on the peace conditions were rejected by Spain, whereas Sardinia declared itself satisfied. After the armistice of November 16th between the Emperor, France and Sardinia, Montemar deemed himself no longer a match for the imperialists under Khevenhüller; he accordingly raised the siege of Mantua and decided to retreat into Tuscany.

¹ On November 19 and December 3, 1735, Harrach *reports that a letter had been dispatched to Paris in which the Pope complained about France consenting to the cession of Parma to the Emperor; that Fleury had been admonished by Brief that as a Cardinal he should look after the interests of the Holy See and work for the admission, so much desired by Clement XII., of a papal representative at the next peace congress (Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn). N. M. Lercari was sent to Paris to make fresh representations; see *Brief to Fleury, January 8, 1736, Papal Secret Archives. On May 3, 1736, *Briefs were addressed to Louis XV., to Cardinal Fleury, to the German Electors and to the Bishops to the effect that they should not allow that, against all international law, the Church should be deprived by her own sons of a possession which she had held for over two centuries. *Ibid.*

² Cf. Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, August 4 and 11, 1736 (Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn), and *Memorie del pontificato di Clemente XII., Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*

³ Text of the concordat with Poland of August 6, 1736 (ratified by the King on July 14, 1737), in THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, IV., 1, 123 seq., and MERCATI, *Concordati*, 311 seqq.

This measure once again imperilled the northern section of the Papal States. A particularly flagrant injury to the Papal neutrality occurred at Bologna when Spanish troops marched through the town and when, on November 27th, imperial Hussars entered it in their turn on the plea of capturing the Spaniards who had remained behind. Both the Legate and the Pope protested against this violation of the rights of nations. As the Emperor forbade Khevenhüller to cross the Tuscan frontier, the imperial troops spread along the borders of the Legations of Ferrara and Bologna and provisions and money were being requisitioned even in the Marches and in Umbria. The Pope's protests against the invasion by the imperialists of the territory of Ferrara and the occupation of the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza by Charles VI.,¹ yielded no result : on May 3rd, 1736, Prince Lobkowitz took possession of the Duchies in the name of the Emperor.²

¹ MURATORI, XII., 173 ; Count Harrach's *reports, November 5 and 26, December 3, 10, 17, and 31, 1735, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. Cf. also *Briefs to the Emperor, November 28, 1735, and January 5, 1736, in which we read : " We have received your letter, but no consolation." " Sive Ital. Duces, qui exercitum traduxerunt, tibi non renuntiarunt, sive ab exsequendis mandatis abstineant, extrema perniciēs populo imminet." It is not as when the Spanish troops marched through quickly and paid for their provisions with money and certificates, but by making their winter quarters there " ea licentia cives degravant, ut si viverent in hostili loco. Auget molestiam annonae difficultas. Exponet archiep. Ephes. Nuntius". We trust that the generals will lead them away and liberate Our people, whose complaints daily reach Our ears " (Papal Secret Archives). On the efforts for a general pacification of Italy see Lisoni's *reports from Florence to Sinzendorf in Vienna, December, 1735, Sinzendorf Archives, Jaidhof Castle.

² On account of Parma and Piacenza and on account of the " entire destruction " of the States of the Church by the imperial troops, Clement XII., in a private letter, dated " XII. Kal. Majas 1736 " made a personal appeal to Charles VI. (*Epist.*, VIII.-X., 698 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives). On the letters sent to France on May 3, 1736, see above, p. 371, n. 1). The final

Meanwhile Cardinal Acquaviva had been very active in Rome but had failed to obtain the investiture for Don Carlos.¹ The differences in connection with the appointment of a nuncio for Spain and an ecclesiastical administrator of Toledo continued for some time, but the way for a compromise was paved by the admission of the Infante Luis into the Sacred College on December 19th, 1735.² It was hoped that so weighty a concession would be followed by the reopening of the tribunal of the Madrid nunciature and the acceptance of Silvio Valenti Gonzaga as nuncio³; but this expectation proved illusory and the auditor Guiccioli had to go on acting as *chargé d'affaires*.⁴

peace between France and the Emperor was not signed until November 18, 1738, at Vienna; see FLASSAN, *Dipl. franç.*, V., 97. Charles Emmanuel III. acceded to it on February 3, 1739 (CARUTTI, *Dipl.*, IV., 109). On July 25, 1739, Clement XII. sent a Brief to Charles Emmanuel in which he expressed his joy for the peace for which he had always worked, especially on account of the tranquillity of Italy. God be praised who has inclined the princes to peace; may they be more ready now to listen to the Supreme Pastor who will always protest against the seizure of Parma and Piacenza. He learnt with great sorrow that all the injustices, especially those which had to be conceded to the heterodox powers, had been incorporated in the peace stipulations. He hoped that the piety of the princes will heal this wound, but must proclaim what a great danger this was to their eternal salvation. He hoped that God would inspire them "to procure for Us this consolation in Our old age, so that We may leave this See intact", *Epist.*, VIII.-X., 529, *loc. cit.*

¹ Count Harrach's *report, October 29, 1735, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

² Thus was repeated, says MURATORI (XII., 175), "l'uso od abuso de' secoli da noi chiamati barbarici."

³ Count Harrach's *report, January 21, 1736, *loc. cit.*

⁴ The *reports in cipher of Guiccioli, who was in a very difficult position, in *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 244A, Papal Secret Arch. According to his *report of June 15, 1736, he asked Molina ("governatore del Consiglio di Castiglia") to see to it that Nuncio Valenti was accepted; Molina answered that this would be too inglorious for

The new year failed to put an end to the troubles of the neutral Papal States: both Spanish and imperial troops wintered on the Pope's territory.¹ To the complaints of the Secretary of State, Charles VI.'s envoy, Count Harrach, replied that Cardinal Mosca was to blame if the papal subjects had had so much to suffer; the Cardinal had been unwilling to allow the provisioning of the troops, hence officers and men had been obliged to help themselves; if the imperial troops molested the Papal States, it was because they were driven to it by the refusal of the French and the Spaniards to carry out the peace preliminaries.²

Even more than these acts of violence in the Legations of Ferrara and Bologna, the Pope was bound to resent the fact that, in spite of his readiness to satisfy the Spanish Government, especially by the elevation of the Infante Luis, Spanish recruiting agents exercised their activities in Rome itself, in spite of every prohibition, and with the ruthlessness of a press-gang. These agents were all over the city; they made use of the worst characters, even of the public prostitutes, to deceive young Romans in order to force them into the army. Peaceful citizens were seized in the streets at night; others, under some pretext or other, were lured into houses where they were detained till nightfall, when they were forcibly put on board ship at Ripa Grande. In this way many fathers

the King. Molina's real motive, however, was his wish of being made a Cardinal, in spite of the great harm he had done to the liberty of the Church and to the Holy See. He said to me that, to the King and to Patino he spoke very differently than he had done to me, and he regretted that this had happened during the pontificate of a Pope who was so well disposed towards Spain!

¹ Cf. *Brief of complaint to Philip V., October 30, 1735, *Epist.*, VI., Papal Secret Archives.

² Count Harrach's *report, January 28, 1736, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn. Cf. *ibid.*, *report of February 4, 1736, according to which a partial reparation by the Emperor would not be enough, as the States of the Church would be treated less favourably than Venice.

lost their sons and wives their husbands.¹ The resentment against the Spaniards in Rome and throughout the Papal States was probably fanned by the imperialists²; it was not long before it produced a violent explosion.

On March 23rd, 1736, a crowd of people, in which the most resolute of the Romans, the men of the Trastevere, were particularly well represented, set at liberty some of their fellow citizens who were being detained by Spanish recruiting agents in a house in the Piazza Farnese. The incident was repeated in the Borgo and in other quarters of the city. Papal troops ended by dispersing the excited populace. Cardinal Acquaviva declined the offer of a guard as he himself had put his palace on the Piazza di Spagna in a state of defence. The measures taken by the Government assured tranquillity for the following day, which was Saturday before Palm Sunday, but as the whole town knew that forcibly enlisted men were being held in captivity in Acquaviva's palace, there was reason to fear fresh disorders on the following Sunday. The Trastevere continued to be the centre of the excitement. The Pope had accordingly caused the bridges to be barricaded so as to prevent the exasperated populace from invading the centre of the city. This manœuvre proved successful at Ponte Sisto, but at Ponte Quattro Capi a section of the people forced a passage. Papal troops, however, prevented them from reaching the Palazzo di Spagna. But popular resentment continued, in fact it increased and seized also the inhabitants of the Monti. In the end the Pope saw no other remedy except to open negotiations with the mutineers through Prince Santa Croce and the Conservator Marchese Crescenzi. The mob demanded the liberation of all those who had been enrolled in their quarters of the city and an amnesty. When this was granted they went their way to the cry of "Long

¹ Cf. V. DE BROGNOLI, *Relazione dei tumulti accaduti in Roma l' a. 1736* (drawn up by Abbate Conti, according to a MS. in the Bibl. Angelica; see below, p. 376, n. 1), Roma, 1882, 15 seq., and the terrible details from the **Relazioni del Fiscale* (Coa., 1182, Corsini Library, Rome).

² DAMILA, 275; SCHIPA, 214.

live the Pope!" A stern decree against the recruiting agents was issued but it did not put a stop to their activities.¹

The situation was rendered still more serious by the circumstance that 6,000 Spanish troops, whilst on their way from Naples to Upper Italy, happened to be in the neighbourhood of Rome, where they looked like remaining, under the imaginary pretext that they tarried there by the Pope's leave in order to protect him from the excited populace!² Rome, as Clement XII. lamented in a private letter to Philip V., was practically blockaded.³ Relying on the Spanish troops, Cardinal Acquaviva, in obedience to orders of his Government, received on April 21st, was in a position to demand the most exorbitant satisfaction for the King of Spain and the Spanish nation. For the rest during the troubles not one Spaniard lost his life. Yet Acquaviva demanded the extradition of the instigators and their trial, with participation of a Spanish official; in case of a refusal the Madrid nunciature would be closed and Spaniards would be forbidden to have any dealings with the Holy See.⁴ As it was impossible to cancel the amnesty which had been conceded, Cardinal Corsini suggested that Acquaviva should be content with an apology by the Conservators in the name of the

¹ Count Harrach's *report, March 26, 1736, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn, and V. DE BROGNOLI, *Relazione*, 19 *seqq.* (in manuscript also in *Cod.* 733, Bibl. Angelica, Rome, in *Cod.* 1182 and 1185, Corsini Library, Rome, in *Cod. ital.*, 55, State Library, Munich, and in *Cod.* 5835, State Library, Vienna. In the latter report, which represents the Pope's point of view—Acquaviva's reports to Patino, March 24, 26 and 29, 1736 (Simancas Archives) give the opposite view—the insult to the coat of arms at the Palazzo Farnese (see Count Harrach's *report, May 12, 1736, *loc. cit.*), is said to be unproven. On the encroachments, *cf. Gli archivi ital.*, IV., 4 (1919), 223, n. 1.

² V. DE BROGNOLI, *Relazione*, 32, where the Pope's protest against the circulation of this rumour is also published.

³ This private *letter dat. IV., Id., April, 1736, written in Italian, is in *Epist.*, VIII.—X., 693, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ Acquaviva's *letter, April 22, 1736, in V. DE BROGNOLI, 34, n. 1.

Senate. However, Acquaviva insisted on extradition and trial.

Meanwhile excitement grew in the Papal States in consequence of the oppression practised by the Spanish soldiery who conducted themselves as if they were in conquered territory.¹ The inhabitants of Velletri were particularly incensed for already on the occasion of the Spaniards first march through their city they had been forcibly driven from their homes to make room for the soldiers.² On hearing that a Spanish regiment was to enter their city, they prepared to offer armed resistance. It was with great difficulty that Cardinal Barberini, whom the Pope had dispatched to Velletri, succeeded in persuading the citizens to content themselves with guarding their gates in return for a promise by the Spaniards that they would not enter the city and would spare the fields.³ Previous to this another incident had occurred at Ostia where salt miners had rushed a Spanish barque and set at liberty the forcibly enrolled men who were detained on board. This incident also was the object of a protest by Acquaviva.⁴

There still seemed to be a possibility that the discussions between him and the Secretary of State on the subject of compensation would lead to a compromise acceptable to both parties,⁵ when instructions from the Spanish Government reached Acquaviva, ordering him to leave the Eternal City together with all Spaniards, Neapolitans and Sicilians resident in Rome, as well as Cardinal Belluga and the auditor. On May 7th the Pope was informed of the order. Acquaviva also had to inform him that the nunciatures of Madrid and Naples had been closed and that all communications between the

¹ Count Harrach's *report, April 28, 1736, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

² Informazioni stragiudiziali in V. DE BROGNOLI, 30, n. 1. .

³ Count Harrach's *reports, April 28 and May 5, 1736, *loc. cit.* Cf. V. DE BROGNOLI, 30 *seqq.*

⁴ Count Harrach's *report, April 14, 1736, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Count Harrach's *report, May 5, 1736, *ibid.* Cf. V. DE BROGNOLI, 37 *seq.*

Dataria and Spain had been broken off. A last attempt was made to negotiate through Cardinals Barberini and Corradini but it was learnt that the brief time limit for the departure was unalterable.¹

At the same time the Spanish troops began to exact vengeance on their own authority, as if they were already masters of the Papal States. On May 11th three hundred dragoons invaded Ostia which they ravaged with fire and sword.² A few days earlier Velletri had been occupied by 1,300 Spaniards who immediately set up gallows, forced the people to surrender their arms and obliged the fugitives to return by threatening to set their houses on fire and to plunder their property. Further action against those who had instigated the arming of the citizens was threatened³ and a fine of 8,000 scudi was laid on the town. Palestrina also had to pay 15,000 scudi for having shut its gates against the brutal Spanish soldiery.⁴

In a report of May 12th, Count Harrach wrote that the Pope's sovereignty had been trodden under foot, that the Papal States were on the brink of ruin and that, in the event of Clement XII.'s death, the freedom of the conclave was threatened.⁵ Spain's formal rupture with Rome took place on May 12th with the departure of Acquaviva who, on the 13th, was followed by Belluga and on the 14th by the remaining Spanish residents in Rome. The Neapolitans were likewise made to leave the city.⁶ At Madrid the tribunal of the nunciature was closed and Silvio Valenti Gonzaga, who had been appointed nuncio in succession to Alamani, was not

¹ Count Harrach's *report, May 12, 1736, *loc. cit.* At the time of the conflict with Clement XII., the Auditor had not been recalled. Acquaviva left on June 26; see his *report to José Patino of the same day, Simancas Archives.

² See the *Relazione* in V. DE BROGNOLI, 41, n. 1.

³ Count Harrach's *report, May 12, 1736, *loc. cit.*; *Diario* in V. DE BROGNOLI, 42, n. 1.

⁴ MURATORI, XII., 180.

⁵ Count Harrach's *report, May 12, 1736, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Count Harrach's *report, May 14, 1736, *ibid.*

allowed to enter Spanish territory. Raniero Simonetti, the nuncio in Naples, was expelled from that town.¹

There could be no doubt about the aim of the Cabinet of Madrid and Naples when they adopted such a policy : it was to extort by sheer violence the investiture for Don Carlos and for Spain various concessions of an ecclesiastico-political kind, especially in regard to the right of patronage and the Dataria.²

The instigator of these attempts was the Augustinian Gaspar Molina y Oviedo, Bishop of Malaga, though he spent most of his time at the court of Madrid. Louis XIV.'s Gallicanism was Molina's ideal. The auditor Guiccioli, whilst still at the nunciature at Madrid,³ was not slow to perceive the evil influence which this head of the Spanish regalists exercised upon the Government, the weak King and the passionate Queen. On June 15th, 1736, Guiccioli reported that accurate accounts of the troubles in Rome were not allowed to reach the King. In the event of negotiations for a compromise, these should not be allowed to pass through the hands of Molina who, though a religious and a Bishop, spoke in the bitterest terms of the Holy See.⁴ He had instilled

¹ NOVAES, XIII., 239.

² Count Harrach's *report, May 12, 1736, *loc. cit.* Cf. Guiccioli's *report, dated Madrid, June 30, 1736, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 244A, Papal Secret Archives.

³ The new building of the nunciature had been begun at the beginning of 1735 ; see Guiccioli's report of January 22, 1735, who welcomed this as in this way the revenues of the vacant See of Toledo remained in Spain. *Ibid.*

⁴ *Molina did not trouble about the conduct of the Spanish troops at Ostia. " E non mi maraviglierei, che se egli avesse comandato le truppe, avrebbe fatto peggio con tutta la tonaca regolare e la croce da vescovo in petto, poichè oltre le ardenti espressioni fatte nuovamente meco, mi ha detto Mons. Ratto, che le parole, che escono da quella bocca in proposito di queste turbolenze e della materia del preteso patronato sono tanti bottoni di fuoco contro Roma." Great harm would be done to Rome if the negotiations had to pass through his hands. " In una parola, da lui non si può sperare alcun bene per la S. Sede, se non è conducente al servizio e vantaggio del Re, che pare sia l'oggetto

similar sentiments into the Queen who had observed that in order to obtain a thing from the priests it was necessary to use either bribes or threats.¹ On August 20th Guiccioli wrote that he was afraid he would have to leave Spain, though the stiff attitude of the Government was only adopted for the purpose of realizing its pretensions.²

By the middle of June the Spanish troops had gradually evacuated the Pontifical States,³ but in July the Pope was taken seriously ill.⁴ The sufferings of mind which he, a blameless man, had had to endure through Spain's fomentation of trouble in Rome,⁵ the pretensions of the imperialists⁶ and the French ambassador,⁷ and lastly the conflict with the

principale delle sue contemplazioni." Patino does not wish the King to see accurate reports. Guiccioli, June 15, 1736, *Nunciat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

¹ "Mi è stato detto, che la Regina ultimamente disse, che per conseguire dalli preti quel che si desidera, non vi è altra maniera che danari e bastone." This has been suggested to her by Molina, who would be capable of destroying religion here. Neither remonstrances nor favours can curb his violence, they only serve to incite him further to scoff at the Holy See. Guiccioli's *report, August 6, 1736, *loc. cit.*

² Guiccioli's *report, August 20, 1736, *ibid.*

³ Count Harrach's *report, June 16, 1736, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

⁴ See above, p. 336.

⁵ Spain, says MURATORI (XII., 180), was punishing the Pope, "per eccessi non suoi e a quali non aveano mancato i suoi ministri di apprestar quel rimedio che fu possibile." Cf. the *letters in cipher complaining to Guiccioli, July 14, August 4 and 25, 1736, *Nunciat. di Spagna*, 429, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁶ On the moderate demands made by Harrach in connection with the arrest by the police of an imperial sergent, see his *reports, February 18 and 25, March 10, 26 and 31, 1736, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

⁷ The pretensions of the French ambassador on account of the Pope's attitude to Stanislaus *Leszczyński* nearly led to a rupture; see Harrach's *reports, June 21, July 28, August 4, 11, and 25, and September 1, 1736, *ibid.*

King of Sardinia,¹ had proved too much for the aged Pontiff. Muratori is right when he says that it looked as if at that time every sovereign were determined to abuse his power in order to injure the Pope.² Clement XII.'s grief was enhanced by the circumstance that it was a religious and a Bishop, viz. Molina, who persuaded weak Philip V. to adopt so harsh a conduct.³ If the Pope endured every provocation meekly and patiently and contented himself with a fatherly exhortation to Philip V.,⁴ the explanation is to be looked for in his reliance on the promise of Him who had made Peter Head of the Church.

Negotiations for a compromise with Spain were first initiated by the Archbishop of Naples, Spinelli⁵; they also had the support of the French Government.⁶ Cardinal Corsini was willing to make peace at any price,⁷ but the Pope and the majority of the Cardinals insisted on the dignity and the prerogatives of the Holy See being safeguarded.⁸ In August it was reported that the Pope would not hear of a compromise unless the Madrid nunciature was first opened and Spain sent as ambassador a man who would promote peace better than Acquaviva.⁹ The fact that in the question of the patronage the majority of the higher prelates of Spain took the Pope's side was particularly advantageous to Clement XII.¹⁰

¹ Cf. above, p. 347 *seqq.*

² MURATORI, XII., 180.

³ *Cifra to Guiccioli, July 14, 1736, *Nunciat. di Spagna*, 429, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Cifra to Guiccioli, September 29, 1736, *ibid.*

⁵ Count Harrach's *report, June 2, 1736, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Count Harrach's *report, July 7, 1736, *ibid.*

⁷ Count Harrach's *report, July 21, 1736, *ibid.*

⁸ Count Harrach's *report, August 18, 1736, *ibid.*

⁹ Count Harrach's *report, August 11, 1736, *ibid.*

¹⁰ On account of the pretensions of the Spanish King to a general "Patronage", the Brief "Inter egregias" was sent to the whole Spanish Episcopate on September 29, 1736; on the same day, Clement XII. communicated it also to Philip V. (*Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives). On September 29 the Pope

Even now the Spanish Government refused to admit that wisdom demanded compliance, on the contrary, with a view to deriving as many advantages as possible from the negotiations, it took a further step against the Holy See by publishing, on October 24th, 1736, a decree ordering all papal Bulls, Briefs and Rescripts, with the exception of the ordinances of the Penitenziaria, to be submitted to the council of State.¹ This decree was declared null and void by a Brief

thanked the Archbishop of Seville for his constancy in the matter of the patronage (*ibid.*). A Brief of October 6 admonished Molina in very earnest terms to do his duty: "Horret animus" at the rumour that you have raised up the storm and by fomenting it are disturbing ecclesiastical discipline, "canonum censuras negligens"; this is intolerable on the part of a Bishop who has sworn fidelity (*ibid.*). On the other hand, on October 13, 1736, *Briefs of commendation were sent to Bernard Martin, Abbot-General of the "Congregatio Vallisolit. Hisp.", and to the Abbots of the Spanish Cistercians (*ibid.*). On November 5, 1736, Guiccioli *reports from Madrid: The circular Brief has met with universal approval, both with the Bishops and with the people, and is everywhere received with public demonstrations of joy; people rejoice that the "inventori del patronato", whom everybody hates, have been reprimanded. The Briefs to His Majesty and to the Infante have caused consternation at court. Molina plays the regalist because he wishes his Cardinal's hat to be one of the conditions of the agreement. The French ambassador said to me that the Court showed itself as reluctant to improve conditions as Portugal. *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 244A, Papal Secret Archives.

¹ Guiccioli's *report, dat. Madrid, November 12, 1736, according to which Molina boasted of the Brief of blame, as he was considered a regalist in Rome. On November 19, 1736, Guiccioli *reports: The Venetian ambassador, on seeing Molina enter, said: "Ecce Episcopus contra Pontificem!" This is the general opinion; many people say that unless he is compelled to reside [in his diocese] under pain of censures, the Holy See will have no peace. Three theologians in the "Gran Giunta" are in favour of the Pope. The King commanded the Inquisitor not to prohibit any book in favour of the patronage and the Inquisitor obeyed; when I reminded him of the Brief he replied:

to the Spanish episcopate dated December 15th, 1736, for the Pope could not subordinate the freedom of the Bishops in ecclesiastical matters, and still less that of the Holy See, to a secular authority.¹ At the same time, Acquaviva was told by the Congregation which had been set up for the purpose of dealing with Spanish affairs, that the simplest way to peace was the reopening of the Spanish nunciature. By their acts of violence in the Papal States the Spaniards had indemnified themselves so amply that there was no need for further satisfaction by the Pope, on the contrary, it was he who was entitled to claim compensation from Spain. If the Spanish Government was able to furnish authentic documentary proof of its claims to the right of patronage and of the alleged abuses of the Dataria, the Pope would be willing to apply a remedy.²

When at a session of the State Council on December 23rd the King announced that new negotiations with the Holy See were about to begin, he described the October decree on the *placet* as the best means of enforcing his demands in Rome.³ But by this time public opinion was no longer on the Government's side. Guiccioli's reports make it clear that a change had occurred. Molina, Guiccioli wrote on

"Espero en Dios che no he de faltar a mi dever." On November 26, 1736, Guiccioli *reports: "Molina è da tutti riconosciuto per l'autore e promotore di queste discordie colla S. Sede, e dopo il Breve monitoriale fa peggio in vece di emendarsi. Prima s'incolpava ancora il S. Patigno, ma presentemente la colpa è sua, per esser quello, che principalmente tratta col Re e Regina di questa materia, e che è il capo delle Giunte, in una delle quali pure si è parlato di proibire alle religioni di acquistare beni stabili." *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

¹ **Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives.

² Harrach's *report, December 15, 1736, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. In a *Cifra al Guiccioli of December 15, 1736, the Secretary of State dwells on the sorrow of the Pope, and adds: "Non prende certamente Mons. Molina la vera strada per meritarsi il cappello." *Nunziat. di Spagna, 429, loc. cit.*

³ HERGENRÖTHER, in *Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, X. (1863), 192.

December 17th, 1736, had lost some of his former influence with the Queen and he was spoken of as a heretic and another Luther and plans for a compromise were being discussed at court.¹ In January, 1737, Guiccioli reported that Molina was blamed for having needlessly raised a storm against the Holy See, and that he was even described as a Jew and an atheist. The Duke of Gemini was reported to have said that the devil was at the bottom of these disputes. Molina continued to work in secret and told his followers that they only needed to remain firm as once the Dataria's revenues were stopped, Rome would be compelled to yield.² In February, Guiccioli reported that Molina himself was seriously thinking of a settlement of the disputes, though only from selfish motives, for he aspired to the red hat.³

Cardinal Acquaviva had volunteered to conduct the negotiations in Rome. He was accredited in February.⁴ He too was bound to desire peace for in the event of the Duke of Montemar, who had always disapproved of his conduct, becoming minister, there was an end to his influence. On the other hand Molina was wholeheartedly with him.⁵

The negotiations hitherto conducted in Rome by Spinelli had for their chief object the grant of the investiture to Don Carlos, in exchange for which the Pope demanded the reopening of the nunciature in Madrid and the embassy in Rome.⁶ The negotiations, which were conducted by Spinelli, Gentili and Corsini, were wrapped in the greatest secrecy.⁷ They appeared to enter into a decisive stage with Acquaviva's arrival in Rome on 3rd March, when the Pope appointed a special Congregation of Cardinals to deal with all pending questions and charged Spinelli to treat in his name with the

¹ Guiccioli's *report, December 17, 1736, *loc. cit.*

² Guiccioli's *reports, January 7 and 14, 1737, *ibid.*

³ Guiccioli's *report, February 18, 1737, *ibid.*

⁴ Guiccioli's *report, February 25, 1737, *ibid.*

⁵ Harrach's *report, January 19, 1737, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

⁶ Harrach's *reports, January 5, February 2 and 9, 1737, *ibid.*

⁷ Harrach's *report, March 2, 1737, *ibid.*

Spanish Cardinals.¹ The Congregation consisted of Cardinals Corradini, Spinola, Porzia, Firrao, Gentili, Spinelli, Corsini, Zondadari and Rivera; subsequently Cardinal Aldrovandi, who had been nuncio in Madrid in 1717 and 1718, was added to their number. Cardinal Spinelli kept a diary of the negotiations which opened on March 8th; this document is preserved to this day in the Papal Secret Archives.²

Complete uncertainty prevailed at first. About the middle of March the Secretary of State remarked to Count Harrach that it was not possible to say that the various questions would not be settled, but it was equally impossible to say that they would be settled.³ The negotiations gave rise to a tremendous tension throughout the court. Before long everyone resigned himself to their being either long drawn out, owing to the big demands of the Spaniards, or even to their complete failure.⁴ The latter alternative was certainly to be expected if the Spanish Government persisted in its obstinate demand of the investiture for Don Carlos and in its refusal to discuss ecclesiastical affairs, more particularly the resumption of relations with Rome, before this was granted. Clement refused to agree to such a demand.⁵ Equally unacceptable

¹ Harrach's *report, March 9, 1737, *ibid.*

² "Giornale della negotiacione intrapresa in Roma tra il sig. card. Acquaviva . . . e il sig. card. Spinelli arcivescovo di Napoli deputato dalla S^{ta} di Clemente XII. a trattare con detto Ministro sopra tutte le controversie vertenti fra la S. Sede e le due corti di Madrid e di Napoli dal dì 8 Marzo fino al dì 26 Settembre, 1737," *Nunziat. di Spagna*, App. III., Papal Secret Archives. Cf. PORTILLO, XVII., 326 *seqq.*, where there is further information about the other sources, the correspondence of the Spanish nunciature and Acquaviva's and Belluga's reports in the Simancas Archives.

³ Harrach's *report, March 16, 1737, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

⁴ Harrach's *report, March 30, 1737, *ibid.* Cf. *Cifra al Guiccioli, April 13, 1737, on the "esorbitanza delle proposte del card. Acquaviva," *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 449, *loc. cit.*

⁵ How decided the refusal of the Pope was appears from the instruction to Guiccioli of March 23, 1737: "L'essersi dichiarato sempre N. S. per lo spazio di più mesi di non poter essere in stato

were the initial demands of Acquaviva (who, for the rest, desired to negotiate solely as a Cardinal, not as an ambassador) for there was again question, even in a more accentuated form, of pretensions advanced in the days of Urban VIII. but subsequently dropped by Spain herself; they were that all papal dispensations should be granted gratuitously, that the Pope should forgo his right to the *Spolia* and that the Madrid nunciature should be without any jurisdiction.¹ Spinelli declared that the Pope could not consent to such suggestions. Thereupon Acquaviva requested the immediate concession, without further discussion, of all that Villalpando had demanded of Aldrovandi in Paris in 1717, in the days of Clement XI.²—a strange demand which completely failed to take into account the concordat of 1717. In his love of peace the Pope went so far as to allow Villalpando's demands to be examined, though not by the general cardinalitial Congregation but by a smaller committee.³

The fact was that the Congregation of nine members had proved unwieldy. On Acquaviva's proposal⁴ three members of the Congregation, viz. Cardinals Corradini, Gentili and Spinelli were charged, at the beginning of April, first to treat with Acquaviva and Belluga and then to report to the *di accordare la richiesta investitura, se nel tempo stesso non si riaprisse l'interrotto commercio fra la S. Sede e le due corti di Spagna e di Napoli e non si rimettesser le cose nel piede in cui erano prima del tumulto di Roma, facea sperare che coll'arrivo del sig. card. Acquaviva in questa corte, persuasa alla fine la M^{ta} del Re Catt^{co} delle ragioni di Sua St^a, avesse dato ordine al suo ministro di trattar insieme della investitura e delle altre controversie, almeno di quelle insorte dopo il tumulto; ma con meraviglia si è inteso dallo stesso sig. card. Acquaviva insistere sempre la M^{ta} Sua nella concepita idea di voler l'investitura prima che si possa dar principio a trattare di verun'altro affare: al che la St^a Sua non ha creduto di poter aderire con sicura coscienza e senza grave pregiudicio della dignità della Sede Apost."* *Ibid.*

¹ *Cifra al Guiccioli, March 30, 1737, *ibid.*

² Cf. vol. XXXIII., 75 *seqq.*

³ *Cifra al Guiccioli, April 4, 1737, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Acquaviva's *report, April 11, 1737, Simancas Archives.

Congregation. With the appointment of this commission Acquaviva felt sure of success for he thought that Corsini and Firrao would side with him ; thus he would be able to count on six votes in the discussions of the Congregation.¹ However, even thus the negotiations proved so long drawn that Madrid began to despair. Guiccioli reported that, seeing that Acquaviva was making no progress, their Majesties regretted their having sent him to Rome.² In the sequel even the Spanish Government was forced to realize more and more that it was in its interest to terminate the dispute. The people were discontented because it was no longer possible to obtain any dispensations, especially matrimonial ones ; there were those also who thought they perceived signs that Molina no longer enjoyed the entire confidence of the court.³

Meanwhile the negotiations were once more being indefinitely drawn out for Acquaviva was determined to extort the acceptance of Villalpando's demands as well as a heavy financial burdening of the Spanish clergy.⁴ On these

¹ PORTILLO, XVII., 336.

² Guiccioli's *report, April 22, 1737, *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

³ Guiccioli's *report, June 17, 1737, *ibid.* On July 8, Guiccioli reports (*ibid.*) : I spoke to the ministers about the concordat, etc. " Mons. Molina benchè decaduto dal concetto del Re, tiene nondimeno mano nelle cose di Roma a dispetto di tanti che gli fanno guerra et attendono, che la Regina si mostrerà stufa di lui per rovinarlo." The three theologians are against him. On July 15, 1737 : Molina was very angry with me. I spoke to him about the heavy tax on ecclesiastical property ; he said I had better not meddle with this matter as the clergy had the biggest possessions. Regarding the concordat : " che il Concordato bensì fu quello fatto dopo in S. Lorenzo in virtù di special decreto del Re e confermato per Breve del Papa, e non potendolo negare, lo disprezzò, dicendo : ' Que fue una patorata y imbrogliata de Alberoni in contentarsi di cose ridicole '." The whole ministry is divided on this matter. *Ibid.*

⁴ Corradini's illness and the long delays before Acquaviva received any replies from Madrid and Naples delayed the negotiations ; see Acquaviva's *reports, May 16, June 6 and July 25, 1737, Simancas Archives.

points the Congregation of Cardinals based its conduct on the concordat of 1717.¹ Another difficulty was the circumstance that age had so weakened the Pope that he no longer took any important decision alone but invariably consulted his intimate advisers.²

At the beginning of August most people, Acquaviva among them, believed that a happy issue of the negotiations was at hand. A little later it was rumoured that scruples had suddenly arisen in the minds of some of the Cardinals, to the very great annoyance of Acquaviva and Corsini.³ The Cardinals demanded that the compromise with Naples should be upheld and that the question of the King's universal right of patronage should remain in abeyance. Acquaviva's advice was that this should be accepted.⁴ In the end the Holy See let it be known that it was prepared to discuss once more the concordat of 1717, but Acquaviva sought to rob this big concession of its effect by asserting that that concordat had been signed by Alberoni, without the royal authorization. It was proved at once that this assertion was not in conformity with truth.

In the sequel the struggle turned chiefly round the King's demand of the right of patronage and the taxation of the Spanish clergy, on which agreement proved impossible; on all the other points a compromise was arrived at.⁵ When

¹ *Cifre al Guiccioli, May 25, June 8, 15, 22, and 29, and July 20, 1737, *loc. cit.*

² Harrach's *report, July 6, 1737, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

³ Harrach's *report, August 3, 1737, *ibid.*; Acquaviva's *report, August 8, 1737, *loc. cit.*

⁴ PORTILLO, XVII., 336.

⁵ “ *Egli [Acquaviva] ha ben compreso la forza di quest'argomento, quale non ha saputo altrimenti eludere che col supporre essere il Concordato stato sottoscritto dal sig. card. Alberoni senza plenipotenza del Re; il che è falsissimo, non pure per quello che nello stesso trattato apertamente si legge, ma per ciò che ne ha asserito lo stesso sig. card. Alberoni, il quale interpellato su questo articolo ha risposto aver'ancora appresso di se nelle sue carte la controversa plenipotenza, e quando anche questo non

on August 23rd the Holy See, reluctantly and solely in order to prevent a greater evil, more especially the royal patronage, consented to a taxation of the clergy of Spain for a period of five years,¹ there seemed to be at last a serious prospect that a settlement agreeable to both parties would be speedily arrived at. On August 24th Harrach wrote that Cardinal Corsini and the Secretary of State had told him that a compromise was assured but that two or three months might pass before its conclusion.²

fosse, basta a persuaderne il solo riflettere che in scquela del suddetto trattato finirono allora le controversie colla Spagna. Non so poi come siansi costì potuti così facilmente lusingare di un prossimo accomodamento, mentre, qualunque cosa abbiano scritto alla corte i sig. cardinali Spagnuoli, è certo che, se bene di tutti gli altri punti siasi in un certo modo convenuto, nulladimeno in niente si è potuto ancora convenire con i tre sig. cardinali deputati circa l'articolo delle contribuzioni degli ecclesiastici." Cifa al Guiccioli, August 10, 1737, *loc. cit.*

¹ *Cifra al Guiccioli, August 24, 1737, which says on the subject of the tax on the clergy that without this concession no settlement would have been reached. "É stata questa l'unica remora e l'unica difficoltà che per tre mesi" made us despair of success. "Dopo avere assolutamente rigettate molte altre esorbitantissime pretensioni, che in questa materia si formavano da' regii ministri, ha [the Pope] creduto non poter dispensarsi di conceder loro qualche cosa per evitare un male molto maggiore; si è considerato inoltre, che non potendosi in altro modo metter argine al gravissimo inconveniente de regii patronati, da cui tanto pregiudicio ne proveniva non meno agli ecclesiastici di cotesto regno che alla Sede Apost., conveniva in ogni maniera andarvi al riparo anche in qualche temporaneo aggravio degli ecclesiastici medesimi." However, the tax must not be permanent (*loc. cit.*). According to Cardinal Spinelli's *Giornale, the last decisive session of the Congregation of Cardinals took place on August 24, 1737; Acquaviva showed himself satisfied though he still made a few objections; see *Nunziat. di Spagna*, App. III., *loc. cit.*

² Harrach's *report, August 24, 1737, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. A "piano e parere sulle pretensioni della corte di Spagna per la Congregazione" of August 12 in *Cod.* 1183, p. 187 *seqq.*, Corsini Library, Rome. As Acquaviva was afraid the Pope

The final decision of the Madrid Government arrived on September 16th, sooner, that is, than had been expected.¹ Thereupon the five Cardinals of the committee drew up the provisional text of the concordat.² However, great difficulty was still found in determining the amount of the tax with which the King desired to burden his clergy.³ The course of the negotiations was smoothed for Acquaviva by the circumstance that he had bribed some of the papal officials who let him see the letters of the Secretariate of State—even those in cypher!⁴ With such officials, who represented an after-effect of the era of Coscia, it is surprising that the terms of the concordat arrived at in the negotiations between Acquaviva and the Secretary of State, Cardinal Firrao, were at all supportable for the Holy See. On September 21st the concordat was handed to Acquaviva in its definitive form.⁵ However, fresh difficulties arose at the last moment.⁶ On September 26th a last lively discussion of two hours' duration took place at the palace of the Quirinal between the Secretary of State, Firrao, acting as the Pope's plenipotentiary, and Cardinal Acquaviva as representing Philip V.⁷; at the end of this final exchange of views both signed the new concordat.⁸

would die before long he urged his Government at least to make sure of what had been attained, according to the old Spanish proverb: "Tornar y pedir"; see his *report, August 29, 1737, Simanças Archives.

¹ Cardinal Spinelli's *Giornale, *loc. cit.*

² PORTILLO, XVII., 336.

³ *Ibid.*, 336 *seqq.*; Harrach's *reports, August 31 and September 1, 1737, *loc. cit.*

⁴ PORTILLO, XVII., 338 *seqq.*

⁵ Cardinal Spinelli's *Giornale, *loc. cit.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, September 24, 1737.

⁷ " *He encontrado tales dificultades que ciertamente puedo asegurar a V. S. que he tenido en que merecer para superarlas . . . y finalmente después de dos horas de contraste, se ha executado este acto." Acquaviva a Seb. de la Quadra, dat. Roma, 1737, Septiembre 26, Simanças Arch.

⁸ The two originals of the concordat are still preserved, at Madrid in Arch. Histórico Nacional (Estado, 3, 565), and at Rome,

The stipulations, with which both parties seemed at first greatly satisfied,¹ comprised twenty-six articles. The first offered satisfaction to the Holy See for the measures that had been taken against the nunciature: the nuncio, his tribunal and his officials were to enjoy as previously and without the slightest curtailment, all their rights and prerogatives; all decrees to the contrary were to be abolished and everything was to be brought back to the conditions which obtained previous to the latest incidents, with the sole exception of the changes made by the present concordat; relations with the Holy See were to be resumed and papal Bulls and decisions in matrimonial questions were to be given effect as before. The other dispositions of special importance concerned the restriction of the right of asylum, the putting in force of several Tridentine decrees against the excessive number of clergy and the too frequent application of ecclesiastical censures. There followed a prohibition of temporary benefices which were in opposition with the very notion of a benefice, an order for the visitation of monasteries, the introduction of the *conkursus* for the collation of all parishes and the limitation of the practice of the Holy See of burdening with pensions the benefices of the assistant clergy. The prerogatives of the nuncio were curtailed. The lowering of the fees of the tribunal of the nunciature and the question of the King's general patronage were to be the subject of future arrangements together with other points which had formed the subject of negotiations by Villalpando during the pontificate of Clement XI. With regard to the share of the clergy in the burdens of the State, further taxation was deemed

Papal Secret Archives, AA Arm., I.-XVIII., 473. MERCATI collated his reprint with the latter (*Concordati*, 321 *seqq.*). It appeared in print at Madrid in 1738; copies in Simancas Archives and in Archives of the Madrid nunciature (see PORTILLO, XVII., 325). The treasures of the latter collection have not yet been completely exploited; its transfer to Rome is being planned. On this concordat, see also Roda's *report, January 21, 1761, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

¹ See the evidence quoted by PORTILLO (XIX., 69).

necessary ; meanwhile an annual impost of 150,000 Spanish ducats was granted for a term of five years. The concordat was ratified by Philip V. on October 18th, 1737, and by Clement XII. on November 12th.¹

There only remained the difficult problem of a settlement with the new King of Naples. When they broke off relations with the Holy See, the courts of Madrid and Naples had acted together : Philip V. refused to allow the nuncio to enter Spain, Charles III. expelled the nuncio from Naples ; like his father he too recalled his representative from Rome, compelled the Neapolitans and the Sicilians to leave the Eternal City and forbade all relations with the court of Rome. The intention was to extort far-reaching concessions by means of these provocative measures. Acting on the advice of anti-clerical elements, more especially that of Tanucci and Genovesi, Charles III. demanded the right of nomination to all episcopal sees and the collation to ecclesiastical benefices in his realm, the reduction of the number of monasteries, the restriction of the acquisition of property by mortmain, the suppression of the tribunal of the nunciature and of all judicial rights of the nuncio, and the investiture with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.² How greatly, then, those had deceived themselves who, as for instance Cardinal Lanfredini, had hoped that better days would dawn for the Church with the expulsion of the imperialists from Naples !³ The situation grew worse,

¹ MERCATI, *Concordati*, 327. The royal and the papal ratification are in the correspondence volume, 1737, p. 968, according to the report of November 14, 1737, Simancas Archives ; the former and the text are in the corresponding volume, p. 230, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

² BROSCH, II., 81.

³ Lanfredini's *letter of June, 1734, *Cod.* 1181, p. 123, Corsini Library, Rome. Cf. SENTIS, 187. Already at the time of Benedict XIII. the Spanish diplomatists had sought to rouse suspicions about the Bourbons. In a *letter to the Marquis de la Paz, of December 10, 1729, Cardinal Bentivoglio reports that he had told the Secretary of State that he should rejoice, for the sake of the Holy See, at the extension of the Bourbon power, " pues

not better, which is not surprising seeing that the youthful King had for his advisor Tanucci, a man who was perhaps the bitterest political enemy whom the Holy See ever encountered in a Catholic State.¹

The negotiations for an agreement with Naples, difficult as they were in themselves on account of the heavy inroads into the Church's freedom and immunity by the secular power,² were rendered still more arduous as a result of the innovations introduced by Tanucci immediately after the seizure of the realm in 1734, to the injury of ecclesiastical rights.³ The King adopted whatever counsel his anti-clerical entourage gave him and tolerated the most grievous violations

bien conoce V. E. quanto importa al Papa y a la Iglesia que se introduzca en Italia este nuevo principado y tan grande principe hijo de un monarca de la España de la real sangre de Francia para tener a freno la potencia excesiva de la soberbia alemana y las continuas violencias y amenazas, con las quales los ministros cesareos conturban esta corte." How had Clement XI. been treated! Simancas Archives.

¹ Opinion of BROSCHI (II., 78). Cf. *Arch. Napolet.*, I., 373; III., 102, 211; IV., 365, 447; PICOT, III., 12.

² Count Harrach's *letter, September 7, 1737, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

³ On August 20, 1734, the Spanish nuncio, Vincenzo Alamani, *reported that he had complained to Patino that by his conduct with regard to ecclesiastical immunity and jurisdiction, Don Carlos was acting exactly like the imperialists. On November 17, Alamani reports: I complained to Patino about the violation of immunity in Naples, especially by the secretary, Tanucci. Patino said, "che Roma pretendeva sempre mille cose dal Re, ma che per altro S. M. non ne poteva ottener alcuna grazia dal Papa, non già per il buon cuore di N. S. sempre lo stesso verso il Re, ma per alcuni consiglieri poco inclinati verso questo corona ed impegnati ad opporsi a tutto quello, che il Re desidera: onde in avvenire non avrebbe S. S. udita più alcuna istanza da questa corte, dopo tante prove, che aveva avute della poca sorte, che incontravano le premure della M. S." I replied that the Pope was still full of vigour and would not let himself be ruled by his advisers. *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 224A, Papal Secret Archives.

of the Church's immunity.¹ There can be no doubt that his aim was to establish in Naples the anti-ecclesiastical principles of Gallicanism.

After settling with Spain, the cardinalitial Congregation began its examination of the Neapolitan affair that very same day, August 23rd, 1737.² In 1736 Clement XII., who was anxious for an agreement with Naples, had laid down as preliminary conditions for investiture, the admission of the nuncio at Naples, the opening of the tribunal of the nunciature and the withdrawal of several laws hostile to the Church. The Neapolitan Government had replied that the Holy See would obtain neither the right of collating to benefices nor the withdrawal of decrees contrary to ecclesiastical immunity, unless the investiture was granted: if it was refused now, it would never again be asked for.³ Thus Spinelli's negotiations proved fruitless. At this time Celestino Galliani, the Neapolitan Cappellanò Maggiore, came to Rome for the purpose of lending support to Acquaviva. Both stated that though they were empowered to listen to suggestions, they were not authorized to make any themselves. It soon became evident that what the new masters of Naples aimed at was not only to uphold the encroachments of the imperial Government, but to add to them.⁴

¹ SCHIPA, *Regno di Napoli al tempo di Carlo Borbone*, Napoli, 1904, 206, 210.

² Cardinal Spinelli's **Giornale, Nunziat. di Spagna*, App. III., Papal Secret Archives.

³ Cf. the reports quoted by SENTIS (190).

⁴ In a **retrospect* on the previous negotiations we read: "Ma di molto è poi cresciuto il nostro rammarico quando ci siamo accorti esser fisso nell' animo di quel nuovo ministero non pure di niente rilassare dalle passate usurpazioni sopra i diritti della Chiesa, ma anzi di crescerle a dismisura di maniera che si era qui seriamente incominciato a pensare di procedere per le vie canoniche" (Cifra al Valenti, November 23, 1737, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 429, *loc. cit.*). Cf., *ibid.*, the enumeration already made on April 11, 1737, of the "**Aggravii che soffre nel regno di Napoli la giurisdittione eccles., presentati per ordine di Clemente XII. al card. Acquaviva per mezzo del Card. Spinelli.*"

Galliani had looked for energetic support by Acquaviva, but the latter had received a different commission from his court, one that was much more to his liking than the Neapolitan disputes. He was charged to obtain a marriage dispensation for Maria Amalia, fourteen-year-old daughter of Frederick Augustus, King of Poland, Don Carlos' prospective bride, and to make sure that she would meet with a suitable reception on her passage through the Papal States. Accordingly Galliani was left to his own devices in his negotiations with Ferroni, the Assessor of the Inquisition, who was subsequently joined by Tria, Bishop of Larino.¹

Galliani's position became still worse in the course of the negotiations with the Cardinals which opened on September 6th. These soon showed that Spinelli was on the Pope's side whilst Acquaviva interested himself chiefly in the affairs of the new Queen of Naples. On December 1st, 1737, the Cardinal obtained the necessary dispensation. When the Queen's reception came to be discussed, the question of the investiture cropped up once more with the result that ecclesiastico-political discussions sank into the background. The Tuscan envoy was of opinion that it was the intention of the Holy See to transfer these negotiations to Madrid as agreement with Tanucci seemed out of the question.² Although Molina too wished the negotiations to be transferred to Madrid, the opposition of the Neapolitan Government rendered such a step impossible. The Queen of Spain urged Don Carlos to come to terms in order that he might at last obtain investiture. At the very first audience of the new Madrid nuncio, Silvio Valenti Gonzaga, at the end of November, 1737, she brought up this topic, urging that Rome also should show an accommodating disposition for, "one hand washes the other and both wash the face."³ At a second audience she reverted

¹ SCHIPA, 219 *seq.* On Galliani, *cf.* C. PASCAL, *Vita ed opere dell'abate Galiani*, Napoli, 1885.

² SCHIPA, 221.

³ Valenti's *report, dated Madrid, November 26, 1737, *Nunzial. di Spagna*, 244A, Papal Secret Archives.

to the subject of the investiture.¹ Clement XII. was willing to grant it but only on condition that a stop was put to anti-ecclesiastical tendencies at Naples. This it seemed impossible to obtain. As undisputed master of the two Sicilies, Charles III. looked on investiture as a mere formality which could well be dispensed with. He let it be known that it must be given without condition ; if it was denied, he could do without it nor would future rulers of Naples ever ask for it.

For fear lest so dangerous a precedent should be established, Clement XII. felt that he ought to yield.² In the hope that Charles III. would make concessions in the politico-ecclesiastical sphere,³ he resolved, on May 10th, 1738, to sign the Bull of investiture which was issued on the 12th.⁴ On the same day Maria Amalia set out from Dresden for Italy. The Pope arranged a splendid reception for her in the Pontifical States. At the frontier of Ferrara, whither Acquaviva had betaken himself, she was welcomed by Cardinal Mosca in the name of the Pope ; at Pesaro she was greeted by Cardinal Albani and at Velletri Cardinal Corsini presented her, by order of Clement XII., with valuable presents, a diamond and two magnificent mosaic pictures.⁵

Nuncio Simonetti was now able to return to Naples whilst Acquaviva became the representative of the King of Naples in Rome. The Cardinal showed a readiness to make concessions of such importance in questions touching the Church that

¹ Valenti's *report, dated Madrid, December 1, 1737, *ibid.*

² BROSCHE, II., 81.

³ *Brief to " Carolus utriusque Siciliae rex ", May 20, 1738, *Epist.*, VIII.-X., 195, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ *Bull.*, XXIV., 377 *seqq.* ; NOVAES, XIII., 276 *seq.*

⁵ MURATORI, XII., 191 ; *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4^a, Serie XX., 167 *seqq.*, 170 *seq.*, 172 ; SCHIPA, *loc. cit.*, 222 ; *Lettere spett. al viaggio d'Italia di Maria Amalia di Sassonia sposa di Carlo Borbone Re di Napoli scritte a Gaetano Boncompagno duca di Sora e princ. di Piomb. l'a, 1738, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, E. 126-7 ; review, *Il Muratori*, I., Roma, 1892, 42 *seqq.*, 47 *seqq.*, 93 *seqq.* ; P. ANTOLINI, *Passaggio e dimora di Maria Amalia di Polonia per andare sposa a Carlo III.*, Argenta, 1900.

Galliani spoke of treason.¹ However, the latter need not have felt anxious for there was no change in Tanucci's policy ; that minister continued his policy, which was most detrimental to the Holy See and in which he had the support of officials who were, to a man, adherents of Giannone. Clement XII. continued in his hope of concluding a satisfactory concordat with Naples, so as to have at least one secure point which Tanucci would not be able to circumvent,² but all was in vain.³ In a detailed private letter to Charles III's confessor, the Pope, now on the brink of the grave, commanded the latter, in contrast to the ruler's evil counsellors, to draw the King's attention to the grievous wrong he was doing by his violations of the Church's freedom and jurisdiction.⁴

Just as Charles III.'s investiture did not lead to peace with Naples, so did the concordat of 1737 fail to bring about peace with the Government of Madrid. For this failure the Pope was not to blame for Clement XII. carried out loyally all the concessions embodied in that treaty. By a Brief of November 14th, 1737, he restricted the right of asylum in Spain whilst a circular to the Spanish hierarchy confirmed and explained the concordat. Orders were issued for the visitation of monasteries.⁵ Appropriate instructions were likewise sent to the new Madrid nuncio, Silvio Valenti Gonzaga,⁶ who was at last able to leave Bayonne and to present himself at Madrid.⁷ However, on December 1st, 1737, the Infante Luis was appointed ecclesiastical administrator

¹ SCHIPA, 222 *seq.*

² BROSCHE, II., 81.

³ Cf. GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 35, and the complaints about the violation of ecclesiastical liberty in Naples in *Cifre al Valenti, June 17 and July 2, 1739, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 429, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ *Private letter to the "archiepiscopus Nisibis utriusque Siciliae et Hierosol. regis confessarius", dated 1739, III., Non. Majas a.g., in *Epist.*, VIII.-X., 721, *ibid.*

⁵ HERGENRÖTHER, in *Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht.*, XI. (1864), 252 ; PORTILLO, XVIII., 314, 316 *seqq.*

⁶ *Brief of November 14, 1737, *Epist.*, VI., 485, *loc. cit.*

⁷ PORTILLO, XVIII., 312.

of Toledo but Bernardo Froilano de Saavedra, titular Archbishop of Larissa, was assigned to him as ecclesiastical co-administrator.¹ On December 20th, at Philip V.'s request, Molina obtained the ardently desired red hat as a crown cardinal.²

To all these favours the Spanish Government replied with base ingratitude. The concordat favoured Spain more than Rome³; but as not all demands had been conceded, efforts were made to extort them by every possible means, especially the general right of patronage for the King and a higher taxation of the Spanish clergy.⁴ But in spite of these and other difficulties,⁵ the treaty was duly published and many, though not all, of its clauses were carried into effect.⁶

Given the ecclesiastico-political tendencies at Madrid, the position of the papal representative at Madrid remained a very difficult one, for Molina was bent on extorting the universal royal patronage.⁷ In the opinion of the nuncio's

¹ HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.*, 252.

² Count Harrach's *report, December 20, 1737, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

³ " Più utile per la corte di Spagna che per quella di Roma," says A. MOCENIGO, *Relazione di Roma* (see above, p. 338, n. 4).

⁴ PORTILLO, XVIII., 315 *seqq.*, 319 *seqq.*

⁵ Difficulties arose at once with regard to the opening of the nunciature. Cf. *the reports of December 9 and 15, 1737, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 244A, *loc. cit.*

⁶ PORTILLO, XVIII., 324. In his essays published in the review *Razón y Fe*, XVII., 325 *seqq.*; XVIII., 311 *seqq.*; XIX., 60 *seqq.*, 68 *seq.*, based on a profound and extensive study of the Archives, Portillo refutes most successfully the assertions of BLAS JOVER ALCAZAR (*Examen del Concordato*, Madrid, 1747), Gregorio Mayans y Siscar and other Spanish regalists about the concordat of 1737: " que fué nulo, que España accedió forzada, que no se publicó como debiera, que el Papa no sólo no cumplió lo prometido sino que repetidas veces faltó a sus cláusulas, que fué un Concordato vago, diminuto e ineficaz." Cf. also HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.*, 253.

⁷ A *Cifra to Nuncio Valenti of September 18, 1738, says: " In risposta di quanto V. S. Ill^{ma} . . . N. S. sente con gran dispiacere le difficoltà che s'incontrano sul bel principio nella materia

auditor, Molina's suggested compromise at the close of 1738 only meant that the Holy See should simply do whatever Madrid wanted: Molina went far beyond the stipulations of the concordat.¹ When the auditor declared that it was impossible to consider such proposals, Molina lost his temper, but calmed himself with the thought that it would be possible to find another formula for a compromise.² However, there was nothing to hope for in this direction as Molina worked for the introduction of Gallican principles, though it was made quite clear to him that as a result of these principles religion had become a mere name in France. Even the remonstrances addressed to him as Bishop of Malaga, to the effect that the application of these principles in France had reduced the Bishops to the rank of slaves of Parliament failed to make a lasting impression.³ To a fresh proposal,

del Patronato suddetto, e che invece di dar esecuzione al Concordato, si vuole impugnare ciò ch'è stato stabilito. Questa materia è la più importante che sia nel Concordato; per questa si è condesceso a molte altre determinazioni purtrotto pregiudiziali, e senza questa non si sarebbe accordata alcuna cosa; e perciò è il più grave affare che possa occorrere a V. S. Ill^{ma} nell'esercizio del suo ministero, e Sua St^a l'ha volentieri confidata alla sua destrezza e zelo." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 429, Papal Secret Archives.

¹ " *La maniera dell'accomodamento sarebbe quella di fare tutto quello, che loro vogliono, senza neppure stare all'ultimo Concordato. Io procurai di fargli [Card. Molina] vedere l'irragionevolezza di tutto ciò," says a letter of the Auditor, Cervini, to the Cardinal Secretary of State, dat. Madrid, September 20, 1738. *Cod.* 1184, p. 85, Corsini Library, Rome.

² Cervini's *report, October 20, 1738, *ibid.*, p. 87.

³ On November 29, 1738, Cervini *reports: " I was with Molina for four hours on account of the book on the patronage and I showed him that its object was to introduce into Spain the French legal principles, facendo gli insieme riflettere, che da tale introduzione potevano attendirsi li medesimi pregiuditii, che si deplorano in Francia, dove la religione è ridotta a un puro nome, con fargli inoltre riflettere, a qual grado di suggestione erano ridotti i vescovi di Francia da' parlamenti." The Cardinal seemed to be moved by my words. *Ibid.*, p. 89 *seqq.*

for a compromise made by the nuncio in July, 1739, Molina replied in terms which the auditor described as "unseemly, impertinent and scandalous".¹ The nuncio had given his approval to the draft of a compromise; during the oral discussion of the document the auditor told Molina that if Madrid desired to make its own Canon Law, it would be better to break with Rome and to cease talking of a compromise; if things went on as at present, in fifty years the Spanish liberties would far exceed the Gallican ones.² The Pope was well aware of the rôle which material interests played in Madrid, hence he sought to win over the Government by concessions in this field. In 1707 Philip V. had united the administration of the Order of Montesa with the council of the military Orders, thereby effecting a centralization of the administration which was very advantageous to the Government: on May 22nd, 1739, Clement XII. confirmed the royal disposition. In the course of the same year he allowed the King to raise two million *reals* from the property of the Church within his dominions.³ At the same time, by a Brief of January 27th, 1740, the Pope sought to remove the obstacles which prevented an understanding on the question of patronage⁴; it was Clement XII.'s last Brief to Madrid.

¹ " *Una risposta impropria, impertinente e scandalosa." Cervini, July 11, 1739, *ibid.*, p. 91.

² Cervini's *report of July 25, 1739, on his three hours' conversation with Molina, in which he says: " Alla fine arrivai a dirgli, che se volevano fare li canoni a modo loro, era meglio separarsi intieramente da Roma e non parlare più d'accomodamento, . . . che io haverei scommesso quanto avesse voluto, che tra 50 anni, se le cose continuavano nella maniera cominciata, le libertà della chiesa Spagnola sarebbero molto maggiori di quelle della chiesa Gallicana." *Ibid.*, p. 93.

³ HERGENRÖTHER in *Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, XI., 253.

⁴ **Epist.*, VIII.-XI., 658, Papal Secret Archives.

CHAPTER III.

NOMINATIONS OF CARDINALS—ACTIVITY WITHIN THE CHURCH— PROHIBITION OF FREEMASONRY—RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN FRANCE AND GERMANY—THE MISSIONS.

(1.)

It is in the very nature of the Primacy that the Pope should be absolutely free in the choice of the highest dignitaries of the Roman Church, who are to be his true and closest advisers, so that any dispositions that may exist concerning such a choice, can only be directive, but never binding ones. When the Council of Trent made it an obligation for the Head of the Church to bestow the purple on men of all nations whenever possible, it at once restricted this direction by adding: "in so far as the Pope has opportunities to become adequately acquainted with foreigners, and has solid reasons for giving them his full confidence."

Given the hostility to the Church which was becoming increasingly strong even in countries that had remained Catholic, the Pope, unfortunately, could only give his confidence to a very few national and crown Cardinals proposed to him by the Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain. The above-named Powers based their right of presentation on their rôle of protectors of the Church. However, these patrons threatened more and more to become oppressors, and they only proposed men who had the interests of the State far more at heart than the welfare of the Church. Hence it was natural that the Popes should seek to restrict the Powers' right of nomination, a right now also claimed by Portugal, Poland and Venice, and that they occasionally ignored it, or put off the promotions of foreigners proposed for the cardinalate with a view to securing some advantage for the Church by their eventual surrender.¹

¹ ROTTMANNER, *Der Kardinal von Bayern*, 33 seqq.

It is in this light that Clement XII.'s creations of Cardinals must be viewed. Whereas other Popes had taken into account the nominations made by the Great Powers at the outset of their pontificate, Clement XII. nominated for a considerable time only Cardinals of Italian nationality, although the ranks of the foreigners were being thinned by death. Clement's selection was likewise influenced by the advice of Cardinal Corsini who wished to make sure of a party at the next conclave. But the chief consideration that guided the Pontiff was that in view of the hostile attitude of the Catholic Powers, it was expedient, as much as possible, to keep their representatives out of the Sacred College.

At the first creation, on August 14th, 1730, Neri Corsini was named *in petto*¹; at the second, on October 2nd, 1730, the purple was bestowed on the nuncios of Madrid, Vienna and Paris, the Florentine Alessandro Aldobrandini, the Genoese Girolamo Grimaldi, Bartolomeo Massei of Montepulciano and the Secretary of Propaganda, the Roman Bartolomeo Ruspoli.²

¹ Published on December 11, 1730: *[Declaravit card. reservatum] "Magistrum Nereum Corsinum Protonot. Apost. et a secretis libellorum supplicum, Nostrum secundum carnem ex germano fratre nepotem, cuius optimam indolem atque erga doctrinas et bonas artes ingenuum studium vitæ integritati coniunctum rerumque gerendarum usum in publicis negotiis apud externos etiam principes transigendis fore speramus in huius S. Sedis obsequiis ac ministeriis utilem et opportunum, cum præsertim plerique vestrum in congregationibus exploratum suo apud Nos testimonio comprobant." *Acta consist., Barb.* 2922, Vatican Library.

² GUARNACCI, II., 605 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 246 *seqq.*; MARCHESI BUONACCORSI, 503 *seq.* Al. Aldobrandini was nuncio in Naples, 1708-1713, in Venice, 1713-1720, then in Spain; G. Grimaldi in Brussels, 1706-1712; in Poland, 1712-1721; then in Vienna; B. Massei since 1722 in France. A favourable appreciation of the above-named in Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, December 7, 1730 (Simancas Archives), and in *that of Cardinal Cienfuegos, July 21, 1731 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). On B. Ruspoli, *cf.* SFORZA-RUSPOLI,

The greatest dissatisfaction with these nominations was shown by the Portuguese Government which had broken off diplomatic relations already under Clement XI. on account of the Lisbon nuncio, Vincenzo Bichi, having been passed over. This abnormal situation had continued under Innocent XIII. and Benedict XIII., to the very great injury of the Church in Portugal. Accordingly, in order to prevent greater evils, Clement XII. was inclined to buy peace with Bichi's elevation, though on condition that the latter apologized for his disobedience. Negotiations conducted through Cardinal Pereyra had yielded no result by the end of 1730.¹ A happy issue was hoped for in the spring of 1731,² but this was only secured in October, when the Pope's demand that Bichi should leave Lisbon and justify himself at Florence was agreed to. This justification could only take the form of excuses, and the Pope was satisfied with these, in spite of the opposition of the "Zelanti".³ On September 24th, 1731, Bichi at length obtained the purple. With him were named Giuseppe Firrao, a Neapolitan, who had been appointed to succeed Bichi as nuncio in Portugal, the Maestro di Camera Sinibaldo Doria of Genoa, the Florentine Carmelite and Bishop of Arezzo, Gian Antonio Guadagni, and the *Datarius*, Antonio Saverio Gentili.⁴ Public opinion was unanimously favourable to the new Cardinals.⁵

J. *Marescotti*, Firenze, 1914, 42. *Original of Ruspoli's nomination to the cardinalate in Ruspoli Archives, Rome.

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, December 16, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. *Ibid.*, *Proposizioni che si fanno parte del Re di Portogallo alla S. di N. S. P. Clemente XII. mandate dal s. card. Pereira per sedare le correnti emergenze tra quella e questa corte.

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, April 21, 1731, *ibid.*

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, September 22, 1731, *ibid.*

⁴ GUARNACCI, II., 624 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 251 *seqq.*

⁵ In his *letter of September 29, 1731, Cardinal Cienfuegos describes them thus: Doria: "uomo di ottimi costumi e di prudenza"; Firrao: "uomo di dolci e illibati costumi, savio, fornito di capacità, di uno zelo regolato dalla prudenza";

October 1st, 1732, saw the reception into the Sacred College of the Neapolitan Trojano Acquaviva de Aragona, *Maggiordomo* to the Pope; and of Agapito Mosca of Pesaro, a relative of Clement XI. whom the Pope held in the highest veneration.¹ These new Princes of the Church also enjoyed an excellent reputation.²

The year 1732 witnessed two creations of Cardinals. In the first, on March 2nd, Domenico Rivera of Urbino, Secretary of the Consulta, received the red hat at the request of James III.³ At the second, on September 28th, the elevation took place of the Pope's auditor Marcello Passari, a Neapolitan

Guadagni: "religioso rigido ed ottimo vescovo"; Gentili: "è dotto, applicato indefessamente al suo uffizio. Il costume suo è illibato, il tratto dolce e santo senza affettazione" (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). On Gentili, *cf.* above, p. 339.

¹ The Pope's *address in *Acta consist.*, *Barb.* 2923; he creates "Acquaviva archiep. Lariss. Praef. Pal., conspicuis huius S. Sedis ministeriis laudabiliter functum, cui generis claritatem et domestica virtutis exempla, Francisci praesertim card. patru sui, ad res pro Dei gloria et s. Ecclesiae rationibus bene gerendas novo incitamento futura plane confidimus," and "Agapitum Mosca cler. Camerae, in obeundis muneribus ab eadem S. Sede sibi demandatis cum laude probitatis, integritatis prudentiaeque versatum, propinquum f. r. Clem. XI." (Biblioteca Vaticana). *Cf.* GUARNACCI, II., 64 *seqq.* CARDELLA, VIII., 257 *seqq.*; MARCHESI BUONACCORSI, 515 *seq.* Already in the former promotion Cardinal Albani had used all his influence on behalf of Mosca; see Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letter quoted in the preceding note.

² On October 4, 1732, Cardinal Cienfuegos *reports: [Acquaviva] "in ogni occupazione ha dato segni di un uomo savio ed amante del giusto"; [Mosca] "dotato di sufficiente capacità e dottrina, è ritirato, fa una vita di ottimo e esemplare ecclesiastico." Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

³ " *Creavit card. Dominicum Riveram protonot. a Secretis Congreg. consultat. status, optimis studiis exultum ac diuturnis huius S. Sedis obsequiis summa cum fidei et consilii laude perfunctum" (*Acta consist.*, *Barb.* 2923, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* GUARNACCI, II., 654 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 261 *seq.*

subject, and that of the deserving Governor of Rome, Giambattista Spinola of Genoa.¹ Spinola's successor as Governor, the Bolognese Pompeo Aldrovandi, was likewise raised to the purple on March 24th, 1734, together with the Roman Serafino Cenci, Archbishop of Benevento, the learned Servite Pier Maria Pieri, a Sienese subject, and the Florentine Amadori Lanfredini. Cardinal Cienfuegos paid homage to the excellent qualities of the new dignitaries, but he also calculated that Corsini's party now disposed of seventeen votes, so that it could exercise the right of exclusion at the conclave.²

After the deserving Archbishop of Naples, Giuseppe Spinelli, had become a Cardinal on January 17th, 1735,³ Clement XII. at last named the first crown Cardinal when, on December 19th, 1735, at the instant request of Philip V., he granted the red hat to the latter's son, the Infante Luis, a minor.⁴

¹ GUARNACCI, II., 660 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 262 *seqq.* On Spinola, *cf.* MARCHESI BUONACCORSI, 509 *seqq.* On Passari (also spelt Passeri), Cienfuegos remarks in his *report of October 3, 1733, that he does not please the enemies of the Emperor; of all the papal Ministers he is the most trustworthy and he " *possa sull' animo del Papa* " more than anyone else; as his conclavist he contributed much to the election of Clement XII., for this reason the Pope has great confidence in him and wishes to have him constantly near him; he is a noted canonist, " *circospetto, accorto, prudente, moderato, sincero.* " Spinola is described by Cienfuegos as " *ottimo ecclesiastico* ", politically indifferent. Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

² GUARNACCI, II., 668 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 265 *seqq.* *Cf. Vita di Giac. card. Lanfredini*, Roma, 1761; Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of March 27, 1734 (*loc. cit.*) says: Aldrovandi is a good canonist, but he is selfish and favours France; Cenci " *buon ecclesiastico* ", a nominee of Corsini, is not exactly sagacious, but full of good will; Lanfredini: Learned, pious, " *scrupuloso* "; Pieri, nominated against Corsini's will, is " *di ottimi costumi* ".

³ GUARNACCI, II., 686 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 173 *seqq.* On Spinelli's activity as internuncio, 1721-5, and as nuncio in Brussels, 1725-1731, see above, p. 286 *seqq.*

⁴ GUARNACCI, II., 693 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 276 *seqq.* That the creation took place on December 19 (not in November,

In the course of the stormy year 1736, during which no nomination took place, the Pope had to learn by experience with what ingratitude Spain's ruler repaid his readiness to meet the King's wishes. Similar ingratitude was shown by the Portuguese Government. After the great concession implied in Bichi's elevation, King John V. had indeed revoked his decrees forbidding relations with the Holy See,¹ but the activity of the new nuncio, Gaetano de' Cavalieri, was at once impeded.² The Portuguese monarch, who at Mafra erected the Escorial of Portugal, and in the Lisbon Jesuit church of S. Roque built what is perhaps the most sumptuous chapel in the whole world, and who spanned the valley of Alcantara with a giant aqueduct, cherished the ambition that in regard to all round splendour and magnificence, his realm should vie with the greatest and most powerful European countries.³ The patriarchate of Lisbon also was to be provided with every imaginable wealth and the greatest pomp; consequently his aim was to obtain from Rome, either by persuasion or by violence, that the dignity of a Cardinal and of a *Legatus natus* of the Holy See should be attached to the patriarchate.⁴

as Cardella says (*loc. cit.*), appears from the *originals in *Acta consist., Cod.* 1276, Corsini Library, Rome. On the Brief directed to Philip V. on May 2, 1736, the following remark is made in **Epist.*, VI., 147: "Hoc et sequentia brevia pro dilatione pilei cardinalitii ob diuturnam moram mutatis quamplurimis rescripta fuerunt die 9 nov. 1737."

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, November 24, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

² " *Mem. del pontificato di Clemente XII.," Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.* By *Brief of December 3, 1731, Clement XII. had announced to the King the dispatch of the nuncio and at the same time granted him rich indulgences for the church of Mafra. *Brief of G. de Cavalieri's nomination, dated March 29, 1732, in *Epist.*, II., Papal Secret Archives.

³ Cf. SCHÄFER, V., 196 *seqq.*, 200 *seqq.*, 203 *seqq.*; M. B. BRANCO, *Portugal na epocha de Dom João V.*, Lisboa, 1886.

⁴ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, June 13, 1733, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. In order to win the favour of

Such a distinction for little Portugal met with opposition from the representative of the Emperor, Cardinal Cienfuegos, but in May, 1737, Corsini remarked that in order to put an end to the troubled religious situation in Portugal the Pope would probably be obliged to yield.¹ The procedure in the matter was examined by a Congregation of Cardinals which was in favour of granting the Portuguese demands.² In order to speed up the negotiations the Government of Lisbon threatened to break off diplomatic relations all through the summer and autumn.³ Clement XII. was anxious to avoid such an extremity. However, if he satisfied the wishes of little Portugal, he could no longer put off the other Catholic Powers⁴ which demanded, under threats, the creation at long last of crown Cardinals.⁵

In these circumstances the Pope resolved to proceed to the great promotion of December 20th, 1737, which, as Cienfuegos wrote, gratified the wishes of Europe.⁶ The following nominations were made : for the Emperor, Dominic Lamberg, Bishop of Passau ; for France, Henri Oswald de la Tour, Count of Auvergne, a member of the ducal family of Bouillon and Bishop of Vienne ; for Spain, Gaspar Molina, Bishop of

Clement XII. Portugal intervened on his behalf in the affair of Castro and Ronciglione in 1733 at Vienna, Madrid and London ; *cf.* the Pope's *letter of thanks in Italian to the King of Portugal, dat. Cal., August, 1733, in *Epist.*, VIII.-X., 477, *loc. cit.*

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, May 18, 1737, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, May 25, 1737, *ibid.*

³ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, June 29, August 24 and November 23, 1737, *ibid.* The concordat with Portugal of December 19, 1737, in MERCATI, 328 *seq.* On the whole dispute with Portugal, *cf.* also **Merenda, Mem.*, in *Cod.* 1613, p. 30 *seq.*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome.

⁴ Already at the beginning of 1735 the imperial and the French ambassadors brought pressure to bear upon their respective Cardinals ; see Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, February 26, 1735, *loc. cit.*

⁵ GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 28 *seqq.*, 31.

⁶ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, December 20, 1737, *loc. cit.*

Malaga ; for Poland, John Alexander Lipski, Bishop of Cracow ; for Venice, Carlo Rezzonico, Auditor of the Rota. For Portugal, the cardinalate was bestowed on the Patriarch of Lisbon, Thomas de Almeida, with a declaration that the dignity would remain with his successors in the patriarchate, but that it would be conferred after election to the patriarchate, at the first consistory to be held, and that in this way satisfaction had been given to the first royal nomination of a crown Cardinal.¹ These dispositions were, however, kept secret for fear lest other Powers should make similar demands.²

In 1738 Clement XII added two new members to the Sacred College. On June 23rd the nomination took place of Domenico Passionei, a man as learned and able as he was impulsive, who had acted as nuncio in Switzerland from 1721 to 1730, and at Vienna since 1731.³ Silvio Valenti

¹ Cf. GUARDACCI, II., 698 *seqq.* ; CARDELLA, VIII., 277 *seqq.* ; NOVAES, XIII., 267 ; MARCHESI BUONACCORSI, 501 *seqq.*, for Rezzonico. Cardella is mistaken when he says (282) that Raniero Dolci was also made a Cardinal at that time ; see the authentic **Acta consist.*, in *Cod.* 1279, Corsini Library, Rome. The Bull on the Patriarch of Lisbon in *Bull.* XXIII., 338 *seqq.*

² GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 32.

³ GALLETTI, *Mem. p. s. alla storia della vita di D. Passionei*, Roma, 1762 ; DOMINICUS CARD. PASSIONEUS, *Acta legationis helveticæ, 1723-9*, Romæ, 1738. In his **report* on the occasion of the proposal of Passionei as nuncio in Vienna, August 12, 1730, Cardinal Cienfuegos speaks of him as : " uomo molto dotto, amante delle lettere e pratico delle corti. È il più anziano nel servizio della S. Sede di tutti gli altri nunzi toltone l'attuale presso V. M. che è il più antico di tutti " (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). The nomination to the nunciature took place in October, 1730, but his departure was delayed ; Cienfuegos **reports* it to Vienna on March 17, 1731. He says in that report that Passionei has brought many books from Switzerland for there is nothing that he loves more than books. He speaks with the Pope and with the ministers " con grande libertà " ; he desires concord between the Emperor and the Pope and before his departure he made a retreat on the Soracte (*ibid.*). In May, 1738,

Gonzaga, who was named on December 19th, was likewise a diplomatist with an excellent record. He had represented the Holy See at Brussels from 1731 to 1736, and after that at Madrid.¹

Three further creations of Cardinals fall into the last years of Clement XII.'s reign. On February 23rd, 1739, he promoted Gaetano Stampa, Archbishop of Milan, who had been nuncio in Florence from 1718 to 1720, and from 1720 to 1735 at Venice, together with Pierre Guérin de Tencin, Archbishop of Embrun,² an ardent opponent of the Jansenists. On July 15th he promoted the Governor of Rome, Marcellino Cori³;

Camillo Merlino became Passionei's successor in Vienna. In September, 1738, the nuncio of Cologne (there since 1735), Fabrizio Serbonelli, was recalled; his predecessor, Iacopo Oddi (1732-5), had incurred the displeasure of the Emperor; see Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of December 18, 1734: "Si è poi destinato alla Nunziatura di Venezia Msgr. Oddi che è attualmente Nunzio di Colonia, ed il Papa mi ha fatto sapere che è venuto a questa deliberazione affine di levarlo da Colonia, giacchè V. M. aveva dei motivi di lagnarsi della di lui parzialità" (*loc. cit.*). On the short term of office of the Dominican, Ludwig Fliegen, as Papal Inquisitor in the archdiocese of Cologne, see PAUL, in *Annalen des Hist. Vereins für den Niederrhein*, LXXIV., 127 seqq. Passionei's cell at Camaldoli, near Frascati, is still shown; also his tombstone, which has been transferred to a kind of museum—the inscription on it reads: "Dominicus | tit. S. Bernardi ad Thermas | S. R. E. presb. card. Passioneus | ut intelligeret | et novissima provideret | hunc sibi locum paravit | A.D. 1739."

¹ L. M. Lucini's *letter to Cardinal Lambertini, December 20, 1738, *Cod. Ottob.* 3052, Vatican Library; GUARNACCI, II., 736 seqq.; CARDELLA, VIII., 291 seqq.; *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XLVIII., 265 seq. The Cardinal's great baroque palace in Mantua is to-day a granary.

² GUARNACCI, II., 743 seqq.; CARDELLA, VIII., 295 seqq. On Tencin, of whom we shall speak again when treating of Benedict XIV., see *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, XI.², 1345 seqq.; MASSON, *Mad. de Tencin*, Paris, 1909; DE HEECKEREN, *Lettres de Benoît XIV. au card. Tencin*, Paris, 1912.

³ GUARNACCI, II., 750 seqq.; CARDELLA, VIII., 298.

on September 30th, the Roman Prospero Colonna, who had held the office of an *Uditore di Camera* since the pontificate of Innocent XIII., and yet another Roman, Carlo Maria Sagripanti, who since 1730 had held the very difficult post of Treasurer-General.¹

By his Bull of October 5th, 1732, Clement XII. made some additions, though not of an important nature, to the legislation on the election of a Pope. An autograph letter of December 24th of the same year dealt with financial affairs during the vacancy of the Holy See ; for that reason it met at first with opposition on the part of several Cardinals.²

One canonization took place during the pontificate of Clement XII. Vincent de Paul, the Jesuit, John Francis Regis, Catherine Fieschi Adorno of Genoa and Juliana Falconieri of Florence were canonized on June 16th, 1737³ ; whilst Catherine Ricci and Joseph da Leonessa were beatified.⁴ The Pope also furthered the cultus of several other Saints.⁵

¹ GUARNACCI, II., 754 *seqq.* ; CARDELLA, VIII., 299 *seqq.*

² *Bull.*, XXIII., 443 *seqq.*, 456 *seqq.* Cf. EISLER, 151 ; SÄGMÜLLER, *Kirchenrecht*, 364 ; STUTZ, *Bischofswahlrecht*, 234 *seqq.* Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports on December 13, 1732 : " La bolla per il regolamento del conclave è già sottoscritta dai cardinali presenti," only Barberini, Albani and Cibo had at first refused to sign, later on, however, they complied ; Albani alone could not be persuaded to append his signature. In his *letter of January 3, 1733, Cienfuegos says that the " Regolamento " of December 24, 1732, ought to rescue the Camera Apost. from distress. Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

³ *Bull.*, XXIII., 232 *seqq.*, 246 *seqq.*, 261 *seq.*, 274 *seqq.* The canonization of the four Saints mentioned above was finally decided upon in the consistory of May 6, 1737. **Acta consist.*, in *Cod.* 1279, Corsini Library, Rome.

⁴ *Bull.*, XXIII., 287 *seqq.* ; NOVAES, XIII., 253 *seqq.*

⁵ NOVAES, XIII., 254 *seqq.*, 258 *seqq.* ; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, IX.², 1939. *Ibid.*, I., 110 ; VII., 1131, 1133, on the promotion of the devotion of the stations of the cross. A *Bull of Clement XII., May 25, 1735, grants permission to celebrate the commemoration of St. Columban " sub ritu primae classis ", Mehrerau Archives in the Museum at Bregenz.

The Pope approved the Augustinian Canons of Notre-Dame¹ founded by Pierre Fourier, confirmed the privileges of the Calced Mercedarians² and furthered the Order of the Bethlehemites and the Passionists.³

A proof that the Holy See never relinquished its watchfulness when there was question of the defence of Christianity was furnished by Clement XII.'s famous Constitution of April 28th, 1738, in which he condemned the Secret Society of Freemasons.⁴ The anti-Christian spirit of that Society, founded in London in 1717, is clearly shown forth in the constitutions published in 1723 by the Grand Lodge of London.⁵ The spirit, tendency and organization of this dangerous Society are described with classical terseness in the Bull of Clement XII. Its purpose, the Pope declares, was to unite in a strict and close association, with its own laws and statutes, men of every sect or religion who were satisfied with the outward semblance of a natural morality, and who bound themselves by a strict oath on the Bible and under exaggerated threats of punishment, to observe a rigorous secrecy concerning all that took place at their meetings. Clement XII. condemned these tendencies in the severest terms and inflicted on all members of the craft the penalty of excommunication, absolution from which was reserved to the Pope, and all Bishops and Inquisitors were instructed to act accordingly.

The reason for action was the fact that English Freemasonry spread rapidly abroad. The circumstance that England's power had just then become established in the Mediterranean favoured its progress in Italy also. A lodge was founded at Florence in 1733, and another in Rome two years later. The members of the latter lodge who, in point

¹ HEIMBUCHER, II.², 88.

² *Anal. iur. pontif.*, XIV. (1875), 825.

³ *Bull.*, XXIII., 246; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II.², 543; IX., 2100; HEIMBUCHER, III.², 295.

⁴ *Bull.*, XXIII., 366 *seqq.* As early as 1736 the Roman Inquisitors proceeded against the infiltration of Freemasonry into Bologna; cf. BATTISTELLA, *S. Officio*, Bologna, 1905, 150 *seq.*

⁵ *Stimmen der Zeit.*, XCII., 261.

of fact, were not numerous, were mostly partisans of the Pretender, Charles Edward, son of James III. There is no evidence that they engaged in any Jacobite activities, in fact the minutes of their meetings, which exist to this day, show that this is altogether unlikely.¹ Observance of the Bull of 1738 was further enforced in an edict published in Rome, and on January 14th, 1739, a fresh ordinance forbade membership of the craft under pain of death and confiscation of property and created a general obligation to bring its gatherings to the notice of the authorities.²

Freemasonry seemed more dangerous in Florence where it was believed that after the extinction of the Medici, it had found an adherent even on the throne in the person of the new Grand Duke, Francis Stephen of Lorraine, the husband of Maria Teresa.³ Freemasonry was brought to Florence by the English Resident, and before long it found adherents not only among the nobles and the burghers, but even among the clergy.⁴ One of its chief promoters was the celebrated antiquarian Baron Philip von Stosch of Küstrin, who had settled at Florence in 1731.⁵ Great activity on its behalf was also displayed by the poetaster Tommaso Crudeli, a native of Poppi, who as a teacher of languages had become friendly with the English Resident, and who had drawn attention to himself by his biting verses against the clergy. At the time when the papal Bull put an end to the lodge, Crudeli was its secretary. After that, no more meetings were held ;

¹ B. MARCOLONGO (*La Massoneria nel sec., XVIII.*, in *Studi stor.*, X., 413) complains of the lack of reliable information about the first Masonic Lodge in Rome. Such information, however, does exist in the work of WILLIAM JAMES HUGHAN, *The Jacobite Lodge at Rome, 1735-7*, Leicester, 1910.

² CRACAS, January 24, 1739. Cf. also REUSCH, II., 801; *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XIX., 291 seq.

³ This was reported by a Utrecht newspaper on August 3, 1737. *Acta hist. eccl.*, II., 1058.

⁴ F. SBIGOLI, *Tommaso Crudeli e i primi frammassoni in Firenze*, Milano, 1884, 68, 70 seqq.

⁵ On Stosch, cf. JUSTI, *Winkelmann*, II., 218.

the members were in fear of the Inquisition, which ordered the trial of Crudeli as the person most compromised. His arrest was obtained from Francis II. through an energetic letter of Cardinal Corsini, dated April 16th, 1739. Crudeli endured a painful confinement in the prison of the Florentine Inquisition until the new nuncio, Archinto, obtained his liberation by getting him transferred into the fortress of San Giovanni Battista. When final sentence was passed in 1740, it was to the effect that he should recant, after which he was to be banished to Poppi.¹

(2.)

Noailles' submission seemingly eliminated the last obstacle to religious peace in France, and there was reason to hope that his successor would, by resolute action, finally heal the discord. Whilst the Cardinals were still assembled in the conclave which elected Clement XII., Fleury decided to come to the Archbishop's assistance with a comprehensive law against the Jansenists,² which would make a Jansenist clergy impossible. No one, it was decreed, should obtain or retain either ordination or benefice without previously subscribing to the formula, and that unconditionally. Moreover, the Constitution *Unigenitus* was declared a law of the State, and

¹ A full account in Sbigoli's monograph quoted above, p. 412, n. 4. On the punishment of some Jews who had uttered heretical blasphemies (1736, 1738), see *Rev. juive*, II., 257. On the Inquisition in Sicily, see *Hist. Jahrbuch*, VIII., 345.

² March 24, 1730, text in PICOT, II., 276 *seqq.*; [NIVELLE], III., 339-341. Extract in SCHILL, 251; CAHEN, 40. Cf. LAFITAU, II., 289-295. A. MOCENIGO (*Relazione*, 18) says: "Il sempre mai lodevole card. Fleury, grand' esemplare nel ministero politico, ha saputo tener sempre soggetta la politica alla religione, senza mai confondere l'autorità spirituale con la temporale." Some letters of Dom Louvard, who had been incarcerated in the Bastille, 1728-1734, and one of the most violent opponents of the Bull *Unigenitus*, have been published by DENIS in *Archives de la France monastique*, IV. (1908-9), 498 *seqq.*

the clergy were empowered to instruct the faithful on their obligations in regard to it without thereby offending against the law of silence of the year 1720. Bishops were authorized to debar from ordination and benefices persons who had appealed, or written against the Constitutions; appeals on account of abuse of authority were to have no power of suspension in all cases mentioned in the law, nor could there be question of abuse of authority in them. Writings against the Bull or against the Bishops were forbidden.

The introductory part of the law proclaims that the King would see to the preservation of the principles of the realm and the Gallican liberties. He was convinced that the Parliaments would know how to differentiate between the enlightened zeal which defends these principles intelligently, and the suspicious intentions of those who merely look for a pretext to hinder the desired peace. However, the Parliament of Paris was not slow in perceiving that all this was aimed at its encroachments in the ecclesiastical sphere. The stormy scenes which marked the sitting of March 28th, 1730, made it clear that it would be impossible to obtain the registration of the royal declaration,¹ and when the King came in person in order to enforce it,² he had to witness the most emphatic manifestations of disapproval. President De Lesseville left his place in order to throw himself at the feet of the King, but was stopped by the Chancellor; however, when his turn came to state his opinion, he said that the man who had suggested a declaration of this kind was a traitor to his country and his sovereign; he begged His Majesty to have the matter discussed; he felt convinced that such a subject would be sent to the scaffold by a majority of votes. The Abbé Dalbert gave it as his opinion that the present disputes had no other aim than to rob the King of crown and sceptre; the declaration was the most unjust law that ever was proposed to a Prince. Finally, without having counted the votes, Chancellor D'Aguesseau proclaimed the order for

¹ [NIVELLE], III., 342; HARDY, 197.

² April 3, 1730, in CAHEN, 41; GLASSON, II., 84 *seqq.*

registration ; whereupon, one of the Presidents sent word to him that he should call for water to wash his hands with.¹

Long before March 24th, 1730, Fleury, who foresaw these conflicts, had endeavoured, by means of a strictly private letter, to bring pressure to bear on the most dangerous of all the parliamentary orators, the Abbé Pucelle.² The Jansenists, he wrote, were anything but martyrs ; they disguised their political aims and underground activities under the cloak of religion, and described as persecution what was no more than reaction against political and ecclesiastical rebellion.³ In existing circumstances nothing would be more perilous than a break with Rome, for all Europe was in danger of going up in flames. The Emperor would exploit such a rupture in his own interest and rouse the Pope still more against France. The country could not hope to gain anything by a quarrel with Rome, as experience had taught them only too often.⁴ If he himself was so keen on the Bull *Unigenitus*, it was because that document was now invested with everything that gave it force of law, and because it was not possible to take one's stand against it without overthrowing all the principles and foundations of ecclesiastical authority.⁵

Custom had it that after an order of registration from the throne, Parliament continued to sit in order to discuss the command. After the sitting of April 3rd, the first President, Portail, by royal command, ordered the House to rise. Parliament, however, was not in the habit of acquiescing in such orders in silence. On the other hand, Portail was determined not to tolerate a general meeting of the members of Parliament, all the more so as some fresh royal ordinances forbade any kind of discussion of the last session. On April 4th

¹ CAHEN, *loc. cit.* ; HARDY, 198 *seqq.*

² December 21, 1729, HARDY, 187-192.

³ *Ibid.*, 189 *seqq.*

⁴ " Il n'y a jamais rien à gagner pour nous dans les affaires avec Rome, et nous ne l'avons éprouvé que trop souvent." *Ibid.*, 190.

⁵ *Ibid.*

and again after Easter, viz. on 19th and 24th of the month, tumultuous scenes occurred, to which Portail put an end each time by suspending the sitting.¹ Two of the four sections of Parliament made a public protest,² whereupon the King summoned a deputation of the court of justice to Fontainebleau.³ He expressed his displeasure to the members and ordered them to insert in the minutes a report drawn up by royal authority. This put an end to the affair.

At a sitting on May 3rd a few speakers tried to make objections but the first President refused to let them speak, a step which caused general perplexity. At length octogenarian Lesseville rose to speak: "When the Emperor Theodosius, at the head of his army," he began. This opening sentence portended a lengthy oration. The alarmed assembly rose and fled. Theodosius and his army had decided the conflict over the declaration.⁴

The Parliaments of Rouen and Dijon also protested against the King's declaration of March 24th, but royal ordinances suppressed all further objections.⁵

The concluding paragraphs of the royal declaration were aimed at the Jansenist press. It was by no means the first law against the use of a weapon of which the sect had taken advantage from the first in masterly fashion, and to which it probably owed most of its successes.

On May 10th, 1728, Fleury had published a declaration against the printers of memorials, letters, ecclesiastical news or any other works dealing with ecclesiastical disputes, especially when these publications offended against Bulls received in the realm, the respect due to the Pope and the

¹ *Ibid.*, 200; [NIVELLE], III., 342-4.

² The "Chambres des enquêtes et requêtes", on April 22, 1730, [NIVELLE], III., 344.

³ May 1, 1730, *ibid.*, 345 *seq.* The Pope encouraged the King in his resistance: "Laicis magistratibus inhibeas, ut cognitionem arripiant," regarding the Apostolic Constitutions. *Brief to the King, September 11, 1730, *Epist.*, I.-II., Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ GLASSON, II., 92.

⁵ [NIVELLE], III., 351-9.

Bishops and the prestige of the King. Anyone convicted of having printed such writings was to be condemned to the stocks for the first offence and to the galleys in the event of a second offence. Vendors of such literature fell under the same penalties whilst the authors were threatened with temporary or even perpetual banishment.¹ The law produced no effect. "At Rouen the populace gathered round a vendor in the stocks, looking on him as a martyr. Perquisitions in printing houses yielded no results. In spite of the law a number of secret printing presses were at work. Printing was being done in back rooms, in barns, in cellars. If there was reason to fear the vigilance of Paris, printing was done in the provinces: if there was reason for fear in the provinces, printing was carried on abroad and the book was smuggled back to France. Both ecclesiastical communities and secular bodies had their secret presses; private persons, both in town and in the country, made use of hand presses."²

Among the various products of the press aimed at by Fleury's declaration of May 10th, 1728, its author must have had especially in view a weekly news sheet which had started publication in February, 1728, under the title of: "Ecclesiastical News or Documents for the Story of the Bull *Unigenitus*."³ Any opponent of Quesnel, whether a minister or an Archbishop, was fiercely attacked and ill-treated in those sheets.⁴ Even Parliament, on February 9th,

¹ ROCQUAIN, 49.

² "All these facts are gathered from the *règlement* of February, 1723, from the decisions of the Conseil of February 8, 1727, from the declaration of May 10, 1728, and from the decisions of the Conseil of May 29 and December 22, 1729, which are directed against printers and hawkers." ROCQUAIN, 50.

³ *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques, ou Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la bulle "Unigenitus"*, 1728-1803; index for the years 1728-1760 by Bonnemare, 1767. Cf. GASIER, I., 310 *seqq.*; SÉCHÉ, II., 70 *seqq.* First printed by Philippe Boucher; see *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, Paris, 1811 *seqq.*, V., 275.

⁴ LAFITAU, II., 275.

1731, ordered the sheet to be burnt¹ and in the following year royal decrees were issued against the journal.² The Archbishop of Paris and the Bishops of Laon, Marseilles and Chartres forbade it by special ordinances and on April 15th, 1740, Rome ordered it to be burnt at the stake.³ The police did their best to discover the editor, but the cunning of the party enabled the latter—the appellant priest Jacques Fontaine de la Roche⁴—to escape their search for the space of thirty years. The fact was that each of the itinerant vendors and booksellers only knew his own immediate employer so that an arrest could yield no far-reaching results.⁵ One day a lieutenant of police was searching a house for a secret printing press: he found nothing, but when he returned to his carriage he found on the seat a copy of the paper fresh from the press and not yet dry. Another time he was informed that at midday copy for the press would be smuggled through a specified gate. Every incoming and outgoing person was subjected to a rigorous search, yet the bearer of the manuscript managed to slip through—it was a dog with a false coat.⁶ The immense financial resources of the Jansenists made possible a most extensive diffusion of the paper; in this way the party was brought to the notice of a very wide public; even the above-mentioned condemnation by the Archbishop of Paris, which had to be read in the churches, contributed to this result.

¹ *Ibid.*, 315; FLEURY, LXXIII., 466 *seqq.*

² May 10 and 14, 1732, LAFITAU, II., 337.

³ [PATOUILLET], III., 175. Not only Patouillet (III., 155-176) condemns the paper in the strongest terms, but even moderate Jansenists and D'Alembert, in FELLER, *Biogr. universelle*, V., Besançon-Paris, 1839, 298 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, 299, the Archbishop of Auch on January 24, 1764.

⁴ *Cf.* *Biogr. universelle*, XV., 183 *seqq.*, on the men who continued the work, viz. Guenin (Saint-Marc) and Jean B. Mouton, *ibid.*, XIX., 15 *seqq.*; XXX., 346 *seqq.*

⁵ *Cf.* the illustration of the organization in CAHEN, 55.

⁶ GAZIER, I., 312.

As a matter of fact the spirit of opposition to the Government which the Jansenist weekly displayed, became ever more and more the spirit of the age, in which signs of the approaching revolution manifested themselves with increasing clearness. The chief organ of this tendency was the Parliament of Paris. As the royal laws were without authority unless they were registered by Parliament, its members, though originally they constituted no more than a judicial magistrature, became increasingly conscious of being a political corporation and the representatives of the people, hence that body began to consider itself as the real depository of sovereign authority. Gallicanism, too, had prepared the ground for the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, since according to the Gallicans, authority to govern is really vested in the universal Church, the Pope and the Bishops only exercising power in its name, so that a General Council may call the Pope to account and even depose him. To transfer this conception to the political sphere was only one step. The real supreme ruler, it was said, is the people, the King exercises authority solely by commission of the people, hence the people may call the King to account and send him to the scaffold.¹ Louis XV.'s Government showed great weakness in dealing with Parliament. Though it issued various decrees against the encroachments of the judicature in the political and ecclesiastical sphere, it lacked the courage to carry them into effect. It repeatedly banished the rebellious Parliament, but invariably entered into negotiations with it and ended by giving way.

Of the declaration of March 24th, 1730,² Lafitau says ³ that it might have restored tranquillity in Church and State. But though it was registered in the solemn sitting of April 3rd,

¹ " Au sein des Parlements, comme parmi les Jansénistes, c'était désormais un principe admis que la nation était au-dessus des rois comme l'Église au-dessus du Pape." D'ARGENSON, VIII., 153, in ROCQUAIN, 174.

² See above, p. 413 *seqq.*

³ II., 296.

the declaration, of which some of the Bishops took advantage, was dropped by the Government. At a later date the Parliament of Rouen said that it was not carried through on account of the opposition of the officials,¹ and it was even stated that Fleury went so far as to promise the first President of Parliament² that the Government would take no further steps in regard to the declaration.

Outwardly the Government seemed bent on energetic action when in the first period of Clement XII.'s reign, the question arose once more of the Breviary lessons of St. Gregory VII., which had aroused so much resentment among the Gallicans. One month after Clement XII.'s election, Bishop Caylus of Auxerre, who had already written to the King during the last days of Benedict XIII., appealed to the Assembly of the Clergy then sitting,³ to defend the rights of the Crown. The Bishops replied that they needed no such exhortations, least of all from a prelate who was at variance with ecclesiastical authority. They charged the Archbishop of Paris to make himself the interpreter of their annoyance with the Jansenist prelates.⁴ Caylus' answer came two years later in a letter to the Archbishop of Paris.⁵

Colbert of Montpellier, who on December 31st, 1729, had represented to the King the danger which these Breviary lessons constituted for the State, fared no better.⁶ Louis XV. passed on Colbert's letter unread to the Assembly of the Clergy.⁷ A committee appointed by the Assembly suggested on September 9th that they should protest to the King against Colbert's accusation that the clergy lacked zeal in the defence of the King's rights and that his letter contained schismatical,

¹ [NIVELLE], III., XV.

² April 16, 1730, *ibid.*; HARDY, 202.

³ August 18, 1730, *ibid.*, 669 *seqq.* (extract).

⁴ FLEURY, LXXIII., 288.

⁵ March 3, 1733, [NIVELLE], III., 673 *seq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 365 *seqq.* Cf. FLEURY, LXXIII., 292 *seqq.*; HARDY, 217.

⁷ Fleury himself presided and opened it with a speech. HARDY, 209 *seqq.*

not to say heretical, doctrines. A memorial to the King,¹ signed by five Archbishops, nine Bishops and nineteen Abbots, passes a severe condemnation on Colbert and the Jansenists and describes the Bull *Unigenitus* as a dogmatic statement accepted by the whole Church. The memorial renews the request for Provincial Councils, in the first instance against Colbert. This request was renewed in the speech of the Bishop of Nîmes, delivered in the presence of the King, at the close of the Assembly.² The Bishops, the speaker declared, could not possibly make concessions in matters in which the episcopal jurisdiction, which was itself based on the faith, was at stake. But at this time laymen rose up against Christ's teaching, simple priests against the Bishops and against a judgment of the Church, as when the parish priests of Paris publicly protested against the pastoral letter of their Archbishop. In order to escape ecclesiastical censures it was asserted that the condemnation of the 91st proposition of the Bull *Unigenitus* was contrary to the liberties of the realm and that excommunication tended to render the subjects disloyal to their sovereign; by means of false statements about ecclesiastical censures things had come to such a pass that every individual took it on himself to judge of the validity and justice of an excommunication.³

Great was Parliament's anger. At the end of some heated discussions it was decided⁴ to denounce the Breviary lessons of St. Gregory VII., but with regard to the memorial of the clergy and the speech of the Bishop, the assembly only requested the King to have those passages deleted which were damaging to the secular power.⁵ On this point they contented themselves with verbal representations to Louis

¹ September 11, 1730, FLEURY, LXXIII., 294-8; HARDY, 214 *seq.*

² September 17, 1730, FLEURY, LXXIII., 299-305. Cardinal de Bissy presented a memorial, dated December 15, 1730, for a council to be held at Narbonne. HARDY, 219 note.

³ FLEURY, LXXIII., 303 *seq.*

⁴ December 16, 1730, [NIVELLE], III., 346.

⁵ FLEURY, LXXIII., 305 *seq.*

XV.,¹ but a written complaint touched on two other topics : one concerned the prohibition to remonstrate against the declaration of March 24th, but this complaint could only be lightly touched upon on account of the obligation of silence ; on the other hand many arguments were put forward to substantiate the complaint² about the King's too frequent intervention in the administration of justice by reserving a number of decisions to himself.

The Government's answer was a sharp rebuke. Parliament, the King pointed out,³ existed for the purpose of giving judgment, but in so doing it was bound by the laws and was obliged to give an example of submission. If it complained of the frequency with which the King reserved particular cases to his own decision, Parliament had only itself to blame, for the reason was its setting aside of the law ; whatever was done in opposition to the royal ordinances was *ipso facto* invalid. After that Parliament assured the King of its obedience,⁴ though it had no intention to fulfil such a promise.

The royal rebuke did not refer exclusively to the magistrates' conduct in regard to the Breviary lessons. A much greater sensation had been caused by a dispute, the beginnings of which dated from the last month of Benedict XIII.'s life. Three Jansenist priests had been suspended from their ecclesiastical functions and deprived of their benefices by the Bishop of Orleans, for having refused to read a pastoral letter on the Council of Embrun. Relying on an ordinance which they had obtained from Parliament, the three priests took no notice of the Bishop's sentence, and when the latter called them to account, they again appealed to Parliament and sought to cover themselves with a memorial drawn up by forty advocates.⁵

¹ [NIVELLE], III., 349 n.

² Letter of complaint, January 9, 1731, *ibid.*, 346-9.

³ *Ibid.*, 349. There is a grave error in FLEURY'S translation (LXXIII., 307), when Parliament is made to complain " de evocationibus ' ad Romanam [!] curiam ' ".

⁴ FLEURY, LXXIII., 349 *seq.*

⁵ LAFITAU, II., 299 *seqq.* ; HARDY, 151 *seq.*

This memorial caused no small stir. In its principles were developed which were bound to lead to a complete overthrow of established conditions. In the view of the advocates, Parliament receives its power from the people and no man is above the decrees of Parliament. The King is described merely as the head of the nation, Parliament as the nation's senate and its members as assessors of the throne.¹ The Bishops are accused of making a tyrannical use of their authority. Parliamentary decrees, because of abuse of spiritual power, are effective in the face of ecclesiastical censures. Thereupon the Assembly represented to the King that if immediate steps were not taken against such things, faith would be in danger, deism and atheism would benefit by the spirit of independence which was daily gaining ground. The memorial of the advocates was suppressed by a decree of the royal council, whereupon the forty begged leave to expound their opinions more fully; this they did to the complete satisfaction of the representatives of the secular power, but they withdrew none of their attacks on ecclesiastical authority.²

The Bishops decided that they would not remain silent. The first to speak were the Archbishop of Embrun and the Bishop of Apt, but their manifestos were promptly suppressed

¹ [PATOUILLET], I., 336 *seqq.*; FLEURY, LXXIII., 471 *seqq.*; LAFITAU, II., 307 *seq.* The advocates affirm: "L'Église est dans l'empire et fait partie de l'État . . . l'autorité souveraine ne s'étend pas seulement au gouvernement temporel, la discipline ecclésiastique fait une partie intégrante de la police générale de chaque nation chrétienne," etc. (HARDY, 224). The suspended parish priests can "repren dre l'exercice de leurs fonctions sans être obligés de recourir à l'autorité ecclésiastique ni pouvoir en être empêchés que par un jugement définitif qui prononce qu'il y a abus" (*ibid.*, 225 *seq.*).

² FLEURY, LXXIII., 473 *seq.* The Pope expressed his displeasure; see Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report to the imperial Chancellery, December 30, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

by Parliament.¹ A few days later a protest was handed in against a letter of the Bishop of Laon. The protest contested the principle that spiritual authority could be regarded as jurisdiction, whereupon the Bishop forbade all his subjects to teach any view but his own. The Archbishop of Embrun had described the advocates as men "swollen with presumption and the heralds of heresy".² An instruction against them by the Archbishop of Paris also contained some vigorous expressions³; he even went so far as to qualify many of their assertions as heretical or favouring heresy. Those who felt hit by these accusations now appealed to Parliament, but the Bishops were determined to ignore any decisions by that body in matters of faith.⁴ Thereupon the Government stepped in; in a decree of March 10th, 1731, it sought to lay down the respective limits of the prerogatives of the spiritual and the secular power; at the same time a general silence was enjoined.⁵ However, the Bishops were of opinion that they could not be forbidden to speak on a dogma of the faith and that the declaration of March 24th, 1730, excepted them from the obligation of silence. Meanwhile they at least obtained the further explanations, viz. that in the recent decree of March 10th by "ecclesiastical" authority "episcopal" authority must be understood and that the authority of the Bishops was a real "jurisdiction"; further frontier disputes between Church and State would be examined by Cardinals Fleury, Rohan and Bissy, with the assistance of several high officials; however, these "spiritual surveyors" failed to arrive at a decision.⁶

The order of silence proved inadequate to restore peace. In a memorial to the King, Vintimille complained that Parliament had accepted an appeal because of abuse of

¹ January 29, 1731, FLEURY, LXXIII., 476; LAFITAU, II., 316 *seq.*; HARDY, 232.

² CAHEN, 42.

³ January 10, 1731, FLEURY, LXXIII., 476 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 477.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 477 *seq.*; HARDY, 234.

⁶ FLEURY, LXXIII., 483-5; CROUSAZ-CRÉTET, 44 *seq.*

authority against his pastoral letter ; he maintained every one of his accusations against the forty advocates, even that of heresy. Thereupon the Government reserved judgment on the appeal to itself, forbade all further controversy and withdrew the prohibition of the pastoral letter.¹

This roused the advocates. "If we are heretics," they said, "we are no longer fit to discharge our office." As a matter of fact they stopped work on August 25th. Two days previously 300 of their number, amid a huge concourse of the populace, had vainly presented themselves at the house of the first President and that of the Attorney-General to demand the suppression of the Archbishop's pastoral.² So provocative a conduct could not fail to produce its effect upon the opposition. If the King took no steps against the lawyers, Clement XII. threatened to intervene. Cardinal Rohan announced that he would no longer attend at court whilst Marshal Villars gave it as his opinion that one score of the lawyers should be hanged, another score should be sent to the Bastille and the rest into exile. Fleury contented himself with banishing ten of them, whereupon their associates announced their readiness for martyrdom. However, their eagerness for martyrdom was not so very great. As the weeks went by without the Government troubling about them, they decided to give in ; on November 26th they took up their duties once more and a royal ordinance succeeded in satisfying the Archbishop also.³ By itself, therefore, the revolt of the advocates was of no importance, but it was so by reason of its consequences. Parliament eagerly seized the opportunity to measure itself with the Government and to give it a proof of its power. The years 1731 and 1732 abound in friction between the crown and that influential body. Stormy scenes occurred even within Parliament itself. The first President, who was thought to be too favourably disposed towards the

¹ July 30, 1731, HARDY, 238.

² *Ibid.*, 239 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 240 *seqq.* On the satisfaction of Clement XII., see Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, December 29, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

Government, was the object of downright insults whereas the leaders of the opposition party were extolled as heroes, as "Romans" and "Spartans". As usual the most fiery of them all was the Abbé Pucelle. On July 30th he plainly stated that the source of all the mischief lay in the training given to the King by Fleury; that the barricades round the throne must be removed, for the King was surrounded by a handful of Bishops and Cardinals who only sowed dissension and roused the King against Parliament.¹

What the magistrates thought of the relations between Church and State appears from a resolution of September 7th, 1731, which reasserts the Gallican theses of 1682 with the following additional paragraph: "The secular power alone possesses jurisdiction, including the right to use visible, external coercive force in regard to the King's subjects. The ministers of the Church are accountable to the secular power, that is, for the exercise of the jurisdiction which they have from the King, to the King himself and in case of abuse of official authority to the courts of justice; as for the power which they have from God immediately, they are accountable to the King at least as regards whatever might upset public tranquillity and the laws and statutes of the State."² It is true that during the Parliamentary recess, the Government had this resolution expunged from the Parliamentary registers even before it was printed, but the action gave rise to stormy scenes when the Assembly resumed its sittings. The first President was called to account for what had happened³; his answer was that the King had imposed silence on the matter. A letter came from court, obviously with a similar order of silence. So as not to seem rebellious, a majority expressed the wish to remonstrate with the King before opening the letter, but the President, who was opposed to any representations, insisted on the letter being read.

¹ CAHEN, 42 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 43; FLEURY, LXXIII., 493; HARDY, 247. Cf. LACRETELLE, *Hist. de France pendant le XVIII^e. siècle*, II., Paris, 1808, 85.

³ November 28, 1731, HARDY, 249.

A long dispute ensued. As neither party was willing to make itself responsible for a suspension of the sitting, the members remained in their seats for three whole hours, with folded arms, until at length a parliamentary councillor asked whether they expected a superior illumination from the lighting of the lamps in the evening ; everybody laughed and the house rose.¹ The following day, August 29th, brought another royal letter which had perforce to be opened, together with the letter of the previous day. When this had been done, the Abbé Pucelle broke out and began to thunder against Fleury and the fence that had been drawn round the throne. In order to open the King's eyes they must needs proceed to Marly where the monarch was staying at the time. "To Marly," they shouted on all sides and fourteen coaches with fifty Parliamentarians set out for the royal residence. However, even swifter messengers had already warned Fleury of the approach of the fourteen vehicles. He disappeared from Marly and when the Parliamentarians reached the castle they found no one qualified to introduce them to the King. In their embarrassment they wandered through the corridors of the castle until the King sent word that he was annoyed with them and that they had better go home. On the return journey they met Cardinal Fleury who smilingly expressed his regret at having missed them. After that Parliament sent its first President to the King with a threat to suspend its labours, but the King turned his back on the messenger and there was no further question of suspension of work.²

Thus, for the time being, the Government was victorious ; however, apart perhaps from Fleury's time, the monarchy played a pitiable rôle in the fifty years' conflict with Parliament which now opened. In order to break the opposition to the royal declaration of March 24th, 1730, Louis XV., on May 9th, 1732, sent for three of the Presidents of Parliament. Parliament, Fleury told them, had shown too much zeal against the Constitution *Unigenitus*, thereby upsetting the peaceful intentions of the Government ; in future the

¹ GLASSON, II., 105.

² HARDY, 249 *seqq.*

magistrates must not meddle with such matters without royal leave. The King personally repeated the same injunction and forbade all representations and discussions to the contrary. For all that a discussion took place on May 12th and was about to be resumed on the 13th when a fresh order summoned an even larger deputation into the royal presence at Compiègne.¹ Once again the parliamentarians had to listen to an expression of the royal displeasure, and when the President was about to open his mouth in order to remonstrate he was stopped by a curt "Hold your tongue!".² Thereupon the Abbé Pucelle made some written representations to the crown, but they were torn up and he himself, with some others, was banished and the parliamentary councillor Titon thrown into prison. Parliament now resolved to carry into effect its previous threat; on May 16th it decided to suspend its official duties. The King administered a reprimand but in vain. Each functionary received an individual royal order to repair to his office.³ They did so but refused to discharge their duties. Thereupon an ordinance was issued on May 25th,⁴ ordering everyone to fulfil his "customary" duties in the "accustomed" manner.

This was interpreted as including permission to deal with ecclesiastical questions as they had been in the habit of doing, and in order to render evident their victory over the Government, the magistrates eagerly seized an opportunity that presented itself at that very moment. The Archbishop of Paris had published a pastoral letter against the newspaper *Ecclesiastical News*.⁵ Twenty-one parish priests refused to read it from the pulpit, even after a repeated command of their Archbishop to do so; finally they appealed to Parliament. That body now decided to show its strength in connection with this pastoral letter which, they alleged, constituted an

¹ FLEURY, LXXIV., 5 *seqq.*; [NIVELLE], III., 359 *seq.*; HARDY, 273 *seq.*

² [NIVELLE], III., 364; FLEURY, LXXIV., 7 *seqq.*

³ [NIVELLE], III., 361 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 362 *seq.*; FLEURY, LXXIV., II.

⁵ April 27, 1732, HARDY, 267-271. Cf. above, p. 418.

intrusion into the secular sphere. True, the legal experts considered such a step too risky, but Parliament announced that it would act without their counsel. The accusation against the Archbishop was accepted and his pastoral was prohibited for the time being.¹ Four parliamentary councillors were now sent into banishment, deputies of Parliament were summoned to appear before the King for the purpose of listening to the reading of a decree of the royal council² which reversed the parliamentary decision. As the President was about to reply Louis XV. cut him short by curtly bidding him go. Thereupon 150 members of Parliament laid down their office,³ and as the first President was unwilling to accept their resignations, the 150 approached him in twos and handed in their resignation in writing. An immense crowd pressed around them as they filed past, extolling them as true "Romans" and fathers of their country.⁴ Fleury was afraid lest the Upper Chamber should follow the example of their colleagues, so he sent for their representatives and received them most graciously. However, the whole transaction had no further sequel, for after a few discussions,⁵ both Chambers agreed to resume their labours,⁶ though on condition that they would be allowed to make extensive representations.⁷

The Government's answer to these representations⁸ was the announcement, at an audience to the representatives on

¹ June 13, 1732, [NIVELLE], III., 366 *seq.*

² June 16, 1732, *ibid.*, 367.

³ From the parliamentary sections, *Enquête and Requête.*

⁴ [NIVELLE], III., 367 *seq.*

⁵ HARDY, 275-281.

⁶ July 6, 1732, HARDY, 281; GLASSON, II., 113 *seq.* The heroism of the members of Parliament was not very remarkable. More than one directed to the representatives of the Government letters similar to the one of Paris de la Brosse: "J'ai signé la démission de ma charge avec tous ceux qui composent la Chambre où je suis, ne pouvant pas m'empêcher d'exécuter ce qui passe à la pluralité . . ." HARDY, 281.

⁷ FLEURY, LXXIV., 14 *seq.*

⁸ August 2, 1732, [NIVELLE], III., 369-372.

August 19th, of a fresh royal declaration.¹ This declaration was meant to clear up every one of the points which, during the recent conflicts with the Government, had given rise to differences of opinion, such as the right to make representations to the King, appeals because of abuse, the right of discussion, the duty of dealing out justice without interruption. The declaration² was then handed to the deputies with the order to register it.³

Parliament refused to obey. On August 20th it rejected the royal declaration by a majority of 120 votes. By the 22nd fresh representations were ready, but the King announced that he would not listen to them. On the 23rd Parliament decided to make them in spite of this refusal, only to receive the same answer. On the 26th the resolution of the 23rd was confirmed anew, but word was brought that these demands were not to be repeated and a similar answer was given by the ministers to written representations.⁴

In view of the persistent insubordination of Parliament the only course left open to the King was to have his declaration registered in his own presence. Parliament was accordingly summoned to Versailles for September 3rd. After the Chancellor and the first President had spoken, the Attorney-General was told to propose registration. He did so in a speech in which he expressed regret for his inability to escape such a duty. The Princes, Dukes and *Pairs* were then asked to state their view, and after them the members of Parliament, whose only answer was silence.⁵

On the following day Parliament decided to make fresh representations: they would not stop, but would go on representing to the King that the execution of the declaration was impossible.⁶ Thereupon the Government decided to take

¹ Proclamation by the Chancellor, *ibid.*, 372 *seq.*

² August 18, 1732, printed, *ibid.*, 377-9; extract in CAHEN, 44 *seq.*; FLEURY, LXXV., 17 *seq.*

³ [NIVELLE], III., 373.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 373-4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 374-7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 379 *seq.*

forcible action: on the very first manifestation of fresh discontent 139 members of Parliament were sent into banishment.¹ Only one of the four divisions of Parliament, the "Great Chamber", was now able to devote itself to the administration of justice, but its position was being gradually undermined—the people regarded its members as cowards because they had left their associates to their fate. Eventually the Government felt compelled to enter into negotiations; it recalled the exiles and on December 4th gave a promise not to carry the declaration into effect. In return the magistrates undertook to observe silence on religious questions.²

Zeal for religion had not prompted Parliament in the conflict. Jansenist teaching properly so-called found at most but one or two advocates among its members; many of them were unbelievers, or men addicted to pleasure, whose Jansenism resolved itself into Gallicanism or hatred of the Church.³ This did not prevent the various Parliaments, after the almost complete extinction of the appellant Bishops,

¹ Index, *ibid.*, 380 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 382; CAHEN, 46; HARDY, 288 *seq.*; CROUSAZ-CRÉTET, 53 *seq.*

³ GAZIER, I., 297 *seq.*: "C'était un Jansénisme laïque et, comme nous dirions, anticlérical" (*ibid.*, 298). "On pouvait dire qu'en général personne n'entendait rien aux questions de doctrine dont elle [the Bull *Unigenitus*] contenait l'exposé. Des cinquante avocats qui avaient signé la consultation [of 1728 against the council of Embrun], six ou sept seulement y comprenaient quelque chose. Mais il suffisait que la Bulle servît de drapeau aux ultramontains pour que les Jansénistes proprement dits, les Gallicans, tous les ennemis de Rome, en un mot, se réunissent contre elle dans une même opposition, entraînant avec eux les mécontents de toute sorte et ceux qui par humeur aimaient le trouble ou cherchaient nouveauté" (ROCOUAIN, 48). In the Chambers of the *Enquête* and *Requête*, however, that is to say among the younger members, many were "même gagnés aux pratiques convulsionnaires" (HARDY, 275). The obscurity of the concept "Jansenist" had for a consequence that one may dispute whether this man or that could be justly described as a Jansenist.

from considering themselves their heirs and acting as the spokesmen of the anti-papal movement. As such they were the leaders of the Jansenist party which, however, was now but little interested in the five propositions of Jansenius and in efficacious grace but concerned itself all the more eagerly with the relations between the secular and the spiritual power and increasingly advocated wholly subversive opinions.¹

How far Parliament could go in its eagerness to intervene in ecclesiastical matters, and what consequences it deduced from its ecclesiastico-political principles, had been demonstrated at the beginning of 1731.² At Orleans the Sacraments had been denied to a Jansenist woman stricken with mortal illness. The matter was brought before the Parliament of Paris and that body decided that the Bishop could not withhold the Sacraments from the woman.³ Abbé Pucelle deduced Parliament's competence to deliver decisions of this kind from the fact that the secular officials were "the guardians of the laws of the Church and entrusted with the preservation of external order and of all that contributed to public tranquillity".⁴ The council of State indeed pronounced the ordinance to be null and void,⁵ but that proud body replied with a lengthy document in which it expostulated with the King,⁶ and when this document was rejected, it forwarded

¹ On August 1, 1730, Fleury wrote to D'Aguesseau (in HARDY, 219): "En vérité toute la patience humaine et la prudence échouent contre ce que fait journellement le Parlement. C'est lever ouvertement l'étendard de la révolte contre l'autorité de l'Église et du Roi. On voit un parti pris de détruire la juridiction épiscopale. . . . Ce qu'il y a de vrai, c'est que la religion est perdue si l'on ne fait rien, et qu'en faisant quelque chose, on aura bien de la peine à la garantir de sa perte." Cf. Fleury's letter to the Abbé Pucelle on the wholly revolutionary character of Jansenism in its last stages, *ibid.*, 189 *seqq.*

² SCHILL, 277.

³ [NIVELLE], III., 431-444.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 432.

⁵ July 6, 1731, [NIVELLE], III., 435.

⁶ July 24, 1731, *ibid.*, 436-440.

yet another of the same kind.¹ A fine phrase to mask these unheard of encroachments was promptly coined: it was to the effect that the priests who favoured the Constitution were introducing a schism into the Church by debarring a section of the faithful from the Sacraments—it was Parliament's wish to prevent a schism!² For the rest some Jansenists sought to make sure of the Sacraments, even without any parliamentary decrees, by contesting the principle that for the valid administration of the Sacrament of Penance a confessor must receive faculties from the Bishop.³

Parliament had no sooner resumed its labours in the following year, than it undertook to decide whether or no the Bull *Unigenitus* could be described as a "rule of faith".⁴ In Paris a sick woman had been denied Holy Communion at Easter because of her refusal to accept the Constitution as a rule of faith, and publications had appeared to prove that the Constitution was rightly so described. To clear up this question the judges assumed the rôle of theologians on April 12th, 1732. "Without pronouncing on a question of dogma," President Ogier observed, "and without claiming a right it did not possess, the corporation was surely entitled to decide that the Bull is not a rule of faith and cannot become one." The parliamentary councillor Titon asked whether one single member of Parliament recognized the Bull as a rule of faith; the answer was a general silence. Abbé Pucelle declared that the King's right to give a decision in the question in hand could not be contested, unless they at the same time denied that the realm had power to suppress fanaticism and to forestall a schism. Others spoke in a similar strain. In the end, however, they shrank from giving judgment on the refusal of the Sacraments, but denounced writings were

¹ August 17, 1731, *ibid.*, 442-4.

² *Ibid.*, 443, etc.

³ SCHILL, 276.

⁴ MENTION, 76; FLEURY, LXXIV., 197 *seq.* Already on February 24, 1732, Parliament was bent on prescribing the theological textbooks to be used in the classroom (*ibid.*, 196).

suppressed.¹ The royal council replied with a declaration of nullity. This led to fresh excitement in Parliament. More speeches against the Bull followed and fresh representations to the King,² insisting on the danger to the State if the 91st proposition of the Bull—on excommunication—was likewise declared a rule of faith. The Government upheld its decision, but Parliament on its side declared³ that it would never cease to remind the King of the consequences and to protest that “with a view to protecting the King and upholding public order, the competence of Parliament could not be questioned”. A strong argument in favour of Parliament was the fact that the King had previously addressed a circular to the Bishops⁴ in which he recognized the Bull as a “dogmatic judgment of the universal Church in matters of faith”, but had requested them to refrain from the equivalent expression “rule of faith”, on the plea that it gave offence.

Parliament intervened once more in Church matters when in 1737, 1738 and 1739 there was again question of the refusal of the Sacraments or of Christian burial.⁵ In 1735 the Parliament of Rennes imitated the example of its colleagues of Paris⁶ and in 1731 those of Bordeaux gave orders to the Archbishop on the administration of the Sacraments and wrote to the King on the subject; the latter, however, through Chancellor D’Aguesseau, rejected their representations, declaring at the same time that it was the province of ecclesiastical authority to decide whether or no the Bull against Quesnel was a dogmatic definition.⁷

One of these cases of the refusal of the Sacraments created considerable stir. In 1737 a Canon of Douai had been denied

¹ April 25, 1733, [NIVELLE], III., 385 *seq.*

² May 15, 1733, *ibid.*, 388-391.

³ May 19, 1733, *ibid.*, 392.

⁴ July 27, 1731, *ibid.*, 395 *seq.*; FLEURY, LXXIII., 491 *seq.*; LAFITAU, II., 324; CROUSAZ-CRÉTET, 46.

⁵ [NIVELLE], III., 444-474. A case of the year 1734 in FLEURY, LXXIV., 480.

⁶ [NIVELLE], III., 474-482.

⁷ FLEURY, LXXIII., 487-490.

the Last Sacraments and ecclesiastical burial on account of his obstinate refusal to submit to the Bull *Unigenitus*. The deliberations of the Parliament of Paris on this incident were put an end to by an ordinance of the Council of State of February 17th, 1737, reserving judgment to the King. Parliament now linked the expression of its discontent to its complaints about an earlier incident. In a pastoral letter¹ on the obligation of acting at all times from the love of God, the Archbishop of Cambrai had based his views on the papal decisions against Baius and a decree of the Inquisition of the year 1690. Soon after² in a thesis defended at the Sorbonne, it was asserted that obedience was due to all papal Bulls, even though they had not been received in France. In the opinion of Parliament all this was contrary to the principles of the realm; the episcopal instruction and the thesis were accordingly condemned.³ Thereupon both the Archbishop and the Faculty had recourse to the King who declared the decree of Parliament null and void.⁴ Clement XII. also issued a Brief against this decree⁵ which in its turn was prohibited by Parliament⁶; a pastoral letter of the Archbishop,⁷ giving an account of these events, shared a similar fate,⁸ but in all this Parliament earned a good deal of ridicule by its petty fault finding.

It goes without saying that the members of Parliament felt profoundly hurt by their being so constantly called to order. After many speeches had been delivered in the course of 1735, in which the loquacious Abbé Pucelle distinguished himself as usual,⁹ lengthy representations were at last made

¹ August 14, 1734, *ibid.*, LXXV., 22.

² October 30, 1734, *ibid.*

³ February 18, 1735, *ibid.*, 25.

⁴ February 20 and May 10, 1735, *ibid.*, 27 *seq.*

⁵ May 18, 1735, REUSCH, II., 755.

⁶ June 17, 1735, FLEURY, LXXV., 30 *seqq.*

⁷ May 19, 1735, *ibid.*, 31.

⁸ June 13, 1735, *ibid.*, Cf. HARDY, 306 *seq.*

⁹ [NIVELLE], III., 445 *seq.*

to the King on April 6th, 1737,¹ the purpose of which was to justify the proceedings against the Archbishop of Cambrai. At the same time the Douai case of the refusal of the Sacrament was once more brought up.² That action, it was alleged, like the pastoral instruction of Cambrai, sprang from the same source, namely ultramontane views on the authority of the Church. In a somewhat lengthy statement, Chancellor D'Aguesseau replied on August 21st that "the zeal of the worthiest defenders of our principles has not prevented them from recognizing, and that with the knowledge and consent of Parliament, that any dogmatic definition, expressly or tacitly accepted by the Church, constitutes part of her teaching."³ Parliament replied with more representations⁴; the King answered in general terms and with that the matter ended. Parliament fared no better when it suppressed the Bull of canonization of St. Vincent de Paul and some theses of the Sorbonne, in which the Council of Florence was described as a General Council.⁵

If for the sake of peace the Government withstood the Appellants more than once, for the same reason the supporters of the Constitution were also made to feel its heavy hand, as, for instance, the historian of the Bull *Unigenitus*, Pierre François Lafitau, Bishop of Sisteron.⁶ In 1723 the Quesnellists had begun the publication of a "History of the Book of Moral Considerations and the Constitution *Unigenitus*", in which they gathered in the form of Annals everything connected with the Bull.⁷ But their four heavy quarto volumes had no

¹ *Ibid.*, 448-455.

² N. 22, *ibid.*, 455.

³ *Ibid.*, 456.

⁴ September 6, 1737, *ibid.*, 458.

⁵ HARDY, 310 *seq.*; FERET, VI., 133.

⁶ LAFITAU, II., 343-6; HARDY, 300 *seq.*

⁷ This is the work so often quoted by us under the name of the authors Louail and Cadry. Notwithstanding its Jansenistic tendencies, it is indispensable on account of the many documents quoted. It was expressly prohibited by *Brief of January 26, 1740. *Bull*, XXIV., 664.

great sale. When in 1728 publication began of the Jansenist weekly *Ecclesiastical News*,¹ the work was discontinued, but one Villefore published a summary of the more important passages² which proved more effective than the bulky tomes. Many Bishops were of opinion that the book provided an occasion for summoning a national synod for the purpose of dealing with the religious situation, but to this the King would not consent. Fleury, however, desired at least a refutation; De Bissy recommended Lafitau who published his answer in 1733. Much pressure was brought to bear on the Court against the work; for the sake of peace, it was urged, silence must be imposed on both parties. Fleury yielded; one and the same ordinance³ prohibited both Catholic and Jansenist writings, among them Villefore's book and Lafitau's refutation.

In spite of its apparent impartiality, the prohibition put the Catholics at a grave disadvantage. The law of silence of March 10th, 1731 was now interpreted as implying that even the Bishops could no longer speak in defence of the Church's teaching. Thus the Catholics, who felt bound to obey the Government, had their mouths effectively shut, whereas their opponents, who heeded no law of silence, were able to continue their attacks.

Three Archbishops and six Bishops now laid their complaints before the King⁴ and, by means of the press, also before the public. But all that they achieved was that the

¹ See above, p. 417 *seq.*

² *Anecdotes ou Mémoires secrets sur la Constitution Unigenitus*, without name of author, printer or place, 1730 (*cf.* [PATOUILLET], I., 57); translated into German: *Geheime Nachrichten von der Konstitution "Unigenitus"*. *Cf.* SCHILL, 57, 269.

³ January 26, 1734, FLEURY, LXXIV., 568-570; *cf.* 209, 471, and LXXV., 248.

⁴ The Archbishops of Arles, Aix, Embrun, the retired Bishop of Apt, the Bishops of Belley, Marseilles, Laon, Digne, Sisteron, in a letter of June, 1734, FLEURY, LXXIV., 472 *seq.*; LAFITAU, II., 346 *seqq.*, 368. Subsequently, the Bishop of Verdun also joined the above-named; his letter was suppressed on May 1, 1735. HARDY, 301.

Government took proceedings against them.¹ In stating the reason for its sentence, the Government declared that the Bishops should not have made their grievances public without leave of the King ; each of them might have made an individual appeal to the King, but without his consent they were not free to come together for joint action. The nine then represented to Fleury that the rulers of the Church had always enjoyed such a right : a joint appeal to the King had been made by nineteen Bishops under Louis XIV., by twenty-eight under the Regent and recently by twelve under Fleury. Thereupon Fleury made some vague promises, but the nine did not quite trust him and appealed to the Assembly of the Clergy.² By underhand means Fleury sought to prevent the election of the nine and that of three others, in particular Lafitau, Bishop of Sisteron, as deputies to the Assembly. The affair became generally known and Lafitau sought to save the freedom of election by suggesting that he should be elected and afterwards voluntarily withdraw. His proposal was not acted upon, hence he made a public protest against Fleury's action.³

That keen opponent of the Jansenists, Étienne Joseph de la Fare, Bishop of Laon, fared no better.⁴ It was he who, as a matter of fact, had provided Parliament with a pretext for discussing the ecclesiastical and civil power with the publication, on November 13th, 1730, of a pastoral letter on submission to the Bull *Unigenitus* and on the secular power and the rights of the Bishops. On February 20th, 1731, the pastoral letter was the subject of a reasoned condemnation by that wholly Gallican body.⁵ La Fare replied with a pastoral on the authority of the Bishops and Parliament with a prohibition of the new pastoral.⁶ On April 1st the Bishop nevertheless published yet another reply, thereby provoking a regular

¹ August 14, 1734, LAFITAU, II., 474 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 476 *seqq.*

³ FLEURY, LXXV., 53 *seqq.*

⁴ Cf. LABOURET in *Bulletin de la Société académique de Laon*, XXXII., 151 *seqq.* ; LAFITAU, II., 356 *seqq.*

⁵ The condemnation is printed in [NIVELLE], III., 939-941.

⁶ March 2, 1731, *ibid.*

storm in Parliament which demanded the convocation of a general assembly of all the Chambers ; the *Pairs* of France were also invited to a solemn session.¹ The Government sought to calm the excitement by reserving the affair to itself, suppressing La Fare's instruction, threatening him with confiscation of the revenues of his see if he published any more writings of the same kind, and revoking the privilege previously granted to him, of publishing his pastorals without further formality.² In spite of all this the Bishop published two more letters in 1733,³ in which he explained that Parliament could claim no teaching authority in the Church ; at the same time he forbade the faithful of his diocese, under pain of excommunication, to read the parliamentary edicts against himself. Once again the Government forestalled parliamentary action by forbidding the Bishop to cross the boundaries of his diocese.

This banishment from the capital proved disastrous for La Fare's action against Jansenism. The Jesuits, to whom the King had conceded a College at Laon, at the Bishop's request, did much damage to the Jansenists by their popular missions and by their work as teachers. The heretics sent for a lawyer from Paris for the purpose of devising counter measures and even sought to persuade Louis XV. to deprive the dangerous religious of their College. As La Fare was debarred from seeing the King, he had recourse to the Assembly of the Clergy.⁴ He prayed for its intervention and its approval of his teaching on the relations between the spiritual and the secular power as expounded by him in his pastorals⁵ ; he also lodged a complaint against Bishops Bossuet of Troyes and Colbert of Montpellier, the former of whom had taught Jansenist propositions in two pastorals whilst the latter had

¹ *Ibid.*, 948 *seq.*

² Beginning of September, 1731, *ibid.*, 952.

³ May 10 and July 1, FLEURY, LXXIV., 200.

⁴ June 1, 1735, *ibid.*, LXXV., 56 *seq.*

⁵ Summary of his own teaching in eight propositions, and of that of his opponents in nine, *ibid.*, 59 *seqq.*

attacked the papal condemnation of his letter on the Jansenist miracles.¹

La Fare's representations had the same result as those he had made at the preliminary Assembly at Rheims: the Bishops praised his teaching but took no further steps, and his complaints in yet another letter² were equally useless. He now appealed to Clement XII. who eulogized his teaching in two Briefs. Whereas the Government had previously suppressed even the Bishop's representations to the Assembly of the Clergy, the King now received him in audience and certain hints thrown out by Fleury led him to think that freedom to speak would be restored to him. It was a vain hope, his opinions were opposed as before. On returning to his diocese, La Fare at once prohibited a number of Jansenist writings which circulated under the names of Caylus, Soanen and Colbert and broke off communion with those prelates.³ La Fare did not print his letter on the subject, but his opponents saw to it that this was done, and with some biting annotations. Thereupon the Government proceeded against him once more, though it also condemned at the same time Colbert's attack on Clement XII. and two letters of Bishop Soanen.⁴ The Bishop fared no better in 1737 when he insisted on his right to defend the Church in spite of every edict and attacked the ecclesiastical policy of Fleury⁵ to whom he continued to address a great many remonstrances which invariably remained unanswered.⁶ Undeterred by all the decrees of the Government and Parliament, La Fare, in conjunction with the Bishops of Amiens, Marseilles, Nantes, Châlons, Dol and Boulogne, printed abroad, viz. at Ypres, an ordinance debarring the

¹ *Ibid.*, 62. On May 23, 1735, Clement XII. had condemned this letter to the flames (*ibid.*, 71). On the younger Bossuet cf. also E. JOVY, *Une biographie inédite de J. B. Bossuet, évêque de Troyes*, Vitry, 1901.

² July 22, 1735, *ibid.*, 64; HARDY, 304.

³ April 1, 1736, FLEURY, LXXV., 67 seq.

⁴ June 27, 1736, *ibid.*, 69-72.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 515 seq.

⁶ HARDY, 299.

Appellants from the Sacraments and ecclesiastical burial. Parliament, of course, took action¹ but La Fare merely renewed his ordinance,² whilst Clement XII. issued a Brief condemning Parliament's sentence against the seven Bishops.³ For the rest La Fare's conduct did not wholly meet with the approval of the nuncio and several other Bishops.⁴ In 1739 the King himself intervened in favour of the rights of the Bishops; a Prefect was punished for having sought to enforce the administration of the Sacraments.⁵

The Archbishop of Arles, Forbin Janson, was likewise condemned to a nine months' banishment in his abbey of Saint-Valéry because of a pastoral letter⁶; for all that, in 1736, he refused the Sacraments to the dying Jansenist Bishop of Castres and excommunicated the Dominican who administered them.⁷ Colbert's successor at Montpellier, Berger de Charency, was harried by lawyers' memorials⁸ when one of his priests refused to subscribe to the formula, as was the Archbishop of Sens when the parish priests refused to accept his catechism. The lawyers decided that in such matters the parish priests were not bound to obey.⁹

(3.)

Since the Government disposed of all the highest ecclesiastical posts, it was easy to see that before long the Jansenists would not have a single bishop to side with them. If they

¹ April 22, 1739, [NIVELLE], III., 411.

² FLEURY, LXXVI., 274 *seq.* Parliament did so on September 1, 1740, [NIVELLE], III., 412.

³ January 26, 1740, FLEURY, LXXVI., 623 *seq.*; *Bull.*, XXIV., 667.

⁴ FLEURY, LXXV., 516; HARDY, 304, n. 3.

⁵ September 8, 1739, FLEURY, LXXV., 275 *seq.*

⁶ JEAN, 36; HARDY, 301.

⁷ JEAN, 9.

⁸ May 29, 1739, FLEURY, LXXVI., 282, 627. *Cf.* [PATOUILLET], II., 444.

⁹ FLEURY, LXXVI., 284.

wished to remain Catholics, they could not but feel this deficiency as a disaster for their cause since in Catholic opinion the office of teaching is entrusted to the entire body of the episcopate, in union with the Pope, and its decisions are final even though "an angel from heaven" were to say aught to the contrary.¹

As early as the days of Pascal the Jansenists had appealed to the voice of God who, they alleged, had pronounced in their favour by miracles.² After Vintimille had become Archbishop of Paris, they appealed once more to this testimony of God. The miracles wrought at the grave of the Deacon Pâris increased in a remarkable degree during the first years of the Archbishop's rule. Within a few years the number rose to no less than 200 and accounts of them were circulated, bearing the signature of surgeons and physicians. Everybody flocked to Pâris' grave which Noailles had allowed to be covered with a marble slab supported by low pillars.³

There were not enough vehicles to convey the pilgrims and the curious and people paid to get a place near the grave.⁴

The Government was at a loss what to do to stop the cultus of the Jansenist "saint". Simply to forbid it, on the ground that Pâris had been an Appellant, seemed too dangerous and a prohibition would infallibly have had for its consequences an appeal to Parliament.⁵ So the affair had to be left to the Archbishop who ordered a strict inquiry into one of the miracles. One Anne Lefranc was said to have been cured of paralysis and blindness by the Deacon Pâris and over a hundred

¹ *Gal.*, I, 8.

² "C'est dans de telles conjectures [the Regent's rejection of the Jansenists] et lorsqu'il ne reste plus aux Appellans ni espérances, ni ressources du côté des hommes, que Dieu rompt enfin le silence pour parler en leur faveur [by miracles]." Thus *Jésus-Christ sous l'anathème*, Maastricht, 1739, 61, in MOSHEIM, *Dissertationes ad hist. eccl. pertinentes*, II., Altona, 1767, 341.

³ L. LOEVENBRUCK, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, III., 1756 seq.

⁴ LAFITAU, II., 331.

⁵ So says a memorial, HARDY, 257.

witnesses testified to the genuineness of the cure.¹ But the inquiry established the fact that many signatures had been either forged or extorted and Lefranc's own brother attested that his sister had never been blind.² True the paralysis was real enough but it continued the same after the "cure".³ Vintimille published these facts in a pastoral letter,⁴ in which he described the miracles of Paris as generally undeserving of credence and forbade his cultus.

The Jansenist parish priests were dissatisfied with this measure. Twenty-three of their number presented a petition to the Archbishop,⁵ in which they admitted that some of the miracles might not be genuine, but five had been examined under Noailles and these they asked Vintimille to have investigated. A few weeks later⁶ they demanded an examination of another thirteen miracles. However, one of those "cured", a certain Le Doulx, urged by remorse of conscience, confessed to his Bishop, La Fare of Laon, that the whole thing was a fraud. He requested the Bishop in writing to bring his confession to the knowledge of the public; this La Fare did in a pastoral letter of April 10th, 1732. On May 30th Le Doulx repeated and reaffirmed his statement in presence of the Archbishop of Paris.⁷

Thus even though shortly before the unmasking of the miracle a woman who was said to have scoffed at the miracles, was suddenly struck with paralysis at the grave of Paris,⁸ it was nevertheless up to the new Saint to do something in

¹ *Ibid.*, 258; [PATOUILLET], I., 482.

² His testimony in Trévoux's *Mémoires*, 1731, 2013 *seq.* Cf. [PATOUILLET], III., 430.

³ Cf. LAFITAU, II., 327.

⁴ July 15, 1731, *ibid.*, 258; [NIVELLE], I., app. 136.

⁵ August 13, 1731, in [NIVELLE], *loc. cit.*, 135-7; on the examination under Noailles, *ibid.*, 141. Cf. [PATOUILLET], II., 261 *seq.*

⁶ October 4, 1731, [NIVELLE], I., app. 137-9.

⁷ [PATOUILLET], III., 492-5. On another "miracle" at BLOIS, *ibid.*, II., 442.

⁸ The widow Delorme, August 7, 1731, GAZIER, I., 279.

order to restore his diminished prestige. A somewhat simple-minded Jansenist cleric of Montpellier of the name of Bécherand, felt that he ought to provide him with an occasion to do so.¹ Since the end of August, 1731, Bécherand repaired once or twice each day to the cemetery of Saint-Médard. After he had been laid on Pâris' grave and whilst the assistants were praying, he was seized with convulsions, foamed at the mouth, turned livid and leaped in the air. His example became contagious ; with every passing day more and more men and women crowded round him, with the result that some hundreds of persons gave themselves up to convulsions in the restricted space and caused the surrounding streets to become obstructed.

The Jansenists announced that Bécherand's cure was indeed progressing slowly, but a gradual miracle was still a miracle.² Some wags laughingly observed that there were twelve lines in an inch (*pouce*)—think of it, twelve lines !—surely it was asking too much of the new wonder-worker that he should provide the twelve lines at one go ! Others said that in the days of the Apostles miracles went differently. In spite of everything Bécherand continued for months in his trust in Pâris, even throughout the whole of winter, until the Government, on January 27th, 1732, on the plea of overcrowding round the Deacon's grave, decided to close the cemetery.³ Thereafter Bécherand only went as far as the church, until on February 23rd the police took him to Saint-Lazare where he was confined for a time in the section reserved for lunatics.⁴

It is strange that those who crowded round Bécherand were not drawn from the ranks of the common people, but even the most prominent personages of the Jansenist party

¹ A. NOYON, in *Études*, CLVI. (1918), 412-432 ; HARDY, 264.

² [PATOUILLET], I., 476.

³ MENTION, 73. Another decree of February 17, 1733, against convulsions in private houses, *ibid.*, 74. The inscription for the cemetery after it had been closed is well known :

De par le Roi, défense à Dieu
De faire miracle en ce lieu.

⁴ NOYON, *loc. cit.*, 416 *seqq.*

seemed to have succumbed to a kind of spell in presence of the alleged miracles. Colbert, Bécherand's Bishop, wrote at this time that he was lost in astonishment at the wonders which God wrought daily in the person of Bécherand. If He had cured him at once, thousands would have refused to believe that he had ever been paralysed. Instead of one miracle, God now wrought several each day, in order to summon all Paris to so astounding a spectacle. Everyone could see with his own eyes both the evil and the progress of the cure; the spectators all went away with the conviction that here the finger of God was at work. The cure interested the whole Church; the Church prayed for it and without a doubt her prayers would be answered.¹ In a letter to Bécherand himself Colbert wrote that God had made him a spectacle for the whole of France, or rather for all Europe and the whole Church. There were more marvellous cures, but none that occurred more completely before the eyes of all.²

Colbert's pastoral letter of 1725, on the first of the Jansenist miracles,³ was followed by a second in which he met the attacks of Languet and defended the occurrences at the graves of the priest Rousse and the Deacon Pâris.⁴ A few weeks earlier⁵ Bishop Caylus of Auxerre, who shared Colbert's opinions, had drawn attention to a Jansenist miracle which was supposed to have happened at Seignelay, in proof of the holiness of Pâris and the truth of Jansenism, for soon the miracles were no longer restricted to Paris, but made their appearance in all Jansenist centres.⁶ Rome, of course, did not remain silent in the face of these strange pastorals. A special Brief was issued

¹ *Ibid.*, 418.

² *Ibid.*, 424. "Personam gerit Ecclesiae" said the partisans of Bécherand (HARDY, 264).

³ *Cf.* above, p. 276.

⁴ February 1, 1733, [NIVELLE], II., 357-362.

⁵ January 1, 1733, *ibid.*, 655-7; [PATOUILLET], III., II *seq.*

⁶ HARDY, 256. Soanen also acknowledged the Jansenistic miracles in his "Spiritual Testament" (1735), [NIVELLE], II., I, 257, and FLEURY, LXXV., 247.

against Colbert's letter and when he replied with another pastoral on a miracle wrought by Pâris in his own diocese, there followed a second condemnation.¹ The Bishop of Auxerre fared no better.² The Roman Inquisition passed a severe judgment on a "Life of Pâris"³ and not long after the Archbishop of Paris condemned three such biographies. In this he had been preceded by La Fare of Laon and he was followed by the Bishops of Marseilles and Angers and the Archbishop of Cambrai.⁴ Bishop Languet had drawn a reply by Colbert to a pastoral letter of his on the first of the Jansenist miracles. In 1734 he published yet another examination of these manifestations which greatly embarrassed his opponents. The parish priests of Paris turned to Parliament for help⁵; that body had declared the Roman condemnation of the "Life of Pâris"⁶ to be null and void.⁷ However, in the course of this same year Archbishop Vintimille published a letter

¹ Briefs of October 3, 1733 ([PATOUILLET], II., 290), and October 11, 1734 (*Bull.*, XXIV., 8 *seq.*). Colbert had replied by his *Lettre pastorale pour prémunir son diocèse contre un Bref de N. S. P. le Pape* (April 21, 1734), [PATOUILLET], II., 516-19.

² Brief of July 19, 1734, REUSCH, II., 748.

³ August 22, 1731, *ibid.*, 747. Colbert wrote to Caylus: "Le décret de Rome contre M. Pâris est horrible. Par là Rome se ferme peut-être la dernière porte que Dieu lui ouvrirait pour rentrer en elle-même . . . C'est une étrange chose que de déclarer la guerre à Dieu même" (in NOYON, *loc. cit.*, 425, n.).

⁴ January 30, 1732, [PATOUILLET], IV., 204-8.

⁵ April 19, 1735, [NIVELLE], I., app. 140-3.

⁶ On this condemnation by the Holy Office and the public burning of the book, see Cardinal Cienfuegos' report to the imperial Chancellery, September 1, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁷ [NIVELLE], III., 972. "In proposito di Francia si sta qui con molta amarezza per essersi da quel parlamento fatti due arresti molto ingiuriosi all'autorità del Papa e della S. Sede contro le scritte condanne del libro," *La vie de Monsieur Paris Diacre . . .* Cardinal Cienfuegos' report to the imperial Chancellery, October 27, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

in which he described the Jansenist miracles as having been rashly published, as unproven and unworthy of credence.¹

Soon after the episcopal prohibition of pilgrimages to Pâris' grave, things occurred in connection with the alleged miracles which could certainly not be of divine origin. A certain Aimée Pivert experienced strong convulsions when she touched the grave and the most fantastic contortions of her limbs. A few days later the same phenomena appeared in a deaf and dumb woman of Versailles. The convulsions of Abbé Bécherand worked like a contagion: the cemetery became filled with a crowd of people who leaped, screamed and underwent all sorts of contortions. Even the Rector of the University, Charles Rollin, and the translator of Polybius, Folard, took part in the proceedings.² The growing disorder, which interfered with the traffic, provided Government with a welcome pretext for closing the cemetery. But this action only made the situation worse; the gatherings of the convulsionists were now held in private houses, and when these too were prohibited by a decree of February 17th, 1733, they took place with even greater secrecy. There was now talk of ecstasies, of discourses in unknown tongues, of prophecies. In order to alleviate the pain which accompanied the convulsions, the victims were struck on sensitive parts of the

¹ " témérairement publiés, destitués de preuves et indignes de toute créance " ([NIVELLE], I., app. 140). Cf. on the miracles of Pâris, BENED., XIV., *De canonisat.*, l. IV., p. 1, c. 7, n. 20 (*Opp.* IV., Venetiis, 1767, 35); MURATORI, *Antiquit. ital. medii ævi* diss., 60, t. V., 97 seq.

² " On le [Follard] vit en effet, avec peine, affronter le ridicule s'engageant dans la secte des convulsionnaires " (*Nouv. biogr. gén.*, XVIII., 543). " Le bon Rollin, en effet, crut aux miracles du diacre Pâris et ne dédaigna pas de se mêler aux convulsionnaires de Saint-Médard " (*ibid.*, XLII., 571). On page 634 of his essay quoted in the next note, Gazier calls Rollin " L'un des adeptes les plus fervens des convulsions naissantes ". The writer Fr. V. Toussaint (*ob.* 1772) composed some hymns in honour of the deacon Pâris (*Nouv. biogr. gén.*, XLV., 556). GAZIER, *Hist. génér.*, I., 280.

body, for instance on the abdomen, or a board was laid on them on which as many as ten persons placed themselves. Instances were reported of invulnerability and of persons insensible to burning. Convulsionists were said to have struck non-convulsionists with daggers without the weapons penetrating; one Marie Sonnet laid herself in the fire whilst in a state of convulsion, without as much as her clothing being set alight and a young girl had her feet nailed to a cross at night, after which she slept soundly and was able to attend to her work in the morning.¹ Besides these outbreaks of fanaticism there were also cases of incredible foulness² and of downright immorality.³

The outstanding advocate of the convulsions was Louis Baptiste Carré de Montgeron, a member of Parliament. Montgeron was a man utterly devoid of either faith or morals when he visited the cemetery of Saint-Médard on September 7th, 1731, in order to witness and test the alleged miracles. However, he did not test them for that which he saw in the cemetery made such an impression on him, that he threw himself on the ground before Pâris' grave; he remained in that attitude for the space of four hours, after which he began a new life. His one thought now was to prove the truth of Pâris' miracles to the whole world. He spent a fortune

¹ AUG. GAZIER in *Revue des deux mondes*, 5^e pér., XXXII. (1906), 627, 629, 638 (Voltaire's brother's evidence on miracles and convulsions).

² Le Paige, advocate at the Parliament in a letter to Montgeron, told him "qu'une jeune convulsionnaire de 18 ans, pendant 21 jours entiers n'a bu que de l'urine et n'a mangé que de l'excrément d'homme", etc. [PATOUILLET], IV., 189.

³ "Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'il y a dix ou douze filles [convulsionists] grosses, et que ces chefs de doctrine et de prédiction engagent les femmes du peuple qui ont cédé à la persuasion, de leur livrer elles-mêmes leurs filles, ce qu'il font en vue de Dieu" (BARBIER, *Journal*, II., 527; HECQUET, *Le naturalisme des convulsions dans les maladies de l'épidémie convulsionnaire*, Paris, 1733, 69 seqq.; WAFFELAERT, in *Dict. apologét.*, I., Paris, 1911, 711).

in collecting every possible evidence and in publishing it in a bulky volume illustrated with beautiful engravings.¹ He then penetrated, without leave, into the King's chamber in order to present him with a copy of the book. By this action he earned a stay in the Bastille and eventually banishment. During his exile he wrote two more volumes² dealing with the convulsions.³

Even the Appellants were not all in agreement with the naïve credulity with which Montgeron viewed the convulsions. On more than one point Colbert and Soanen, as well as the editor of the Jansenist newspaper, differed from him, and on January 7th, 1735, thirty Doctors of the party of the Appellants published a manifesto in which they stated that not everything connected with the convulsions came from God; they condemned the alleged prophecies,⁴ the violent remedies—*secours*—and the pretensions of laymen and women to exercise functions proper to the priesthood. In this document the convulsions still received a limited approval, but others rejected them altogether so that two parties were formed which were in sharp opposition to each other.

It is not the historian's task to judge and explain the strange phenomena connected with the convulsions.⁵ It is enough

¹ *La vérité des miracles opérés par l'intercession de M. de Paris, démontrée contre M. l'archevêque de Sens* [Languet], Utrecht, 1737. The first Paris edition of 5,000 copies was burnt under Montgeron's window in the Bastille.

² 1741 and 1747.

³ GAZIER, *Hist. génér.*, I., 280-6; HARDY, 315 *seq.*

⁴ On the discourses of the convulsionists, *cf. Recueil de plusieurs convulsionnaires*, 1734, [PATOUILLET], III., 351-9.

⁵ According to GAZIER (I., 286), physicians described to him the cures related by Montgeron, especially those of Palacios and Thibault, as well attested and absolutely inexplicable. [PATOUILLET], IV., 202, however, says: "Le célèbre miracle de Pierre Gautier de Pezenas [n. 6 of Montgeron] . . . se trouve aujourd'hui juridiquement reconnu pour une pure supercherie. On a reçu d'Espagne une sentence authentique de l'Officialité de l'Escorial, où il est juridiquement déclaré, que tout ce qu'on

to recall the fact that such things have occurred more than once in the course of human history,¹ that they occur even at this day and often act like a contagion, even on great masses. The medieval St. Vitus' dance and the dancing dervishes are instances in point.²

By comparison, then, with the first period of Port-Royal, Jansenism had sunk to the lowest level within a few decades; once engaged on this inclined plane, it seemed incapable of refraining from any folly. To convulsionism was added figurism.³ About the year 1712 Jean Baptiste de Sesne de Menilles, Abbé d'Étémare (1682–1770), had excogitated a new method of scriptural interpretation. According to him every incident and every personage of Holy Scripture are figures of future events in the history of the Church.⁴ In his view the universal apostasy at the end of time coincided with the general acceptance of the Bull *Unigenitus*; the false prophets of the last days are the Pope and the opponents of efficacious grace, the protagonists of Pelagianism and a lax morality. The Roman Church, so he hints with sufficient clearness, was foreshadowed by the beast of the Apocáypse. Since, then, the end of the world was at hand, the conversion of the Jews could not be long delayed and Elias was about to return. Étémare's explanations are a tissue of absurdities. According to him Mathathias of the Book of Machabees typifies Saint-Cyran, Judas Machabee the great Arnauld, Balaam's ass the priests whom ill-treatment by the Bishops compels to

a publié de l'infirmité et de la guérison miraculeuse de Dom Pálacios [n. 1 of Montgeron], est un pur mensonge."

¹ LOEVENBRUCK, *loc. cit.*, 1757 *seq.* Description of similar hysterical spasms by Charcot and Richer in WAFFELAERT, *La science cath.*, II. (1888), 278 *seq.*

² LA TASTE, *Lettres théolog. sur les convulsions*, 2 vols., in 4°, Paris, 1733–1740.

³ Cf. MANGENOT, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, V. (1913), s.v. *Figurisme*, 2299–2304.

⁴ Catalogue of Étémares' writings, only partially in print since 1860, *ibid.*, 2301 *seq.*; particulars about his career in GAZIER, II., 37 *seqq.*

open their mouths against the Bull *Unigenitus*. But the same ass is likewise a figure of Mère Angélique and of the nuns who had declared themselves opposed to the Constitution. Elias would place himself at the head of the Convulsionists and restore all things in the sense of the Quesnellists, and so forth.¹

Abbé Étémare's disciples, such as Joubert, De Fourquevaux, the two Essarts, carried their master's ideas a step further. In 1731 the figurist teaching began to take root among the convulsionists. The war of the beast of the Apocalypse against the Saints, so it was reckoned, had begun with the royal declaration of March 24th, 1730, and in September, 1733, it would come to an end. The time of Elias' return was known and preparations were being made to meet him. For the rest the adherents of figurism were not exclusively recruited from the ranks of dreamers among the common people, they also included the Jansenist Bishops Colbert, Soanen and Varlet together with La Roche, the editor of the Jansenist newspaper. The Deacon Pâris was also said to have been a figurist.²

Figurism did not simply remain a method of scriptural interpretation, on the contrary, it ended by becoming a formal sect which held that the world was so stained with sin that retribution and the last Judgment could not be far off. Not a few of its members purposely committed every imaginable

¹ [PATOUILLET], II., 439 seq., cf. 354; Extract from *De l'avènement d'Élie*, *ibid.*, I., 148-156, from *Conjectures des derniers temps* (1733), *ibid.*, 308 seq., from *Discours sur les Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* (by LE GROS), *ibid.*, 457 seq. Prophecy that a Jew would become Pope, *ibid.*, 460.

² Colbert (in MANGENOT, *loc. cit.*, 2302) wrote in 1737: "Isaïe voit un temps où les étoiles du ciel seront languissantes, les cieus se plieront . . . Qui peut douter que le ciel dans toutes ces prophéties ne désigne l'Église, que le soleil, la lune et les étoiles ne soient le symbole des docteurs," etc. ([PATOUILLET], II., 290). On the figurism of the *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques*, *ibid.*, III., 163. Soanen wrote an essay in favour of the miracles of Pâris (FLEURY, LXXV., 247).

enormity so as to fill up the measure of sin as quickly as possible, in order to hasten the coming of the Judge. Others proclaimed themselves to be God's heralds and the forerunners of the Judge of the world. "Brother Augustine," viz. Jean Robert Cosse, styled himself servant of the servants of God, forerunner of Elias and fourth person in the Blessed Trinity: he would lie on a table, in the attitude of the Lamb of God, and demand adoration. Abbé Vaillant claimed to be Elias and founded the "Eliseans".¹ The "Convulsionists", we read, in a letter of the time,² "have got it into their heads that Elias would come to renew the Church, but that all crimes must first reach their height and must previously be expiated by the zeal of the brethren, on the site of the monastery of Port-Royal-des-Champs. In Paris they organized nocturnal processions of expiation; they marched to Port-Royal, that is, to the spot where the convent had stood; there they slew an animal, after which they marked with its blood all the houses—as far as Versailles—which would be spared by the Destroying Angel at the coming of Elias. They then drew lots to ascertain which of their number should be crucified in expiation of sin: the lot fell on a certain Abbé Sévin. They were already in the act of scourging him, in spite of his resistance, when he exclaimed that a victim must be willing to be sacrificed, but that he did not yet feel the proper dispositions of a victim; the Saviour Himself had sweated blood in the Garden of Olives before His Passion. Thereupon he was given twenty-four hours in which to get himself into the appropriate frame of mind, but at the expiration of the time limit Abbé Sévin was nowhere to be found.

One is tempted to think that it was fortunate for the first Jansenists that their bodies no longer reposed in the cemetery of Port-Royal; scenes such as those described would have made them turn in their graves, as the saying is. Yet at bottom Port-Royal was responsible even for the follies of the

¹ CAHEN, 49.

² DUBUISSON, *Lettres au Marquis de Caumont*, éd. Roussel, Paris, 1882, 6 seq. Cf. FLEURY, LXXV., 73, 246 seq.

Convulsionists.¹ The spirit of rebellion against the authority of the Church which had grown up there was bound, in the end, to lead to utter recklessness. In the case of reasonable people, convulsionism stripped Jansenism of all its prestige; Pâris' grave became its grave also. Religion was most grievously injured by Pâris' "miracles" and all that accompanied them; unbelief, which was spreading more and more, used them as a weapon against the miracles of the Gospel and Christian miracles in general; David Hume, the well-known sceptic, exploited them for his purpose.² For all that, miracles and convulsions served the cause of Jansenism with the broad masses of the people. Of efficacious grace the ordinary man understood nothing whatever, but the spectacle of the miracles and convulsions roused his curiosity and attracted him: two-thirds of the people of the capital, says Barbier,³ were Jansenists.

The Jansenists enjoyed one final triumph when in 1735 the Bishop of Saint-Papoul went over to them. Jean Charles de Ségur began life as an army officer, later on he became an Oratorian for a time, but he never made any serious studies and knew no Latin.⁴ Soon after leaving the Congregation,

¹ "Quas foeditates [convulsionistarum et fanaticorum] cum legeremus, in mentem nobis venit, Iansenianorum per simulationem pietatis iactare se volentium in Ecclesia, quam graviter superbiam Deus perculerit, et pestilentissimae sectae conatus ad haec dedecora tandem rediisse permiserit, quasi dixerit Dominus: Revelabo pudenda tua . . ." (*Nahum*, 3, 5), thus Clement XIII., on November 14, 1764, to the Bishop of Sarlat (*Bull. Cont.*, III., Romae, 1838, 22).

² D. HUME, *An Enquiry concerning human understanding*, sect. 10 (*Essays and Treatises on several subjects*, II., London, 1777, 133). The *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* put (December 24, 1731), Pâris miracles on a par with the miracles of Christ. [PATOUILLET], III., 156 seq.

³ HARDY, 164.

⁴ "L'abbé de Ségur, disait d'Orsanne, n'a point de théologie et ne sait pas même le latin" (PICOT in *Biographie universelle*, XLI., 474).

when 28 years of age, he became Bishop of Saint-Papoul. He supported the Bull *Unigenitus* but likewise entered into relations with Soanen and Colbert. As a result of their influence he resigned in 1735, begged his diocese to forgive his having defended the Bull, gave a belated adhesion to the appeal of the four Bishops in 1717 and finally went into retirement.¹ The document in which he announced his action called forth immense joy among the Jansenists,² but a decree of the Council of State of April 2nd, 1735, suppressed it. The Archbishops of Embrun and Tours and the Bishops of Laon and Châlons publicly expressed their indignation,³ all the more so as, following Ségur's example, the Bishops of Grenoble and Agde withdrew all that they had done against Soanen at the Council of Embrun.⁴

(4.)

Fleury's efforts to get the Bull generally accepted were not without success with the University of Paris and the religious communities.

The Sorbonne had submitted to the Bull under the pontificate of Benedict XIII., at the time of Vintimille's appointment as Archbishop, so that there remained nothing for Clement XII. to do except to congratulate the Faculty.⁵ This he repeated in a letter addressed to the King,⁶ after the Faculty of Philosophy had followed the example of its theological sister Faculty. The submission of the philosophical Faculty was of the utmost importance because in its hand

¹ Mandement of February 26, 1735, in [NIVELLE], II., I, 676-9.

² Letter of Soanen and Colbert, *ibid.*, 679 *seq.* The Paris advocates also congratulated him (HARDY, 313).

³ [PATOUILLET], I., 10; FLEURY, LXXV., 49.

⁴ FLEURY, LXXV., 48. On the precautions taken by the police, see HARDY, 314.

⁵ Brief of January 16, 1731, in FERET, VI., 105.

⁶ October 2, 1739, *ibid.*, 105 *seq.*

lay the training of youth, and the Rector, the Syndic and the Archivist were chosen from among its members, as were also the assessors of the Rector who decided all general questions in conjunction with him.¹ It was to be expected that such a change would not come about unopposed, but Fleury intervened energetically and enforced his will.² To the other Universities, Colleges and Seminaries the Cardinal also gradually assigned teachers of proved loyalty to the Church,³ and he even interviewed in person when there was question of suppressing printed works.⁴

Fleury met with greater difficulties in dealing with the religious Orders than with the Universities. His chief success in this sphere was achieved precisely with that religious body which had offered the strongest opposition to him, viz. the celebrated Benedictine Congregation of the Maurists. At their last General Chapter in 1729 it had been found impossible to get the Bull *Unigenitus* accepted. In the following year fifteen Superiors met again in council. The Minister of Police, Hérault, was present at the deliberations and by command of the King no one was permitted to take part in the assembly, or assume any office in the Order, who did not submit to the Bull. The formula submitted for signature, in which the Bull was recognized as a law of Church and State, was subscribed to, with but one exception, by all the fifteen members headed by Alaidon, the General of the Congregation.⁵

¹ HARDY, 330 *seq.* On the withdrawal of the appeal by the "artium facultas", Clement XII. sent special laudatory *Briefs to Cardinal Fleury on July 14, 1739, and to the King on October 2, 1739. *Epist.*, VIII.-X., Papal Secret Archives.

² HARDY, 331-2; [NIVELLE], I., app. 181-4, and the documents, *ibid.*, 184-208. A *Brief to Cardinal Fleury, dat. March 19, 1737, praising him for this and further exhorting him, in *Epist.*, VI., Papal Secret Archives.

³ HARDY, 333 *seq.*; FLEURY, LXXVI., 266-276.

⁴ HARDY, 335 *seq.*

⁵ [NIVELLE], II., 2, 665 *seq.* On Alaidon, *cf.* P. DENIS in *Rev. hist. Ardennaise*, XVI. ((1909), 5-50.

However, this represented no great gain. Those of the Monks who were opposed to the Bull, refused to accept the decision of the assembly and a number of them made a written protest.¹ Consequently the Government, which was dissatisfied with Alaidon also, kept a close observation, down to the smallest detail, on the preparations for the next General Chapter, which was put off until 1733.² In spite of these precautions the elections of delegates by the Provincial Chapters were not in accordance with the hopes of the supporters of the Constitution³; many refrained from voting on the plea that the election was not free.

The General Chapter, which met on July 1st, 1733, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Tours, Rastignac, proved very stormy. Twenty-two out of the thirty-two delegates refused to subscribe to the formula by which they were to accept the Bull and revoke all contrary steps. Thereupon Rastignac consented to the delegates signing the formula merely in their own name, not as delegates, of their provinces, but even so eighteen delegates refused their signature, for which they were excluded from the deliberations of the assembly. They then declared that the remaining fourteen, two of whom had held back for a time, could not be considered as representing the Order, but when consulted by the Archbishop, the King ordered the deliberations to be proceeded with. In place of Alaidon, who had died, Hervé Menard was elected General and with few exceptions, in the case of less important houses, the opponents of the Constitution were removed from all posts of authority.⁴ It was to be expected that already during the Chapter and afterwards loud protests would be raised both against the action of the fourteen and against the newly appointed Superiors: they would only be obeyed in order to avoid more grievous mischief.⁵

¹ [NIVELLE], II., 2, 666.

² *Ibid.*, 668.

³ *Ibid.*, 670-8. Remonstrances to the future General Congregation, dat. June 24, 1733, *ibid.*, 674 *seq.* Pâris' miracles are therein acknowledged (676) as authentic.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 678-685.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 685-715.

However, things were not so desperate as they looked. The new General, Menard, took vigorous steps for the restoration of peace. Cardinal De Bissy, as Commendatory Abbot of Saint Germain-des Prés, worked in the same sense. True his formula of submission was rejected, as coming from an unauthorized quarter, but he was the means of Thuillier and Le Seur writing a history of the Bull *Unigenitus* and thus clarifying the matter in dispute.¹

Other writings by Thuillier too did not fail to make an impression on many people. The fact that the King withdrew his decree excluding the recalcitrants from all influential positions and expressed his confidence that those who benefited by this concession would not abuse the royal confidence, also greatly helped to calm the excited spirits. One of the chief occasions of exasperation was thus removed, with the consequence that in 1735 many who had at one time opposed the Bull, now informed Rome of their submission, for which they were praised by the Pope: the others were at least prevailed upon to keep silence.² The next General Chapter was held in accordance with the rules. However, it could hardly be said that order had been completely restored because, on the whole, silence was observed about the Bull, but there was hope that in time everything would once more run smoothly. Moreover the most distinguished Maurist scholar, Bernard de Montfaucon (*ob.* 1741) was not an Appellant, nor were such ornaments of the Congregation as Maran, Martène, Bouquet, or if they were, theirs was but a momentary hesitation.³ The long lists of Maurists who, for instance, were supposed to have sided with Soanen when the latter

¹ É. DE BROGLIE, *La société de l'abbaye de St. Germain-des-Prés au XVIII^e. siècle*, II., Paris, 1891, 260.

² PAUL DENIS, *Les Bénédictins de St. Germain-des-Prés et la cour de Rome en 1735*, in *Rev. Mabillon*, IV. (1908), 324-366; BRAUNMÜLLER in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VIII.², 1076. Cf. *Brief of August 30, 1736, to Claude du Pré commending him for his and Menard's good services, *Epist.*, VI., Papal Secret Arch.

³ BRAUNMÜLLER, *loc. cit.* Cf. FLEURY, LXXIV., 481.

was condemned,¹ are largely forgeries.² For the rest the Congregation had by then passed its peak.

Under Fleury also, as had repeatedly happened in the history of Jansenism, a community of nuns drew attention to itself by its obstinacy.³ Father Joseph, Richelieu's collaborator—the "Grey Eminence" as he was called—had founded the Society of the Ladies of Calvary. The institute was governed by a college of three Superiors which, at the death of any one of its three members, always completed itself by a free election. In 1737 this college consisted of the Jansenist Bishops Colbert of Montpellier, Bossuet of Troyes and Caylus of Auxerre; the whole Congregation was of course Jansenist. At the death of Colbert in 1738, Clement XII., at the King's request, issued a Brief⁴ by which he conferred plenary powers of visitation on the Archbishop of Paris for the convents of his diocese, for a period of four years, and for the other houses to the ordinaries for a period of two years. At the end of the two years all reports of the visitations and proposals of reform were to be forwarded to the Archbishop who was empowered to choose his advisers, and in conjunction with them to reform the Society, to depose all Superiors, even the highest, and to appoint others in their place. A royal decree⁵ declared that the Brief was not contrary to Gallican liberties and must be put in execution. As was to be expected the Archbishop met with opposition. The nuns declared in writing⁶ that they were filled with deepest respect for Vintimille and Clement XII. but refused to submit to the Brief seeing that it had not been registered with Parliament. In like manner they refused to recognize the validity of the deposition of their Superioress General

¹ [NIVELLE], I., App. 71-3.

² According to LA TASTE, *Lettres théologiques, Lettre 21*, part 3, p. 1641, in [PATOUILLET], II., 199; letter of P. de la Prade to Chauvelin, October 22, 1728, HARDY, 146, n. 1.

³ HARDY, 327-330; FLEURY, LXXVI., 277-281.

⁴ August 1, 1738, in [NIVELLE], II., 2, 562-4.

⁵ November 10, 1738, *ibid.*, 564 *seq.*

⁶ December 11, 1738, *ibid.*, 565 *seq.*

a circumstance which caused the latter to be sent into banishment. There followed petitions to the King and to Fleury, protests by the former Superiors Bossuet and Caylus, intervention by Parliament and a protest by the nuns against the election of a new Superioress General.¹ The affair dragged on until 1741. It is characteristic of the "Gallican liberties" that they would not even suffer the Pope to call to order a handful of refractory nuns.²

In his eagerness to leave nothing undone for the restoration of peace, Fleury had recourse once again, in 1735, to the means which had so often proved useless, namely the bringing together of the conflicting parties by declarations of the Bull. The twelve articles which were said to have come very near being approved under Benedict XIII., were put forward once more, though reduced to eight. Theologians of both sides were heard, among them the Jansenist Nicolas Petitpied, who had been allowed to return from Holland two years earlier, and Colbert of Montpellier. The result of the conversations was the draft of a Bull which was forwarded to Rome for papal approval. It was strongly recommended to the Pope by the French ambassador, the Duke de Saint-Aignan. Clement XII was not unwilling, but he expressed a wish that some one, for instance De Tencin, Archbishop of Embrun, should come to Rome for further discussions. However, no conclusion was reached.³ Clement XII. hoped for very little from attempts at reconciliation and general ordinances in this sense.⁴ He considered the Jansenist question as definitely

¹ *Ibid.*, 566-577.

² A declaration of the Carmelite Nuns of Lectoure against the Bull (beginning of July, 1735), *ibid.*, 596 *seq.*

³ FLEURY, LXXV., 266 *seqq.* On the steps taken by the nuns after the death of Caylus to obtain from Benedict XIV. the appointment of Bishop Fitzjames as their superior, *cf.* E. DE HEECKEREN, *Correspondance, DE BENOIT, XIV.*, vol. 2, Paris, 1912, 341, 351.

⁴ *Cf.* *Raccolta di scritt. sopra le cose di Francia colla corte di Roma dell' a 1730 e seg., *Cod.* 32, f. 3-6, Corsini Library, Rome, and *Lettere di Nuntii Apost. di Francia al C. Corsini 1730-1740, *Cod.* 32, f. 8, *ibid.*

decided and merely requested the King to give effect to the decrees issued long ago.¹ He also strove to avoid whatever might give rise to fresh conflicts. When a number of people pressed him to prohibit the great Bossuet's defence of the four Gallican Articles, he refrained from doing so, out of regard for so deserving a prelate and in order not to provoke a fresh dispute.² But he nevertheless saw himself compelled to take action against the Quesnellists in particular cases. Thus he proceeded more than once against Bishop Colbert of Montpellier. When the Chapter of that city submitted to the Bull *Unigenitus*, Colbert was so angry that he declared the action of the Chapter null and void and forbade the faithful of his diocese to receive the Bull without his permission. Clement XII.'s answer was a Brief,³ couched in the severest terms and condemning Colbert's treatment of his Chapter. The Parliament of Paris on its part declared the papal Brief as of no effect⁴ in an ordinance which also attacked the decree of the Inquisition against a biography of Pâris.⁵ Colbert's pastoral letter in defence of the Jansenist miracles⁶ was once more prohibited by Rome,⁷ whereupon that obstinate prelate brought to the notice of his flock an alleged miracle by Pâris in the diocese of Montpellier. The new pastoral letter shared the same fate as the previous one—it was condemned by the Pope.⁸

The Jansenists' hankering after miracles was rebuked in

¹ LAFITAU, II., 296.

² Letter of Benedict XIV. to the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, *Anal. iur. pontif.*, XVII. (1878), 29; R. DE MARTINIS, *Benedicti XIV. Acta*, Neapoli, 1894, 555; REUSCH, II., 833.

³ August 22, 1731, *Bull.*, XXIII., 283 *seq.* FLEURY, LXXIII., 495 *seqq.*

⁴ September 28, 1731, in [NIVELLE], III., 972.

⁵ August 22, 1731, see above, p. 445.

⁶ February 1, 1733, [NIVELLE], II., 1, 357.

⁷ October 3, 1733, FLEURY, LXXIV., 686.

⁸ October 11, 1734, *Bull.*, XXIV., 8; FLEURY, *loc. cit.*; REUSCH, II., 748. Some obscure statements on other steps taken by the Pope against Colbert in FLEURY, LXXV., 79.

yet another papal manifesto, namely in the Bull of canonization of St. Vincent de Paul.¹ There we read that Vincent had been glorified by God by miracles at the very time when the innovators strove to spread their errors in France, to disturb the peace of the Church and to detach the faithful from their unity with the Holy See by the publication of false and imaginary miracles. Twenty parish priests of Paris declared that these remarks were obviously meant for them, because they had often spoken in favour of the miracles of Pâris. They accordingly appealed to Parliament and protested against the registration of the Bull.² A lawyer's memorial³ and a parliamentary ordinance⁴ approved their action. This was the last joint petition of the parish priests of Paris against ecclesiastical authority. However, at the prayer of Vincent de Paul's sons, the Lazarists, Louis XV. quashed the judgment of Parliament which again lodged a protest against that measure.⁵ One reason for the opposition of the Jansenist priests to the glorification of the new Saint was the circumstance that Vincent had been a decided opponent of the rising heresy.⁶ On other points also the Pope came in conflict

¹ June 16, 1737, *Bull.*, XXIV., 232 *seqq.*

² [NIVELLE], I., App. 145. Cf. the *Cifra to Nuncio D'Elce, January 23, 1738, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 441, p. 396, Papal Sec. Arch.

³ January 16, 1738, [NIVELLE], I., App. 145 *seq.* (cf. p. XXXII.); [PATOUILLET], I., 330; II., 479.

⁴ January 22, 1738, [NIVELLE], *loc. cit.*; HARDY, 310 *seq.*

⁵ June 28, 1738, [NIVELLE], III., 464 *seq.*

⁶ FLEURY, LXXV., 482 *seqq.* Already in 1672 the Jansenists raised a protest on that account against Abelly's "Life of Vincent" ([PATOUILLET], I., 355). The Jansenist work "L'advocat du diable" calls Vincent "un infâme délateur et un exécrationnable boutefeu" (*ibid.*, 178). On June 28 Parliament defended the suppression of the Bull by saying that it "établit des maximes contraires à celles du royaume" and that it "tend à troubler la tranquillité de Vos sujets"; that it teaches by Vincent's example "le recours immédiat au Saint-Siège" and favours "ces mouvements impétueux qui les [the priests] porteroient à proposer, solliciter, presser les mouvements violens, les voix

with Parliament, as, for instance, in connection with the affairs of the Archbishop of Cambrai.¹

Twice Clement XII., much against his inclination, was obliged to attend to the Jansenists in Holland. Archbishop Barchman, whom they had appointed by their own authority, died in 1732. Twice during Clement XII.'s pontificate, in 1733 and in 1739, they gave him a successor in the person of Theodore van der Croon and John Meindaerts, and twice the Pope seized the opportunity of condemning such presumption in the same terms as his predecessors had done.² When van der Croon informed Rome of his election, he received no reply whatever, and when the votes of the Chapter of Utrecht fell on Meindaerts, a Brief of condemnation was issued, it would seem, even before an official announcement had reached the Eternal City.³ Van der Croon appealed to a General Council and invoked the intervention of the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines, but the latter rejected the request in the most unequivocal manner,⁴ an act which earned for him Clement XII.'s approval.⁵ Van der Croon was equally unlucky when he requested the State to subject all the Catholics

d'autorité pour trancher les contestations qui arrivent dans l'Église" (*loc. cit.*, 464). Cf. FLEURY, LXXVI., 1-19.

¹ See above, p. 435, and Brief of January 26, 1740, *Bull.*, XXIV., 667. Of the same day are two Briefs against LOUAILCADRY's History of the Bull *Unigenitus* and Courayer's translation of Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*. *Ibid.*, 664 *seq.*; FLEURY, LXXV., 351 *seq.*

² Briefs of February 17, 1735 (in MOZZI, III., 107-111) and of October 6, 1739 (*ibid.*, 112-16; *Bull.*, XXIV., 591). Croon received letters of recognition from the Jansenist Bishops of Montpellier (December 28, 1734) and Sénez (February 18, 1735); see *Recueil des témoignages*, 282 *seq.* Meindaerts was recognized by the Bishops of Sénez (December 7, 1739), Auxerre (March 15, 1753) and Luçon (August 15, 1755), *ibid.*, 112-15.

³ MOZZI, II., 290, 312.

⁴ Two letters: Malines, January 14 and September 18, 1736, in ROSKOVÁNY, III., 126 *seqq.*, 134 *seqq.*

⁵ Brief of June 30, 1736, *ibid.*, 137 *seq.*

in the seven Provinces to his jurisdiction.¹ Attempts at a compromise with the internuncio in Brussels could scarcely be meant seriously since the Jansenist party was determined beforehand not to accept the Bull *Unigenitus*.²

Clement XII. protested against Meindaert's election; he had to leave to his successor, Benedict XIV., the duty of opposing his consecration.³ The latter Pope had to busy himself repeatedly with the Jansenist Church of Holland.

(5.)

There exists a document of the year 1735 with the following title: "Memorial of the Sacred Congregation of the Cardinals." The document contains proposals for a united action by all the Catholic Princes for the purpose of winning back for Catholicism the various Protestant States of Europe. Forceful means were to be employed, according to a uniform plan, under the guidance of the Pope. The Protestant Princes of Germany "were to be punished as rebels with the edge of the sword in body and soul".⁴

The ideal of united Catholic action and the efficacy of papal influence which is here taken for granted, was in sharp contrast with reality. The Protestants assuredly were greatly divided, and Calvinists and Lutherans were for ever at war among themselves, but this opposition was abundantly compensated for by the political antagonism between the Great Catholic Powers, especially between France and the Emperor. To this must be added the fact that the States which had remained Catholic were infected by the new spirit of hostility to the Church, and most of them

¹ MOZZI, II., 290.

² *Ibid.*, 288.

³ Brief of January 24, 1741, *ibid.*, III., 117 *seqq.*; *Bull.*, BENEDICTI XIV., vol. I., 13; ROSKOVÁNY, III., 152.

⁴ The document is printed in DROYSEN, IV., 4, 417-433; the words quoted also in WINDBERG, *Die sog. Denkschrift der Heiligen Kongregation*, 1735, Leipzig, 1900, 47.

were involved in conflicts with the Holy See. The memorial was long considered as authentic even by Protestant historians of mark,¹ but to-day it is unanimously regarded as a clumsy forgery.²

How little the Holy See was bent at that time on a forcible conversion of the Protestants appears from Clement XII.'s memorable attempt to win over the Protestant Saxons, whose ruling House had become Catholic, by guaranteeing to them, by a Bull of July 9th, 1732, the undisputed possession of all secularized Church property in the event of their return to the Catholic Church.³ The attempt was abortive, but even

¹ DROYSEN, IV., 4, 416, and in *Berliner Sitzungsbericht*. 1869, 663 seqq.; also RANKE, *Zwölf Bücher preuss. Geschichte*, VI., 5, 228, but in the most recent edition he no longer holds this opinion.

² *Academy*, 1872; *Katholik*, 1891, II., 1 seqq.; DUHR, *Jesuiten-fabeln*, 816 seqq.; ERDMANNSDÖRFFER, II., 392; HILTEBRANDT in *Quellen und Forschungen*, XIII., 136 seqq.; WINDBERG, 32, 56, 60. How strong a sense of solidarity obtained at that time among all Protestants was seen when the Archbishop of Salzburg, Leop. Ant. v. Firmian (on his counter-reformation activities see *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XXXV., 473 seqq.), acting in accordance with the axiom "Cuius regio, eius religio", compelled his Protestant subjects (about 22,000) to emigrate by decree of October 31, 1731. Cf. WIDMANN, III., 384 seqq.; MENZEL, X., 197-218; also the earlier essay of L. CLARUS, *Die Auswanderung der protestantisch gesinnten Salzburger in den Jahren 1731 und 1732*, Innsbruck, 1864, as also the work of C. FR. ARNOLD, based on official documents, though not always reliable and to the point: *Die Vertreibung der Salzburger Protestanten und ihre Aufnahme bei den Glaubensgenossen*, Leipzig, 1901. Also the contemporary work: *Sammlung Einiger der Vornehmsten In dem Salzburgischen Emigrations-Wesen Bisshero öffentlich zum Vorschein gekommenen Schrifften und Glaubhaften Urkunden*, von D. H. I., Augsburg, 1732. For the bibliography, see DOBLHOFF, *Beiträge zum Quellenstudium salzburgischer Landeskunde*, Heft 4: *Zur Emigrations-literatur*.

³ In the consistory of July 21, 1732, according to the **Acta consist.* (*Barb.* 2923, Vatican Library), the Pope said: Solicitude for the salvation of souls urges Us especially in the case of Saxony "in qua novissimis temporibus haeresis exorta in alias subinde

a Protestant scholar has recently observed that it does not deserve the contempt with which it is usually treated.¹

There is no lack of proof of the fact that the Catholics of Germany were very much on the defensive. In the North-German Diaspora, difficulties were such that in 1731 the Pope was obliged to appeal to the Emperor for help.² In the course of the same year complaints were made by the Catholics in the territory of Cleve of oppression by the Prussian Government,³ whereas the adherents of the ancient Church in the

provincias et regna misere influxit, et ad quam revocandam atque in S. Ecclesiae sinum reducendam tot labores et vigilias praedecessores Nostri Rom. Pont. impenderunt. Cum autem diu multumque apud animum Nostrum cogitaverimus, quae potuerint difficultates occurrere, quominus eorum consilia prosperum optatumque successum haberent, praecipuum divini operis impedimentum inde provenire putavimus, quod plerique aegre admodum in animum possent inducere, ut ea bona dimitterent, quae olim ad ecclesias pertinebant, iisque vitae commodis, quibus consueverant, et ipsi carerent et eorum liberi destituerentur, nec suppeteret, unde aliter ea fortunarum detrimenta reique familiaris dispendia resarcirent". In order to remove difficulties, We have decided, after consulting the Cardinals and following the examples of Our predecessors and the intention of Clement XI., to restore their possessions to those who are converted, etc. Here follows a Brief ("fore autem confidimus, ut quos calumniatorum licentia a via veritatis abduxit, hoc Nostrae caritatis studio intelligant, a Nobis cuncta conferri, ut reportemus finem fidei Nostrae, salutem animarum; We pray God to help Us that not only Saxony but the other provinces also may return to the Roman Church"), and a decree regarding Saxony; the latter is printed in *Bull*, XXIII., 414 seqq. Cf. L. RICHTER, *Klemens XII. an die protestantischen Sachsen*, 1732, Leipzig, 1831.

¹ HERMELINK in *Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch*, XXIV., 609 seqq. A Bull of July 13, 1735, granted the ecclesiastical possessions "in Palatinatu inferiore et duc. Neoburg," to those who became Catholics (*Bull*, XXIV., 59 seqq.).

² See *Brief of December 27, 1731, *Epist.*, I.-II., Papal Secret Archives. Also the Brief to the Dowager Empress, Amalie, *ibid.*

³ See *Brief to Archbishop Clement Augustus of Cologne, December 8, 1730, *ibid.*

March of Brandenburg enjoyed a large measure of tolerance under King Frederick William I.,¹ but any considerable expansion of the Catholic Church was not to be thought of.² When the Catholic Duke Charles Alexander became ruler of Württemberg in 1733, he was obliged to subscribe to conditions in the religious sphere which confirmed anew the painful situation of the Catholics.³ The Pope also appealed to the Emperor with a view to the preservation of the Catholic religion in Hungary.⁴

(6.)

In the mission field Clement XII. showed his zeal by his solicitude for the missionary training colleges. The most

¹ Cf. the report probably drawn up for Clement XII., in *Quellen und Forschungen*, V., 126 seqq.

² On the situation, cf. also ROTTMANNER, *Der Kardinal von Bayern*, 35 seqq. Some conversions caused a sensation: as, for example, that of Prince Frederick of Birkenfeld-Zweibrücken and Crown Prince Frederick of Hessen-Kassel (MENZEL, XI., 114-123), the Prince of Sittenberg, 1734 (**Cod. Ottob.*, 3157, Vatican Library), and Baron Pöllnitzer, 1730 (**Cod.* 1054, Corsini Library, Rome). On Senator Bielke's relations with Clement XII., see LEBRET, *Magazin*, III., 403 seqq., 424 seqq., and BILDT, *Svenska Minnen och Märken i Rom*, Stockholm, 1900, 41 seq.; picture of his tomb in S. Brigita (p. 40); Inscriptions in FORCELLA, I., 81, 86; IX., 304.

³ Cf. STÄLIN, in *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XV., 368 seq.; *Die altwürttembergischen Religionsreversalien von 1733*, in *Beilage der Augsburgener Postzeitung*, 1898, n. 6. *Reports in *Nunziat. di Germania*, 239 (Lettere di Vienna, 1734), Papal Secret Archives. When, after the death of Charles Alexander (March 12, 1737), attempts were made to convert the ducal family to Protestantism (cf. MENZEL, X., 225 seqq.), Clement XII., by *Brief of March 27, 1738, asked the Bishop of Constance and Augsburg to use his influence as Director of the circle of Swabia to oppose these efforts. *Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ Cf. *Brief of January 19, 1732, *ibid.*

important of these institutions, Propaganda in Rome, was chronically in financial straits : according to a calculation of Forteguerra the expenditure exceeded the income of 3,321,990 scudi by as much as 530,319 scudi. Already under Benedict XIII. the College had made various proposals to the Pope with a view to relieving its rising financial embarrassment ; Clement XII. ordered a visitation and laid down directions for the payment of debts and the balancing of income and expenditure.¹

A Franciscan missionary College in Sardinia was subject to Propaganda ; the Pope gave proof of his benevolence towards the establishment by guaranteeing once more its independence from subordinate superiors which it had enjoyed until then.² A Franciscan College for the upkeep of the missions in the mountainous district of Cimapan in Mexico also received papal confirmation.³ Matteo Ripa, a missionary in China, who had gone to the Far East with the bearers of the Cardinal's biretta destined for Tournon, conceived the plan of founding a College for training native missionaries in China itself. After Kanghi's death, he made a beginning at Naples where he acquired a house in 1724. With Clement's approval⁴ he opened there the College of the Holy Family which sent out its first two missionaries to China on September 10th, 1733. The rules of the house⁵ also received papal approval.⁶ At Ripa's request Charles VI. took the College under his patronage.⁷ Up to this time the young clerical

¹ Chirografo of February 26, 1733, *Ius pontif.*, VII., 116 *seqq.*

² October 16, 1730, *ibid.*, II., 423.

³ July 23, 1733, *ibid.*, 442. The college was erected by Benedict XIII., on April 3, 1727, *ibid.*

⁴ April 7, 1732, *ibid.*, 431 *seq.* ; RIPA, *Storia della fondazione della Congregazione e del Collegio de' Cinesi, scritta dallo stesso fondatore*, Napoli, 1832. Cf. BALAN, VI., 1306.

⁵ Printed in *Bull.*, XXIV., 122.

⁶ April 16, 1736, *Ius pontif.*, II., 477. Favours and privileges for the College, *ibid.*, 488, 490.

⁷ THOMAS, 342, where the inscriptions on the collegiate church and on Ripa's tomb (*ob.* 1746) are reproduced.

students of the Greek Rite in Lower Italy had been obliged to get their training in Latin Colleges, a circumstance which was not without many inconveniences ; accordingly Clement XII. provided for them a College of their own Rite at Ullano, in the diocese of Bisignano, by allocating to them a Benedictine Abbey together with the necessary means.¹ The Superior of the new " Corsini Seminary " was to be a Bishop, having the right of ordaining the so-called Italo-Greeks in both Sicilies² and exempt, together with the Seminary, from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Bisignano. The first Bishop of the College was Felix Samuel Rodota.³ For the formation of missionaries amongst the Maronites, Clement XI. had founded a College in Rome, near the church of SS. Marcellinus and Peter, and had sent for some Monks from Mount Lebanon.⁴ Clement XII. approved the Monks' Rules and Constitutions⁵ ; in the same way he also confirmed the Rules of the Greek-Melchite Congregation of St. John the Baptist of Soairo, on Mount Lebanon,⁶ which had a College in Rome for the training of missionaries for the East. The Pope assigned to the College the church of S. Maria in Domnica.

In other respects also Clement XII. had to busy himself with the faithful of Lebanon.⁷ With a view to the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline in all its purity, the Maronite Patriarch and his Bishops prayed the Pope to commission their countryman, the learned librarian of the Vaticana, Joseph Simon Assemani, to take part in a national Synod. The synod was held in 1736 ; it was attended by fourteen Maronite, two

¹ October 11, 1732, *Ius pontif.*, II., 436 seq.

² *Ibid.*, 458 seqq. Cf. confirmation of the rules (printed, *ibid.*, VII., 122 seqq., and in *Bull. Propag.*, II., 211 seqq.), April 16, 1736, *Ius pontif.*, II., 481.

³ *Ibid.*, 485 seqq. ; cf. 499 seqq. Rodota's commendation and favours for the college, *ibid.*, VII., 122.

⁴ Clement XII., on March 31, 1732, *ibid.*, II., 428 seq.

⁵ March 31 and July 14, 1732, *Ius pontif.*, II., 435. The Constitutions in *Bull.*, XXIII., 328 seq.

⁶ September 14, 1739, *Ius pontif.*, II., 505.

⁷ Cf. the documents, *ibid.*, 467 seq.

Greek and two Armenian priests, and among other dispositions, the synodal decrees reduced the bishoprics from sixteen to eight.¹ In accordance with a decision of the synod, the Maronite Monks of the Congregation of S. Isaias sought the papal approval of their Constitutions; Clement XII. granted their request on July 21st, 1738.²

To the Abyssinian Monks in Rome Clement XII. gave the church of St. Stephen.³ The Negus of Abyssinia entertained the idea of reunion with Rome; the Pope accordingly sent out Franciscans.⁴ The Franciscan James of Kremsir was sent to the Patriarch of the Copts,⁵ to exhort him to carry at length into effect the noble plan he had conceived,⁶ to which end the Friar was to obtain his subscription to a profession of faith. Clement XII.'s solicitude for the various eastern Churches was necessarily bound to extend itself also to the Holy Land.⁷ Apart from the above-mentioned efforts on behalf of the Copts and the Abyssinians, all we know of Clement's further steps for the dark Continent is the permission given by him to the Prefect of the Franciscan Mission of Mequinez in Morocco,⁸ to establish at Madrid, subject to Propaganda, a centre for collecting alms for his mission.

We have fuller information about the missionary territories of America. The difficulties and the sacrifices amid which the pastoral ministry was at times carried out in South America are illustrated by a memorial of the Hermits of St. Augustine

¹ *Coll. Lac.*, II., 75 *seqq.*

² *Ius pontif.*, II., 516 *seq.*; VII., 149 *seq.* Favours for the Congregation of the Lebanon and for a Maronite charitable association, *ibid.*, II., 445, 464.

³ January 15, 1731, *ibid.*, 424.

⁴ February 24, 1737, *ibid.*, VII., 140.

⁵ Brief of August 20, 1737, *ibid.*, 141 *seq.*

⁶ "Ut ad ea quae . . . iamdiu meditaris ingentia facinora, tandem manus admoveas."

⁷ Briefs of September 12, 1731, and February 13, 1734, *Ius pontif.*, II., 427, 443.

⁸ August 22, 1738, *ibid.*, 493 *seq.*; BÉTHUNE, *Les missions cath. d'Afrique*, 96; SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 375, n. 3.

and the Dominicans of Peru and Chile. They relate how they attend to their priestly duties in convents far removed from the towns, or situate in miserable hamlets and so poor that they can only maintain from three to six religious, in spite of Paul V.'s decree that communities should consist at least of eight members. This situation had now lasted 120 years and during this period the members were excluded from participation in the provincial chapters. Clement XII. decided that they should enjoy the same rights as their brethren in religion.¹ For the Order of St. Hippolytus in Mexico another difficulty arose from the great distance of individual convents; it was impossible for the Superior-General to visit all the houses within the brief span of three years. Permission was accordingly granted² for the General Chapter of the Order to meet only once in six years. Light is thrown on ideas and conditions by the request of the Mexican Hermits of St. Augustine³—a request which was granted—to the effect that the mulattos and mestizos should not be permitted to join their Order, as it would be a shame if they had to admit persons from the common populace, whose depravity made them the objects of universal contempt. In Brazil the Portuguese Jesuits put up a courageous fight for the freedom of the Indians, though even some of the Bishops complained that their action on behalf of their protégés was detrimental to the State and to the white population. In 1734 King John V. ordered an investigation into these complaints which resulted in the complete justification of the Jesuits.⁴ In order to promote the missions to the pagans, Clement XII. dispensed the French Capuchins from the direction of Canon Law which forbids priests to practise medicine.⁵

The Reductions of Paraguay were still the most flourishing

¹ July 19, 1734, *Ius pontif.*, II., 446.

² April 9, 1735, *ibid.*, 456.

³ August 6, 1739, *ibid.*, 504 *seq.*

⁴ HERGENRÖTHER-KIRSCH, IV., 162; SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*, 400.

⁵ January 5, 1735, *Ius pontif.*, II., 455.

of all the South American missions. However, already at the time of Clement XI.'s death heavy storm clouds were gathering over those happy creations of missionary zeal, clouds that were to discharge all too soon their destructive lightnings. On the whole the Spanish population alone was affected by the revolutionary movements which disturbed the country between 1721 and 1735, first during the struggle for the governorship, and from 1730 to 1735, through the machinations of subversive elements—the so-called *comuneros*—whose domination led to utter chaos.¹ Hatred of the Jesuits as the defenders of the Indians and their freedom did not fail to take advantage of these circumstances. On two occasions, from 1724 to 1728 and from 1732 until the restoration of order in 1735, they were driven from the capital, Asunción. A proposal was made to the King that they should be deprived of the Reductions and the Indians handed over to the owners of *commendas*. Such a measure the Bishop of Asunción, the Franciscan José de Palos, wrote to the King, would be the most effective means “to destroy utterly the most flourishing and the most profitable Christian communities which Your Majesty possesses in America”.²

The Jesuit Province of Paraguay of that time was not co-extensive with the modern Republic of the same name; it also included the whole of the Argentine, Uruguay and parts of Bolivia and Brazil. Consequently the revolutionary movements in Asunción did not interfere with the activities of the Jesuits beyond the boundaries of present day Paraguay. In 1735 the Governor of Tucumán, Juan de Ormaza y Arregui,³ wrote that the Jesuits “have ten Colleges, a Novitiate and two Residences; they are zealous in the discharge of the pastoral ministry and go to the assistance of the secular priests whose

¹ P. LOZANO [ob. 1759], *Historia de las revoluciones de la provincia del Paraguay en la América meridional desde el año de 1721 hasta el de 1735*, Buenos Aires, 1892 and 1905; ASTRÁIN, VII., 506–603.

² ASTRÁIN, VII., 546. A similar suggestion was made already in 1708 (*ibid.*, 495, 497).

³ *Ibid.*, 605 seq.

parishes are so extensive that, but for the zeal of the Jesuits, most of their parishoners would die without the Sacraments. In addition to this, they devote themselves to the elementary education of children, teaching them their letters, as well as to higher education. The only University in those parts, that of Córdoba de Tucumán, is in their care, and through their missions they provide the only religious assistance available to the faithful who are widely scattered over the country". This testimony only refers to the Jesuits' activity among the Spaniards. At the same time the enterprising missionaries also sought to reach those of the Indians who still remained pagans, such as the tribes of the Chaco and southern Brazil and the obdurate Chiriguans among whom, in 1733, Julian Ligardi paid for his zeal with his life.¹

On the other hand these revolutionary movements proved most injurious to the Reductions in Paraguay proper. In 1724 Antequera, who had arrogated to himself the post of Governor, invaded the four nearest Reductions, with the result that the Indians fled into the mountains from which it proved exceedingly difficult to induce them to return. With a view to restoring order the Governor of Buenos Aires, Bruno Mauricio Zabala, enrolled between 8,000 and 10,000 Indians as soldiers. In this way the Reductions were deprived of their labour in the fields and they themselves fell victims to epidemics, so that fresh levies were constantly required. Worse still, the Spanish soldiers infected them with the vices of civilization, thereby rousing the former savage in them. These conditions caused some of the missionaries to lose heart and to fear the early ruin of the Guarani missions, seeing that the Indian population of 141,252 in 1732 had sunk to 107,543 in 1736.²

In the Far East, Corea remained closed to the Gospel. On the other hand, by 1732 there were in the Philippines 816,615 Christians in 700 parishes, of whom 252,973 were subject to the Augustinians, 160,199 to the Jesuits, 131,279 to secular priests, 120,000 to the Franciscans, 98,780 to the

¹ *Ibid.*, 606 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 608 *seq.*

Dominicans, 53,384 to the Recollects. Besides their various houses, the Jesuits had sixteen Colleges.¹

The mission begun in Burma by the Barnabite Calchi² seemed full of promise. The year of Calchi's death, 1728, saw the arrival of two auxiliaries, one of whom, the Propaganda missionary Rossetti, was put in charge of Ava by the Congregation, whilst to the Barnabite Gallizia were assigned the Kingdoms of Pegu and Martabano. As written appeals for help met with no response, the missionaries journeyed in person to Rome where Clement XII. received them graciously, though he felt unable to comply immediately with their request.³ At this time the Paris Seminary had 80,000 Christians in Tongking, the Jesuits 120,000, the Augustinians 30,000, the Dominicans 20,000. In Cochinchina the Christians numbered 60,000.⁴ Among the ten Jesuits of the mission, Fr. Siebert held the post of court mathematician and physician. Among the Jesuits of Tongking the German Caspar Kratz, a native of Golzheim, near Düren, and three of his brethren in religion, sealed their apostolic career with their blood in 1737.⁵

Under Prefect Orazio della Penna, some Jesuits and subsequently Italian Capuchins penetrated from Northern India into Tibet. With the permission of the Dalai Lama they established a convent at Lhasa where they converted a number of Buddhists; in fact the King and the Lama granted them freedom to practise their religion by special letters.⁶ In order to promote their labours as well as with a view to

¹ *Kath. Missionen*, 1880, 224.

² See above, p. 70.

³ GALLO, *Storia del cristianesimo nell' impero Birmano*, I. (1862), 110 seq.

⁴ SCHMIDLIN, 389.

⁵ FR. ORTMANN, *Liber de vita et pretiosa morte ven. P. I. G. Kratz et sociorum*, Augsburg, 1770; *Kath. Missionen*, 1874, Nos. 6 and 7.

⁶ *Missio Apostolica Thibetano-Seraphica*, Romae, 1738; HUC, IV., 12 seqq.; JANN, in *Festschrift für G. Schnürer*, Paderborn, 1930, 128-207.

encouraging the rulers to embrace Christianity and winning their goodwill, Clement XII. dispatched most gracious and friendly Briefs to the King and to the heads of the priests, but a persecution had broken out a year earlier, though without ruining the mission.¹ However, for the time being, no striking successes were realized in Tibet.²

On the situation in China, the Jesuit missionary Romanus Hinderer wrote on August 24th, 1736, that the persecution then raging had begun in the first year of Emperor Yong-Tshing, in the second year it had spread to every province, that it had gone on for thirteen years and was becoming more and more violent.³ Up to the year 1732, besides Peking, the missionaries had been tolerated in Canton also, but on August 18th of that year the Governors of the city informed them that they must all withdraw to Macao: the order had to be complied with. This measure was occasioned by a protest from some Mohammedans who complained that, contrary to the imperial prohibition, Christianity was still being preached at Canton.⁴ When the missionaries drew Yong-Tshing's attention to the fact that Macao had no convenient harbour for communication with Europe, the Emperor allowed three or four of them to remain in Canton; moreover, without counting a few native priests, some thirty European missionaries successfully remained in hiding in the provinces.⁵ At an audience the Emperor reproached the Christians for not honouring the ancestors; such impiety, he said, could not be tolerated. The Europeans quoted the

¹ LAUNAY, *Hist. de la mission du Tibet*, I., 39.

² Brief of February 26, 1733, *Ius pontif.*, VII., 119, n. IX.

³ *Iesuitica in gen.*, fasc. 16, n. 278, State Library, Munich.

⁴ Wolfg. Steinpöck, *Compendiosa narratio persecutionis Cantoniensis motae a. 1732 contra religionem christianam, May 15, 1733, *ibid.*, n. 277. Cf. Le Roux des Hautesrayes in DE MAILLA, XI., 494 seq.

⁵ " *Praeter aliquot sacerdotes Sinenses in variis imperii provinciis agunt occulti Europaei sacerdotes fere 30, singularique Dei providentiae tribuendum, quod nullus ad haec usque tempora denuntiatus sit." Steinpöck, *loc. cit.*

fourth commandment and declared that they too honoured the dead. This answer surprised Yong-Tshing ; he ordered an examination of the Christian teaching, but after a few months their books were returned to them without a reply.¹ The future of the mission seemed desperate,² though hope revived to some extent when Yong-Tshing died on October 7th, 1735. Milder treatment was expected at the hands of his successor Kienlong, but the persecution continued under him also.³

Mezzabarba's legation had failed to restore concord among the missionaries in China. On the one hand the Legate had granted the eight "permissions", but he had also declared that Clement XI.'s decision in the Bull *Ex illa die* was not affected thereby, even though not all the permissions appeared to agree with the Bull.⁴ Nevertheless the protests in Rome by the opponents of the permissions were not at once taken into account. When on August 6th, 1730, the Vicar Apostolic of Shansi and Shensi, Saraceni, titular Archbishop of Lorima, forbade the use of the permissions in regard to the tablets of the ancestors, he was made to withdraw his pastoral letter and this prohibition.⁵ There even followed a decision in the opposite sense. The new Bishop of Peking, the Augustinian Francis of the Purification, had sought to restore concord among the missionaries by means of two letters dated July 6th and December 23rd, 1733, in which he put them under obligation to make use of Mezzabarba's permissions. Thus arose fresh disputes ; Clement XII. accordingly annulled the decrees of the Bishop, who had died in the meantime, and

¹ DE MAILLA, XI., 499 *seq.* Cf. *Steinpöck, *loc. cit.*

² " *In fine Aprilis et initio Maii Macaum pervenerunt litterae Pekinenses. Hae sunt plenae lamentationibus circa statum missionis. . . . Ex variis ecclesiis Pekinensibus advectae huc litterae in hoc consentiunt, ab isto imperatore nihil non timendum et radicem missionis vix tenuibus haerere fibris." Steinpöck, *loc. cit.*

³ DE MAILLA, XI., 512 *seqq.*

⁴ Cf. Vol. XXXIII, p. 483.

⁵ BRUCKER, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 2387.

reserved to himself the right, after mature consideration, to make known to the Chinese Christians the judgment of the Holy See in these matters.¹ The pastoral letter of July 6th had been occasioned by a conference of the Jesuits of Peking with the Bishop. The latter charged the Jesuit Provincial Pinheiro to communicate it to the Franciscan Castorano and others, but they refused to subscribe to it on the ground that, as attested by Pedrini, the missionaries of Propaganda had not been previously informed.² At the end of 1735 Castorano arrived in Rome for the express purpose of obtaining the condemnation of the two pastoral letters and of Mezzabarba's permissions. He obtained the condemnation of the pastorals without difficulty; as for Mezzabarba's permissions, a special committee of the Inquisition was charged to examine them; its task was concluded at the beginning of 1737 and a cardinalitial Congregation was set up for the purpose of giving a final verdict. At the request of the Jesuit General, Fr. Retz, Clement XII. granted a delay pending the arrival in Rome of the Procurator of the Japanese Province who had already reached Lisbon. Retz also sought to obtain the intervention of the King of Portugal.³ The fresh examination of the question was only concluded under Clement XII.'s successor.

On the other hand a conclusion was reached in the dispute

¹ September 26, 1735, *Ius pontif.*, II., 463.

² *Petition of Castorano and others to Propaganda, October 8, 1733. For the rest at this time the witness Pedrini plays a remarkable rôle: on October 9, 1733, three Jesuits attested on oath that together with the Jesuits he had petitioned the Bishop of Peking that the latter would order all the Peking missionaries to observe what he had laid down in his pastoral letter concerning Mezzabarba's permissions; it was his wish that this order be extended to the whole of China. To the Provincial of the Chinese Jesuits he wrote that not only had he addressed this petition to the Bishop, but he would also submit it to the Pope, together with the Jesuits. Propaganda Archives, *Indie Or. e Cina*, 1733-6, Scrittura riferite Congreg., 21, n. 8.

³ *Retz to Carbone at Lisbon, January 5, 1737 (property of the Jesuits).

on the Malabar rites. Benedict XIII.'s decision had not become known in India, hence his successor was requested to take up the matter once more, for in spite of all decrees there still were those who refused to give up their objections or their hopes for mitigations. In six final sessions¹ the Holy Office issued explanations of Tournon's decree. The sixteen points of the decree were confirmed as a whole, though a few individual mitigations were granted.² Thus in particular cases of necessity, a dispensation was granted from the use of the saliva and the breathing on the Catechumen in the rite of Baptism, for a period of ten years, but the candidates could not be given the names of pagan divinities or penitents, though Tournon's order that names should be taken from the Roman Martyrology, became a mere counsel.³ The ceremonies observed when a girl reached the age of puberty were altered by having a different object assigned to them : child marriages were to be regarded as mere betrothals ; only on the attainment of puberty were they to become true marriages which might be celebrated with the customary solemnities. Thus the outward solemnity was preserved whilst the objectionable element was avoided.⁴ Tournon's decision with regard to the translation of Christian expressions was maintained, whilst the decree conceded that the translations already in use were unobjectionable.⁵ The prohibition of the *Taly*—that is the commemorative medal with its objectionable representations, given to the betrothed—was maintained—but the fresh prohibition expressly mentions the fact that the missionaries had never allowed its use. An addition was made to Tournon's directions concerning the Baptism of pariahs which is intelligible enough—it was to the effect that Indians could not be admitted to Baptism if they held that pariahs were rejected by God ; those who did not rid

¹ January 21, April 22, May 13, July 22, September 9 and 16, 1733.

² Brief of August 24, 1734, *Ius pontif.*, II., 448-453.

³ *Loc. cit.*, n. 1-2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 3.

themselves of such a prejudice were themselves cast off by God.¹ The demand that marriages must be contracted according to the Tridentine form, was restricted by a clause stating that this only applied to places where the Council of Trent had been published and the observance of the Tridentine form was possible.² To Tournon's prohibition of marks made on the forehead with ashes the declaration adds that Gregory XV.'s Constitution of January 31st, 1623, should be taken into account, in other words these symbols were not forbidden if they were stripped of every superstitious association.³ For the rest the Cardinals expressed a wish that the missionaries should be formally forbidden to sanction without papal leave, observances peculiar to the pagans or to alter them into Christian ones, and in order to prevent confusion of Christian and pagan customs aspirants to Baptism should be carefully instructed, in accordance with Alexander VII.'s instructions.

This decision seemed destined to put an end to the disputes in India. The defenders of the Malabar rites had promised to obtain submission to the Pope's judgment and the General of the Jesuits issued instructions to his subjects demanding unconditional obedience. Information reached Rome that all the missionaries had subscribed to the papal Brief, that the schism between Jesuits and Capuchins at Pondicherry had come to an end and that all the missionaries had declared their willingness to minister to the pariahs.⁴ Yet there were not wanting complaints of inadequate submission. Clement XII. accordingly renewed his command and demanded from all Bishops and missionaries in India a promise on oath that they would obey the papal prescriptions.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, n. 12.

² *Ibid.*, n. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, n. 15.

⁴ AMANN, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, IX., 1730.

⁵ Brief of May 13, 1739, *Ius pontif.*, II., 501 seqq.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.—LAST YEARS OF CLEMENT XII.'S PONTIFICATE.—THE POPE'S PATRONAGE OF SCHOLARSHIP AND ART.

(1.)

The repeated passage of imperial and Spanish troops and the prolonged rupture of relations between the Holy See and the courts of Naples, Madrid and Lisbon did most grievous injury to Rome and to the States of the Church. Thus the damage done by the imperial troops was reckoned to amount to one and a half million scudi.¹ How adversely social conditions in Rome were affected by the interruption of relations with Spain, Naples and Portugal is graphically described by the Venetian envoy Alvise Mocenigo in his report for the year 1737. Thousands of families, he writes, had sunk from wealth into poverty and many others from an assured existence into misery. An extraordinary large number of Spaniards, Neapolitans and Portuguese who had come to live in Rome for the purpose of obtaining benefices either for themselves or for others, had vanished from the city, and many Romans had followed them in order to seek their fortune elsewhere. The population of the Papal States fell at the same time.²

¹ GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 10.

² The passage in question was first printed in RANKE, III., 222*, then in the complete edition of the report which appeared in Venice in 1864. The population of Rome numbered in 1730 : 145,494 souls ; in 1734, 151,334 ; in 1735, 150,665 ; in 1736, 150,649 ; in 1737, 149,180 ; in 1738, 147,119 ; in 1739, 146,750 ; see *Studie e docum.*, XII., 185 *seq.* On the population of the whole of the States of the Church, see besides CORRIDORE, 22, especially

All credit is due to Clement XII. for refusing to despair in circumstances of such difficulty and for endeavouring, by every means in his power, to bring about an improvement in the conditions which then prevailed in the Papal States.

Before all else it was necessary to remedy the financial straits. The first step towards this end was taken in 1731 when the Pope introduced the *lotto* which yielded considerable sums.¹ The interception of the revenues from Spain, Naples

G. BELOCH, *La popolazione d'Italia nei sec.*, XVI. XVII. e XVIII. Roma, 1888, 16 *seqq.*, according to which the population of the States of the Church (not counting Rome), which in 1701 was 1,841,937 inhabitants, had fallen to 1,656,585 in 1736.

¹ Cf. above, p. 353. A. Mocenigo describes the *lotto* as the "ruina de' popoli", and he compares it to alchemy. What he says on the finances is so interesting that it deserves to be mentioned. He thinks that in Rome there continued to exist a "contrasto del buono e del cattivo costume; alla medesima condizione sono pure le milizie di quello stato, piuttosto destinate ad ornamento di principato che a difesa e moderazione dei popoli, e la piccola squadra delle galere pontificie non merita che io ne trattenga un momento l'eccellent. Senato. Qualche cosa bensì non posso dispensarmi d'esperre alla Serenità Vostra sopra l'economia e l'erario di Roma, non solo messo in rovina, ma incapace assolutamente di ricevere provvedimento che vaglia. Infatti due principi cozzano fra di loro nel governo di Roma per impedire ogni buon regolamento nelle cose economiche. L'uno è il principato elettivo, l'altro il principato assoluto. Il primo fa che le famiglie regnanti nulla curano la miglior conservazione di quei stati, che non si tramandano alla posteriorità. Il secondo, che non trova riparo qualunque malversazione. Si pretende inoltre originata dall'instituzione de' Monti la piaga insanabile di tre milioni di scudi riservati in Castel S. Angelò sotto i più stretti vincoli: ma dei quali presentemente mancano per lo meno $\frac{2}{3}$ del capitale, quando la Camera regolarmente paga il frutto dell'intero. Niente minore è l'aggravio assunto da Innocenzo XI. nell'abolizione dei dodici chiericati di Camera, avendo dovuto restituire il danaro in ragione di 60^m scudi per uno. Anche Papa Clement XI. ha lasciati di debito alla Camera presso di sei milioni di scudi, i quali sono anche accresciuti sotto li pontificati seguenti. Le rendite dello stato non reggono alle spese ordinarie, che vi si

and Portugal was all the more painfully felt as the budget of the Papal States was intimately linked to that of the Holy See. The State was unable to make up for the loss of revenue from the above-named countries. It was all the more difficult to make good the deficit as it was necessary to pay interest on the huge public debt, whilst Clement XII., who personally lived very simply,¹ was unwilling to give up the patronage of the arts which his predecessors had also practised. Thus recourse was finally had to the expedient of issuing paper money, but the remedy only increased the evil. The paper money became an object of traffic which even people of humble condition were obliged to purchase, at a serious loss to themselves, for no notes below the value of twenty scudi were issued. The capital of the banks of S. Spirito and Monte di Pietà, which issued the notes, fell from one million to 130,000 scudi. The debts of the *Monti* were for the most part owing to foreigners, Genoese and Florentines, who spent their revenues abroad. "In this way," the Frenchman Charles de Brosses writes, "all the money from the Papal States leaves the country or, more correctly, none comes in. The money which should come in, makes so many detours, through the manipulations of those who should pay it, that it ends by sticking to the fingers of the Genoese and the Florentines." From his banker, Count Giraud, the gifted Frenchman learnt immediately on his arrival that in consequence of the system of paper money, coin was almost unknown in Rome.²

In a lively account of the lack of money which prevailed in Rome in the autumn of 1736, Cardinal Cienfuegos mentions some further causes of this unhappy state of affairs, viz.

fanno, di maniera tale che bisognerebbe, o aumentare le prime, o diminuire le seconde. Lo stato non comporta maggiori gabelle, e le famiglie dei Papi non permetteranno mai, che si minorino le spese, a segno che il presente pontificato ha piuttosto voluto ricorrere alla spargirica del Lotto, che sottoporre a limiti ragionevoli l'economia." *Relazione*, 12-13.

¹ DE BROSSES, *Lettres*, II., 83.

² *Ibid.*, 20 *seqq.* Cf. BROSCHE, *Kirchenstaat*, II., 84.

the bad administration of the Zecca (mint) by people who did not understand anything, the absence of industries, which necessitated considerable imports, the failure of the harvest in the preceding year and the expensive billeting of troops, which made it necessary to buy corn and other foodstuffs elsewhere.¹ Clement XII. ordered an inquiry about means for remedying this situation. Consultations with the leading merchants took place, but the root of the evil was not touched ; all that happened was the publication of an edict renewing the old prohibitions of the exportation of money² which, after Benedict XIII. had attached to the *Zecchini* a disproportionately high value, had been indulged in on an even larger scale.³

On top of all these misfortunes a cattle plague was carried across from Neapolitan territory.⁴ Edicts were published by the Government in 1737 with a view to encouraging the sowing of wheat in the Campagna and ordinances were issued against usurers and smugglers.⁵ However, the financial straits continued. In 1737 Alvise Mocenigo reports that the economic condition was such that the State was unable to provide for the future or to relieve present distress.⁶ Mocenigo's successor, Marco Foscarini, recognizes that there was no lack of goodwill to remedy the financial situation, but the Government shrank from fresh taxation and did not feel justified in touching Sixtus V.'s treasure in Castel S. Angelo,⁷ even for the war against the Turks as this campaign was an offensive not a defensive one. The money which Clement XII. sent to the Emperor in 1739 for a struggle which ended so unhappily, came partly from his personal estate and partly

¹ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, October 13, 1736, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, October 20, 1736, *ibid.* Cf. CRACAS, October 27, 1736 ; *ibid.*, July 26, 1738, on a fresh stern edict against traffic in coins.

³ GARAMPI, *Monete pontif.*, 101.

⁴ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, October 20, 1736, *loc. cit.*

⁵ BENIGNI, 79 *seqq.*

⁶ Cf. above, p. 480 *seq.*, II. I.

⁷ GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 9 *seqq.*, II.

from a collection made among the Cardinals and the clergy.¹ Mocenigo also describes in detail the efforts made by Clement XII. to revive the languishing trade with a view to improving the revenues of the State. Efforts in that direction were, so to speak, in the air. Southern Europe began at last to see how far it lagged behind the North as a result of the neglect of economic conditions. Alberoni, and after him José Patino, did much in this direction in Spain, and an extensive literature on political economy also grew up at this time.² By comparison with other countries, the people of the Papal States continued to enjoy the advantage of a very low taxation but as trade and industry were almost completely prostrate, economic conditions were very bad. The most necessary articles of daily use, above all clothing material, had to be imported. In this way, and because the *Monti* were mostly in the hands of foreigners, whatever money flowed to Rome, went abroad immediately.³ Misfortune dogged the home industry. The wool and carpet factory set up by Innocent XII. at S. Michele a Ripa was badly managed and its products were too dear so that the Romans preferred to buy foreign

¹ *Ibid.*, 24; FABRONIUS, 128; ZINKEISEN, V., 713; *Memorie del pontificato di Clemente XII., Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.* On the excommunication of Rákóczi, and on the Pope's offer to the Emperor, if he restored to the Church both Parma and Piacenza, of two million florins from the treasury of Sixtus V. (this was a case when it was permissible to draw upon it), *cf.* *Brief to Charles VI., dat. III. Non. Majas, 1738, *Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives: "ma alcuni ministri di Vienna, indurati nell'errore, non si vergognarono di dichiarare che più presto vedrebbero il Turco sotto Vienna (quod Deus avertat) che l'imperatore si spogliasse dei mentovati ducati di Parma e Piacenza." On the imposition of a tenth for five years on ecclesiastical property in the imperial States for the war against the Turks, see *Brevia Clementis XII. in *Brief Archives*, Papal Sec. Arch. On the war and the unfavourable peace of Belgrade, see besides ZINKEISEN, V., 669 *seqq.*, also *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XL., 1 *seqq.*, and *Mittel. des österr. Kriegsarchivs*, 1881.

² BAUMGARTEN, *Geschichte Spaniens*, I., 61 *seqq.*

³ *Voyages de Montesquieu*, I., 193, 205, 215.

goods. The Roman stocking merchants also failed to prosper ; though the articles sold by them were far better than those made in Venice, Naples and Turin, the Romans bought the latter products because of their cheapness.¹

In 1734 a Florentine academician published a book in which he explains exhaustively and with great clearness by what means trade, agriculture and the income of the exchequer might be improved.² Clement XII., who was sprung from a family engaged in commerce, gave earnest consideration to these endeavours. A vast number of suggestions, projects, calculations and plans were submitted to him.³

The Pope sought to guard the home industries by protective tariffs.⁴ The complete prohibition of the importation of foreign textiles imposed by his predecessors Clement XI., Innocent XIII. and Benedict XIII. and at first confirmed by him also, had led to a considerable improvement in the home textile industry in Rome, Narni, Perugia, Rieti, Tivoli, Alatri, Veroli, Segni, Subiaco, Sanseverino and Giulianello, but in 1735, by the advice of a Congregation, the Pope

¹ *Ibid.*, II., 64.

² *Testamento politico d'un academico Fiorentino, Colonia, 1734.* According to the catalogue of the Corsini Library, Rome, the author is Leone Pascoli, 1674-1744. He rejects pure mercantilism and advocates, before Quesnay, physiocratic ideas. On the widespread interest in political economy and zeal for reform, see G. RICCA-SALERNO, *Storia delle dottrine finanziarie in Italia*, Palermo, 1896, and T. FORNARI, *Delle teorie economiche nelle provincie Napolitane*, Milano, 1882.

³ RANKE (III., 218* *seqq.*) discusses some of these drafts, but he only quotes them as "Ms. Rom." After prolonged research, I finally found his source. It is : *Cod. 1172* (34, B 4), Corsini Lib., Rome, where, on p. 66 *seqq.*, are the " *Osservazioni della presente situazione dello stato eccles. ", and numerous other documents, which throw a new light on the deliberations about protective duties.

⁴ Cf. above, n. 3, and below, p. 485, n. 2, *Arch. stor. ital.*, 1917, II., 291. On the duty on imported silk imposed in 1736, see *Bull.*, XX., 351.

withdrew the prohibition and allowed the importation of textiles against payment of a duty.¹ No one rejoiced more over this measure than the Venetians who had long watched the development of the cloth factories of the Papal States, now gravely threatened, with an anxiety equal to that with which they had noted the conclusion of a commercial treaty between the Pope and the Emperor.² Connected with this treaty was

¹ "Chirografo di N. S. col quale ritorna a permettere a ciascheduno indistintamente di poter introdurre in tutto lo stato eccles. (eccettuato però Roma per quello riguarda a damaschi e velluti) ogni qualunque sorta di pannine, damaschi e velluti, purchè si paghi un 20 per cento di gabella" (see CRACAS. Cf. A. . GALLI, *Cenni economico-statistici sullo stato pontif.*, Roma, 1840, 374. The *Provedimento per lo stato ecclesiastico, of which RANKE (III., 219*) gives extracts, advocates the renewal of the prohibition and its extension to silk goods. RANKE adds that he did not find that this measure had any results, but had he only turned a few pages in *Cod.* 1172, Corsini Library, Rome, he would have discovered there the *edict of March 20, 1738, on a new "gabella" on all foreign silk goods. Mention is also made of it by GALLI (*loc. cit.*).

² B. Morosini *writes in 1731: "La straordinaria gabella imposta sulla cera forestiera rende minorato il commercio che su questo capo faceva la dominante con Roma; i panni forestieri proibiti, dall'editto quelli soli delli stati ereditari dell'Imperatore sono stati poi eccettuati, fa che soffrano i sudditi di Vostra Serenità, che introducevano nello stato pontificio ed in Roma quantità di panni. Sino i merli di Chioggia sono stati vietati, proibizione che io per il corso di tre anni trattenni e poi non vi fu modo di impedire. É vero che niente è succeduto in odio di Vostra Serenità, perchè gli editti sono universali e per motivo solamente di far uso delle cose dello proprio stato, procurare nel medesimo la circolazione del danaro e impedirne l'uscita dallo stato del Papa, ma se quelli, che devono a tali materie versare, fossero o dalla nascita o dall'inclinazione portati in vantaggio di Vostra Serenità, nemmeno questi pregiudicii ell'avrebbe risentito; come nè pure si sarebbe formato quel trattato di commercio coll'Imperatore, del quale, quantunque sia incerto e probabilmente vano l'effetto, tuttavia fu stabilito per l'insinuazioni del Cervelli che trovò benevoli ascoltatori." *Relazione*, State Archives, Venice.

a plan for the establishment of direct communication by sea between the Papal States and the Austrian coast. To this end, in 1733, a disposition of Clement VIII., of the year 1594,¹ was re-enacted and Ancona declared a free harbour, and great works were undertaken for the creation of a commercial harbour.² Venice watched the vigorous efforts of the Pope with a jealous eye. Clement used the money brought in by the *lotto* to pay for the extension of the harbour buildings and the erection of a safe and well-equipped quarantine hospital. By 1737, 200,000 scudi had been expended on the work, but the experts reckoned that a further 660,000 scudi would be required for its completion. The Venetian envoys comforted their Government by explaining that the Pope would not be able to raise such a sum and that the aged Clement's successor was unlikely to prosecute the undertaking.³ At any rate they had the satisfaction of seeing that the hope of a revival of trade in the Papal States remained unfulfilled.⁴ This was all the more painful to Clement XII. as he took the greatest interest in the matter, up to the very end of his pontificate. The hospital designed by Vanvitelli, who had already built Caserta, was a brick building round a central court in the middle of which stood a chapel in the form of a rotunda. On the northern wall of the harbour of

¹ GALLI, 374.

² Cardinal Albani's *edict of February 16, 1732, *Cod. Barb.* 4687, p. 2022, Vatican Library. An edict of September 2, 1734 (see CRACAS), appointed a commission of five Cardinals "per il stabilimento e buon regolamento del porto franco di Aucona", which had to meet at least once a month. Further *documents concerning this subject in *Cod.* 34, B 8 and 9, Corsini Library, Rome. Cf. ANDERSON, *Gesch. des Handels*, VII., 185.

³ *Relazione* del CAV. A. MOCENIGO of 1737, ed. Venezia, 1864, 24 seq. Similarly, *Foscarini*, 1738, in BROSCH, II., 84. Cf. also GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 13.

⁴ GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 14 seq., 16; mention is also made there of Cardinal Albani's efforts to improve the glass industry in Urbino; for this purpose samples were brought not only from Murano, but even from Saxony.

Ancona, which the Pope constructed as a continuation of the ancient Roman one, a monument designed by Vanvitelli was erected in his honour—the Arco Clementino—only a few yards from Trajan's magnificent triumphal arch. A marble statue of Clement in a sitting position, carved by Cornacchini in 1739, adorned the Piazza Maggiore near the church of St. Dominic.¹ The people of Iesi erected a triumphal arch in honour of the Pope to mark its gratitude for the new road from Nocera to Ancona which passed through Iesi; the road was called *Via Clementina* after its founder.²

In 1734 Clement XII. distributed 300,000 scudi among the distressed communities in the Papal States.³ In the same year the valley of the Chiana was changed from a swamp into fertile land by the construction of a canal to the Tiber.⁴ On the other hand the plan of rendering the Tiber navigable from Perugia to Rome was not carried out. In addition to a number of privileges the town of Cesena received assistance towards the construction of a bridge over the Sinapi, in return for which the town erected a marble statue of the Pope.⁵ A similar honour was paid him by Bologna: the Pope had contributed 25,000 scudi towards the waterworks, 2,000 towards the seminary and 10,000 towards the library and astronomical instruments bought in London.⁶

¹ LEONI, *Ancona illustrata*, Ancona, 1832, 323 *seqq.*; FABRONIUS, 62, 189 *seqq.*; CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 249. On the military hospital, *cf.* *Cod. 32, B 16, p. 39, and *Cod. 34, B 4 (= 1172), p. 410 *seqq.* (Vanvitelli's defence), Corsini Library, Rome.

² FABRONIUS, 62 *seq.*, 185 *seq.* On the concern of Clement XII. for the roads in the States of the Church, *cf.* *Cod. 1170, Corsini Library, Rome.

³ NOVAES, XIII., 226. *Ibid.*, 198, on other municipal subsidies. *Cf.* also the inscription in Tivoli, V. PACIFICI, *L'archivio Tiburtino di S. Giovanni Evangelista*, Tivoli, 1922, XVIII.

⁴ FABRONIUS, 85.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 60 *seqq.*, 194. The Communal Archives, Cesena, Parte III., *Congregazioni*, 1464, preserve the *deliberations of 1731-2 on the statue.

⁶ NOVAES, XIII., 285 *seq.*; FABRONIUS, 193.

In Rome the Pope took steps against the excessive luxury in wearing-apparel, issued an ordinance against the carrying of arms, restricted the right of asylum and saw to a better administration of justice. The excellent reputation of the Rota, the highest ecclesiastical tribunal, dates from this time.¹ In 1738 Clement XII. established a papal printing press in the Piazza della Pace; the celebrated publishing house of the De Rossi (De Rubris) constituted the nucleus of this establishment.²

The Pope did a very great deal for Ravenna which, thanks to him, awoke to a new life. As early as 1732 he gave orders for the junction in one bed of the Rivers Montone and Ronco so as to free the city from the constant danger of inundation.³ A stone bridge was thrown across the united rivers—a work worthy of the Romans of old.⁴ The merit of having completed this difficult undertaking belongs to Cardinal Alberoni who was appointed Legate of the Romagna on January 17th, 1735.⁵ For the work of uniting the two rivers in one bed recourse

¹ NOVAES, XIII., 195, 238; FABRONIUS, 88 *seq.*, 97; *Memorie del pontificato di Clemente XII.; Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*; *Ragioni ingerite a P. Clemente XII. per ovviare di frequenti omicidi, in *Cod. X.*, E 58, National Library, Naples. Cf. Cardinal C. Cibo's *autobiography in *Fondo Gesuit.*, 103, p. 1 *seqq.*, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. BROSC (II., 85) also acknowledges the efforts of Clement for a better administration of the law. On the Rota, cf. *Relazione* of A. MOCENIGO, 1737, Venezia, 1864.

² REUMONT, in *Allgem. Zeitung*, 1874, n. 356 (*Beil.*) and 364; E. OVIDI, *calcografia Romana*, Roma, 1905. Cf. the periodical "Emporium", 1922, Gennaio, and *Arch. Rom.*, XXVIII., 500.

³ Chirografo of Clement XII. "per la diversione dei fiumi", dated 1732, Ottobre 10 (printed) in *Bibl. Classense*, Ravenna. Cf. *Ragguaglio storico della diversione dei due fiumi*, Bologna, 1741 (anonymous; Filippo Diego Bellardi, Alberoni's biographer, is the author); mention is also made of the inundation of 1736; see also NOVAES, XIII., 220.

⁴ SANTI MURATORI, *Del ponte nuovo presso Ravenna e di un epigrafe di Giambattista Vico*, Imola, 1911.

⁵ Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, January 22, 1735, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

was had to the most eminent hydraulic engineers of the time viz., Eustachio Manfredi and Bernardino Zendrini. Work continued even at night and Alberoni superintended it in person. On some days he appeared on the scene as often as three times. Thus came into being one of the greatest hydraulic achievements of the century. Work had begun in July, 1735; December, 1736, saw its completion.¹ Commemorative medals, inscriptions and poems extolled the union of the rivers, the new bridge and the new road (*Via Roma*).²

Alberoni furthered the well-being of Ravenna by every means, set the administration in order and drove out the bandits. To him and to the Pope the city likewise owes the navigable canal to the sea, ten kilometres long, constructed in 1737, and the new outer harbour which was given the name of Corsini, as was the new city gate.³ In 1738 the grateful citizens erected a colossal marble statue of the Pope in the principal square, between the columns bearing the statues of SS. Apollinaris and Vitalis. Pietro Bracci has produced a seated figure of the aged Pontiff in the act of blessing the city, his countenance radiating gentleness and kindness.⁴

¹ See SANTI MURATORI's monograph, p. 3 *seqq.*, quoted above.

² See besides SANTI MURATORI, 7 and 8 *seqq.*, also P. D. PASOLINI, *Ravenna*, Roma, 1912, 2, who, on p. 217, gives a reproduction of the commemorative medallion. The inscription says: "Clemens XII. P. M. | Bedesis, et Vitis aquis | Ravennae utrinque imminentibus | corrivatis | magnifico ponte superimposito | Romanaque via restituta | urbem ab alluvione immunem | reddidit | viatorum saluti et commodo | prospexit | a. s. MDCCXXXVI. Pont. VI. | opus curante | Iulio card. Alberono | Flaminiae legato | S. P. Q. R. | principi beneficentissimo p."

³ Cf. besides Alberoni's biographies: FABRONIUS, 201 *seqq.*; TARLAZZI, *Mem. stor. di Ravenna*, Ravenna, 1852, 473 *seq.*; GOETZ, *Ravenna*, 128. *Acts in Municipal Archives, Ravenna. Cf. also B. FIANDRINI, **Annali Ravennati*, Ms. in Bibl. Classense Ravenna; A. BACCARINI, *Il portocanale Corsini*, in *Giorn. del Genio civ.*, 1868, n. 5; *Nuova Antologia*, 4th Series, CXVIII. (1905), 329.

⁴ Reproduced in PASOLINI, *Ravenna*, 216; RICCI, *Raccolta artist. di Ravenna*, Bergamo, 1905, 123 *seq.*; V. DOMARUS, *Bracci*,

The removal, in July, 1867, by order of the municipal council, of this monument of a ruler who had done more for the city than any other prince, from its place of honour, and its consignment to the museum of antiquities, is not a brilliant page in the history of Ravenna.¹ For all that Clement XII.'s name still lives at Ravenna at this day, as does that of Alberoni.

The practical, useful work done by Alberoni at Ravenna by no means exhausted the energy of that remarkable man whose fame was once more in the ascendant.² In the gravelike silence of the city of Theodoric, the man who had been for a time the all-powerful minister of Spain and who had entertained plans which would have revolutionized the world, continued his adventurous dreams by drawing up fantastic schemes for the conquest of the Turkish Empire and its partition among the Christian Powers.³

This plan for changing the map of Europe, which was neither original nor practical, was much more harmless than Alberoni's attempt, in 1739, to rob San Marino of its independence and to subject the little Republic to the authority of the Pope. Encouraged by and relying on the enemies of the local oligarchy, he presented himself on horseback, at the head of an armed force, on October 17th, 1739,

¶ 7, 24. Cf. the rare work (a copy is in Bibl. Classense, Ravenna) : *Erigendosi nella piazza di Ravenna | la statua | del beatissimo Padre | Papa Clemente XII. | componimenti | degli Accademici Informi | consecrati | alla Santità Sua | dal Senato e popolo di essa città | in dimostrazione | di ossequiosissima gratitudine* | In Ravenna per Anton-Maria Landi, MDCCXXXVIII., contains : " Alla Santità di Nostro Signore Clemente XII. P. M. il Maestrato de' Savi di Ravenna ; Introduzione del cav. Marcantonio Giovanni [?] principe dell'Accademia ; Orazione del marchese cavalier Simone Ignazio Cavalli in lode di Clemente XII. P. M. (recitata alla presenza del card. Alberoni) " ; then follows a series of poems.

¹ PASOLINI, *Ravenna*, 215 seq.

² Cf. Frugoni's letter of 1738, in *Bollet. stor. Piacent.*, XV. (1920), 62 seqq. See also *Riv. stor. ital.*, 1921, 69.

³ VESNITSCH, *Le card. Alberoni pacifiste*, in *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, 1912 ; MICHAEL, in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, CX., 445 seqq.

and proclaimed the sovereignty of the Pope. The Cardinal Secretary of State had not been averse to action against San Marino as the situation there seemed to threaten the security of the Papal States. But when messengers arrived, demanding justice for the Republic, it was quickly realized in Rome that they had been misled by exaggerated reports. In the first days of November, 1739, the Pope decided that no annexation was to take place without a previous free vote of the citizens. Alberoni was publicly disavowed for exceeding his instructions and at Christmas, 1739, he was relieved of his legation. Enrico Enriquez went to San Remo as papal commissary, to supervise the plebiscite; the result of the voting was such that he restored its independence and freedom to San Remo.¹ With this act, in the words of Muratori, Clement XII. crowned the end of his pontificate.² Besides the affair of San Marino, various chicaneries in secular and ecclesiastical matters on the part of the new Government of his native Florence caused the aged Pontiff both vexation and pain³; but these were the last trials of his thorny pontificate.

To the gout which tormented Clement XII., there was

¹ C. MALAGOLA, *Il card. Alberoni e la republ. di S. Marino*, Bologna, 1886; I. RAULICH, *Il card. Alberoni e la republ. di S. Marino (Contributo di documenti Vaticani)*, in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5^a, Series XXXIX. (1907), 353 *seqq.* Cf. also the dispatches, *ibid.*, 4th Series, XX., 361 *seqq.*; GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 6 *seqq.* The collection of documents on this matter in *Cod.* 34, B 2, Corsini Library, Rome, has not been made use of by Raulich; also **Relazione al D. G. M. de Valenzuola 1739*, in *Cod. ital.*, 189, n. 30, State Library, Munich. BROSCHE treats twice (I., 392; II., 85 *seqq.*), of the attack against San Marino, but does not devote one line to the beneficial activity of Alberoni and Clement XII. on behalf of Ravenna. As a matter of fact, he only dwells on the shadows in the picture, so that his History of the States of the Church becomes a real caricature.

² MURATORI, XII., 202.

³ **Mem. del pontif. di Clemente XII.*, Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.* Cf. FABRONIUS, 130 *seq.*; REUMONT, *Toscana*, II., 39, about the County of Carpegna.

added a hernia which, towards the end of 1738, caused the court considerable anxiety.¹ In October of the following year the Pope's weakness was such that his death was expected daily. His condition improved once more, but he was compelled to keep to his bed during almost the whole of the last months of 1738, which were extraordinarily cold.² In January, 1740, there supervened bladder trouble which caused a good deal of sleeplessness.³ On the 28th the Pope asked for Holy Viaticum and on the 29th he was anointed. He also suffered from a heavy catarrh, but his strong constitution continued to resist the approaching end.⁴ Only when the sick Pontiff was no longer able to take even the chocolate on which he had been fed, was all hope given up. On the morning of February 6th he expired after a brief agony, aged close on 88 years.⁵ His pontificate had lasted nine and a half years. When we remember that he had been totally blind since 1732 and that during the last years his weakness had been such as to compel him to keep almost continuously in a reclining position, we can only wonder at the energy which caused him to apply himself to affairs to the best of his power. That in view of his great age and his ailing condition

¹ Reports in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th Series, XX., 176 seq. In May, 1738, Clement XII. confessed for the first time that he was feeling the weight of the years. At that time L. M. Lucini *wrote to Cardinal Lambertini: "Il Papa non sta male e non sta bene." Report of May 3, 1738, *Cod. Ottob.* 3052, Vatican Library.

² *Conclave di Benedetto XIV., in *Cod.* 38, G 20, p. 249 seqq. Corsini Library, Rome.

³ Acquaviva's *report to the Marquis de Villanas, January 28, 1740, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

⁴ L. M. Lucini's report on the illness in his *letter to Cardinal Lambertini, January, 1740, states: "È mirabile che tanta vecchiaia possi tanto resistere, onde si conosce di quanta forza sia la di lui complessione." *Cod. Ottob.* 3052, Vatican Library.

⁵ Reports in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th Series, XX., 360 seqq., 365 seqq.; Acquaviva's *report to the Marquis de Villanas, February 6, 1740, *loc. cit.*; Card. Quirini, *Scrittura sopra la morte di Clemente XII., *Cod.* A CXLIII., 11, Marucelliana Library, Florence.

many things escaped him and the reins finally slipped from his hands, was as inevitable as the impossibility for him to remove completely the faults of government which he had inherited from his predecessors. At any rate the extraordinary severe sentence against Coscia was a stern warning to the officials of the Curia. Clement XII. kept himself absolutely free from nepotism.¹ In the face of the arrogance and arbitrariness of the Catholic courts he sought to restore peace by patience and an accommodating disposition,² with a view to saving as much as could be saved of the rights of the Church. In this way tolerable agreements were arrived at with Portugal and Spain, but the ecclesiastical disputes with the courts of Turin and Naples remained unsettled. The Pope was likewise painfully affected by the utter disregard of the ancient feudal rights of the Holy See over the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza.

(2.)

Clement XII. has deserved well of learning and art. The appointment, soon after his election, of the learned Cardinal Angelo Maria Quirini as Prefect of the Vatican Library was a particularly happy decision. Quirini had at heart both the increase and the practical usefulness of the treasures of the *Vaticana* which, by reason of its manuscripts, ranked as the first library in the world.³ On May 26th, 1731, the Pope thanked him for the gift of his own library to the Vatican collection and for his having caused Joseph Simon Assemani to begin work on an edition of the works of St. Ephrem the

¹ GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 51.

² As the pontificate of Benedict XIII., L. M. Lucini writes in his *letter to Lambertini, November 28, 1730, had been made unhappy by Coscia, so that of Clement XII. was so through "fatalità"; "Papa cadente in tutto con notorietà di tutto il mondo che *non habet nec velle nec nolle* e senza restare inteso delle difficoltà in contrario si fa dire di si e di no, come pare agli interessati." *Cod. Ottob.*, 3052, Vatican Library.

³ GADDI, *Roma nobilitata*, 90.

Syrian.¹ Clement bought manuscripts for the Vatican Library, added another wing to it with new bookcases, and presented it with 200 Etruscan vases, most of which he had acquired from the collection of Cardinal Gualtieri. A truly princely gift was that of 328 antique medals, including some superb pieces from the Albani collection, which he bought for the sum of 10,000 scudi and left to the *Vaticana*. He also provided further funds for the acquisition of manuscripts and printed books.² Only a short time before his death the Pope consigned to the Vatican Library the original of Eugene IV.'s Bull of Union and five rare papyri from the collection of Scipio Maffei.³ The circumstance that, as Bishop of Brescia, Cardinal Maffei frequently resided in that city, increased the importance of the rôle of the sub-librarians; these were the Chaldean Joseph Simon Assemani, the celebrated editor of the *Biblioteca Orientalis*,⁴ and the archæologist Giovanni Gaetano Bottari, the editor of a new edition of the dictionary of the Crusca, whom the Pope had summoned from Florence. Bottari's work on Bosio's book on the Catacombs, undertaken at Clement XII.'s instigation, was less happy.⁵ The Vatican

¹ *Brief of May 26, 1731, *Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives. Cf., *ibid.*, *Briefs of January 5, 1732, and February 20, 1737; CARINI, *Bibl. Vat.*, 108; *Opera*, EPHRAEMI, 6 vols., Romae, 1732-1746.

² Brief of August 24, 1739, in CARINI, *loc. cit.*, 105 seq. Cf. A. M. QUIRINI, *Comment. de Bibl. Vat. a Clemente XII. aucta*, Brixiae, 1739; CARINI, 107. On the collection of vases, see GADDI, 94; JUSTI, *Winkelmann*, III., 344 seq.

³ *Brief of thanks to S. Maffei, January 29, 1740, *Epist.*, Papal Sec. Arch. *Ibid.* *Briefs of thanks for the dedication of works, June 21, and (to M. Hergott), June 28, 1738. "Confirmatio censurarum Sixti V. pro Bibl. Vatic.," August 24, 1739, in *Bull.*, XXIV., 571.

⁴ *Bibl. Orientalis*, 3 vols., Romae, 1719-1728.

⁵ G. G. BOTTARI, *Sculture e pitture sagre estratte dai cimeteri di Roma, pubblicate già dagli autori della Roma Sotterranea, ed ora nuovamente date in luce colle spiegazioni, per ordine di N. S. Clemente XII.*, tomo I. con 48 tavole in rame, Roma, 1737. Cf. A. NICCOLINI, *Alcune lettere a mons. Giov. Bottari intorno alla corte di Roma* (1724-1761), Bologna, 1867.

Library was not as yet open to the public, but any one even slightly known to its officials, was able to use it on certain days when, as Charles de Brosses attests, he could be sure of a courteous reception.¹

Clement XII. summoned to Rome, to act as Secretaries for Briefs to Princes, two of the most distinguished latinists of the period, viz. Carlo Majella, and after the latter's death in 1735, Giovanni Lucchesini.² Cardinal Domenico Passionei was appointed Secretary of State for Briefs in June, 1738, and in that capacity he lodged in the Consulta where he also set up his famous library.³ To his old friend the poet Niccolò Forteguerra of Pistoia, the courageous censor of the abuses introduced by Coscia and his Beneventans, the Pope assigned a secure position by naming him Secretary to Propaganda,⁴ whilst the Florentine poet Niccolò Ridolfi became Master of the Apostolic Palace.⁵ The Pope also gave assistance to Francesco Lorenzini, one of the principal members of the Arcadia, in the latter's endeavours for the presentation of classical comedies⁶; on the learned D'Inquembert, his former librarian, he bestowed the see of Carpentras in 1735.⁷ The

¹ DE BROSSES, *Lettres*, II., 204. Clement also favoured in this way Coquelines who made use of the Secret Archives for his great *Bullarium*.

² FABRONIUS, 147 *seq.* On Majella, see above, p. 333. On Lucchesini, see RENAZZI, IV., 179 *seqq.*; *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th Series, XIX., 224, 228.

³ DE BROSSES, *Lettres*, II., 255.

⁴ RENAZZI, IV., 130; BAUMGARTNER, VI., 498 *seq.*; F. CANONICI, *Notizie della vita e delle opere di N. Forteguerra*, Siena, 1895, 30 *seqq.*, 107 *seqq.*, III *seqq.*, who made use of the manuscripts of the Forteguerra Archives, Pistoia.

⁵ RENAZZI, IV., 97.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 141 *seq.*

⁷ *Hist. de M. d'Inquembert, évêque de Carpentras*, Cavaillon, 1867. The Carpentras Library has a number of manuscripts from D'Inquembert's literary remains which serve for the history of Clement XII., thus *Cod.* 9, *Memorie del pontificato di Clemente XII., especially on the disputes with France; *Cod.* 39, *Memorie del papato di Clemente XII. raccolte da M. d'Inquembert.

Florentine Dominican Giuseppe Agostino Orsi, who had dedicated to the Pope his work on papal infallibility, was summoned to Rome by Cardinal Neri Corsini, to act as his theologian.¹ The above-named Cardinal always showed great favour to men of letters. In his palace on the Lungara he founded a library which exists to this day and which is extraordinarily rich in manuscripts, printed books and engravings.² There he also received the Accademia de' Quirini which, previous to Clement XII.'s elevation to the Chair of St. Peter, had held its meetings at the latter's palace.³

Mention must also be made of Clement XII.'s plan for a further reform of the Calendar.⁴ To the celebrated Swedish astronomer Anders Celsius he assigned a room under the clock tower of the Quirinal for his observations of the sky⁵ and he gave assistance to the able Giambattista Nolli for his work on an accurate plan of the city of Rome.⁶ On the Capitol he established a home for the secret archives of the Camera Capitolina.⁷

The Pope proved himself a true Florentine by his energetic

¹ HURTER, IV.³, 1505 *seq.*

² DUDIK, *Iter Rom.*, I., 95 *seqq.*; F. CERROTI, *Memorie p. servire alla storia della incisione compilate nella descrizione delle stampe nella Bibl. Corsiniana*, I., Roma, 1858; Id., *Lettere e Mem. autogr. ed inedite di artisti tratte dai Mss. d. Corsiniana*, Roma, 1860; LAEMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 113 *seqq.*; GACHARD, *La bibliothèque des princes Corsini à Rome*, Bruxelles, 1869; PÉLISSIER, in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, VIII. (1891), 177 *seqq.*, 297 *seq.*; *Catalogo d. Bibl. del card. Gualtieri acquistata dal card. Corsini, in *Cod.* 69, Carpentras Library.

³ RENAZZI, IV., 121. On the Accademia Quiriniana, see CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 129.

⁴ *Raccolta di scritture sopra un progetto per la riforma del Calendario Gregoriano 1735 (Fil. Lud. Giuliani's project), in *Cod.* 36, F 7, Corsini Library, Rome. Cf. *ibid.*, *Cod.* 41, F 1, p. 228 *seqq.* *Parere di Eustachio Manfredi.

⁵ M. DE BENEDETTI, *Palazzi e ville reali d'Italia*, I.; Firenze, 1911, 35.

⁶ CRACAS, August 18, 1736.

⁷ *Gli Archivi italiani* (Rivista), VI., (1919), 165.

patronage of art. In his commissions to artists, as in other respects also, he gave preference to his countrymen. The two great architects whom he chiefly employed, Ferdinand Fuga¹ and Alessandro Galilei, were both Florentines. Among sculptors the Roman Pietro Bracci was the most eminent; most of the others, viz. Giambattista Maini, Agostino Cornacchini, Filippo Valle, Giuseppe Lironi, were natives of the city of the Arno.

It is matter for amazement that, in spite of financial straits, the Pope should have succeeded in making of his pontificate one of the most splendid and fruitful periods of artistic achievement. Already in 1736 Giambattista Gaddi was able to enumerate an impressive list of buildings with which the Pope had embellished Rome.² But these new constructions did not hinder Clement XII.'s solicitude for the relics of old Rome. In the very first period of his pontificate he ordered the restoration of that venerable monument of the triumph of Christianity, the Arch of Constantine. The work was directed by the architect Girolamo Teodoli and Marchese Alessandro Gregorio Capponi, a noted archæologist, whilst the restoration of the statues was carried out by Pietro Bracci.³

¹ Fuga died in 1738; see FORCELLA, VIII., 479.

² G. B. GADDI, *Roma nobilitata nelle sue fabbriche dalla Stà di N. S. Clemente XII., descritta da G. B. G.*, Roma, 1736. This is supplemented by the continuation of Falda and Specchi's *Nuovo teatro* by GIOV. DOM. CAMPIGLIA: *Il quinto libro del nuovo teatro delle fabbriche et edifici, fatte fare in Roma e fuori di Roma da Clemente XII., disegnatte et intagliate*, etc., Roma, 1739, with thirty copper plates. I consulted the original copy of this extremely rare work dedicated to Clement XII., which Cardinal Neri Corsini assigned to the Corsini Library. Cf. also *Fabbriche div. disegnatte con le loro iscrizioni fatte da Clemente XII.*, formerly Cod. 1056, Corsini Library, now in Gab. d. stampe d. Galleria Corsini, 158, J. 6.

³ GADDI, *loc. cit.*, 177 seqq.; GRISAR, I., 96 note; v. DOMARUS, *P. Bracci*, 16 seqq.; *Bullet. d. Commiss. archeol.*, XLVI. (1918), 161 seqq. Cf. GRADARA, in *Rassegna d'arte*, November, 1915.

To the skilled hands of Capponi, who was assisted by Abbate Marchesini, Clement XII. entrusted the arrangement of the museum of statues in the third of the palaces on the Capitol completed under Innocent X. The nucleus of the museum was the celebrated collection of imperial busts and inscriptions of Cardinal Alessandro Albani which that Prince of the Church, who just then happened to be in great need of cash, had sold to the Pope for the sum of 60,000 scudi.¹ To this were added antique objects from the palace of the Conservators and numerous new acquisitions, such as two precious columns of verd-antique, 187 inscriptions, described by Bianchini, from the so-called tomb of Livia's freedmen discovered in 1726, and the magnificent statue of Antinous found in the garden of the Villa Adriana. Albani himself enriched the Capitoline museum with spontaneous gifts of which the best known is the group of "Amor and Psyche". The aged Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni also contributed several statues, among them that of the *Vecchia ubriaca* ("Drunken Old Woman"). The statue of the "Dying Gladiator" was bought by the Pope from the Ludovisi and placed by him in the museum which was inaugurated in 1734.²

The Florentine Pope's distinction of having created the first public museum of antiquities in Europe³ is recalled by an inscription and the arms and bust of the Corsini Pope

¹ HAUTECŒUR, *Rome à la fin du XVIII^e. siècle*, 10.

² MICHAELIS, *Storia della collezione Capitolina di antichità*, in *Röm. Mitteilungen*, VI. (1891), 58 *seqq.*; RODOCANACHI, *Capitole*, 158 *seqq.* According to **Ristretto delle spese per la collocazione delle statue comprate da Clemente XII. dal card. Albani nel Campidoglio sotto la direzione di M. A. G. Capponi*, in *Cod.* 41, F. 1, Corsini Library, Rome, the expenses amounted to 20,972,77 and 10,335,32 scudi.

³ The antiques which Sixtus IV. presented to the Palazzo dei Conservatori (*cf.* the present work, Vol. IV., 459), as also the Cortile di statue of Julius II. in the Belvedere (*cf.* VI., 487), were architectural decorations of the same kind as those in use in private palaces; *cf.* FURTWÄNGLER, *Über Kunstsammlungen alter und neuer zeit*, in *Allgem. Zeitung*, 1899, App., n. 67.

above the Marforio fountain in the *cortile* of the museum.¹ At one time the great hall of the museum was adorned with a more than life-size statue of the Pope which the Senate had erected in the autumn of 1734, in recognition of the benefits conferred by the Pontiff upon the city. The statue, designed by Pietro Bracci and cast by Francesco Giardoni, has unfortunately disappeared without a trace: it was probably destroyed during the period of French domination in 1798.² The Capitoline museum, to which was to be added a picture gallery,³ was not yet finally arranged at the time of Clement XII.'s death and further additions were constantly being made.⁴ The contemporaries justly extol this collection which was destined to become the great book of archæologists. "Of all the embellishments of the Eternal City," wrote Mocenigo, the Venetian ambassador, "this collection of ancient statues, inscriptions and reliefs on the Capitol is the most important, the most sensible; by itself alone it would suffice to commend and endear to posterity the memory of Clement XII."⁵

Facing the Quirinal and not far from the Giardino Colonna, Fuga completed in 1730-1731, by order of Clement XII., the mews begun by Michelangelo Specchi under Innocent XIII.⁶

¹ FORCELLA, I., 79; *ibid.*, the other inscriptions about Clement XII.

² See DOMARUS, *P. Bracci*, 22 *seqq.*

³ Cf. the document from *Miscell. d. Bibl. Corsini*, published by OZZOLA in *Corriere d'Italia*, 1907, n. 8. The exportation of pictures especially to England (see DE BROSSES, *Lettres*, II., 49), was considerable; cf. BERTOLOTTI, *Esportazione di oggetti di belle arti da Roma*, in *Riv. Europ.*, 1871, 186 *seq.* Already in 1729 MONTESQUIEU (*Voyages*, I., 205) wrote: "Il faudrait faire une loi dans Rome que les principales statues seroient immeubles et ne pourroient point se vendre qu' avec les maisons où elles seroient sous peine de confiscation de la maison et d'autres effets du vendeur. Sans cela Rome sera toute dépouillée."

⁴ DE BROSSES, *Lettres*, II., 180, 208.

⁵ *Relazione*, ed. Venezia, 1864.

⁶ GADDI, 57 *seqq.* In the Quirinal there is an inscription almost completely destroyed, of which only the ending is still legible: "A° 1731 Pontif., II."

The Quirinal, which was his habitual residence, received an extension along the street leading towards Porta Pia, for housing the Pope's familiars, viz. the Manica Lunga and the adjoining Palazzina. This addition was also made by Fuga, who used constructions raised by Alexander VII. and Innocent XII. : the work was completed in 1732. For the benefit of the Swiss Guards a chapel dedicated to Blessed Nicolas von der Flüe was set up in the building.¹ Opposite the Quirinal, on the south side, Fuga was instructed to replace the old palace of the Consulta, restored by Paul V., by a new building, the upper storey of which was to house the officials of the tribunal of the Consulta and the Secretaries of the Cypher whilst the basement was to be occupied by the papal cavalry. The demolition of the old building, which began in 1732, unfortunately entailed the destruction of a frieze painted under Leo X. by Polidoro Caravaggio.² The foundation stone of the new Consulta was laid in October, 1732 ; the work, which was paid for with the copious returns from the *lotto*, was completed in 1735.³ The palace was skilfully adapted to the existing space : the vestibule is characterized by a noble simplicity whilst the double flight of stairs leading to the topmost storey is magnificently proportioned ; the long façade has two orders of pilasters, the lower one partly rustic, the upper one Ionian ; both carry an attic and a high balustrade extending the whole length of the façade ; the tympanums of the portals are adorned with trophies and allegorical figures.⁴ The magnificent coat of arms of Clement XII. above the principal cornice, surrounded by allegorical figures, was completed in 1735.⁵ Giambattista Maini's marble statues of Justice and Religion were set up over the main entrance in October, 1739.⁶ The spacious palace of the Consulta and

¹ GADDI, 47 *seqq.*

² VALESIO in *Arte e storia*, XXXVI. (1917), 18.

³ *Ibid.*, 18 *seqq.* Cf. GADDI, 63 *seqq.*

⁴ LETAROUILLY, *Texte*, 169, *Planches*, I., 29 ; EBE, 822 *seq.* ; GURLITT, 526 ; BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, I., 124.

⁵ VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, 19.

⁶ CRACAS, October 31, 1739.

the extensive buildings of the Mews gave an entirely new appearance to the piazza of the Quirinal.

In the interior of the city Clement XII. opened a new street towards the palace of Monte Citorio¹; the Corso was widened near the Palazzo Sciarra.² For paving the streets he adopted the "new method" of using bricks, a process which though more costly was more lasting.³

Clement XII. enlarged the Vatican Library by the addition of a new wing,⁴ contiguous to the part which Paul V. had had adorned with paintings. To the house of correction of S. Michele in Ripa he added a prison for women. In view of the fact that great damage was done in May, 1734, when the wood store in the city caught fire, he established a new one outside Porta del Popolo.⁵ He provided Castel S. Angelo

¹ GADDI, 124 *seqq.*

² CRACAS, February 2, 1737. Cf. FABRONIUS, 199. According to FEA (*Dei diritti*, 82 *seq.*), Clement XII. also laid out anew the Piazza Pollarola.

³ " *Il nuovo metodo di selciare le strade a quadrucci di tanto maggior durata benchè di spesa più considerabile," say the *Mem. del pontif. di Clemente XII.*, Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.* The work was almost completed in 1738; see GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 13. On the taxes to be imposed on the owners of houses, see the Memorial *Intorno alle strade dentro e fuori di Roma, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. Cf. also *Cod.* 34, A 8, Corsini Library, Rome. The population of Rome in 1730 was 145,494; in 1739, 146,750 inhabitants; see *Studi e docum.*, XII., 185 *seqq.*

⁴ GADDI, 89 *seqq.* On October 25, 1732, Cienfuegos *reports: " Mercoledì scorso si portò [Clemente XII.] a vedere la Biblioteca Vaticana, in cui si è accresciuto un nuovo braccio per mettervi i libri del card. Quirini." Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

⁵ GADDI, 121 *seqq.*; FORCELLA, X., 509; FABRONIUS, 197; A. TOSTI, *Ospedale Apost. di S. Michele*, Roma, 1832, 11 *seqq.* On the fire in May, 1734, see *Relazione del grandissimo incendio seguito nella città di Roma il dì 5 di Maggio 1734*, Firenze, 1734; at this time Clement XII. gave orders for the creation of a fire brigade; see **Cod.* 32, D 1, p. 244 *seq.*, Corsini Library, Rome.

with a supply of water and a fountain.¹ In 1732, in execution of a plan entertained by more than one of his predecessors, a competition was organized for the adornment, on a monumental scale, of the Fountain of Trevi, for the Pope was dissatisfied with the work of the Neapolitan Paolo Benaglia, begun under Benedict XIII. The most distinguished artists took part in the competition, such as Vanvitelli, Pietro Bracci, Niccolò Salvi, Giambattista Maini and two Frenchmen, Edmé Bouchardon and the elder Lambert Sigisbert Adam. Sixteen plans were submitted and all were publicly exhibited at the Quirinal.² Clement XII. began by selecting Vanvitelli's design but ended by deciding in favour of that of Salvi who devoted himself unreservedly to his task.³

Thus arose a work which delights the eye of every beholder. On the south side of the Palazzo Conti (Poli) there rises in the form of a gigantic triumphal arch a façade measuring 50 m. in breadth harmoniously divided by three Corinthian pilasters at the sides and by four engaged Corinthian columns in the protruding centre. The figures of the four seasons and a large inscription surmounted by Clement XII.'s coat of arms held up by two genii, crown the central structure. Between the pilasters are seen the windows of the palace; the principal niche of the central structure is set apart for the colossal statue of Neptune. The sea god stands on a coach formed by a shell drawn by sea horses led by tritons. Over the lateral niches with their allegorical figures of Health and Plenty, there are reliefs showing Agrippa, the first builder of the conduits of the Acqua Virgo, and the maiden who, according to legend, led the thirsty soldiers to the spring. The Neptune group rises from a block of travertine over which a copiously nourished cascade of water, together with a number of smaller cascades and waterspouts, comes

¹ The inscription referring to this still exists.

² FRASCHETTI, *Bernini*, 134; DOMARUS, *P. Bracci*, 48 *seqq.*

³ VALESIO in *Arte e storia*, XXXI. (1912), 265 *seqq.* Cf. GUIDI, *Fontane*, 83 *seqq.*

tumbling down into a vast marble basin beneath, as into a lake.¹

The cost of this magnificent structure was so considerable that work had to be stopped at one time. But here also the profits from the *lotto* came in useful.² In July, 1736, the great inscription was put in its place and in December the coat of arms was fixed on the attic, when a commemorative medal was struck.³ But the fountain was by no means quite finished at the time of the Pope's death: Giambattista Maini had only made stucco models of the group of Neptune and the statues of the maiden and Agrippa; the whole of the front part was also missing.⁴

Clement XII. contributed towards the restoration of the churches of S. Prisca,⁵ S. Lorenzo in Piscibus,⁶ S. Orsola,⁷

¹ GADDI, 98 *seqq.*; LETAROUILLY, *Texte*, 710 *seq.*; GURLITT, 525 *seq.*; DOMARUS, 49 *seqq.*; BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, I., 163.

² VALESIO, *loc. cit.*

³ A. CASSIO, *Corso delle acque*, I., Roma, 1756, 310; DOMARUS, *P. Bracci*, 50. The first draft of the inscription, defended in a dissertation in *Cod. 32, D I*, p. 11 *seqq.*, Corsini Library, Rome, was rejected.

⁴ DOMARUS (50) refers only to *Roma antica e moderna*, II. (1750), 251. An accurate description of the state of the fountain in 1739 is given by CAMPIGLIA (above, p. 407, n. 2), p. 12: "Veduta della fontana dell' Acqua Vergine non terminata," a copy of which, in the Corsini Library, Rome, has the following autograph annotation by Cardinal N. Corsini: "Così lasciò Clemente XII. la fontana e scudi 40,000 per finirla." The fountain, erected by Clement XII. at Porta Furba (in MAGNI, *Il barocco a Roma*, III., Torino, 1911, 60), bears an inscription to the effect that Clement XII. "fontem Aquae Felicis iam diu collapsum publicae restituit commoditati 1733". The fountain before the Rocca of Spoleto also bears an inscription of Clement XII., 1736.

⁵ FORCELLA, XI., 107, 173. *Ibid.*, 509, on a subsidy to the Monastery of S. Bernardino di Siena, VI., 371, on a chapel in S. Maria in Trastevere, VII., 221, refectory in SS. Trinità de' Pellegrini.

⁶ FABRONIUS, 178; NIBBY, I., 307.

⁷ FABRONIUS, 182.

S. Pellegrino,¹ S. Nicola in Carcere² and the portico of St. Mary Major.³ He also contributed to the rebuilding of the church of the Holy Name of Mary⁴ and the erection of the elliptic cupola of S. Maria della Morte near Palazzo Farnese.⁵ The churches of the Bambino Gesù, opposite S. Pudenziana, and SS. Celsus and Julian, near the Bridge of S. Angelo, were erected at his own expense.⁶ The national church of the Florentines, S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini, which had been begun under Leo X., owes its completion to Clement XII. with the addition of an imposing façade of travertine.⁷ Alessandro Galilei furnished the plan but he did not succeed in bringing his work in harmony with Sansovino's building with its broad lateral aisles, although it shows skilful arrangement and sound architectural lines.⁸ The statues on either side of the papal arms above the main portal are by Filippo Valle; of the four reliefs, that of the "Baptism in the Jordan" is one of Pietro Bracci's best works.⁹ The work was begun in March, 1733, and concluded in the following year. Here also the money was provided by the abundant yield of the *lotto*.¹⁰

Clement XII. took up once more a scheme which had been keenly discussed under Innocent XII. and Clement XI., when he resolved to provide the basilica of the Lateran with

¹ FORCELLA, VI., 257.

² FABRONIUS, 177.

³ VALESIO in *Arte e storia*, XXXVI. (1917), 23.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁵ *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXXIII., 16 *seqq.* Cf. VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, 20; GURLITT, 526.

⁶ GADDI, 81 *seqq.*, 105 *seqq.* Cf. VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, 22; FABRONIUS, 180, 198.

⁷ Reproduced in BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, I., 136 *seqq.* Cf. MORONI, II., 297; FORCELLA, VII., 40. B. MOSCHINI in the periodical *Roma*, III. (1925), No. 6, p. 269-272 (with reproduction), gives reports drawn from Archives on its gradual completion.

⁸ GURLITT, 524. Cf. BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, I., 138.

⁹ TITI, 422; DOMARUS, *P. Bracci*, 21.

¹⁰ VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, 20 *seq.*

the main façade which it still lacked.¹ The Pope, who had this undertaking particularly at heart, set up a special Congregation in connection with it in October, 1731.² There was nevertheless a delay before work could begin as none of the plans met with universal approval. The archpriest, Cardinal Ottoboni, discussed the matter with Cardinal Corsini. Borromini's plan was rejected and a competition was announced in which, among others, Luigi Vanvitelli, Ludovico Sassi, Fuga and Galilei took part. The sketches, drafts and models were exhibited in the gallery of the Quirinal in June, 1732. In the committee of artists, which included the architects Antonio Valeri and Antonio Derizet, the sculptors Giovanni Rusconi and Giambattista Maini, the painters Sebastiano Conca, Niccolò Ricciolini, Pier Leone Ghezzi and Giovan Paolo Pannini, four favoured Galilei's plan, three Vanvitelli's and one Sassi's. The Congregation of the *fabbrica* pronounced unhesitatingly in favour of Vanvitelli's plan but left the final decision to the Pope.³ The latter selected the plan of his countryman Galilei, who left Florence for Rome in 1732 and at once entered upon his task. On December 8th, 1733, the Pope blessed the foundation stone which was laid by the Cardinal-Vicar Guadagni. By the end of 1735 the work was far enough advanced for the statues to be placed on the

¹ VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, XXXV. (1916), 335; DOMARUS, *P. Bracci*, 14. Pozzo's plans in BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, I., 138; view of the façade in 1700 in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, XLIII., 70.

² Cardinal Cienfuegos' report, October 6, 1731. On November 24, Cienfuegos reports: "Nella congregazione di martedì si è risoluto finalmente la fabrica della gran facciata della Basilica Lateranense." Next week begins "spianamento della piazza", where some graves have been purchased. Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

³ CERROTI, *Lett. di artisti*, Roma, 1860, 21 *seqq.*, 41; VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, XXXV. (1916), 337 *seqq.* See also DOMARUS, *loc. cit.*, 5; *Accad. di S. Luca Ann.*, 1909-11, Roma, 1911, 22. According to the *Acts in *Cod.* 32, D 1, p. 488, Corsini Library, Rome, at first four were for Galilei's plan, three for Vanvitelli's, and two for Sassi's.

façade.¹ The greater part of the cost, which amounted to over half a million scudi, was met by the Pope, the rest was paid for with the proceeds of the *lotto*.²

The main façade of the Lateran, facing east and entirely built of travertine, admirably commands the vast, silent piazza which extends as far as the walls of Aurelius and from which one enjoys a splendid view of the distant mountains.³ Galilei's work [*obiit.* 1737],⁴ is an achievement of the first rank, characterized by magnificent simplicity and unity. Here one sees what the façade of St. Peter's might have been. Here also there are two storeys, but the upper storey above the open portico of 9 m. in depth and 56 m. in breadth forms with it an imposing unity, and the loggia of the upper storey, from which the Pope blesses the people on the feast of the Ascension, harmonizes most happily with the main portal, yet stands out from it.⁵

¹ VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, 338 *seqq.* Cf. *Mem. del pontif. di Clemente XII., Corsini Library, Rome. GADDI (9 *seqq.*) gives an accurate description. For the lay-out of the piazza the old building of the Penitenzieri had to be demolished. The Pope erected a new home for them south of the Basilica; see LAUER, 593 *seqq.* The inscriptions, also the one on the statue of the Emperor Constantine, which the Pope had removed to the porch in 1737, in FORCELLA, VIII., 81 *seqq.* The inscription over the door leading from the upper loggia to the palace: "Clemens XII. P. M. Aº VI.º," is missing here. On the pavement of the porch we read: "Aº VIII., 1737."

² According to Angelo Orlandi's *accounts of 1737, preserved in *Cod.* 32, D I, Corsini Library, Rome, the expenses of the façade amounted to 489,425,46 scudi; to this must be added 60,599,04 scudi for the "fabriche annesse".

³ OCTAV. JUSTINIANUS, S.J., a member of the Arcadia (*Clementis XI. vita*, Senis, 1738), in a poem on the buildings erected by the Pope, calls special attention to the powerful impression which the façade made on the visitor approaching it from the south.

⁴ Epitaph in the porch, in FORCELLA, VIII., 83.

⁵ LETAROUILLY, *Texte*, 495 *seqq.*; BERGNER, 75. Cf. BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, I., 138 *seqq.*; GURLITT, 522 *seqq.* EBE (822)

Charles de Brosses, a contemporary, thus describes the gigantic structure by the erection of which Clement XII. presented the Eternal City with one of the most magnificent and most imposing church façades: "The façade is of a composite order with five lofty, narrow arcades which form a portico supporting a gallery with *loggias*. The projecting central section has columns, the sides have pilasters, and this arrangement is observed in the lower order of doors and windows as well as in the principal order forming the façade. This principal order is surmounted by a frieze and the projecting centre is crowned by a single, beautiful tympanum."¹

Whilst this work was proceeding Galilei was also engaged in constructing on the south side, to the left of the entrance, a chapel destined to serve as a mortuary chapel for Clement XII. and his family. This chapel was to be dedicated to S. Andrew Corsini whom the Pope held in highest veneration.² In the course of excavations for the foundations in February, 1732, a number of antique objects were found. On May 18th, 1732, Cardinal Guadagni laid the first stone of the chapel which was only ready for consecration on January 7th, 1735.³

remarks that although the final balustrade is too high and the statues that crown it are too colossal, nevertheless the whole is enormously impressive and is nowhere surpassed in these times.

¹ *Lettres*, II., 264.

² In the Duomo of Fiesole, Clement XII. arranged for a worthy setting of the Cathedra of S. Andrea Corsini; the fact is recorded in an inscription.

³ VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, XXXVI. (1917), 16 *seqq.* Cf. GADDI, 23 *seqq.*; CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 245. The *Mem. del pontif. di Clemente XII. (Corsini Library, Rome), remark that Clement XII. erected the Chapel "del suo proprio danaro cioè de' vacabili ricadenti". CRACAS mentions a bronze bust of Clement XII. erected in the Corsini Cappella on April 8, 1736; also a marble bust of the Pope in the porch of the Lateran Basilica. Cardinal Cibo presented Clement XII. with a Crucifix and eight candlesticks for the Cappella Corsini; see Cardinal Cibo's *autobiography in *Fondo Gesuit.*, 103, p. 113, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome. Other busts of Clement XII. are in the Ambrosian Library, Milan,

The Cappella Corsini, beneath which is the burial vault, has the form of a stumpy Greek cross with a coffered barrel vault and a cupola over a quadrangular tambour. A magnificent bronze grille admits the visitor into the light-flooded hall. The vault with its decoration of richly gilt stucco, the pilasters of the white marble walls, form the finely-toned frame with which the many-hued marbles and the sombre bronze of the sepulchral monuments unite in producing a harmonious impression.

Above the altar adorned with lapis lazuli, precious stones, gilt bronze and two columns of verd-antique, the visitor sees in an alabaster niche the mosaic portrait of St. Andrew Corsini, after a painting by Guido Reni. On the pinnacle of the altar are two seated marble figures of "Innocence" and "Penance" by Pincellotti; above this is a large marble relief by Agostino Cornacchini showing St. Andrew Corsini as the protector of the Florentines at the battle of Anghiari.

The two large niches on either side are each adorned with two porphyry columns, their bases and capitals being of gilt bronze. The niche on the Gospel side is occupied by the tomb of Clement XII. For a sarcophagus, use has been made of a magnificent antique porphyry basin from the portico of the Pantheon; on it lies a cushion of precious black eastern marble (*paragone orientale*) on which rests the tiara. High above this, on a pedestal of black marble, is seen the great bronze statue of the Pope seated, clothed in gilt vestments, wearing the tiara and in the act of giving the blessing: the statue was cast by Giardoni from a model by Giambattista Maini. On either side of the pedestal are the white marble statues of "Munificence" with the plan of the façade of the Lateran, and "Plenty" with the cornucopia, by Carlo Monaldi. In the opposite niche stands the plainer monument of Cardinal Neri Corsini, the Pope's uncle, who died in 1678. The marble statue of the dead Cardinal and the flanking

and in the Baptistery of St. Mary Major. Gius. Passeri painted his portrait as a Cardinal (1713); see Voss, 607. Cf. above, p. 331, n. 2

figures of "Religion" with the decalogue and a sorrowing genius with the pastoral staff, are by Maini.¹

In the corners beside the niches, above the four small doors made in the pedestal, there are four sarcophagi of black marble for members of the Corsini family: they are surmounted by four niches with statues of the cardinal virtues, the whole being surmounted by reliefs of scenes from the life of St. Andrew Corsini; one of these is by Pietro Bracci and is one of the best of the master's works.² Giuseppe Rusconi carved the statue of "Fortitude", Filippo della Valle that of "Temperance", Giuseppe Lironi that of "Justice" and Agostino Cornacchini that of "Prudence", so that the chapel constitutes a small museum of contemporary Roman sculpture.³

Perhaps too great a claim has been made when the burial place of the Corsini was described as one of the finest chapels not only of Rome, but of the whole world.⁴ But it is undoubtedly a masterpiece of elegance, harmony and magnificence. The mausoleum of the Corsini bears as eloquent a testimony to Clement XII.'s artistic feeling⁵

¹ GADDI, 27 *seqq.*; NIBBY, *Roma moderna*, I., 252 *seqq.*; LETAROUILLY, *Édif. de Rome*, II., *planche* 224, 227; BERGNER, 74 (with reproduction). The inscriptions in FORCELLA, VIII., 80, 84. G. B. Maini's sketches for the statue of the Pope in Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin; see BRINCKMANN, *Barock bozzetti ital. Bildhauer*, Frankfurt, 1923, 156.

² DOMARUS, *P. Bracci*, 16.

³ BRINCKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, II., Berlin, 1919, 276, 279 (*cf.*, 378); DOMARUS, *P. Bracci*, 8. See also BERGNER, 104 *seq.*, where Cornacchini's *Prudenza* is reproduced.

⁴ LETAROUILLY (*Texte*, 499) says: "Et comme la beauté du travail ne le cède par à la richesse des matériaux, il en résulte que tout concourt à faire de cette chapelle l'une des plus belles qu'on puisse citer, non seulement à Rome, mais dans le monde entier." *Cf.* also GURLITT, 524 *seqq.*; THIEME, XIII., 97; ORTOLANI, *S. Giovanni in Laterano*, 68 *seq.*

⁵ Clement XII. intended also to give a new sacristy to St. Peter's, planned by Galilei; see *Progetto di una nuova sagrestia

as does the Lateran façade—the fruit of one single conception—to the transition then in progress of Italian architecture to classicism.¹

in S. Pietro con disegni e piante fatti da Aless. Galilei, in *Cod.* 32, D. 1, Corsini Library, Rome.

¹ WOERMANN, *Gesch. der Kunst.*, III., Leipzig, 1911, 460 *seq.*; MUÑOZ, *Roma barocca*, 396 *seq.*