

THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

AONIO PALEARIO

OR A HISTORY OF

THE ITALIAN REFORMERS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Illustrated by Original Letters and Unedited Documents.

BY M. YOUNG.

"Their blood is shed
In confirmation of the noblest claim,
Our claim to feed upon immortal truth,
To walk with God, to be divinely free,
To soar, and to anticipate the skies."

COWPER'S TASK.

VOLUME I.

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PREFACE.

THOUGH Prefaces are seldom read, an author naturally reviews the work on its completion, and is desirous of attracting the sympathies of the reader.

The subjects treated of in the following pages are the most important which can engage the attention of the human mind; subjects which freemen can alone understand, and which Englishmen who have, by God's blessing, attained to so full a measure of civil and religious liberty can especially appreciate. Those who are the best acquainted with the Sixteenth Century, in all its various and important phases, historical, literary, philosophical, biographical, and religious, will be the most indulgent readers. They will be fully aware of the difficulty of describing a gallery of portraits, and the events with which they are connected, so as to bring out the individual interest of each picture, and at the same time shew their connection with the course of events. After much consideration, it has been thought best to follow the regular chronology in the life of Paleario, and in the general history. On these two threads hang, as it were, the various characters which illustrate the life of Paleario. Each episode is complete in itself, but varies in chronology according to the age of the persons whose lives are recorded. This necessarily involves some recapitulation of events, but offers less inconvenience than a consecutive series, in

which all the actors are introduced at once on the scene, and their history so mixed up with that of others, that it is almost impossible to present a clear idea of the influence of each individual during the great movement of intellectual progress and religious reformation. One book alone has as yet appeared on the Reformation in Italy. The able and well-known work of the late Dr. Thomas M'Crie opens a mine of wealth, which only such a mind as his could properly work out. Such has been Dr. M'Crie's diligence and accuracy in collecting all the most striking information relating to the more remarkable of the Italian Reformers, that whoever desires to follow in his track has only to fill up his sketches by extracts from the writings and correspondence of the actors in the tragic scenes recorded, and make them speak to posterity in their own stirring and spirited language. Intelligent readers will be glad to be put in direct communication with the heroes and the martyrs of the middle ages. A long residence in Italy, while it was groaning under temporal and spiritual despotism, has impressed the author with a deep sense of the miseries inflicted by the Roman Catholic Church, and of the mischief of its system of police, which has been sustained by the reigning powers with the view of maintaining their own authority. Much valuable information has been obtained in the public libraries and archives of Italy; and the precious collections of Switzerland have been visited to gather up the records of the Italian refugees who fled for their lives across the Alps. The libraries of Zurich, Geneva, Berne, and Bâle are rich in MSS. and in scarce Italian books, and much more treasure has been collected than could possibly be made use of. A warm expression of gratitude is due to the librarians of all these public libraries for their courtesy and kindness, and the facilities afforded for making the necessary researches. To Mr. Steiger, of Berne, and Professor Hagenbach, of Bâle, I am

under peculiar obligations; also to Mr. Gräber, of Lucerne, where however I found fewer scarce books than in the other libraries. The library of Geneva was closed, but through the kind offices of Prof. Binder, of the *Oratoire*, access was had to several scarce books, and great obligation incurred by his ready assistance in copying the Archives of the Consistory relating to the Italian Church at Geneva.

Whatever may be the defects of this work, and none can know them so well as the author, no pains have been spared to give each separate biography its just and full proportions; collateral history has been diligently studied, and every effort made to catch the spirit of the times. Opinions are so various as to the limits prescribed to history and biography, that an author can only hope that in the kaleidoscope of public estimation bright colours may prevail. The age of enthusiasm is past, that of poetry fades into distance, and authors must acquire an established reputation before they can be permitted to leave the smooth and even tenor of conventional monotony.

But those who write neither for fame nor advantage, but in order to advocate the great duties, and defend the prerogatives of mankind, must be pardoned if they express themselves with the enthusiasm which a noble subject inspires. Though the accuracy of all historical and biographical details has been strictly and impartially weighed, yet the author does not hesitate to avow a partisanship in the great principles for which the Italian Reformers suffered exile, poverty, and death. It is but a sorry object of ambition for a writer to balance the scales of argument with such delicate nicety, that the reader, if not left doubtful to which side truth inclines, is at least dubious as to the opinions of the author. It was not on such waveless seas that the Reformers embarked: they never learned to call "bitter sweet, nor sweet bitter." So much does the neutral tint

prevail in modern writings, that it gives rise to the question whether the extension of learning and the diffusion of knowledge have not diminished the vigour of thought. It is gold still, but beaten out so thin, to cover an expanded surface, that it sometimes looks like tinsel. Compare the unimpassioned speeches and sermons of the nineteenth century with the burning zeal and eloquence of St. Paul, and the energetic arguments of Luther, and his followers in the sixteenth century, and we shall not be surprised that Christianity makes so little progress in the world, but rather stand in dread of the Apocalyptic warning against lukewarmness.

Thus much, candid reader, is offered in defence of a zeal which, in so good a cause, can scarcely be immoderate. Cast your eye with indulgence over these pages; they are neither learned nor recondite, but contain subjects for thought and reflection on the dealings of God with mankind. They have not been written in haste, for they have occupied the writer at intervals for more than twelve years. The best recompense for this self-imposed task, will be to see the subject taken up by abler hands, who may dig deep, where hitherto the ground has only been stirred. The materials are immense, and so much has been laid aside, that, were this not the day of small books, the writer would gladly apologize for the brevity of this history. We are now intellectually reproducing the fabulous times of fairy lore, when epicurean feasts started up as if by magic. Compendiums, summaries, abridgments, are the crucibles from whence the pearls and diamonds of wisdom fill the student's mouth without trouble or application. Quick as the train which hurries to its destination, is the march of knowledge; but does the intellect keep pace with it? Does the constant reliance on the thoughts and researches of others impart vigour to the mind? Reflection requires leisure; and if the mental banquet be either too

abundant or too trifling, memory is overstocked, and originality extinguished.

From causes beyond the author's control, the publication of this work has been unexpectedly delayed; some remarks interspersed throughout will shew that it was partly printed before the wonderful changes which have since taken place in Italy. Not being a history of modern times, the misplaced reflections are of no great moment, and will only serve as a background to the glorious picture which Italy has presented to the world of a whole nation rising to free itself from servitude. The great revolutions which have been accomplished during the last year want but one thing to make them as perfect in aim and purpose, as anything on earth can be.

The noble character of the Italians has come out grandly; all selfish considerations have been sacrificed to the general welfare. Let them but serve God as faithfully as they have served their country, and they may justly be extolled as examples to mankind.

ERRATA.

- Vol. I. Page 7, in note, for 1548 and 1549 read 1848 and 1849.
" 102, line 3, for *Julius III.* read *Julius II.*
" 179, " 8, for *Cosmo, I.* read *Cosimo I.*
" 263, in note, for *she formed a romantic attachment to him* read
her romantic attachment to him was confirmed.
" 388, in note, for *Spectacles* read *Spectables.*
" 416 " for *Masters* read *Marten.*
" 427 " for *King's letter* read *Archbishop's letter.*
" 441 line 24, for 1533 read 1553.
" 447 " 30, for 1557 read 1553.
" 453 " 19, for 1558 read 1555.
" 482 " 22, for *Hercules* read *Ippolito*, both in text and note.
" *ib.* " for *son* read *brother-in-law.*
" 582 App. 2, for *Gonzaga* read *Mantua.*

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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF PALEARIO.

INTRODUCTION.

THE sixteenth century, so fertile in stirring events, was at the same time remarkable for progress both in art and learning, and distinguished for the study of those humanizing sciences which raise man to the high intellectual rank to which he is entitled; but its greatest glory is the Reformation. It is a redeeming point in our fallen nature, that in its struggles towards progress it has not confined itself to material aims, but has sought also for spiritual light, and a guide to the seat of the Most High. Aspiring after a renovation in religion, it desired the adaptation of its forms and doctrines to the pattern of primitive Christianity. A strange and unwonted conflict then arose between long-established usages and the regenerating views of the Reformers, between ecclesiastical decrees and scriptural commands. The lovers of confirmed abuses heard with surprise the eager controversies which threatened the overthrow of all that was in their eyes ancient and venerated.

As in India the priests of Brahma now dread the encroachments of civilization, and mourn over the fall of their superstitions, so was it with Rome three hundred years ago. In this our day of liberty and privilege, we can scarcely comprehend the spiritual thralldom under which men groaned during the full strength of the papal power. We hear of its tyranny and marvel at its influence; but it is only by following the Reformation step by step, by tracing its workings in the hearts of the faithful and the unfaithful, that we can form an adequate idea

of the warfare maintained between the servants of God and the servants of the Pope.

We must look back to a very distant period of our own history to understand the difficulties which beset those who imbibed what was called the new doctrine. New, not in substance or in truth, but new to that age in which the doctrines of divine inspiration were hid under the corruptions and superstition of accumulated centuries.

The awakening which had its rise in Germany resounded throughout Italy. Many spiritually blind began to discern something of the purity and grandeur of the Christian religion, and to separate its essential characteristics from the mass of puerile ceremonies and pompous rites with which it had been encumbered. The presence of the Germans in Italy, who had protested so loudly against the sale of God's mercy under the name of indulgences, and exclaimed against the vices and profusion of the clergy, had a great effect in rousing the Pope's most devoted subjects to correct some of the abuses of the Church. The old edifice seemed like a venerated fabric overgrown with moss and crumbling to decay, unable to withstand the slightest shock without falling to the ground.

The cry of reform and the demand for a general Council to settle the points in dispute made those who sat in high places as ecclesiastical rulers check the glaring corruptions which so generally prevailed; many moderate and superficial reforms were introduced into the Romish Church; no longer profligate and voluptuous, it substituted for the vices of a life of pleasure the darker deeds which a proud spirit and an unbridled love of power suggest and encourage.

The recent invention of printing was a powerful engine in the hands of those who sought both spiritual and temporal liberty. Italy was inundated with books, which awakened the attention of all reflecting minds, and pointed out the true scope and meaning of the gospel. The Romish Church soon understood that its very existence depended on the suppression of all free discussion. With this end in view, no coercive measures were spared to crush all dissidence from its opinions.

The whole frame of the Romish Church is so adapted to the fallen and depraved heart of man, it is so upheld by its appeals to the passions and the interests of mankind, so curious a mix-

ture of truth and error, that it is no wonder its votaries are blinded by its delusions; it professes to be based on Christ and his apostles, yet signally departs from the very essence of the gospel.

The Pope, a servant of servants, yet the ruler of kings, displays the fisherman's ring and the pomp of a Roman emperor; is adored as a god, and despised as a prince; the lustre of this false glare is so dazzling to understandings weakened by its continual contemplation, that its votaries lose their singleness of eye, and receive for truth the ministrations of error. Truth, eternal truth, however, we know must and will prevail; and however slow be its progress in Italy, recent events have not been without their fruit and future significance.

During the seventy years of Paleario's life no less than twelve popes assumed the papal crown. They embodied in their several characters every variety of vice and ambition; while, at the same time, some of the brightest traits of human excellence were seen struggling forth from beneath the shade of the papal tiara.

The wicked and unprincipled Alexander VI. was succeeded by the warlike Julius, who, had he been a king instead of a pope, might have achieved great things for his country's weal; but martial enterprise and worldly aggrandisement are ill suited to the self-constituted vicar of Him who said, "they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." This turbulent reign was followed by that of the pleasure-loving Leo, whose patronage of literature conferred singular benefits on Italy; but while the encouragement of ancient learning cast the ceremonies of superstition into shade and paved the way for the Reformation, it ill prepared the Roman Court for the conscientious measures of the upright though unpolished Adrian. He was succeeded by the weak and treacherous Clement VII., whose wily and vacillating policy brought ruin on his country, and exposed the papacy to the bitterest contempt. The wise and judicious reforms projected by Paul III., and his admirable choice of learned and virtuous men as cardinals and rulers of provinces, were greatly counterbalanced by a deep tinge of bigotry and an obstinate resistance to the sitting of the Council of Trent. Julius III. was one of those negative characters who abstain from doing harm, but have no ambition to do good. The short

reign of Marcellus II. (twenty-two days) shed a gloom on the hopes the reformers had built on his upright and liberal character, and the land was too soon called to weep tears of blood by the cruel edicts of the ferocious Paul IV. The reign of Pius IV., a man of peace and letters, afforded a short respite of seven years. He was sworn at his election to reform the abuses of the Church, and refrained from persecution. His successor, Pius V., was a man of the harshest and most austere character: long practised in deeds of cruelty as chief inquisitor, he was no sooner elected Pope than he devoted himself heart and soul to what he called the extirpation of heresy. Bigotry had so blinded his judgment, that he unhappily believed he was doing God service when persecuting unto the death all who differed from his own peculiar branch of the Church of Christ. The power being in his hands, he condemned to the flames the most devoted servants of the Most High. Paleario was only one of an infinite number put to death for following Christ in the simplicity and purity of the gospel.

Volumes would not suffice to give a just idea of the various influences brought into play by this constant change of irresponsible rulers, each of a different temper and character. The continual change of officials and parties allows the leaven of corruption to spread throughout the land, and impedes the advancement of moral progress. Such are the disadvantages of an elective and ecclesiastical principedom. The temptations offered to private ambition in all elective governments are reasons sufficient for preferring an hereditary monarchy subject to constitutional laws; for without some hope of durability nothing great or stable can be attained.

The wisest human institutions appear to be those which tend to counterbalance the futility of all human efforts, and which press on with steady progress to the correction of all abuses.

In all countries where the principles of the Reformation have been rightly understood, they have been supported by constitutional liberty and religious toleration, a liberty and toleration sought for by the nation at large, in order that all men may enjoy the rights of conscience, and none be suffered to domineer over the faith of his neighbour.

Italy has deeply suffered from the want of this social element. Though not now, as in the sixteenth century, spiritually

awake, she still by turns hugs and raves over her chains, and thus loses the opportunities offered her of attaining freedom. Even after the events of 1849, when the Pope fled from his capital and his temporal power was declared abrogated for ever, may we say this: for though the Pope is individually blamed and his authority despised, yet never in any part of Italy has the real question been mooted—the true root of the matter, namely whether Christ or the Pope is to be the head of the Church, His word or tradition to be the rule of faith. Political agitation gives little time for spiritual meditation; the authority of God is lost sight of in the pretensions of his ministers; and in a climate where all exertion becomes a burthen, men contentedly shift on another the responsibility of their souls' salvation. The temporal authority of the Pope has ever been a bar to national independence. Weak as respects territory, Rome must in actual warfare lean for support on some foreign ally who rules the fate of the whole peninsula, and consigns the inhabitants enslaved and bound into the hand of strangers.

In the sixteenth century this dependence on ultramontane aid was not peculiar to Rome. Italy was then a country of petty sovereigns arrayed against each other. The larger republics, such as Florence and Venice, were filled with an insatiable desire to possess the smaller states of Genoa, Pisa, and Siena; for this they leagued themselves alternately with France and Germany. Both these countries had claims on Milan and Naples, and their contentions filled the whole century with a succession of wars and leagues, of treachery and rapine.

By the overruling providence of God, these international disputes and martial enterprises were made the means of bringing into contact thinking men from the most distant parts of Europe, and of spreading those great principles of civil and religious liberty which were so freely discussed in the Germanic diets. The most eminent men in Italy, cardinals, prelates, and scholars, took up the subject with eager enthusiasm, saw the claims of divine inspiration to supreme veneration, and began diligently to study the grand charter of the Christian religion.

Among these celebrated men few were more remarkable for talents and learning than Aonio Paleario. Deeply imbued with the study of the ancients, his fine taste aimed to imitate the purity of their style both in prose and poetry. To the erudition

of a scholar he added the learning and profound thought of a philosopher and a theologian. His vigorous intellect and uncompromising love of truth exposed him to the ceaseless enmity of the priesthood, and to harassing jealousies from literary rivals; but nothing could divert him from his purpose, or restrain him from devoting his whole life to the advancement of knowledge and the propagation of truth with an energy which far outstripped the spirit of the age.

Many of his works have perished, some have never seen the light, and others are utterly lost. One of the most remarkable, "A Treatise on the Benefit derived by Christians from the Death of Christ," was a few years ago considered irrecoverable, but two or three copies have been recently found at Cambridge. A reprint of one, supposed to be an early edition of the original work, has, by the diligence and accuracy of a modern scholar, been given to the public.¹ All who love true scriptural doctrine may now judge for themselves of the soundness of the author's theological views, and his manner of setting them forth.

Although 40,000 copies of this work were sold in a few years after its first publication, no trace of them now is to be found in Italy.² The same ruthless edicts which cast the persons of believers into the flames, piled up for destruction all written testimonies to divine truth.

To commemorate this eminent christian martyr, who lost his life for believing the truths of the gospel, is the object of the following pages. He is singularly worthy of our veneration and regard, whose faith gave him courage in a day of persecution to write according to his conscience; counting not his life dear unto himself "that he might win Christ." Nor was he the only victim of papal persecution. Though alone in his solitary

¹ See *The Benefit of Christ's Death, with a Preface*, by Churchill Babington, B.D., F.L.S. A reprint of the original work, *Trattato utilissimo del Beneficio di Gesù Christo Crocifisso verso i Christiani*, Venetiis, apud Bernardinum de Bindonis, Anno Do. 1543; and a French translation of 1552. (London: Bell and Daldy.) See also a small edition of *The Benefit of Christ's Death*, with an introduction by the Rev. John Ayre, M.A., published by the Religious Tract Society; and Dr. M'Crie's *Reformation in Italy*, new edition. (Blackwood.) This last work was the first book in English on the Reformation in Italy, and is still the most complete and accurate work on the subject.

² This does not necessarily imply that none exist; Lazzari seems rather to imply the contrary.

dungeon, the unseen combat was going on around him. Crowds of white-robed martyrs passed from the bridge of St. Angelo to the gates of everlasting bliss.

Highly esteemed among his learned contemporaries, he lived on terms of intimate friendship with most of the eminent scholars of his time. Their history is so much wound up in the eventful period of the sixteenth century, that in writing of Paleario we must necessarily bring in many of the highly gifted individuals who hailed with joy the rise of the Reformation. Some went but a little way, and halted when they found that they were passing the pale of the Romish Church, as if heaven itself were not worth having, except under papal permission. Others fled to foreign lands, there to proclaim the gospel closed to Romish ears. Not a few, among whom was our Paleario, remained during "the burden and heat of the day," looked death in the face, and clothed in the Christian's panoply waited the onslaught of the enemy.

But he being dead yet speaketh: his little "golden book," as it has been called, has again made its appearance in its native tongue, and by means of a translation from a foreign copy travelled through the land of its birth.¹ His body indeed was burned three hundred years ago, and his ashes thrown into the Tiber, but "his works do follow him."

The late revolutions in Italy, though not of a religious nature, have been of great use in dispelling prejudice, and in preparing the public mind for clearer views of civil and religious liberty. One state in Italy is nobly working out its constitutional principles and consolidating its social institutions, headed by a liberal and true-hearted king.

If it were once thoroughly understood that freedom of conscience is the only solid foundation for true political liberty, Italy would then perceive that hitherto she has been working on an unstable foundation, and would see that it needs more than human means to understand the commandment which "enlighteneth the eyes." All political revolutions not based on the perfect law of God end in disappointment; but a firm footing once placed on this indestructible foundation, the mind acquires strength from the

¹ From an English translation of a French copy edited by Rev. John Ayre, M.A., with an Introduction, 1847. Printed at Pisa and Florence in 1648 and 1649.

sanctity of its object. "The fear of the Lord is clean, enduring for ever."

It cannot be that those who have shewn so just an abhorrence of temporal absolutism will always remain abjectly crouching under papal dominion, or that those who know the value of civil liberty should fail to discover that liberty of conscience is man's dearest blessing and highest prerogative. The understanding once enlightened can never consent to take from the lips of a priest a sentence of life or death throughout eternity; much less can the mind of man, brought up under free institutions, submit to the rule of petty superstitions, worship of images, belief in wonder-working miracles, or any of the thousand inventions which are as pins in the tabernacle to keep it together. Perhaps the time may yet arrive when a purer faith will take the place of the corruptions of Rome, when the Church may be reformed, not destroyed. Then the thousand members who now only desire it with secret aspirations will speak out as with one voice, and claim liberty of conscience as the natural right of every rational and intelligent being.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

1516—1530.

CAUSES OF RELIGIOUS ENQUIRY IN ITALY—LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE—POPE ADRIAN'S GOOD INTENTIONS—GERMANIC DIETS—CLEMENT VII.—VATICAN PILLAGED—BOURBON—BENVENUTO CELLINI KILLS BOURBON—SACK OF ROME—HORRIBLE CRUELITIES—POMPEO COLONNA—PAPACY DERIDED AND PERACHED AGAINST AS ANTICHRIST—PEACE OF CAMBRAY—TWO LADIES—CORONATION OF CHARLES V.—DIETS OF SPIRES AND AUGSBURG—PROTESTANT CONFESSION OF FAITH—SEVERE EDICT ISSUED BY CHARLES V.

BEFORE entering on Paleario's individual history, we propose to give an outline of the principal events in connection with Italy during the first thirty years of Paleario's life: a period scant in details of his personal history, but rich in events of public importance.

We shall thus become acquainted with some of the causes which led men like Paleario to seek freedom from the trammels of superstition, and induced them to desire the purification of religion, and a return to the simple observances of the Primitive Church. This will enable us to trace the origin of his religious opinions, and observe how they grew slowly out of his metaphysical studies on the nature of the soul and its immortal essence, till he was gradually brought to understand the great purpose of divine revelation.

As to mark the connection of cause and effect in the material world is the peculiar province of the Physical philosopher, so in like manner is it the aim of the Moral philosopher to investigate the springs of thought which actuate intelligent beings.

That spark of the divine essence, a 'living soul,' when roused to a sense of its responsibility before God and to a due

consideration of its immortal nature, can never submit to be dragged on in a dull round of arid forms and ceremonious observances. Awakened to discern its high birth and heavenly destiny, it aspires to dwell in the pure and spiritual atmosphere of scriptural light. Satisfied that the Divine Author of our being has vouchsafed an unerring rule both for faith and practice, it disclaims all additions to the inspired code, and counts them as spurious and futile.

The sale of indulgences, for the purpose of producing a large sum of money to build and embellish the church of St. Peter's at Rome, filled to the brim the cup of papal corruption. The consequences are too well known to need detail here.

The court of Leo X. made not even a pretence to religion. The Pope and his courtiers spent their time in pagan revelry and literary enjoyments. The wars and rapine which had ravaged the country under the two former Popes made the people rejoice in the peaceful contrast: the treasury was empty, dependents and friends numerous, the traditionary taste for luxury which Leo had inherited pushed him to extraordinary measures for the supply of his pecuniary necessities. What so easy as to purchase heaven by a piece of coin, absolution from crime by sums of various value? The thought was ingenious and of universal application. What so meritorious as to contribute towards the building of a gorgeous fane dedicated to St. Peter? Even the dead were not deprived of this privilege: weeping mourners were taught that the souls of their friends were expiating their sins in the flames of purgatory, but that no sooner did the St. Peter's pence chink in the collector's bag, than the soul passed free from torment. Who could be so hard-hearted as to refuse so trifling a pittance to release their friends and relations from suffering? Roscoe has so well depicted the court of Leo¹ that we need not go over the same ground, though we may differ in the estimate of the pontiff's character, and regret that his moral proportions have not been brought out in contrast with his literary tastes. When a man assumes the title of Vicar

¹ In Balbo's *Sommario* there is an admirably true and philosophic opinion on the character of Leo X. "Le nature facili, liete, pompose, leggeri, trascurate od anche un po' spensierate, sogliono più che l'altre trovar fortuna in vita, e gloria dopo morte. Tal fu, tal sorte ebbe Leon X.; del resto, non gran principe politico ed ancor meno gran papa."—*Sommario della Storia d' Italia*, p. 282. Firenze, 1866.

and follower of Christ, it becomes all Christians to look for some semblance in character to that of his heavenly Master.

In the early part of the sixteenth century the quarrels of the Pope and the Emperor had become matters of public notoriety. The discussions at the Germanic Diets brought to light the genuine tendencies of Christianity: liberty of conscience was soon claimed as a right, and in defiance of papal prohibition the Scriptures were eagerly and diligently studied.

The accession of a young Emperor in 1516, who owed his election chiefly to Frederic the Wise, Elector of Saxony, a great favourer of reform, gave weight to the discussions on the sale of indulgences. Though Charles had not sufficient elevation of mind to put himself at the head of the great spiritual and intellectual movement passing before his eyes, yet he was prudent enough to temporise, and sufficiently farsighted to perceive that the Pope's interests and his were not the same, and that Germany was too independent to submit without a struggle to the sacrifice of liberty of conscience.

Charles V., by turns an abettor of the Pope and a restraint on his authority as the fluctuations of his contest with Francis I. rendered it politic, had in 1521 called a Diet at Worms for the purpose of checking the spread of those opinions which threatened to destroy the ancient superstitions. The members of the Diet openly withstood the Pope's advocates, who wished to condemn the Evangelic opinions without deliberation or inquiry; they insisted on having them discussed in their presence. To the great indignation of the Pope's partisans as well as of the Spanish Roman Catholics, Luther made a most spirited and lucid defence of the Gospel doctrine. Next day the Emperor presented a paper written by his own hand, stating that his ancestors had always been devoted to the Papal See, and that he would follow their example in defending and upholding it; and that if Luther would not retract his errors he would proceed against him as a heretic. These harsh and indiscreet expressions, wrung from Charles's inexperience by the solicitations of the papal party, produced murmurs and complaints throughout the assembly; for he had broken the established rules of the Diet by being the first to give his opinion. The Diet thought its privileges attacked by being thus deprived of the liberty to vote freely without a knowledge of the Emperor's sentiments; but

Charles took good care not to push matters to extremes, till he had obtained a vote in his favour against the machinations of his rival, Francis I., well knowing that the German Princes would resist the Emperor's wishes if he exercised severity towards the courageous defenders of their religious liberty.

The death of Leo X. in 1521 gave Charles an opportunity of raising to the Papal See Adrian of Utrecht. He had been his tutor, and was remarkable for integrity and uprightness of character. It was a new thing for Italy to have a Pope who had never appeared at the court of Rome as Cardinal, and who had never filled any diplomatic mission. His having been the Emperor's instructor, and the fame of his learning and virtuous habits, raised the hopes of those who desired a sincere and thorough religious reformation in the Church: the Pope, feeling that he would not be suspected of arts or intrigue by his countrymen, eagerly set himself to quiet the agitation in Germany by sending a legate to the Diet which was just about to assemble at Nuremberg. He resolved to make some reforms in the system of indulgences, and to enact that they were not to be granted merely on paying money, but must be merited by some good work. Cardinal Cajetan however convinced him that this expedient would not answer; for if they were not to give indulgences unless they were deserved by the performance of real works of piety and merit, indulgences would fall into disrepute and no longer bring in revenue to the Church. Concessions with the view of gaining Germany, he observed, might lose Italy; the remedy, however suitable to the evil, would be too strong, and, so far from curing, would destroy. Cardinal Soderini enforced all these arguments, by saying that if the Church of Rome were to attempt any reforms, it would only embolden those who cried out against its abuses to increase their demands; that it did not become the dignity of the court of Rome to make any change, or own itself capable of corruption or improvement.

The Pope, really in earnest in his desires for reform, poured into the ears of his confidants Encker Ward and Theodore Heze his deep disappointment and sorrow at the difficulties thrown in the way of executing his good intentions. A pope, he said, was most unhappily situated, since he was not free to do good, however much disposed; that he would wave his projects of reform

till he could himself go into Germany, but that he would not give up the hope of executing his plans, even if it cost him his temporal power and reduced him to apostolic poverty. He then sent a Nuncio to the Diet of Nuremberg who complained that the Edict of Worms against Luther and his writings was not put into execution. He urged them with all diligence to use both fire and sword against all who departed from the tenets of the Romish Church. One article of the Nuncio Cheregato's instructions is remarkable as shewing how fearful the Pope was of discussions on matters of faith. "If any," says he, "object that Luther be condemned without being heard and allowed to defend himself, the Nuncio is to answer:—it is just to hear him on the fact whether or not he wrote such and such a writing or preached such a doctrine; but by no means is he to be allowed to explain or reason on any article of faith, or presume to shadow with the possibility of doubt what had been approved by the Church."

The Diet made answer that they rejoiced at Adrian's exaltation to the Popedom; that it had not been possible to execute either the sentence of Leo or the edict of Charles, because they feared a rising among the people who were much set against the abuses of the Church; that milder measures were necessary; and as the Nuncio confessed there were evils and the Pope promised to reform them, the best remedy was to take away some of the causes of complaint and relieve Germany from the payment of the annates for the war against the Turks, as they had never been used for this purpose. There was but one remedy, they alleged, for the removal of the corruptions which had crept into the Church, the calling of a general Council. They doubted not that his Holiness would promptly take measures to this effect; they meanwhile would endeavour to prevent books adverse to Rome from being published, and would enjoin the preachers throughout Germany to content themselves with preaching the gospel in its purity. They advised bishops to watch over their dioceses, that they might not be suspected of endeavouring to impede the circulation of divine truth.

The Nuncio was little satisfied with this moderate answer, and more particularly objected to the opinion of the Diet as to married priests, who, it was contended, had not by marrying brought themselves under the cognizance of the civil law, and

could only be punished by canonical penances; if priests were guilty of any crime the magistrates would punish them according to the laws. This roused the utmost indignation of the Nuncio, who vehemently insisted that it was an infringement on ecclesiastical liberty, and on the rights of Jesus Christ to whom the clergy belonged, who being under the power of the Church must ever remain subject to its authority alone.

The Princes of Germany who had embraced the reformed opinions drew up a memorial containing one hundred grievances, and sent it to the Pope after the departure of the Nuncio. The chief subjects of complaint were the heavy taxes with which they were burdened in the name of the Church, the sale of indulgences, trials referred to Rome, the exemptions claimed by the clergy in criminal courts, and compulsory payment for every spiritual advantage, while the people were kept in ignorance and servitude, and the laity robbed of their property for the benefit of the clergy.

The discussions, objections, and replies both of the Diet and the Nuncio, together with the one hundred grievances presented to the Pope, were soon after published and spread abroad till they reached Rome. The Pope's candid avowal that there was need for some reform displeased the prelates exceedingly, for they thought it portended a future reformation of some of those abuses from which their princely revenues were derived. The Germans on the other hand were equally dissatisfied with the Pope's language, particularly where he spoke of advancing gradually and slowly: there was no fear, they said, of the Pope being in haste, most probably a century would intervene between each improvement; for Popes were always willing to promise, but never performed their engagements.¹

However true this assertion might be in general, all who knew Adrian were convinced of his sincerity and uprightness; he was spared the stormy conflict which awaited him between his court and his conscience; a sudden illness carried him off almost immediately after the return of Cheregato from Nuremberg.

While these discussions were going on, and the question was generally agitated whether there was to be a reform in the Church or not, Paleario was pursuing his studies, and most probably his youthful mind received then for the first time the

¹ Paolo Sarpi, *Istoria del Conoil. Trident.*

idea that a reform of any kind was necessary in a Church hitherto considered as infallible.

Clement VII., elected in 1523, was of a prudent, wily character, inclined rather to conceal the evils of the Church than to remove them. He pursued a policy altogether different from that of his predecessor. He sent Cardinal Campeggio to Nuremberg in 1524 to gather up the threads of the negotiation already begun; pretending to be ignorant of what had passed between the Diet and Adrian, he entirely overlooked the petition containing the one hundred grievances. The whole object of his negotiation was to prove that all reform was unnecessary. But the Germans, in a plain straightforward manner, told the legate that as their *Centum Gravamina*¹ had been printed and distributed at Rome they were aware he knew what they required, and should wait the Pope's answer. The legate evaded every effort of the Diet to strike at the root of the matter, the abuses of the court of Rome; and as the Diet knew these were the sources of all the evils in the Church, they refused to sanction the trifling reforms which the legate proposed to make among the inferior clergy of Germany. The Diet, seeing they could not agree with the Cardinal, published a decree to the effect that the Pope, with the consent of the Emperor, would assemble a Council in some free city, and that the States of the Empire should meet at Spires to determine what was to be done till this meeting of the Council; that meanwhile all libels and defamatory writings should be suppressed. After the dissolution of the Diet the legate prevailed on the princes and bishops most favourable to the court of Rome to issue a decision that the Edict of Worms should be more strictly observed, and produced his projected plan for the reformation of the clergy. It contained thirty-seven chapters, on their robes and manner of living, on holidays, fastings, and ceremonies; but not one word as to diligence in their duties, of spiritual teaching, or of scriptural doctrine. It was full of high-sounding phrases of attachment to the religion of their forefathers, when in fact it was the Church of Rome which, by her material images and useless forms, had departed from the primitive doctrines and observances of the Christian religion.

¹ *Concil. Trident.*

Charles, in the full plenitude of his power, was displeased that the Diet had taken upon itself to give so positive an answer to a foreign power without his consent. His fear of offending the Pope gave way after the battle of Pavia, which left Francis I. a prisoner in his hands, and so confirmed his power in Italy that he found himself able to make head against the Pope, while at the same time he kept the German states in check. In 1526 he ordered the Diet assembled at Spires to deliberate on the best means of preserving the Roman Catholic religion; but as opinions were various on this point, the letters of the Emperor from Seville were read to the Diet, in which he enjoined them to come to no final decision till he himself should go to Italy to be crowned, when he would consult with the Pope as to the calling of a general Council to treat expressly on matters of religion. Charles's great object was to prevent the Diet from discussing the matters in dispute, and this induced him to hold out the promise of a general Council so ardently desired by Europe in general. Influenced by those who dreaded the investigation of religious opinions, he abrogated the decree of the Diet of Nuremberg, which enjoined an examination of Luther's writings, telling them that the resolutions of these assemblies had only encouraged the multitude in their errors, and made others bold in teaching doctrines which had been condemned by the Church.

However respectfully the Diet felt disposed to listen to the opinions and wishes of their Emperor, it was composed of men of too independent spirit to submit unreservedly in matters of conscience; and the deputies replied to the letters of Charles that it was impossible to execute the resolutions of the Diet of Worms against Luther and his writings, for fear of a public commotion; people's minds being daily more enlightened as to the abuses and superstitions of the Church of Rome. As to the hope held out by the Emperor of a general Council under the sanction of the Pope, they begged him to remember that this was promised when the Pope and he were friends, but now that they were at variance there was not much prospect of his granting that to which he was naturally so averse; they therefore entreated the Emperor to call a Germanic Council without delay to decide the points in dispute, and if he would not consent to this he must at least delay the execution of the Edict of Worms till some general Council could be held. They denied having made any

changes in that true and holy faith which was founded on Christ and his eternal, immutable word; they neglected no ceremonies but such as were contrary to Scripture, and only desired to live according to the simplicity and purity of the Gospel. The deputies pointed out the heavy burdens which pressed upon the people, and their being obliged to support so many mendicant friars, who stripped them of every comfort, and often procured legacies and estates to be devised to them by dying persons. They entreated that ecclesiastics might stand on the same footing with the rest of the Emperor's subjects, and not enjoy immunities to the injury of the industrious population. They begged that the number of holidays might be lessened, and the Gospel have free course among the people. These reasonable requests were opposed by a part of the Diet who leaned to the Roman Catholic party, and so considerable a division of opinion arose that it threatened a stormy interruption of the Diet itself; this however was prevented by the conciliatory tone of Ferdinand king of the Romans, and at length the Reformers suggested an expedient which was consented to by the whole assembly. They proposed a resolution that the welfare of religion and the maintenance of the public peace rendered it necessary to call a general or national Council within the space of a year; that the Emperor be earnestly entreated to call such a Council; and that in the meantime they would engage to conduct themselves so as to be able to give to God and the Emperor a good account of their administration. This proposal, though couched in ambiguous terms, gave general satisfaction and was unanimously agreed to. The Reformers hoped that by gaining time their opinions would spread and take deeper root; the Roman Catholics confided in the numerical force of their party, in case the national Council assembled; thus the Diet broke up without any visible schism. Both parties hoped to win the Emperor over to their side; and it must be owned that though Charles during his whole life was actuated more by policy and ambition than by motives of principle or honour, yet on his election to the imperial crown there were some visible signs of his intention to abridge the papal power, which aroused both the indignation and fears of the reigning Pope. Charles had been educated in Germany at a time when the power of the Papal See was universally detested, and when all

men were exclaiming against its abuses. One of his first acts on coming to the throne was to pass an edict annulling its authority in Spain, and forbidding his subjects to plead causes relating to Spain in the Roman courts. The Pope's authority was publicly set at defiance in his own capital soon after the publication of this edict by a Spanish notary, who entered the court of justice at Rome and in a public sitting forbade two Neapolitans to plead there. This open insult stung Clement to the quick, and made him fear that a prince who thus unceremoniously defied the power of the Roman See would set no bounds to his ambition. He lived in continual apprehension of the dreaded Council, which might not only abridge his temporal power, but also call in question the validity of his election as Pope on account of the illegitimacy of his birth. In vain he looked to France for support. Francis, who had been taken prisoner after the battle of Pavia, was still in the power of the Emperor. Clement therefore temporised till the liberation of the French king, when he despatched two messengers; one to Francis, absolving him from all his engagements to the Emperor, and offering to enter into an offensive and defensive league with him for the maintenance of his claims on the Duchy of Milan. At the same time he sent a messenger to Charles bearing letters full of indignation at the affront put on his authority in the public tribunals. Having fully vented his anger in this first despatch, he next day wrote more temperately, pretending to have recalled the first as written in haste. In the second letter he entreated Charles to restrain his people within due bounds; alluding to cardinal Colonna, his former rival and now open enemy, whose disappointed ambition outstripped the limits of moderation, and so displeased the Pope that he cited him publicly to Rome; but the Viceroy of Naples having declared in his favour, and Clement's allies not coming forward to assist him, he deemed it wisest to revoke his edict against the Cardinal. About this time the death of the king of Hungary and other events so startled the Pope that he began to think it wisest to propose measures of reform; he made overtures for a general peace, and entreated the Cardinals to advise how he might promote tranquillity and extirpate heresy.

The Emperor perfectly understood the Pope's diplomacy in writing to him in two different strains, and answered him in the

same style, first angrily, and then more mildly; but his boldest stroke was the sending a letter to the Cardinals complaining of the Pope, and inviting them to convoke a general Council if the Pontiff refused to do so. This letter was printed and published throughout Germany, Spain, and Italy, and had a wonderful effect in confirming the opinions of the Reformers, and in shewing the Germans how little the Emperor respected the Pope; it also enlightened the world in general as to the sincerity of the two parties.¹ In Clement this letter produced a deep desire for revenge; he looked round on all sides for means to avert the storm he saw approaching.

To save expense the Pope had disbanded his troops, and before he could take measures for his defence the Colonnas suddenly entered Rome at the head of their tenantry and friends, all armed to the teeth in hostile array. Clement, though naturally of a timid and wavering disposition, at first thought of imitating Boniface VIII. by awaiting the enemy arrayed in his most gorgeous robes and seated in pontifical state; but as the foe approached he was easily persuaded to fly to St. Angelo by the private gallery which communicates with the Vatican. Meanwhile the Colonnas, adherents of the Emperor, pillaged the church of St. Peter, and carried off all the furniture of the Pope's palace. They were proceeding to sack the city, when the Orsini, their hereditary rivals, joined the inhabitants in defending their property and obliged them to retire. Upon this Clement eagerly concluded a treaty with Moncada, minister of the Emperor, on condition that the Neapolitans and Colonnas should leave Rome, and the Pope recal his troops from Lombardy; but no sooner was he protected by the arrival of these troops, than he fulminated an ecclesiastical censure against the Colonnas, declaring them heretics and excommunicating all their adherents. Pompeo was degraded from the dignity of Cardinal; he appealed to a general Council, and cited the Pope before the Diet at Spires. This manifesto Pompeo posted up at night on all the churches at Rome, and spread it throughout Italy; and thus prepared the minds of men for the still more daring insults to the majesty of Rome which took place the following year.

The Viceroy of Naples declared that the Pope had violated

¹ *Concil. Trident.*

the truce by excommunicating the Colonnas : at their instigation he advanced to attack Rome, while at the same time danger threatened from the North. George Fronsperg, a renowned German general, whose very name spread terror and alarm, advanced by rapid marches at the head of 1500 men.

Fronsperg was a man of gigantic stature and great strength ; his life had been spent in military warfare, and to the bold and courageous virtues of a soldier he added the equally valuable qualities of great experience and judgment as a commander. It was greatly owing to his valour and skill that the battle of Pavia was won by the Emperor's troops ; and to crown the suitability of his character for the Italian expedition, he had imbibed the Reformed opinions, and nourished a deadly hate towards the papal power as a system of spiritual oppression. The spirit in which he declared war towards the Pope and all his followers cannot be commended ; it partook of the passions of the day in the early dawn of an escape from thralldom, before men's minds were sufficiently freed from the intolerance of persecution under which they had so long groaned.

Charles, who during his whole reign knew how to make use of the passions both of his friends and his enemies in order to attain his own objects, when Lombardy was in peril sent word to his brother Ferdinand to send some German officers to take the command of the troops and relieve Milan. Gaspar, Fronsperg's eldest son, was in command there ; he wrote to his father that he should be lost, unless some extraordinary effort was made for his relief. Fronsperg was advanced in years, and had given up all idea of active service ; his sons were grown up to take his place, and he looked forward to a quiet repose upon his laurels for the rest of his life ; he was besides of so enormous a size, that he felt himself unequal to the fatigues of a military life : but when the combined motives of paternal affection, duty to his sovereign, and the prospect of being a second time a conqueror in Italy were presented to him, he buckled on his armour and roused the enthusiasm of his soldiers, who were all Lutherans, by telling them they were going to destroy the power of the Pope. Neither Ferdinand nor the Emperor could supply him with money ; so he pledged his paternal estate for 1500 crowns, which he distributed among his men in a bounty of a crown to each man, telling them they must look for their pay in the riches

of the Vatican and the pillage of Italy. His bold confidence of success encouraged his troops to brave the hardships of a new campaign; and in order to remind them of the ultimate end of their expedition, he carried with him, say the Italian historians, a golden halter which he every now and then pulled out of his bosom, alleging it was prepared for the neck of his Holiness; at his saddle-bow hung a similar halter of red silk, to which he pointed as ready for the Cardinals. It is more than probable, from the rude spirit of the age and the want of pay for the soldiers, that this was only an idle boast suited to the ears of his Lutheran soldiers to lure them on to Italy; for we do not find that the Protestants were guilty of greater cruelty or rapacity than the Spanish troops. Be this as it may, Fronsperg himself was cut off in the midst of his martial career. He was suddenly seized with a paralytic stroke which obliged him to be taken in a litter to Ferrara, where he soon after died, leaving the command of the troops to Bourbon, who led on the Spanish forces.

At the very moment that Fronsperg was marching to relieve Milan, Charles sent Fieramosca, a Neapolitan gentleman, with amicable letters to Clement desiring him to treat with the Viceroy on terms of peace. Clement despatched Fieramosca to Bourbon, informing him of the treaty and requesting him to delay the advance of his army. Bourbon replied that nothing but a large sum of money could arrest his progress; his soldiers were without pay and could not be restrained. The Pope drew letters of credit on a bank in Florence for 50,000 florins to satisfy the necessities of the troops. The soldiers, fearful of losing their hopes of pillage, endeavoured to tear the messenger to pieces; he contrived however to escape from their fury, but fell into the hands of the peasants, who, but for the intervention of a monk of Camaldoli, would have put him to death.

The wary policy of Charles may lead us to doubt whether he was sincere, or whether he was only keeping up the farce of a certain outward respect for the Pope, while at the same time he issued secret directions to push the advantage against him to the utmost. The Pope saw his danger, and agreed to a suspension of arms for eight months. He consented to remove the interdict against Colonna, and to pay 60,000 crowns; thus hoping to avert the approach of a foreign army to the gates of Rome. Bourbon however refused to be bound by this truce. He had

reason to complain of the Emperor for having broken his promises. The duchy of Milan¹, which had been offered as a reward for his treachery to his king and country, was still withheld. He found himself at the head of a numerous army of soldiers without means to pay them, and even if his own ambition had not pushed him on, he could never have controlled the advance of the army who had come so far with the hope of booty. A general without money has but a slight command over his troops. What aggravated the miseries of war in those days was, that undisciplined armies frequently dictated terms to their leaders, and committed all those excesses from which humanity shrinks.

The duke of Ferrara, eager to be relieved of so large a body of soldiers, on the death of Fronsperg gave them cannon, provisions, and all they required. The army turned with eager gaze towards the Campagna of Rome. Destruction rushed on the eternal city when it was least expected. Clement had just concluded a truce with the Emperor; the army of the League was strong and well appointed; the duke of Urbino, the Venetian general, was a courageous and experienced captain, but Clement did not inspire confidence. Urbino had private wrongs to revenge, and while Bourbon advanced, the army of the League delayed at Perugia to substitute one tyrant for another in the command of the city.

An eye-witness² has given a fearfully graphic account of the capture of the city. On the 5th May, 1527, Bourbon was at the gates; his army was so ill provided that they could not have existed another day without food; the troops dispirited and weakened were little disposed for an assault; but Bourbon saw there was no alternative between certain destruction and the capture of the city. After allowing them a short respite, towards evening he assembled his army and addressed them in an animated speech, which so excited their courage that they with one accord declared themselves ready to follow his commands. He dismissed them to take a few hours of repose, with orders to be under arms at dawn. He himself passed the night in consult-

¹ The duchy of Milan was the great bone of contention during this war. Clement, through his legates and nuncios, was making every effort to get it out of the Emperor's power; he secretly raised different detachments of troops to unite against Milan. See *Lettere de' Principi a' Principi*.

² Jacopo Buonaparte, *Sacco di Roma dell' anno 1527. Ragguaglio Storico*.

ation with his generals and captains on the best plan of attack, and enjoined them to represent to their several companies the certainty of victory.

Meanwhile all was terror in Rome; scarcely had the Pope heard of the enemy's army having left Siena, when their arrival at Viterbo was announced; he was utterly confounded and at a loss how to act. But a short time before he had disbanded 2000 Swiss and 2000 infantry of the *Bande Nere*. In vain he turned to the cardinals and prelates asking counsel and assistance; they all stood aghast and dismayed. At one moment he thought of flying to a seaport, at another of cutting the bridges and awaiting the arrival of the army of the League: it was even proposed to buy at any price the inactivity of Bourbon. This, the only chance of safety, could not have been accomplished without an enormous sacrifice, for which the Roman nobles were little prepared. At length it was resolved to collect a body of troops from among the artisans, workmen, servants, and stable-boys. Renzi de Ceri took the command of this undisciplined corps, about 3000 in number. The Pope assembled the Roman people and exhorted them to take arms in defence of their country; he entreated the wealthy inhabitants to advance the money necessary. One only replied to this proposal, Domenico de Massimi, the head of one of the richest families: so low was public spirit fallen in Rome, that with the enemy at the gates he ironically offered to lend 100 crowns.¹ He suffered most severely afterwards for this parsimony; his daughter fell a prey to the soldiers, while he and his son were taken prisoners, and obliged to pay enormous ransoms.

The Pope used the most exciting arguments to urge his people to defend the city, pointed out the starved condition of the enemy, their want of artillery to make a breach in the walls, the extreme improbability that Lutherans would be allowed to capture the Holy City; on the contrary, he doubted not that they were brought there for their destruction: so energetic were his remonstrances, that if it had been possible for him, consistently with his papal dignity, to mount the walls and direct the city to be put in a proper state of defence, something possibly might have been done. But the ignorance of the multitude and the selfishness of Renzi lulled them into a fatal security. With the

¹ Guicciardini, *Storia*, vol. ix. c. 3, p. 48.

Pope for their shield and 3000 troops in arms they thought themselves invulnerable; the army of the League, they were assured, would arrive next day and fall furiously on the famished enemy to his utter destruction. So secure did they feel that they would not allow the Pope to leave the city, nor the merchants to send their most precious effects with their wives and children to Civita Vecchia. They shut the gates and pronounced all exaggerated alarm groundless; yet with all this bravery there was so much consternation that no active steps were taken to avert the impending calamity. Renzi would not let them cut the bridges for fear of a panic.¹

Several days before, a man of the lower ranks, Brandano, a native of Siena, a poor emaciated creature, went about the streets almost naked, his red skin visible through his tattered garments, fortelling the ruin of the priests and the court of Rome as the prelude to the reformation of the Church. In a loud and lamentable voice he repeatedly exclaimed that now was the time to repent. The Pope even was not respected in his prediction, but his ruin and that of the city was boldly foretold. When cast into prison he only insisted the more on the truth of his warnings, and the event established his character as a prophet.

The imperial army under arms at the gates of Rome consisted of 30,000 foot,² of whom 9000 were *archibugidèri* (sharp-shooters), and a body of 6000 cavalry. Bourbon, clad in white uniform³ (*sopravesta bianca*), led the attack on horseback, riding hither and thither encouraging his troops, and urging them to keep up the character of their ancient valour and to fight even to the death for the rich prize within their grasp. The Spanish troops pushed forward to the assault, but were repulsed with bravery by the Pope's Swiss guard near Strada Giulia. The artillery also played on them from an adjoining height, and committed

¹ Guicciardini, *Storia*, vol. x. p. 49.

² Muratori says that Bourbon's army consisted of 500 men-at-arms, a considerable body of light horse, 5000 picked Spanish troops, 2000 Italian infantry, besides 4000 Germans who joined Fronsperg's 1400 or 1500 men. It is difficult to know accurately the number of the besieging army, as it was much increased in its passage by needy adventurers, who hung on the rear with the hope of spoil; every one in those days was a soldier, and all were ready, and greedy of acquisition.—See a full account in *Ragguaglio Storico*.

³ As *sopravesta* means an outer or over garment, it most probably was a white cloak.

great havoc where the battle was thickest. The enemy resolved to enter towards S. Spirito near the garden of Cardinal Ermellini, where the walls were low, and where there was a small house at one corner ill defended: a thick fog prevented the artillery from being rightly pointed; the cannoneers were obliged to trust more to the ear than to sight. Bourbon became impatient, and gave the example of valour to his soldiers by first ascending the scaling-ladders, then beckoning with his right hand he urged his men to mount; at this very moment a ball struck him and he fell mortally wounded. When dying he desired them to conceal his death; a cloak was thrown over his dead body, and the army was kept in ignorance of their loss, lest the soldiers should be discouraged. The ball which struck Bourbon is said to have been fired by the eminent and eccentric artist Benvenuto Cellini, whose account is as follows:—

“Bourbon’s army had already appeared before Rome; Alessandro del Bene asked me to go with him to see what was doing; on the way we were joined by a young man called Cecchino della Casa. We arrived at the wall of the Campo Santo, and here we saw this wonderful army making strenuous efforts to get within the city. Many of the enemy lay slain; near that part of the wall which we approached they were fighting with all their might, the fog was very thick; I turned to Alessandro and said to him, ‘Let us return home as quickly as we can, for there is no possible remedy (*remedio al mondo*). See, some are mounting and others flying.’ Alessandro much frightened said, ‘Would to God we had not come here!’ and turned round quickly to go away. But I reproved him, saying, ‘Since you have brought me here we must do something worthy of men;’ and pointing my gun where I saw the fight thickest and closest, I aimed at one raised above the others, though the fog did not allow me to see if he was on horseback or on foot. I immediately turned to Alessandro and Cecchino and told them to fire off their guns, and shewed them the way to avoid a shot from without. This we did twice each of us. I dexterously drew near the wall, and saw an extraordinary movement among the enemy, caused by our shots having killed Bourbon: it was he, as I afterwards learned, whom we saw carried off by his men. We then left, and passing by the Campo Santo entered by St. Peter’s and out by the church of St. Agnolo, and thus arrived at the

gate of the castle with great difficulty, because Renzi da Ceri and Orazio Baglioni wounded or killed every one who quitted the combat on the walls."¹

The impulse had been given, and notwithstanding the death of Bourbon the generals renewed the attack with desperate vigour. The denseness of the fog was favourable to them; those within made an obstinate resistance for more than an hour, but about five in the afternoon some Spaniards were seen in the city, they had passed through the window of the house which had been overlooked. Renzi, who was the first to discover the presence of the enemy, instead of making some show of defence and selling his life dearly at the head of his troops, called out, "The enemy is within, *salvatici*," and fled towards Porto Sisto, taking refuge in St. Angelo. The Pope, hearing the loud cries of the soldiers, escaped by the covered passage on the walls to the castle, weeping as he went, and lamenting that he was betrayed by every one. He could see from the windows the flight of the Roman soldiers and the butchery of the citizens.²

The castle was totally unprovided with provisions and ammunition. The fugitives snatched in haste from the nearest shops and houses whatever they could find. Such was the crowd of prelates, merchants, nobles, courtiers, women, and soldiers, who rushed to the principal entrance of St. Angelo, that they could scarcely shut the drawbridge; it fell with difficulty, being rusty from disuse. About 3000 persons got in, among whom were a goodly number of prelates, and all the cardinals except Valle, Araceli, Cesarini, and Siena. They, being of the Ghibelin party, thought themselves safe in their own palaces, but soon found how woefully they were mistaken. Cardinal Pucci while running to St. Angelo fell, was trodden on by the crowd and much wounded in his head and shoulders; he was pushed by his servants half dead through a window. Cardinal Ermellini³ and Jacopo Salviati, brother of the cardinal, were drawn up in a basket, the archbishop of Capua, the Datary Giberti, and several others. Many Spaniards, Flemings, and Germans, who had inhabited Rome for years, took refuge in the palace of the Colonna.

¹ See *Vita di Benvenuto Cellini*, p. 70. Firenze, Felice le Monnier, 1852.

² See Appendix A.

³ Jac. Buonaparte, *Sacco di Roma*, p. 64. Milano, 1844.

The Spanish stragglers who first entered, seeing the city undefended, summoned their comrades, and killed every one they met in the streets. Some of the Roman soldiers were so vile as to join the Spaniards and act with them to save their lives; but we must remember these were not regular troops, but servants and stable-lads mustered in haste, without discipline or military training. The Spanish soldiers put to the sword every band of military they met; even when they laid down their arms and fled, they followed them into the churches and cut them to pieces, for by the laws of war a city taken by assault is not entitled to mercy or quarter.

The whole army soon entered Rome; they broke open the Pancrazio gate and fell upon the wine and provision shops to satisfy their hunger. At first some respect for the Pope was manifested; they said as Bourbon was dead they were willing to come to terms. Upon this he sent the ambassador of Portugal to treat with them, but the army, filled with wine, changed their minds; everything was in their power, why should they submit to conditions? Luigi Gonzaga, surnamed Rodomonte, passed the wall by the Pancrazio gate near the vineyard of the Settimana, crossed Ponte Sisto at the head of his detachment, massacring in his way an enormous multitude. Sciarra Colonna and Luigi commanded a body of infantry; the men of all arms were led on by Ferrante Gonzaga, but the supreme command was given to Philibert, Prince of Orange. This numerous army, set free from all restraints of discipline, advanced through Rome towards the castle of St. Angelo, sacking, destroying, and murdering as they went along. Their great desire was to have the Pope in their power; they fiercely attacked the castle; a Spanish captain tried to force the gates, but he being killed by a cannon-ball the others were discouraged, and turned to gratify their brutal passions in the massacre of the Roman people.¹

Leaving a guard at St. Angelo they divided into different bands, killing every one, and sparing neither age nor sex. At the doors of the houses might be seen the fathers and mothers of families whose sons had been murdered on the entrance of the enemy, bathed in tears and clad in deep mourning; they offered

¹ Muratori says that 4000 persons were killed by the victorious army, and Paolo Giovio makes the number amount to 7000, and the booty to some millions of gold florins.—See Muratori, *Annali*, vol. x., and Paolo Giovio, *Storia di suoi tempi*.

their property, their houses, all they possessed, and besought them in the most lamentable accents of heartfelt grief to spare their lives and the remainder of their families. Their helplessness only excited the ferocity of the soldiers, they were deaf to the instincts of humanity, and put every living creature within their reach to the edge of the sword. They appropriated to their own use the treasures of this wealthy city; the abundance of precious things within their reach seemed to whet the insatiability of their greedy appetites; but everything in this world has a term, and even atrocity may be weary of its misdeeds.

There was but one house in Rome exempt from outrage, the palace of the Holy Apostles, inhabited by Isabella, Marchioness of Mantua, whose son, Ferrante Gonzaga, was one of the commanders in the imperial army. She had come to Rome in the year 1525 to keep the jubilee, and had protracted her stay there, expecting the Pope to confer on her son Hercules Gonzaga the dignity of Cardinal; but he had always on one pretence or other delayed doing so, and it was not till the 6th of May, 1527, the very day of the capture of Rome, that he sent the red hat to her palace.¹ By this time, warned by her son of the approach of the imperial army, she had fortified herself in the palace of the Holy Apostles, walled up the windows and doors, and placed a guard to defend it. She shut herself up there with all her family, dependents, and property. Domenico Venieri, the Venetian ambassador, took refuge with her, and she afforded protection to many Roman families. Isabella had received reiterated promises of safety from Bourbon,² and from her son Ferrante; they told her if she could but defend herself for two hours they would come to her assistance and preserve her from the general calamity. The same day the city was taken, Alessandro di Nuvolara,

¹ *Archivio Storico, Dispensa xvi. Append. xi. p. 235. Cronaca del Daino.* Firenze, 1845.

² Bourbon was maternally descended from the Gonzaga family. Clara, Bourbon's mother, was the daughter of Lodovico Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, father of Francesco, Marquis of Mantua, Isabella's husband and Ferrante's father, so that Bourbon was cousin of Ferrante, the General of the Spanish forces. His parentage and consequent intimacy with the Gonzaga captains stimulated him to aggressive incursions in Italy. Italians were not then awakened to the evil of joining foreign invaders against their own countrymen. In former times it was the Italians themselves who summoned and led on foreign troops to the ruin of their country.

captain of the Italian infantry, ran alone on foot with a small black-and-white silk flag stuck in the crest of his helmet, to the palace of the Holy Apostles, to see his sister Camilla, who was with the Marchioness Isabella. As soon as he was recognised by those within, a rope was thrown down to him from the top of the wall, fastened firmly to a pole; this he secured round his waist and was drawn up to the top: we can better imagine than describe the terror of the ladies and all those immured within the palace, when he related to them the capture of the city and the death of the duke of Bourbon. A short time after a Spanish captain, called Alonzo, arrived as directed by Bourbon. Next came a German captain to defend the palace. Finally, Ferrante Gonzaga¹, Isabella's son, set a guard of soldiers at the gates. For eight successive days Rome was exposed to the evil and licentious passions of the soldiery; this, says the old MS. from which this account is taken, would not have been allowed for more than a single day had Bourbon lived to retain the command. The palace was taxed with a sum of 50,000 or 60,000 golden crowns as compensation to the soldiers; this was paid by the nobles and other persons who took refuge there. Isabella and her own immediate family alone remained exempt; the Venetian ambassador also, because he was not known to be there. It was

¹ He was the youngest son of Francesco, marquis of Mantua. Being without patrimony he resolved to make himself a name and a fortune by the military profession. For this purpose he went to Spain in 1523, when he was only seventeen years of age. Three years after in 1526, tired of idleness and pleasure, he returned to Italy at the head of a hundred men-at-arms, and took service under his cousin Bourbon, then on his way to Rome. His Roman Catholic education filled him with some scruples as to the legality of taking up arms against the Pope. He was on the point of allowing his soldiers to depart without him, when the recollection of his mother's hazardous position at Rome caused him to change his mind, and determined him to march for her protection. At this time he was twenty-one years of age, war had not yet blunted his compassion, and his biographer describes him as more occupied in protecting the defenceless than in securing plunder. "Perciocchè mentre con sete, e con avidità insaziabile attendevano gli altri a saccheggiare, e a far prigionj, egli con filial pietà, e con fatica e con pericolo incredibile atteso a porre in sicuro, con la Marchesana, la pudicizia e l'onore di molte matrone, e vergini nobilissime Romane D. Ferrando lontano da far preda e guadagno di cose altrui, che in quella tanta e sì gran confusione, perdè egli buona parte delle sue proprie più care: per ristoro delle quali, e per usar la magnifica madre gratitudine al magnanimo figliuolo del pietoso ufficio, si opportunamente fatto per lei, e per l'altre da lui, la detta Marchesana gli fece dono di diecimila ducati."—GOSSELLINI, *Vita di Don Ferrando Gonzaga*, p. 6. Pisa, 1821.

reported that Ferrante,¹ Isabella's son, got 10,000 of these crowns for his share of the booty as captain.

After many days of violence and bloodshed the Spaniards began to feel some compassion for the helpless multitude. The Germans, more brutal, indignant at this departure from what they called the rules of war, began to suspect treachery; but they were soon quieted when told by the Spaniards, that the city being taken, and no resistance shewn, it would be folly not to retain some alive in order that they might discover the immense hidden riches yet to be found. This reasoning gave rise to a new and more dreadful species of torment. They entered the most splendid houses, and bound the owners, fathers and brothers, while they committed every species of indignity and outrage. When the daughters at the approach of these wretches fled for protection to their mothers' extended arms, they caught hold of them by the hair of their heads and threw the mothers on the ground, already frantic with grief and indignation. Some even tore out their eyes that they might not see the violence offered to their daughters; death in such cases was hailed as a blessing. Many fled to caves and cellars, where they died from fright and hunger.²

Two days after the capture of the city, Pompeo Colonna, the personal enemy of Clement, came to Rome to rejoice over the misfortunes of his fallen foe; but the sight of the streets filled with dead bodies, the groans and lamentations of women, children, and prelates, crying out for relief in their torments, awakened him to better sentiments; he devoted his whole

¹ "Isabella remained shut up in the palace for twelve days. As soon as the chief miseries had subsided and there seemed a pause in the lawless violence of the soldiers, she left Rome with all her suite. She was escorted by a strong band of military to the Tiber, where she embarked for Ostia. The Venetian ambassador, disguised as a porter, passed unnoticed through the crowd. From Ostia she went on horseback to Urbino to see her daughter the duchess, then passing by Ferrara she stopped to visit her brother, duke Alphonso; from thence, says the chronicler, she proceeded to Mantua. At Governolo she found her son Hercules waiting her arrival. With her own hands she placed on his head the Cardinal's hat conferred on him by Clement VII., and taking boat went by the Mincio to Mantua; here the Venetian ambassador left her, it is said, without taking leave—but these were not moments for compliments; he did not feel secure till he reached Venice, where he fortunately arrived in safety."—*Archivio Storico*, No. XI. Append. p. 235. *Cronaca del Daino*.

² Jac. Buonaparte, *Sacco di Roma*.

attention to relieving the distresses of the innocent sufferers, and used his influence and authority with the army to mitigate the horrors to which the city was exposed. He put the citizens in places of security, and prevented them from being tortured by fixing a price for their ransom, and when they could not pay he advanced the money himself. His vast palace was filled with ladies, whom he nobly protected from insult, and his doors were opened to all who fled to him for relief.¹

In those days of family and hereditary vengeance it was considered an act of singular greatness of mind, that he forgot the injuries of his enemies, and made no difference between them and his friends. He paid a large sum to ransom a noble matron and her beautiful young daughter, of the family of Santecroce, a member of which had killed Pompeo's father. In one act only did he gratify his vengeance—he set fire to Clement's vineyard near Ponte Molle. Clement, when he saw from the heights of St. Angelo his vineyard smoking, turned to the Cardinals and said, "Pompeo is only doing what I deserve in return for my having burned his villages in the Campagna of Rome." The lancers surrounded the castle, with loud cries of 'Death to the Pope!' but Clement still held out, daily expecting the arrival of the army of the League.

During this interval of anxious suspense, such was the scarcity of provisions in the castle of St. Angelo that even the Pope was obliged to eat horse-flesh, and subsequently he and the Cardinals sat down to dine on the carcase of an ass. The Spanish captains, Philip Cerbellione and Mendano, who besieged the castle, dug a trench round it, and were so determined to starve the Pope into compliance with their demands, that they adopted the most rigid and cruel measures against all who conveyed provisions to the castle. A poor old woman found carrying some lettuces to the Pope was barbarously strangled with a halter, and hung up before the walls: some boys were shot in the act of fastening some green vegetables to a cord which was let down from the windows.

The number of dead bodies lying unburied corrupted the air. The plague made its appearance; if the sword had slain its thousands, this fell disease cut down its tens of thousands; here there was no distinction of country, of victor or vanquished,

¹ Paolo Giovio, *Vita del Card. Pompeo Colonna*, p. 174 seq.

the poisoned breath passed over all. It crept into the castle of St. Angelo, and the Pope began to fear for his life. In this emergency he laid aside all pride, and stooped to ask assistance from his bitterest enemy. He sent a message to Pompeo Colonna signifying that there was no hope but in the lance of Achilles, meaning Pompeo, and requesting him to come and consult with him what was best to be done. Pompeo, though of a violent and vindictive temper, was of a noble and generous disposition: grieved at the sufferings of the Roman people, touched by the Pope's misfortunes, his resentment was disarmed; he willingly consented to the interview desired. They met with mutual emotion, and on Pompeo's part with a sincere desire to mitigate the evils he had himself brought on his country. The Pope and he wept together over the ruins of Rome, and the insults offered to the dignity of the priesthood. Both blamed themselves for the folly of their unholy resentment and forgetfulness of the clerical character, and deeply mourned over the ignominy to which the temporal and spiritual authority of the Pope and the clergy had been exposed. This burst of emotion over, they concerted means for Clement's deliverance.¹

The first thing was to procure money to pay the soldiers; their demands were exorbitant; there was no possible means of satisfying their lust of gold. The church plate and ornaments had already been melted down; no more money was to be found. Clement in vain pleaded that if they would but set him at liberty he would then have credit to find the sum required. They would not trust his word, but at last an expedient was found. The Pope consented to give hostages, and the soldiers themselves were to make the choice. They selected six of the richest Florentines, relations of the Pope: Giovan Maria di Monte (afterwards Julius III.), Onofrio Bartolino, archbishop of Pisa; Antonio Pucci, bishop of Pistoja; Giovan Matteo Giberti, bishop of Verona; and Lorenzo Ridolfi, brother of Niccolo the cardinal.

These hostages were delivered up to the German troops as security for the fulfilment of the Pope's engagement. They carried them off with barbarous threats of vengeance on their devoted heads, if gold was not forthcoming. But it was by no means so easy a matter to procure the enormous sum demanded.

¹ Paolo Giovio, *Vita di Pompeo*, p. 175.

The merchants as well as the nobles were ruined. The Pope as a prisoner had no credit, no one would advance him money. The soldiers, enraged at the delay, frequently brought out the hostages to Campo de' Fiori chained like malefactors; they erected a gallows and summoned the executioner to do his office; the slightest excitement among the spectators would have completed the tragedy. These unhappy gentlemen were thus exposed three times to taste the bitterness of anticipated death; each time their entreaties and promises prevailed on the soldiers not to lose the only security they had for payment, and the hostages were spared to renew the negotiations on behalf of their persecutors.

Their friends, especially Pompeo, indignant at this barbarous treatment, were determined to release the hostages from their distressing situation; after much consultation they contrived a plan which was crowned with complete success. They corrupted the guard with handsome presents, invited them to a sumptuous banquet, where rich wines secretly drugged were copiously served; in a few hours the partakers of this feast were sunk in so deep a slumber that even the firing of a cannon at their ears would not have awakened them: the friends of the hostages seized the auspicious moment to set them free, unloosed their chains, and assisted them to mount the roof, from whence over the tops of the houses they secretly made their way out of Rome, and reached the camp of the duke of Urbino in safety.¹

Their escape was a new dilemma for the Pope, and the army was more eager than ever to get him into their power to wreak their vengeance. Clement still indulged hope that the army of the League would free him from his painful position; he had also expectations from Florence; but his native city, which had prospered so many years under his family, proved faithless in this critical conjuncture. Besides the fear of bringing such a powerful, greedy army into Tuscany, there was a strong party who hated the Medici family, and gladly seized this opportunity to throw off its yoke. Clement, notwithstanding his abilities and talents for business, was universally disliked; he was of an uncertain, slow, and treacherous nature; no one could confide in him, for he broke his most solemn promises whenever it suited his interest, and reaped the natural fruit of such conduct—he

¹ *Vita di Card. Pompeo*, p. 176.

was thoroughly despised, and deserted in the hour of his greatest need. His avaricious turn of mind induced a love of hoarding; he paid his body-guard so badly that he could scarcely keep them together.¹ The name of Antichrist was commonly and familiarly applied to him.

For twenty-five years previous, the pulpits had resounded with warnings of ruin to Rome: ever since the time of Savonarola, who in 1497 preached so boldly against the vices of luxury, there had been a general impression that the papal power was about to fall and the end of the world near at hand. Those men who had no thought of the glory of God or the spread of true religion, and who would at another time have fallen down in adoration before the deified Vicar of their own creation, joined in the general outcry against Clement for his treachery and bad faith.

But the Christian, however much he may detest the papal system as in direct opposition to the whole spirit of the gospel, cannot but compassionate the sufferings of the man. We can scarcely imagine a more pitiable situation than that of Clement: shut up in the castle of St. Angelo, deprived of the necessaries of life, trembling for his very existence, listening to the loud derisive shouts of the soldiers who were leading about his friends and companions under his very windows, and subjecting them to every species of insult which could shock the eyes and offend the ears of a Pope accustomed to the utmost show of deferential respect from those who call him infallible. Few perhaps know better than the Popes themselves what a vain boast is this infallibility; but in proportion to the height to which this pretended infallibility had raised him, was the depth of the humiliation to which Clement was exposed. The cruelties and atrocities exercised by a victorious army during the capture of Rome, of Christians against Christians, may be written on the same page, with few exceptions, as the horrors of the late mutiny in India.²

¹ "La paga di Clemente non era tale, che bastasse a dar l'orzo a' cavalli ne a cacciare loro la fame, o miseramente vestirgli. Perchè servendosi Clemente dell' Armelino avarissimo Camerlingo, e con lui per simiglianza di natura congiunto haveva talmente assottigliato le paghe de' cavalli che non se ne vedeva alcuno pur degno del soldo, non che della guardia della persona e del palazzo."—Paolo Giovio, *Vita del Card. Colonna*, p. 165. Venet. 1557.

² In proof of this we need only cite one instance of greedy barbarity recorded by Jacopo Buonaparte in his history of the sack of Rome. "A troop of Germans

An anonymous Italian writer, says Gerdes, has given an account of the sack of Rome, which was translated into Latin by the learned Gaspar Barthe.¹ The account runs nearly thus:

We must not be silent on the evil doings of the German troops, who surrounded the castle of St. Angelo scoffing at the Pope. They mounted asses and mules, and went in procession through the city, exhibiting to the whole Roman population a spectacle calculated to throw ridicule on the priesthood, acting as it were a comedy in their dresses, under the windows of the castle of St. Angelo. One of them, taller and handsomer than the rest, put on the richest pontifical robes, placed the triple crown on his head, mounted a magnificent charger, and led a procession of soldiers dressed as cardinals and nobles, with bishops' mitres on their heads; some in scarlet robes, others in white tunics to represent the priests; they were followed by persons blowing trumpets and beating drums, in imitation of the Pope's band. When this procession passed some noble's house or in front of St. Angelo, the pretended Pope raised his hand in imitation of his holiness, as if in the act of blessing the people.

When the fictitious Pope was tired of going on horseback they carried him in a chair of state, and in view of their prisoner held up a cup, drinking to his health and to his 'perpetual imprisonment; the pretended cardinals and bishops each drank in their turn as faithful sons of the Holy Father, and swore that they would never again contribute to the building of the Temple, but would obey the Emperor as their sole and lawful prince,

had taken prisoner a prelate richly adorned with gold chains and jewels; on his finger was a fine diamond ring worth about £60. or £80. One of the soldiers struck with its brilliancy seized on his hand to draw it off, but growing impatient at not being able to get possession of it so quickly as he wished, a corporal of his company exclaimed, 'I will soon get it off.' Then with his sword at one stroke he severed the finger from the hand, took the ring and gave it to his comrade, and threw the finger in the face of the prelate."—*Jacopo Buonaparte, Sacco di Roma dell' anno 1527*, p. 84.

¹ Barthe, or Bartheus, a German of noble family, was born at Custrine in 1687. He studied at Eisenach; at twelve years old he translated into Latin verse the Psalms of David, and at the age of sixteen he published a treatise on the manner of reading the Latin Classics. He visited Italy, Switzerland, and France, and finally established himself at Leipzig and Halle, where he died in 1658. He left several esteemed commentaries on Latin authors.—See *Niceron Memoires*, and *Barthii Pornodidas calon Cygnæ*, 1660, 8th edit. p. 137, *apud Fabricium in Centifolio Lutherano*, Pt. i. p. 96 seq.

maintain their oath faithfully, and never by deceit or falsity undermine the Roman Empire, but act according to the precepts of St. Paul, who commands obedience to magistrates, as do also Christ and Peter and all Christians. They swore to maintain this oath at the peril of their lives.

The Roman Pontiffs and Cardinals had always acted in a contrary manner, and had excommunicated kings and emperors of Christian States for no other reason but because they refused to submit their royal heads to the arrogance and pride of the Pontiff. Thus innumerable evils had arisen which roused God's anger against the whole human race; every age under the Popes had been marked by civil wars, parricides, and sacrilege, to the detriment of everything good or right.

After much long-suffering God had turned their avenging arms against the seat of all iniquity: we now see what those have deserved who have moulded religion according to their own fancies. There was no doubt that the Emperor had both strength and power to avenge his ancestors and predecessors, on whose heads the Pontiffs had placed their wicked feet.

He indeed swore (this was the military declaration of the self-elected Pope) to be faithful and obedient to the Emperor as long as he lives; after his death, all rights appertaining to the pontifical dignity, by the consent of his predecessors, shall be transmitted by will to Martin Luther, to the intent that he may, for the public good, extirpate from the Apostolic See the vices which for ages have been introduced by the intemperance of the Popes; that he may refit the barque of St. Peter, and furnish it with new sails and cordage and fresh oars, the rowers having too long allowed it to be exposed to the fury of the winds and waves; those who sat at the helm have been unfit to guide its course, and have gone about day and night amusing themselves instead of attending to their office. He (the speaker) then cried out with a loud voice, 'Let those who are content to follow this decision and ready to assist, give their consent by holding up their hands.' Upon this the whole army raised their hands, vociferating, 'Long live Pope Luther! long live Pope Luther!' These things were done under the very eyes of Clement VII., whose feelings we may easily imagine.¹

¹ Dan. Gerdes, *Specimen Italiae Reformatae*, p. 18.

In vain the Pope and his unhappy people looked for relief from the army of the League: it was the 20th of May before it arrived within nine miles of Rome.

The variety of opinions among the confederate generals, exaggerated reports of the numbers and ferocity of the enemy, and the small zeal entertained for the Pope's interests, combined to paralyse their energies. When at last they did march and arrive near the city, a vague alarm made them quickly wheel round again, on the pretence that they had not troops enough to cope with the victorious army.

The Pope, when Urbino retired, saw there was nothing left but to regain his liberty by consenting to all that was required of him.¹

A report that Lautrec the French general was advancing with a considerable force to unite with the army of the League in the liberation of the Pope, made the chiefs of the imperial army fear to lose the fruits of their rapine. They resolved to sally out of Rome to meet the enemy; but the soldiers were no longer manageable, they refused to stir without their pay, and that not of months but of years. The Pope as a prisoner could raise no money, the Emperor's dubious instructions were susceptible of different interpretations; some of the generals thought he did not wish the Pope to be liberated till he paid the uttermost farthing. The Prince of Orange and Morone the chancellor were of this opinion, but Pompeo and the Colonnas advocated his liberation under certain conditions, and assisted him in getting an advance of money from the rich artisans, through Bernardo Santi da Ruti, podestà of Rome. To Francesco Angeli, the Emperor's messenger, who had just arrived from Spain, a cardinal's hat was promised. Morone, the imperial chancellor, was rewarded by the gift of the bishopric of Modena for his son.² Pompeo had the legation of La Marca; several cardinal's hats were put up to auction and bought by the highest bidders; Grimani and Cornaro, both Venetians, were successful purchasers. Sanseverino, Caraffa, and Palmieri, Neapolitans, came forward with money, which they exchanged for cardinal's hats. To

¹ For an exact and impartial statement of all that regards Francesco Maria della Rovere, duke of Urbino, commander-in-chief, see Denistoun's able work, *Memoirs of Dukes of Urbino*, vol. iii. 1851.

² Paolo Giovio, *Istoria de suoi tempi*, p. 178.

satisfy the Emperor five cardinals were given as hostages; three were sent to Naples, Trivulzio, Pisano, and Gaddi. Pompeo became security for Orsini and Cesi; he took them with him to Subiaco, loaded them with benefits, and then let them go free.

All was now arranged for the Pope to leave the castle; a detachment of troops was to accompany him to Orvieto, a town which then belonged to Tuscany. Pompeo gave him a fine Turkish horse for the journey, and some baggage mules; he presented him also with a Spanish jennet as white as snow, for the purpose of carrying the host, it being the custom to carry the wafer in a box covered with crimson velvet on horseback before the Pope, when he travelled or moved from place to place.

But Clement was afraid of trusting himself to the troops. They were appointed to do him honour, but he felt there was a possibility they might detain him prisoner. The night before his journey he disguised himself as a servant of his steward, or *maestro di casa*, and escorted by Pompeo reached Montefiascone, and from thence proceeded to the convent of Orvieto.

Charles, when he heard of the sack of Rome, expressed the deepest horror and distress: it is possible these were at first his real feelings; at such a distance he could scarcely have been cognizant of the event till it had actually taken place. Bourbon was a soldier of fortune; he had been promised the Duchy of Milan, and there can be little doubt that the object of this expedition was the hope of the kingdom of Naples. His death left the army without a leader, their pay was in arrears; Philibert, Prince of Orange, who took the command, had not the same influence as Bourbon over the soldiers. But though Charles may not have planned this insult to the Pope, he was just the character to profit by its occurrence. Mercurino di Gattinara, commissary to the imperial army, in his letter to the Emperor, which gives an account of the army's entrance into Rome, says, "One thing requires your Majesty's careful consideration, namely, how is this city to be governed, *and whether or not is anything of the Apostolic See to be retained?*" There are three other points which it is necessary your Majesty should consider by anticipation: one is, what would your Majesty wish done should his Holiness and the Cardinals go to Naples, as has been proposed; are they to be taken to Spain, or not? another is, what if the Pope should

escape from the castle by aid of the enemy? in the third place, should it come to an assault, and the Pope unluckily fall?"¹ Here we see the imperial ministers were prepared for the most extreme contingencies, and openly sought direction from their master. The mention of carrying him to Naples in this letter shews that the Pope's fears of putting himself into the hands of the escort were but too well grounded. For a moment Charles thought of bringing the Pope a prisoner to Spain; this however was but the vain ambitious thought of a young monarch, who wished to be able to say that two such princes as Francis I. and the Pope had been his prisoners within two years. On cooler reflection he listened to the objections advanced by the Spanish prelates, who entreated him not to offer so great an affront to the head of the Church. He then wrote to order the liberation of Clement, but secretly dictated such hard conditions that he was detained six months in prison before money could be raised to pay the soldiers. Such was the scarcity of specie that he was obliged to take all the gold and silver offerings from the shrine of Loreto, and to put up the dignity of Cardinal to auction to complete the sum demanded; this covered the Papacy with ignominy. He was also forced to give up Ostia, Civita Vecchia, and Civita Castellana, put the strong fortress of Forlì into the hands of the Emperor, and to send to the imperial court his two nephews, Ippolito and Alessandro de Medici, to grant him a crusade in Spain, and the tithe of all property throughout his (the Emperor's) dominions. Charles also obliged the Pope to promise to call a general Council within a given time.

Such were the hard terms of a treaty which Clement was obliged to ratify before he obtained his liberty; but much as he had suffered at Rome, the defection of Florence cost him a still deeper pang. As soon as the news of the Pope's imprisonment reached Florence, the republican party shook off the authority of the Medici family, and Cardinal Cortona, who governed in Clement's name, was obliged to withdraw. As a proof that their power was gone, the Florentines took down all the arms of the family² from the palaces and from public establishments,

¹ See translation of this most interesting historical document in Dennistoun's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, vol. iii. p. 18.

² This seems a favourite practice with the Tuscans: in 1848, when the Grand Duke secretly left Tuscany to screen himself from the usurpations of the Radical

and ran their swords through the portraits of Leo and Clement which hung in the new church of the Annunziata.

This was a blow which deeply wounded the dispirited Pope; he had already experienced how little he could count on the French party, and knew not where to look for succour. Notwithstanding all he had suffered from the Emperor, or rather on account of what he had endured, he resolved to lean on him as the only power strong enough to assist him in recovering Florence, and determined on the first favourable opportunity to make a league with Charles.

While the princes of Italy were occupied with incessant wars, the doctrines of the Prince of Peace were making rapid progress throughout Europe. For two years there had been no Roman court; the troubles and disasters of Rome were looked on by the world in general as a chastisement for its corruptions; its doctrines and abuses were publicly preached against, both from the pulpit and in private houses. This was most remarkable within the circle of the Pope's dominions; Faenza, a town in Romagna, distinguished itself especially by its efforts to throw off the papal yoke.

The army of the Holy League, as it was called, instead of defending the Pope, occupied itself exclusively about its own interests. It was composed of troops raised in several states, all of whom had occasion to complain of papal rapacity and injustice, and who availed themselves of this opportunity to reclaim such portions of their different patrimonies as had been wrested from them by the Popes. The Venetians took Ravenna; the duke of Ferrara occupied Modena, which had been taken from him by Julius II.; the duke of Urbino and other smaller states repossessed themselves of different fortresses and towns which had been forcibly snatched from them, and instead of defending the Pope as their spiritual head, they evinced by their actions that they looked on him as their common enemy.

The same causes worked to prevent national independence in Italy three hundred years ago which contributed to rivet her chains of servitude in the revolutions of 1849; for then, as in

party, within twenty-four hours after his departure every insignia of his family arms or sovereign rule was pulled down, the escutcheons burned and broken, and a mild and indulgent reign of twenty-five years forgotten in a moment. Such is popular clamour!—See *Persecution in Tuscany*. (Seeley, 1853.)

the nineteenth century, hopes beat high of freedom from foreign domination, while the same petty jealousies and blind self-confidence paralysed her noblest efforts and enfeebled her most powerful armies. It was in 1526, before the sack of Rome, that Giberti, Clement's datary and confidential minister, wrote to Ennio Filonardi, bishop of Veroli, "This war decides the liberties or perpetual slavery of Italy. There will be no need for foreign aid; ours alone will be the glory, and so much sweeter the fruit."¹

In 1848 the newspapers rang with '*Italia farà da sè*,' Italy will herself accomplish her purpose. The issue in both cases has been nearly the same, and the fruit disappointment and sorrow.

A memorable oration, recited at Rome by the bishop Jo. Staphyleus² Siburicensis, on the 15th May, 1528, in presence of the Auditors of the Rota, is well worthy of being recorded. It proves the strong conviction which upright men entertained that Rome deserved the chastisement it had received. In this discourse he pointed out the true cause of the ruin of the city, and declared that Rome was the very Babylon spoken of by the apostles and prophets. These are his words.

"It is not we by any spontaneous act of ours, or of our own free will, but God himself, the stern avenger of our wickedness and iniquity. God himself, I say, who by the hands of most abandoned men, or rather savage beasts, has closed our courts, overturned our tribunals, plundered this sanctuary of justice of all the customary accessories to divine worship, and profaned our books containing both human and divine laws with which we administered justice to the whole world.

¹ In essa si tratta ò della salute, ò della perpetua servitù di tutta l'Italia. *Lettere di Principi*, lib. i. p. 194. Venet. 1581.

² Staphyleus was in England in 1527. He was sent to Rome by Henry VIII. to negotiate in favour of his divorce. His instructions were both public and private. First he was to promise assistance in public affairs, and secondly endeavour to convince the Pope and the Cardinals by learned arguments of the invalidity of the king's marriage. Taking advantage of Clement's distressed condition after eight months' imprisonment, he was desired to represent to him how important it was that kings and princes should receive justice and relief from the Apostolic See. As a reward for his exertions a French bishopric was promised to Staphyleus, and a Cardinal's hat was held out in perspective. The bishopric must have been very speedily conferred, for in Burnet's *History of the Reformation* we find a letter written from Bologna, bearing the date of 20th of January 1528, and signed *Humillimus Servitor Episcopus Staphyleus*. See Burnet's *Hist. Reform.* vol. ii. *Record* 12. p. 18.

“From whence, I ask, and for what cause, have so many and such severe disasters come upon us? Because all flesh had corrupted their ways. We were all citizens and inhabitants not of Rome the holy city, but of Babylon the sinful city. Concerning which the word of the Lord, spoken by Isaiah, is in our time accomplished: *How is the faithful city, full of justice and holiness, become an harlot! righteousness lodged in it; but now sacrilege and murderers: once a holy nation; now a people like unto Gomorrah, a seed of evil doers, wicked children, unfaithful priests, companions of thieves.*¹ But let no one think that this prediction of the prophet has already been accomplished in the overthrow of Babylon, or of Jerusalem under the Roman Emperors Titus and Vespasian. The words of the prophecy evidently refer to a time present to the prophet, not to the future. I think we must consider that, according to ecclesiastical verity, future events were presented in such a manner to the prophets, that by mental vision the future became present. This we often find in Holy Writ. But not to look far for a proof of this, the same prophet suggests this very idea in the passage before us:² *The daughter of Zion is left desolate* in the midst of hostile devastation.

“This daughter of Sion, the apostle John in the Apocalypse interprets to be, not Jerusalem but the city of Rome. This is clear from his description if we examine it closely. John, or rather one of the seven angels, expounding the vision which John saw of the condemnation of the harlot, under the name of Babylon means this city. *The woman*, he says, *whom thou sawest is that great city which reigneth* (this is to be understood of the spiritual reign) *over the kings of the earth.*³ He says that she is seated upon seven hills: this description is appropriate to Rome, for it was from this very circumstance called by the ancients *Septicollis*. She is said to be seated on many waters, which signifies the many languages, races, and people which we find here assembled more than in any other city in the Christian world. Thus truly is it called the common country of all from whatever place they come. He (the apostle) says also, that she

¹ Isaiah i. 21; Exodus xix.; 1 Pet. ii. 9; Isaiah ix. 23.

² Isaiah i. 8.

³ Rev. xvii. 18.

is full of names of blasphemy, the mother of impurity, fornication, and abominations of the earth. These words are so clear a description of the city that they require no further explanation. For these crimes, though they reign almost everywhere, have here their seat and empire."¹ On this oration Gerdes judiciously remarks :

“ Who does not see here the corrupt state of the ecclesiastical order and of the Roman court? In contemplating the divine judgments, we perceive that a reformation of morals and of abuses was absolutely necessary. Through the wonderful providence of God the Lutherans or Evangelicals, who urged such a reformation, made daily progress even in Italy. The Italians themselves strove to emerge from darkness, and to return within the bounds of that gospel truth and Christian life which they had forsaken.”²

The popish clergy had engrossed the greater part of the riches and power of Christendom. They lived in the utmost ease and luxury ; so numerous were the corruptions in worship and doctrine, that a very small proportion of common sense and a moderate study of the New Testament brought the abuses into open day.³

In the beginning of 1528 war was publicly declared against Charles by the kings of England and France ; his injurious treatment of the Pope was the pretext for this aggression, but Francis was urged to this hostile attitude, partly to defend his injured honour for refusing to ratify the humiliating treaty which he had signed while a prisoner in Spain. Indignant at an insult offered to his ambassador,⁴ Francis told Granvelle, Charles's envoy, that as a gentleman he had never forfeited his word or honour, and he who dared to say otherwise, “ I give him the lie to his face, and instead of explanations, let us meet in the field for single combat, and decide our differences by the sword.” In answer to this defiance, Charles sent a herald-at-arms to the French court, where a curious scene took place in the great hall of the royal palace at Paris. A sort of tribunal

¹ Johan. Wolfi *Lectionum memorabilium et reconditarum*, tom. ii. f. 300—2.

² Dan. Gerdes, *Specimen Italiae Reformatae*, p. 23. ed. 1765.

³ Burnet, *Hist. Reform.* vol. i. p. 23.

⁴ Calvimont, whom Charles arrested ; in return Francis sent Granvelle to the Chatelet. Lacroix, *Hist. de France*, tom. vi. p. 342.

or court was constituted, with a raised seat of fifteen steps' ascent, with a marble table in front. On the 10th of September, 1528, the herald-at-arms sent by the Emperor was solemnly received by the king, who sat in state, surrounded by the king of Navarre, his nobles, and the foreign ambassadors. Francis told them the object of their meeting was to settle the terms on which the Emperor and he should meet in single combat, to clear their honour and avoid the effusion of blood. Then turning to the herald, said, "Have you brought a writing, fixing the time and place of combat?" The herald, who had nothing decisive to communicate, evaded the question. Francis insisted on a clear and pointed answer: this not being forthcoming, the king dismissed him in anger and loaded his master with reproaches for his injustice and cowardice.

Italy was the battle-field where their quarrel was to be fought. Lautrec was named generalissimo of the French forces; and after hovering some time in the north of Italy, he marched through the Roman states, and quickly subjected the whole kingdom of Naples;¹ if any city was so unfortunate as to make the slightest resistance, it was sacked and given over to the licence of the soldiery. Lautrec, after taking possession of the Abruzzi, marched on to Calabria; but while he was pursuing these conquests the imperial army advanced by another route to defend Naples.

This large and populous city had now to contend with the evils of famine as well as those of war; and great therefore was the joy of the inhabitants when they saw four large vessels laden with corn and provisions nearing the port. Doria, at that time in the pay of France, drew these off with his gallies, and finally, being succoured by a reinforcement of troops sent him by Lautrec, a fierce engagement took place at sea, in which the valour of Doria gained the victory.

But this success, so far from proving advantageous to the French, was in fact the great cause of their ruin in Italy. The viceroy of Naples, eager to snatch the loaded gallies from the power of Doria, had the imprudence to risk his own life in the battle; he was joined by several persons of eminence, among others the marquis of Vasto and Ascanio Colonna. The viceroy was killed in the engagement, and the rest taken prisoners. The marquis of Vasto, seeing Doria somewhat disgusted with the

¹ Giannone, *Storia di Napoli*, vol. xi. p. 57 seq.

French, made such seducing promises of freedom for Genoa, his native town, that when his time of service expired with France he made offers to Charles. These overtures were gladly accepted, for they brought Genoa within his power without striking a blow. The French felt this loss very sensibly, and became aware too late, how important it was for them to have retained the friendship and services of Doria.

A deadly enemy shewed itself at this time in the French camp. The imperial army, whose excesses at Rome had been visited with the plague, carried the infection to Naples; it not only raged within the walls, but spread through the surrounding country, and mowed down the most distinguished persons. The pope's legate fell a victim. Lautrec their general being a strong man was able to bear up for six weeks against its debilitating effects, but he sank at length under the discouraging state of his army and the harassing conviction that none of his plans were successful. Discipline was lost at the death of their leader, and the cause of the French ruined. The marquis of Saluces took the command, but finding the army so reduced in numbers, retreated towards Aversa, then invested by the Prince of Orange. He held out but three days, and was obliged to capitulate, giving up his standards, artillery, and baggage. The officers remained prisoners of war, and the soldiers, reduced from 30,000 to 5000, were allowed to return to France.¹

On the first turn in the success of the French, all the towns which had submitted to them returned to the allegiance of the Emperor, and revenged on the weakened and disordered troops the cruelties which had been exercised on themselves. There were no other means of paying the imperial army than by confiscating the estates of those who had sided with the French; and the nobles, who had been obliged to submit to the violence of the enemy, were now forced to ransom their lives by paying large sums of money to the imperialists, who sacked and burned the cities quite as much as the French had done; and the miserable inhabitants, who had no choice of peace or war, were in all cases the sufferers.

While this contest was going on in the kingdom of Naples,

¹ See Guicciardini, vol. ix. p. 163, ed. Pisa, 1820. Muratori, *Annali*, vol. x. p. 300. Du Bellai, Lacretable, *Hist. de France*; and Paolo Giovio, *Istoria di suoi tempi*.

a like struggle took place in Lombardy, between the same parties and for the same objects. Antonio di Leva the Spanish general had possession of Milan; the Emperor here pursued the same system he had followed at Naples, that of sending no pay for his troops, and leaving his generals to their own expedients for raising money. Di Leva, after fleecing the inhabitants to the uttermost farthing, was reduced to put a heavy tax upon bread and flour; no person was allowed to bake at his own house on pain of death; every loaf was stamped with the Austrian double eagle, and none but the rich could enjoy the luxury of eating bread. On this occasion it was jocularly said that the Emperor to his numerous titles had added a new one, that of *baker*. As soon as the siege of Naples was raised, Doria sailed for Genoa, got in by night, shut up Trivulzio the French general in the castle, and announced to his countrymen that they were free, and at liberty to secure their freedom by rational laws. Trivulzio capitulated, and was allowed to march out of the castle with the honors of war.

Charles finding his affairs prosper, was by no means averse to secure these advantages by an honorable peace. Clement preferred reconciling himself with his enemy to treating with his friends: and Francis, seeing it impossible to hold both Naples and Lombardy, thought it wisest to come to terms with his rival.

Clement got the start of Francis in his arrangements with the Emperor. He sent a legate to Barcelona to negotiate with Charles, and thus gained the darling wish of his heart; for the Emperor engaged to replace the Medici at Florence in their former power. Clement secured its durability by obtaining the consent of Charles to give Margaret his natural daughter in marriage to Alexander, natural son of Lorenzo de Medici, whom he promised to place on the ducal throne. In return for this concession on the part of the Emperor, the Pope granted him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, and he agreed to do homage for it, by sending him a present of a white horse every year. The Pope also gave him the patronage of twenty-four churches within the Spanish dominions, and promised to crown him with the imperial crown and give his troops a free passage through the Pontifical states. All this was agreed to without difficulty, but there was one article which produced a warm discussion. The Pope wished Charles and Ferdinand to oblige the Lutherans

by force of arms to return to the bosom of the Church; but these princes knew better than he did how vain it was to expect men of free and independent minds, enlightened by the word of God, to return to the practice of idle ceremonies; neither was there any hope that they would submit to have a religion forced on them by violence. Charles therefore proposed rather to convince them by a general Council; but this was the most obnoxious of all remedies to Clement, and the treaty was in danger of breaking off at this very point; till at length Charles agreed that the Pope should first employ his spiritual arms against the refractory, and if he failed of success he might appeal to the other powers of Europe, when Charles and Ferdinand would come to his aid with more substantial weapons to reduce them to obedience.

The peace of Cambray soon followed this reconciliation between Charles and Clement, assured the tranquillity of Europe, and greatly redounded to the glory of two ladies, who, possessing the unlimited confidence of both monarchs, were mainly instrumental in bringing it to a conclusion. Margaret of Austria, aunt to Charles V. and Governess of the Low Countries, and Louisa of Savoy, mother of Francis I., met at Cambray to confer upon terms. They inhabited houses contiguous to each other, and were employed for more than a month in regulating the different articles.

These two ladies had both been brought up in adversity, and became widows at an early age; they were both accomplished and full of talent, though their characters were essentially different. Margaret was endowed with a deep and penetrating genius, she was a perfect adept in self-possession, and consequently an excellent politician: during her administration of the Low Countries she avoided war, cultivated literature and the fine arts, encouraged agriculture, and made the general welfare of the people her constant study. She bore a grudge in her heart to France, from being early affianced to Charles VIII., brought up in that country as its future queen, and then sent back to her father Maximilian on Charles's marriage with Anne of Brittany.

It was owing to her skill in negotiating the peace of Cambray, that Austria was so greatly favoured, and the interests of France sacrificed. This was the last act of her life; she died

at Brussels in 1530, rejoicing that she had secured the good of her country. She had been twenty-nine years a widow: her husband Philibert *le bel*, duke of Savoy, died four years after their marriage; she evinced her tenderness for his memory by desiring to be buried in the white marble tomb which she had erected over his remains, in the handsome church of Brou near Bourg in Bresse.

Louisa of Savoy, duchess of Angoulême, was younger than Margaret. She was a beautiful woman, of a fine commanding figure. At twenty-two years of age she lost her husband, Charles of Orleans, count of Angoulême, and was obliged to retire from court with her two children, Francis and Margaret.¹ Her affections thus cruelly wounded centered entirely in her children, and she was fully repaid by their affectionate attachment. She taught them also to love each other, and amid the trials and temptations of a throne Francis found his purest joys in the affection of his mother and sister. Louisa was not deficient either in firmness or penetration, but was so excessively avaricious, that she sacrificed the best interests of the son she loved so well, to gratify her love of hoarding. The loss of the duchy of Milan was occasioned by her withholding a sum of 40,000 crowns, destined to pay the troops. Though she remained a widow, she was not exempt from the influence of the tender passion; her love for the constable Bourbon, at forty years of age, was the ruin of France; unsuccessful in her designs on his heart, she claimed his estate and drove him forth a traitor from his native land. When not warped by avarice, she governed well and impartially, as was proved when she was regent after the battle of Pavia, during Francis's imprisonment.

She wrote a journal² of passing events, which extends from 1501 to 1522. Some have thought that this private record betrayed a leaning to Protestantism; but there does not seem much ground for this opinion, except that we find no allusion to saints or the Virgin, and a constant acknowledgment of God in all things. In fact, it is chiefly a sort of note-book for inserting family births, deaths, marriages, and misfortunes. On the 25th January, 1501, she notes that her son's horse ran away

¹ Francis I. raised the County of Angoulême to a Duchy. Lacretelle, *Hist. de France*, vol. vi. p. 223.

² See *Journal de Louise de Savoie*. (Bound up in the best edition of Philippe de Comines.)

with him and put him in great danger, and adds, "but God, the protector of widows and defender of orphans, who foresees all things, would not abandon me." She several times notes her son's attention to her. For instance, 11 January, 1514, "my son, to shew his love for me, accompanied me on foot from Cognac to Angoulême, and was most agreeable company;" and 15 October, 1522, at St. Germain en Laye, she says, "I was very ill of the gout, and my son sat up with me all night." There is only one entry which shews her dislike to religious orders, and seems to savour of Protestantism. In December, 1522, "my son and I began by the grace of the Holy Spirit to know the hypocrites, white, black, and grey, colour of smoke, and of every shade; from whom may God by his goodness and clemency preserve us; for if Christ is not a liar, there are not more dangerous persons in all the human race." At her death in 1531, 1,500,000 gold crowns were found in her coffers.

By the treaty of Cambray, Francis was to pay two millions of crowns as the ransom of his children, who were hostages in the hands of Charles, to renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan,¹ and to marry Charles's sister Eleonora, the queen-dowager of Portugal. The 24,000 crowns, which were to be paid at the moment of the delivery of the two princes, were put into wooden boxes, 12,000 in each box, carefully packed and sealed with the seal of the Spanish deputation, and also by the French deputies. To prevent all fraud or mistake, it was arranged that a boat should cross the river Bidassoa, which divides the two countries, containing only two persons, a Frenchman and a Spaniard; that when the boat was examined the Spanish gentlemen should call Velasco, the constable of Castille, who was waiting on the Spanish side, and the French gentleman should call Montmorency, who was on the French boundary; and then the constable of Castille should push off his boat which contained the queen-dowager of Portugal and the French king's sons, while at the same moment Montmorency should arrive

¹ John Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan, married Isabella of France; her daughter Valentina became the wife of Louis duke of Orleans, brother of Charles VI. She brought him for dower the cities of Virtù and Asti. From this marriage sprang Charles, duke of Orleans, father of Louis XII., and of John, count of Angoulême, grandfather of Francis I. Thus arose the claims of these two kings to the Duchy of Milan, as heirs of the Visconti property.—See Lacrosette, *Hist. de France*.

with the money.¹ There were other articles in the treaty deeply humiliating to Francis. The suit which had been instituted against Bourbon was to be annulled, the stigma against his name removed, and the family property restored to his heirs.

The Pope and the duke of Savoy were included in this peace, and Francis bound himself not to prejudice Charles's interests either in Italy or Germany. Distasteful as many of these articles were, Francis eagerly signed them, determined to recover his children at any price; and even stooped so low as to be faithless to his allies, the Venetians and Florentines, rather than leave his sons any longer in Charles's power. As he had no intention of keeping any of his engagements he made little difficulty about the terms, though he evinced some sense of shame on deserting his allies, by avoiding a meeting with the ambassadors when he went to pay his respects to Margaret after the ratification of the treaty.

When Charles signed the treaty with the Pope at Barcelona he was already on his way to Italy. He had been the more ready to make peace with the Pope as he wished to receive the imperial crown from the hands of the pontiff; and on the 12th of August, 1529, he set sail in Doria's galleys, twenty-eight in number, accompanied by sixty vessels, having on board 6000 foot and 1000 horse, and after a passage of fifteen days reached Genoa. Florence trembled at the news of his arrival with so great a force, for it knew well who was to be the victim: but the Pope, unwilling that more damage should be done to his native city than was necessary for its submission, persuaded the Emperor to send his troops to Lombardy; both the Pope and the Emperor felt anxious, though from different motives.

The Pope arrived first at Bologna about the end of October, it being etiquette for the prince to whom the greatest honour was paid to be waited for. Charles set out from Genoa on horseback, followed by a numerous suite. Knowing the Pope's displeasure against the duke of Ferrara, he tried to avoid passing through Modena; but Alfonso, anxious to appeal to the Emperor's justice and to recover one of his cities which had been taken from him, presented himself before Charles at the confines of Reggio, and behaved with so much deference and courtesy that he insinuated himself into his good graces, and was allowed to

¹ See Varillas. Du Bellai, *Memoires*.

accompany him during the remainder of his journey. Charles, in this his first visit to Italy, was anxious to form as impartial a judgment as his interests permitted; he took therefore great pleasure in the conversation of Alfonso. Finding him a person of rare penetration and great experience, he frequently granted him secret audiences, during which Alfonso succeeded in shewing him how he had been pressed on all sides, and obliged to enter into treaty with the allies. His frank and noble bearing won the esteem of Charles and of all his suite, who were regaled with the utmost luxury and magnificence during the two days they were at Reggio.

Charles reached Bologna on the 5th of November, a time of year when the weather in Italy is usually bright and clear. The evening before he slept within a mile of the city, where magnificent preparations had been made for his reception in due form.¹ He entered the town accompanied by a numerous train of cardinals, who with the chief nobles had gone to meet him at the Certosa, escorted by a troop of horse and foot soldiers. He was arrayed in a splendid suit of complete armour, over which was thrown a gorgeous mantle of gold brocade, leaving the right arm and breast exposed to view, and he was mounted on a beautiful dark bay charger richly caparisoned in the Spanish fashion. The young nobles who escorted him and carried the canopy were all dressed in rich vests of white satin lined with gold brocade, which contrasted tastefully with their black velvet hats, white feathers, and rose-coloured stockings.

The Pope, robed in his pontifical state dress, awaited his arrival seated in a chair of state on the lofty steps of the church of St. Petronio. Intelligent spectators must have found matter for curious reflection at the meeting of these two great persons. It would be difficult to describe the feelings of Clement when he saw the powerful young monarch approaching, whose troops had inflicted such deep and cruel injuries: but they were both such complete masters in dissimulation, that not a word or look betrayed their inward thoughts. Charles, as he drew near, dismounted and advanced to kiss the Pope's toe, but he withdrew his foot and gave him his hand to kiss, and then kissed him

¹ There is a minute description of the order in which he made his entry, written by an eye-witness, Isabella, Marchioness of Mantua, to Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, her sister-in-law.—See Appendix B.

on the cheek. Clement seemed all paternal kindness and affection; they entered the church of St. Petronio in solemn procession, and were lodged in the same palace in adjoining apartments; this was purposely arranged, in order that they might meet and discuss the affairs of Italy in general, and their own peculiar interests, without ceremony or etiquette. Charles was quite ready to gratify the Pope in his wish to subjugate Florence, for he saw that unless the Medici family were reinstated, French influence would prevail there; he agreed therefore to send the army of the Prince of Orange into Tuscany, provided the Pope would give 60,000 ducats for the maintenance of the troops.

The restoration of Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara, and the arrangements with Venice, were knotty points which occupied the diplomatic talents of the two princes. Charles hoped to have displaced Francis Sforza, and to have taken immediate possession of the Duchy of Milan; but Sforza's close alliance with the Venetians made this more difficult than he expected, for he had not sufficient ready money at command to hire additional troops to take it by force. Anxious to return to Germany, where the troubled state of the empire on account of religion, and the dread of the Turks, made his presence necessary, he reluctantly listened to the Pope's persuasions to pardon Sforza, and at length sent him a safe conduct, with leave to come and justify himself. When introduced into the Emperor's presence he protested his innocence of the accusation against him, and declared that such was his confidence in Charles's justice that he willingly gave up the safe conduct granted him: as he spoke he threw it on the ground at Charles's feet. This noble action so won Charles's confidence that he instantly saluted him Duke of Milan, thus avowing his intention to grant him possession. It took however more than a month to settle the terms with the Venetians; but at length it was arranged that Francis Sforza should within a year pay to the Emperor 400,000 ducats, and 500,000 more in ten years' time; meanwhile, till the first year's payment was made, he agreed to give up Como and the castle of Milan. This enormous sum occasioned heavy taxes to be laid on the impoverished inhabitants of Milan, already half ruined by the exactions of so many contending armies, and the ravages of famine and the plague; but ambition has no bowels of compassion, and must be supported at any cost. The Venetians

were obliged to give up Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope, and to cede to the Emperor all their possessions in the kingdom of Naples; the duke of Urbino was included in this peace, and Ferrara was left to make terms with the Pope. These preliminaries settled, Charles agreed to withdraw his troops from Milan, and thus all Italy, Florence alone excepted, was freed from the miseries of war; and the Emperor now became impatient for the ceremony of his coronation. For this purpose the Pope and he prepared to go to Rome by way of Siena; but just as Charles was about to set out, he received letters from his brother Ferdinand hastening his return to settle the disputes about religion. This urged him to press the Pope to confer on him the iron crown, as king of Lombardy, at Bologna. The crown was sent from Monza; it is described by Muratori,¹ who quotes Rinaldi, as a circlet of gold about five inches wide with a thin plate of iron within to strengthen it: not that any body at that time ever dreamed that this piece of iron had formerly been used as a nail at the crucifixion of our Lord; it was not till a hundred years after that any particular veneration was shewn for this crown. The 24th of February,² 1530, was the fête of the Apostle St. Matthew, it was also Charles's birthday, and more than once during his life it was signalized by some happy or prosperous circumstance: on this day the battle of Pavia was won, Francis taken prisoner, and Charles's preponderance in Italy confirmed; and now the Pope on this same day placed the imperial crown on his head in the presence of all the chief princes of Italy. He had been already crowned at Asquigrana in 1520, with the crown of Charlemagne, with more pomp.³ In Charles's Itinerary we find that he received the iron crown from Cardinal Cinque Porte, and the imperial crown from the Pope.⁴

¹ "Un cerchio d'oro, largo più di cinque dita, con una lamina di ferro nel di dentro, per tenerla a mio credere forte, senza che alcuno sognasse allora quel ferro essere un chiodo della Passion del Signore, convertito, e spianato in quella lamina. Nè alcuni d'essi scrive, che si mostrasse alcun segno di venerazione a quella Corona, come cento anni dopo immaginò il Ripamonti nella sua Storia di Milano."—Muratori, *Annali*, vol. x. p. 316.

² Robertson says the coronation took place on the 1st of January, 1530, but the Italian historians Muratori and Guicciardini date it on the 24th February, 1530. Paolo Sarpi says 24th February, 1529, but this discrepancy of a year is accounted for by the different modes of calculating the commencement of the Christian era.

³ See Sleidan. *Commentar.* ed. Argentorati, 1621, pp. 50, 181.

⁴ Thus there were three distinct coronations. Charles was crowned with the

The Pope would not allow the duke of Ferrara to be present at the coronation ; but Charles, anxious not to leave behind him any cause of discord, prevailed on the Pope to give him a safe conduct to come to Bologna, where he pleaded his case before the Pope and the Emperor ; and it was finally decided that Charles should be the umpire : meanwhile the contested cities, Modena and Reggio, were to be put into his hands. The Pope was in the end much disappointed, for on due examination Charles decided in favour of the duke of Ferrara.

The Emperor left Bologna in the month of March, and proceeded towards Germany, satisfied that whatever trouble Germany might give him, Italy was quiet and under his command, and he was now at liberty to devote undivided attention to his German subjects.

A Diet had been held at Spires in the beginning of 1529, to which the Pope sent the Count de Mirandola as his legate, urging them to make war against the Turks ; but the Diet refused to take any other subject into consideration till the points in dispute with regard to religion were settled. The discussions which had been going on for some years, both in print and by word of mouth, had deepened the general sense of the corruptions of the Church, and conscientious men began to see it to be their duty to make public protestation against these abuses. The Church saw the danger, and endeavoured to weaken its opponents by suggesting subjects on which all were not unanimous ; but the landgrave of Hesse, a man of a wise and penetrating judgment, warned them that dissension among themselves would ruin their cause. After a long discussion, the Diet resolved that a decree should be issued to the effect that the edict of the former Diet of Spires required explanation. That the Diet of Worms was to be obeyed till a Council was held. That those who had made changes in religion should not go farther, but be content with the innovations already made.

silver crown as Emperor of Germany, with the iron crown as King of Lombardy, and the golden crown as Roman Emperor. A temporary bridge which united the palace with the church of St. Petronio broke immediately after the Pope, the Emperor and their train had passed, and numbers of the spectators were killed. The interpreters of omens declared that this accident was a token that Charles was the last German Emperor who would be crowned by a Pope ; a prediction which was literally verified. See Bradford's *Correspondence of Charles V.* Segni, *Storie Fiorentine*, vol. i. p. 243.

That the mass was not to be abolished, and even where the reformed opinions prevailed, it was not to be forbidden. The doctrines of the Anabaptists were to be condemned under pain of death. That with respect to preaching and printing they were to be guided by the two last decrees of Nuremberg, and their preachers were to be circumspect in their conduct and guarded in their language, so as to avoid personal offence or occasion of sedition amongst the people. That they were to abstain from introducing new doctrines, and to preach the Gospel according to the interpretation by the Church, without touching on matters in dispute till the Council pronounced its opinion. To these articles, mentioned by Paolo Sarpi, may be added another against the Sacramentarians, which ordered them to be banished the empire, and utterly condemned their opinions relating to the Lord's Supper.

The Elector of Saxony and five other Princes¹ (De Thou says eleven) opposed this decree, saying they could not legislate contrary to the preceding Diet, which had granted liberty of conscience till the assembling of the Council; this having been unanimously agreed on, it could not now be altered except by general consent. That in the Diet of Nuremberg the causes of their discontent had been clearly pointed out, and even the Pope (Adrian) had acknowledged the abuses which existed; that notwithstanding the complaints made, no remedy had been applied, and the one hundred grievances were still unredressed. That a Council had always been looked on as the only means of settling matters, but that by receiving this new decree they would be rejecting the plain and simple word of God; if they permitted the mass to be performed the former tumults would be renewed. That they approved the article which enjoined them to preach the Gospel according to the interpretation put upon it by the Church, but it remained to be seen which was the true Church of Christ. That by passing so vague a decree they would be opening the way for much contest and disorder. In conclusion, they determined never to give their consent to this decree, and professed their readiness to lay their reasons before the Emperor and the world at large. Till the meeting of a general or Germanic Council they would take no decisive step.

Fourteen of the principal cities in Germany joined in their

¹ See De Thou, *Hist. de son Temps*.

opposition to this decree; they published their protest and appeal to the Emperor and a general Council, and from thence were called Protestants, a name which was subsequently applied to all those who embraced the reformed opinions.

Charles, when he heard of this bold step taken by the princes and cities of Germany, was much displeased, and immediately resolved to convoke a Diet at Augsburg for April 1530. In the month of March of that year he left Bologna, fully resolved to carry out the Pope's advice to put down by force the reformed opinions, and oblige his subjects to return to their obedience to the Papal See. The papacy, by its very constitution, is an enemy to liberty of conscience; knowing it cannot command the heart, it insists on external conformity, and hesitates not to use violence to produce submission.

Charles's first step against the doctrines of the Gospel was to forbid all preaching or printing opinions which appealed to the word of God as of higher authority than that of the Roman pontiff. As soon as the Emperor reached Innsbruck, he sent a message to the Protestant princes, requesting them to forbid the preaching of their divines during the sitting of the Diet at Augsburg. To prove that they were not actuated by any seditious or revolutionary motives they immediately complied with his request, though it cost them something to deprive themselves of the services of public worship; but this matter had been debated before between the theologians of the reformed party. Luther, on being referred to, gave it as his opinion they ought to yield. Melancthon seconded him, saying the Elector had no jurisdiction in Augsburg; and on this point even Maimbourg, the popish historian, who has given so erroneous an account of facts, gave them full credit. "It must be allowed (he says) that these two men, heretics though they were, taught a good lesson to all who are under authority, shewing them by example that they are not to make their own judgment their rule of action, nor to imagine themselves absolved from obedience, unless the thing commanded be positively sinful." The princes however, unwilling to leave the field entirely open to popish preaching, would not silence their own ministers till the Emperor promised to forbid also the most zealous of the papal party from setting forth their doctrines. This was a very important decision; for, controversy being forbidden, the preachers who were appointed gave

no offence to either side. Melancthon writes, "Nothing controversial is introduced, but edifying instruction concerning the Saviour, and such as is necessary for the reformation of men's lives." And in order to confirm Charles in these energetic and repressive measures, Clement sent Cardinal Campeggio¹ as legate to the Diet of Augsburg.

He also sent Peter Paul Vergerio, bishop of Capo d'Istria, as Nuncio to Ferdinand, begging him to prevent the discussion of religious subjects in the Diet, or the holding of a Council in Germany; and in order to render him favourable to his interests, allowed him a part of the church property, and the loan of all the silver plate in the churches to carry on the war against the Turks.

When Charles reached Augsburg, about the middle of June, he found all the electors already arrived, and was soon surrounded by men of a different stamp from the wily courtiers and abject flatterers who had waited on him at Bologna. The day after his arrival being the fête of Corpus Domini, when they carry about in procession the pretended body of our Lord, he had a proof of the firmness and decision of the Protestant princes, who refused to join the procession. The legate, piqued at this open disavowal of the authority of the Church, suggested that the Emperor should insist that the duke of Saxony be present at mass at the opening of the Diet; and if he refused, advised that he should be deprived of his office of bearing the sword before the Emperor on state occasions. The Elector in this dilemma consulted the Protestant divines, and they were equally puzzled how to decide; but at length seeing how important it was for their party to maintain their station and dignity in the state, gave it as their opinion, that in his quality of sword-bearer he might, in this civil capacity and in obedience to the orders of his sovereign, be present at mass; as Elisha did not forbid the

¹ Lorenzo Campeggio was the son of John Campeggio a celebrated lawyer, who followed his father's profession, and lectured on civil law at Padua and Bologna. He was married and had three sons. After the death of his wife he went to Rome and entered the Church. He was made bishop of Feltre in 1512, and created cardinal by Leo X. while he was Nuncio from the papal see to the Emperor. Besides being sent legate by Clement VII. to the Diet of Augsburg, he was also legate in England to Henry VIII. He died in 1530 at Rome. His letters throw great light on the history of his times. He was thought to be a man of consummate ability and uprightness, though a bigoted Roman Catholic.

Syrian captain after his conversion to go into the idol's temple, when the king required his services, and leaned on his arm to worship.

After mass, before the offertory, the papal Nuncio made a speech in Latin which had little reference to religion, but consisted chiefly of exhortations to declare war against the Turks, and reproaches for suffering their inroads so long. He concluded by proposing the Turks as an example; "they (said he) are true and staunch in obedience to their prince, they have but one religion and are faithful to it; but the Germans make new religions every day, and look upon their old forms of worship as cumbrous and superannuated."

In the first sitting of the Diet, which was opened on the 20th of June by the Elector Palatine, Cardinal Campeggio presented his bull of legation, and harangued in Latin before the Emperor. He was deputed, he said, by the Pope to exhort them to submit to the reestablishment of his authority; the changes made in the ceremonies of public worship and in doctrines had been the cause of much confusion in the Church and disorder in the state; this was owing to a want of Christian charity and forbearance: he entreated them in a courtly tone, for the love of Christ to lay aside their errors, and think only of the safety of Christendom, by which they would obtain the approbation and blessing of his holiness. This has ever been the language of Rome, smooth and conciliating to the ear, but in action fierce and unrelenting, while pursuing its cold and calculating system for the subjugation of the minds of men.

The archbishop of Mayence answered for the Diet, that the Emperor would do all that lay in his power to reconcile differences of opinion, as well as to defend his empire against the Turks; in this he hoped for the cooperation of the other princes of Europe, and thus the Pope's most anxious wishes would be fulfilled.

The other ambassadors having spoken to the same effect, the Elector of Saxony, conjointly with the reformed princes and Protestant cities, respectfully presented to the Emperor their Confession of faith in Latin and German, entreating him to allow it to be publicly read. But the Emperor, not choosing it should be read in full Diet, put off the reading till next day, when it was recited aloud before the Emperor in a saloon capable of

holding two hundred persons. The legate would not authorize by his presence so bold a step, by which men presumed to think for themselves on matters of faith, independently of the authority of the Church. None but official persons were present, the Protestant princes, and the deputies of those cities who had embraced the reformed opinions. A copy in Latin and German was presented by Bayer¹ and Pontanus. They came forward into the middle of the assembly with the papers in their hands, and as Bayer opened the German copy, Charles intimated his will that it should be read in Latin; but Frederic the Elector said mildly, "As we are in Germany, we entreat your majesty to allow us to express ourselves in our mother tongue." Bayer then proceeded to read in so loud and audible a voice, as to be heard beyond the precincts of the hall by the numbers who were eagerly listening. He read slowly and distinctly, and the reading of the whole document occupied two hours. The Emperor listened attentively, promised to take the subject into serious consideration, and, having taken the Latin copy, courteously dismissed the assembly.

This Confession of faith, or as it was then called 'Apology,' had been drawn up with great care. Luther furnished the outlines, but it was polished into form by the elegant pen of Melancthon, who spared no pains in making it clear and concise. It consisted of two parts. The first treated chiefly of points which were in the main acknowledged by both parties, namely, the unity of God, original sin, the incarnation, justification, the ministry of the gospel, the church, the administration of the sacraments, ecclesiastical orders, the ceremonies of the church, civil government, the day of judgment, free will, the cause of sin, faith, works, and the worship of saints.

The second part contained an explanation of the controverted articles, and the enumeration of some abuses; these occupied seven chapters, namely, communion in two kinds, the marriage of the priests, the mass, confession, difference between meats, vows, monastic orders, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The Protestants expressed themselves willing to give a fuller account of their belief, if required, and declared they had committed these articles of faith to writing in obedience to the Emperor's commands; if the other princes would do the same,

¹ Scott's *Cont. of Milner's Ch. Hist. Istoria del Concil. Trident.*

they were ready to confer amicably with them, in the hope of coming to a mutual understanding; but if this was impracticable, they trusted in the Emperor's promise to induce the Pope to call a general Council, when they would be ready to come forward to defend their opinions in a free and Christian assembly. Having in so many previous Diets appealed to a general Council, they were determined never to desist from their demand until they could arrange their differences by mutual consent.

The Emperor, desirous to consult the legate before he made any reply to the Protestant princes, adjourned the debate. The Italian theologians who had accompanied the legate advised a refutation of the 'Confession,' and that a censure, with Campeggio's name appended to it, should be published. But he was too prudent to take so decided a step, and evaded all discussion of doctrine by saying, that there was rather a difference in words than reality in their definitions of articles of faith, and that he could not compromise the dignity of the Holy See by entering on what he considered disputes of the schools.

To the Emperor he remarked, that it would be a dangerous precedent to enter upon disquisitions of doctrine, as it would only sharpen the ingenuity of unquiet spirits who were eager for novelty. That as to the abuses complained of by the Protestants, their suppression would lead to greater evils than those pointed out. He advised Charles to use his utmost endeavours to influence the several members of the Protestant cause by different motives, either by fear or hope of reward, as best suited them.

In order to weaken in some degree the effect produced by the reading of the 'Confession,' it was resolved that a refutation should be also read, but without giving copies of it, in order to prevent discussion and quench the interest felt on the subject.

There were various opinions about the 'Confession': some were shocked at the impiety of the Protestants in touching with unhallowed hands subjects held sacred for ages; others were struck with the truth and simplicity of their confession of faith, and thought it reasonable they should seek to have abuses removed. Cardinal Matthew Lang, archbishop of Saltzburg, said that a reform in the mass was necessary, the liberty to eat different meats reasonable, and the abrogation of so many precepts purely human, just; but it was not to be borne that they

were all to be reformed by a miserable monk. Cornelius Scoper, the Emperor's secretary, who had just come from Italy where he had witnessed the venality and corruption of the papal court, said, "if the Protestant preachers had money they might have bought of the Italians what religion they pleased, but without gold they would make no way."¹

The Emperor, following the advice of the legate, strove to sow dissension between the princes and the ambassadors from the German towns; but not succeeding, he ordered a refutation of the Protestant 'Confession' to be drawn up, and a separate answer prepared for the deputies from the towns. He then assembled the Diet, told them the 'Confession' had been examined by pious and enlightened persons, and ordered the refutation to be read in which their errors were condemned. He acknowledged, however, that there was some need of reform in the Roman Catholic Church, which he promised should be looked to, and begged they would trust to him and unite with the Catholics, by which they would ensure to themselves every reasonable concession; but if they refused, he would not fail to take such measures as became his duty as protector and defender of the Church.

The Protestant princes replied, they would go as far as their consciences permitted, and that they were ready to lay aside any error which could be proved from scripture to be such. They requested a copy of the refutation to compare it with the 'Confession,' but their request was refused.

After much deliberation, seven Catholics and seven Protestants were chosen to discuss the points in dispute, but these being found too many to give any hope of unanimity, the number was reduced to three; but they could only agree on what was unimportant, and the rest remained untouched.

The Emperor still entertained hopes of winning them over. He told them they were in the minority, that their doctrine was new, that it had been often refuted, and he was astonished how they could have the boldness to accuse the Emperor, and so many princes in Germany, of error and mistakes in religion, to say nothing of the stigma cast on their own ancestors and near relations. But these reasons were not likely to have any weight with persons who appealed directly to the authority of

¹ *Istoria del Concil. Trident.*

God himself for their belief; they denied that their opinions were new, and begged to prove this from the writings of the apostles as far back as the foundation of the Christian Church. The Roman Catholic ceremonies, they said, were of comparatively modern date, and had been gradually added by successive popes; whereas their faith was in fact the most ancient. Though it had been but newly revived, it dated from the time when the canon of scripture was closed at the death of the apostles.

The legate, finding the Protestant princes immovable in their religious opinions, drew forth the last arrow from his quiver. He advised the Emperor to treat separately with each of the princes, and offer them in private, for their compliance with his wishes, some peculiar benefit or privilege; and, on the other hand, threaten them with serious consequences if they refused to return to the bosom of the Church.

To the Elector of Saxony he offered the investiture of his estates, to George marquis of Brandenburg the tutelage of his nephew Albert, to the landgrave of Hesse he held out the hope of the restoration of Ulric of Wurtemberg to his dukedom.

But these princes, being moved solely by conscientious motives in throwing off the Roman Catholic religion, were deaf to all offers of advantage, and publicly shewed forth the noble and disinterested feelings which a true appreciation of the gospel imparts. They would not so much as consent to the reestablishment of the Roman Catholic rites in their dominions till the assembling of the Council, which the legate promised should be held within the year; rightly judging, that if once these ceremonies were resumed, there would be no more talk of a Council. The event proved their penetration, for fifteen years after the Council was still a matter of promise. Clement's successors were as unwilling as he was to meet a free deliberative assembly called to sit in judgment on the abuses of the Church.

The answer to the refutation was rejected by the Emperor; he forbade all further debate, declaring he would never forsake the ancient religion which had been handed down through successive ages. The Elector of Brandenburg¹ further took on him

¹ Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg, had previously distinguished himself in persecuting the reformers. This bigoted prince had confined to her chamber his own wife Elizabeth, on account of her attachment to the Gospel, and was intending to immure her perpetually; when by the help of her brother, the exiled king of

to say, that unless they obeyed the rest of the states he would join the Emperor in compelling their submission to his decrees. But in this he went too far, as the other princes denied their consent, and even the Emperor deemed it an unwarrantable threat. The Elector of Saxony desired his chancellor Pontanus¹ to reply to the Elector of Brandenburg in the name of the Protestant princes.²

Luther, though he had not deemed it expedient to be present at the Diet, accompanied John, Elector of Saxony, as far as Coburg, in order to be near enough to communicate by letter with his friends. He diligently employed his pen during these few months of retreat, and was the comforter of the most desponding of the reformers, being strong in faith, and sure that God would protect and prosper his own cause. When he heard of the weakness and inanity of the refutation drawn up by the popish divines, he congratulated Melancthon "that all good and wise men seemed in better spirits since they heard this empty refutation." One of Luther's writings which made a great impression was an address or admonition to the ecclesiastical members of

Denmark, she escaped from Berlin, was conveyed in the waggon of a peasant, and hospitably received by the Elector of Saxony.—See Milner's *Church History*, vol. v. p. 543.

¹ Gregory Pontanus was the son of the chief magistrate of the town of Wittenburg, who brought up his three sons to different learned professions. Gregory had a fine literary taste, and while studying the law as a profession he made also considerable proficiency in general learning. When about thirty years of age, he was appointed Chancellor to Frederic the Wise. He held frequent communications with the Pope's legate, and Gattinara the Emperor's minister. At the Diet of Augsburg much happy influence was attributed to the eloquence of Pontanus. He was always a favourer of pacific measures. He diligently studied the scriptures, and was well versed in the controversies of the Church, but he sought chiefly to cultivate the true spirit of religion, as shining in its daily influence on the heart and life. His eloquence is much celebrated, and it was aided by a fine powerful voice, a comely presence, and a dignified deportment. He firmly advocated what he thought right, even though it were not agreeable to his superiors; yet he knew how to yield a ready and graceful concurrence when arguments were suggested which his judgment could approve, even though his first impression had been different. He never used his influence at court to advance his private interest or ambition. He was by nature prone to anger, but had obtained a complete command over this feeling. The Elector Frederic, he used to say, was his first preceptor in this art of self-command; he frequently repeated the words of our Saviour, "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart," and observed that he deprecated being hindered in prayer and other religious duties by nourishing angry and resentful feelings. He died at Jena, Feb. 20, 1557, at the advanced age of seventy years.

² Melchior Adam. See Scott's *Cont. of Milner's Ch. Hist.* vol. i. p. 536.

the Diet. Among other things he says, "The most specious charge against us is innovation;" and after enumerating various particulars, he exclaims, "The really ancient usages among you, usages sanctioned by the canons and fathers of the Church, may be comprised in a nutshell; while the world itself is filled with your novelties. One worships and invokes St. Ann, another St. Christopher, another St. George, &c.; in short it is impossible to recount the new objects and new rites of worship that have been introduced, the date and origin of most of which may be distinctly traced; but where were the bishops and dignitaries to raise their voices against these innovations?" Speaking of sermons he says, "Nothing was heard in them of Christ, nothing of faith; the very best resounded only with the invocation of saints and the worship of the Virgin." His testimony upon the last of these topics is very remarkable. "I myself once, as much as others, paid to Mary what was due only to Christ. Him I regarded as an angry judge: Mary as the fountain of grace, to whom all our hopes were to be directed, if we would not be left utterly to sink in despair. And was not this an absurd and horrible novelty? Yet who reprov'd the authors of such falsehood and blasphemy? They taught us to fly from Christ as a minister of vengeance, and to transfer to another all the confidence which we ought to have placed in him. From such deceivers therefore we learned nothing but idolatry. I know the truth of what I say, for I was brought up among them, I saw it with my eyes and heard it with my ears." In another passage he says that "he and his friends sought no diminution of the rank and revenues of the prelates; it hurt them not that they were lords and princes: they were ready to obey their authority as far as conscience would permit; and they desired no provision for themselves: God would take care of them in that respect. They only asked peace and exemption from persecution: they had sought, and would seek nothing but that the gospel might have free course."¹

Soon after the violent threats thrown out by the Elector of Brandenburg, the Elector of Saxony left Augsburg. Before his departure, on taking leave of the Emperor, he expressed his conviction "that the doctrine of the 'Confession' was firmly founded

¹ See Scott's *Cont. of Milner's Church Hist.* vol. i.

on Scripture, and that the gates of hell could never prevail, or even stand against it."¹

The Diet rose at the end of October without coming to any decision. After the departure of the princes, the Emperor passed an edict for the maintenance of the ancient usages of the Church of Rome, and forbade all changes in the mass, the sacraments, or in ceremonies; the images were to be set up which had been destroyed, and their worship continued. He forbade justification by faith to be taught, ordered the married priests to put away their wives, church property which had been sold to be restored, the Virgin and saints to be still invoked, fasts and holydays observed, and the monasteries to be newly peopled. He announced that the Pope would be entreated to convoke a Council within six months, or a year at the latest. To ensure the observance of this edict, it made void every appeal and exception, and enjoined all to devote their property and energy, nay even their lives, towards its execution, under penalty for disobedience.

But though the Emperor had sat in the judgment-seat, and assumed the prerogative of God himself by dictating a religion to his subjects, and in his decrees annulled the oracles of divine truth, he had no power to force the conscience, nor could he even please the Pope. Though he had been guided by the suggestions of the legate in his negotiations with the Protestants, the Pope thought he had infringed on the province of the Holy See, simply by hearing the opinions of the Reformers, and much more by making any changes without his authority; he was still more deeply grieved at the promise of a Council, and a given time being fixed for its meeting; this he thought was taking too much upon him, and that it reduced the Pope to be his agent, instead of his superior.

With these impressions Clement deemed it prudent to write letters to the several princes, giving them an account of what had passed, with his own interpretation. He had hoped, he said, that the presence of the Emperor would extinguish the heresy of the Lutherans; it was to press him on this point that he met him at Bologna, but having understood from Charles and the legate that the Protestants were intractable, and finding from his conferences with the Cardinals that there was no

¹ See Scott's *Cont. of Milner's Church Hist.* vol. i.

remedy but a general Council, he entreated them to favour his wishes by preparing to honour it with their presence, or at least to send their ambassadors to the free and general Council he was resolved to convoke in some convenient spot in Italy.

But however artfully these letters were worded, they did not deceive any one; it was too well known how averse Clement was to a Council, and that he had no real intention of reforming any of the abuses of the Church.

The Protestants, perceiving that the object of the Pope's letters was to render them odious in the eyes of the princes, and arm all Europe against them, indited a public appeal to the princes of Christendom in general; in which they said, that their majesties were well acquainted with the complaints made in different countries as to the sale of indulgences; that this traffic had been also carried on to a shameful extent in Germany, which had given rise to a great outcry, and had occasioned their origin to be carefully looked into. This, indeed, had been a principal subject of discussion during the six Diets which had been held during the last nine years. The first was that of Worms in 1521, which proscribed Luther and condemned his doctrine. The second, that of Nuremberg in 1522-3, at which the Pope (Adrian VI.) acknowledged the need of reformation. The third held also at Nuremberg in 1523-4, after Clement's accession, when it was agreed to observe the edict of Worms "as far as they could." The fourth convoked at Augsburg 1525, and adjourned to Spire 1526. The fifth at Spire 1529, when the indulgence granted at the preceding Diet was repealed. The sixth, that of Augsburg 1530, at which it was resolved to coerce the Protestants to submission; "but," said they, "when we had considered the subject so deeply as to present a public protest against abuses, and an avowal of our own opinions, it was not to be expected that we should give up so precious a right as liberty of conscience." Their adversaries, in consequence, had loaded them with calumnies, and sought to irritate the Emperor and animate other princes against them and their cause, by asserting that they refused obedience to magistrates, and withheld the respect due to their rulers. This they said was far from being the case, as they had shewn in their 'Confession' of faith read at the Diet of Augsburg, that they were ready to honour and obey those who were set over them, because it was

commanded of God : and as this was an accusation which would cause their opinions to be held in horror by sovereigns, they gladly embraced this opportunity of exculpating themselves, and entreated the princes to join them in beseeching the Emperor to assemble a free and liberal Council in Germany to settle these disputes of the Church, and that force be not employed till this last remedy had been tried.

Meanwhile, attempts were made to execute the edict of Augsburg ; but confiscations only took place when the property of the Protestants was situated in the midst of a Catholic population ; elsewhere no attention was paid to the sentences passed, and the edict became a dead letter. We shall see as we advance further, how Charles's necessities obliged him to conciliate the Protestant princes, and to treat them with a toleration, which, however congenial to his own personal feelings as the head of a great empire, was yet in opposition to his political interests, as it exposed him to the displeasure of Clement, and to the danger of his making an alliance with the French, which would imperil the tranquillity of Italy.

The 'Confession' of Augsburg was circulated throughout Europe, and read with eager curiosity by numbers who had been told that the Reformers believed neither in God nor in Jesus Christ. The way had long been prepared for laying aside senseless superstitions ; the political vacillation of the Pope, and his want of integrity, formed a strong contrast to this act of moral courage on the part of the Germans ; it was spoken of with wondering enthusiasm ; many a brave spirit still chained to the car of the Pope's supremacy, rejoiced at the boldness of those who dared to avow their intention "to obey God rather than man," and longed to possess the word of God, that they might search out the rule of faith revealed in the inspired writings.

The Scriptures began to be religiously studied, and those even who had not sufficient strength to release themselves from the imposing authority of the Church, sought to reform the habits of the clergy, and to point out to the cardinals and bishops the sanctity and dignity of their office. The 'Confession' was read with deep and peculiar interest by those who desired to take their religion from the Bible ; the doctrine which it set forth, that man was unable by his own efforts to save or purify

himself, made a strong impression on all reflecting minds; those endued with penetration perceived at once that the cultivation of true piety and spiritual worship would demolish the whole fabric of exterior observances, which are the very essence of the Roman Catholic Church.¹ It confirmed many wavering spirits, and prepared the high and holy mind of Paleario for making a noble confession of divine truth, and for bearing the testimony which he sealed in after years with his blood.

¹ Melancthon, after the harsh decree issued at Augsburg, wrote, "It cannot be denied, that we are brought into trouble and exposed to danger for this one only reason, that we believe the favour of God to be procured for us, not for our own observances, but for the sake of Christ alone."—*Melancth. Epist.* i. 120.

CHAPTER II.

PALEARIO'S EARLY HISTORY.

1500—1531.

PALEARIO, HIS PARENTAGE, STUDIES—LOVE OF PHILOSOPHY—HE LEAVES ROME FOR PERUGIA—ETRUSCAN TOMB OF THE VOLUMNI FAMILY—GOES TO SIENA—DESCRIPTION OF IT—SELLS HIS PATERNAL ESTATE—CORRESPONDENCE—FREDERIC BARBAROSSA—ALEXANDER III.—ORIGINAL SIMPLICITY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH—MEANING OF THE WORD 'CARDINAL'—GOVERNMENT OF SIENA.

ANTONIO PALEARI,¹ or Paleario, was a native of Veroli or Verulo, formerly Verulum, an episcopal city situated on the river Cosa, at the extremity of the Roman Latium, now called the Campagna of Rome. This ancient town still exists among the hills on the confines of the Neapolitan States. Pliny describes the Verulani as living in the first region of Italy, from its being the centre or nucleus of the Roman Empire. All the tribes which composed the province of the Hernici² (in Latium) made war against the early Roman settlers, except the Alatrini and Verulani. When, after a long struggle, the whole region of Latium was ceded by treaty to the Consul Martius, these two tribes were especially favoured; they were allowed to live under their own

¹ He signed himself Palearj in his letters, and was called Palearius in Latin, from whence came Paleario, the name by which he is most generally known.

² The Hernici were so named because they inhabited a rocky country. The word Hernico means hard, wild, stony. (Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia*, p. 145.) Niebuhr says the Hernicans sprang from the Sabellians, their name being derived from the Marsic word *hernae*, rocks. The bond of union with Rome was their common hostility to the Ausonian tribes, their neighbours. In 441 all the Hernici tribes, except Alatrium, Ferentinum, and Verulae, declared war against Rome. The Consul Martius marched against them; after a long struggle they were conquered in the year 447, and all except the three friendly tribes were deprived of the *connubium* with their own people, and treated in all respects as a conquered province.—See Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rome*, vol. i. p. 100; iii. pp. 254, 261.

laws, possess their own lands, and intermarry among themselves. These were rare privileges, and a departure from the general manner of treating conquered provinces. It was the policy of the Romans to remove the inhabitants from their native soil, and to people the conquered countries with fresh colonists, less under the influence of traditional attachments, and more amenable to their new masters.

There are various accounts of the family of Paleario, some debasing it to the lowest grade of vulgar origin, others exalting it to claim lineage with the princely house of Salerno.¹ It would be difficult at this distance of time to decide which is the correct genealogy, nor is it of any real importance; our business is with the man himself, his character, his talents, and his unflinching constancy in advancing truth.

His parents' names were Matteo Paleari and Clara or Chiara Janarilla. Some say the name was Pagliara, Pagliarola, or Paglierella; there is a memorandum to this effect in the library of Siena, in a letter asserting that his father was a locksmith, who came from La Marca, and was called La Pagliara. Another document in the same library² cites a letter written to Paleario by order of Ferdinando San Severino, Prince of Salerno,³ in which he speaks of his willingness to be of use to him, not only for his personal excellencies, but '*anchora come a cittadino e nobile de Salerno,*' and begs him to come and see '*l'antica stirpe vostra.*' There still exists at Veroli a family of the name of Pagliaroli which claims to be descended from Paleario. They were at one time wealthy, but have so dissipated their property, which amounted to 12,000 Roman crowns, that some of them have fallen into the deepest poverty and distress.

Paleario was baptized Antonio, but in accordance with the fashion of the times he subsequently changed this name into Anonio, as being more classical and euphonious.

The exact date of his birth is not known,⁴ but from later documents⁵ we gather that he was born about the beginning of

¹ See Appendix A.

² See Appendix B.

³ See *Letters di xiii HUOMINI*. 1582.

⁴ The baptismal registers of Veroli only date as far back as 1500; his name is not found there, probably he was born previous to that year. Some say he was born in 1504. See *Lazzari Miscellanea*.

⁵ His letters to his family just before his execution.

the year 1500. His studious habits and intimate friendship with the able Ennio Filonardi,¹ bishop of Veroli, lead us to suppose that he enjoyed great early advantages. His parents died before he grew to man's estate; he shewed his filial devotion and affectionate attachment to their memory by erecting, and subsequently restoring, a sepulchral monument to their memory. His early privation of parental care left him master of his little patrimony, and probably enabled him to leave Veroli in order to pursue his studies; he had been at Rome several years before the sack of that city, but we are ignorant whether he was within the gates at the approach of the victorious army.

An ardent admirer and diligent student of the Greek and Latin classics, he took Cicero for his model, and aspired to the imitation of his pure and elegant style. But a mind like his could not rest satisfied with the mere graces of oratory. Filled with an enthusiastic love of philosophy, he dived into the depths of this science: despising the cavils of the schools, he sought that abler and purer philosophy which strengthens the powers and enlarges the views of the human mind. He studied Aristotle and his method of logic, without adopting the errors of the Peripatetic school. Physical science was at that time almost in its infancy, but the secrets of nature engaged a large measure of the enquiring mind of Paleario. His habits of severe study kept him aloof from evil companions and fitted him for the enjoyment of an extensive range of knowledge: the law was his destined profession, and theology, that better part of philosophy, his choice and most favorite pursuit.

Paleario had the happiness to be born at a period when the attention of all Europe was directed to the subject of religion; and it was his privilege to live in one of those seasons, periodical in the history of the world, when man, roused like a giant awaked from sleep, shakes his chains, and makes a simultaneous effort for intellectual freedom and liberty of conscience. The corruptions which had gradually become an integral part of the Church of Rome, as it had progressively departed from the simplicity of primitive Christianity, were beginning to be universally felt and acknowledged. The revival of letters and the invention of printing had strengthened the influence of learned men, and diffused the advantages of literature beyond the precincts of

¹ See Appendix C.

convents; so that the minds of men were already prepared to use their reason in examining the points in dispute.

The early history of Paleario is involved in obscurity; his letters and orations contain the only authentic information of his personal history. They do not indeed afford very ample materials, but they furnish us with accurate data from which a faithful picture may be drawn of his character and sufferings; but are unhappily so deficient in dates, that the utmost diligence and the closest study of collateral history cannot ensure a perfect freedom from error. The various accounts of this eminent man have been chiefly copied the one from the other, and thus mistakes have been perpetuated.

Besides notices in several biographical dictionaries, there are extant three separate accounts of him in Latin. Two of these, by Jan de Witt¹ and Halbauer,² are prefixed to complete editions of his works. The third³ is written by a painstaking Italian, the Abate Lazzari: while examining old MSS. in the library of the Jesuits' College at Rome, he found twenty-five unedited letters written by Paleario. To these he has prefixed a short account of his life which is compiled with great care. He had means of access to papers and documents unknown to others, and he has cleared up some obscurities, and corrected several chronological errors which had before passed current. There are also three short dissertations on the works and character of Paleario by modern Germans.⁴

He is mentioned with praise by several distinguished writers, such as Tiraboschi, Ricci, Bayle, &c. The *Italiae Reformatae*, by Dan. Gerdes, contains much valuable matter, and is a precious text-book for the study of the Italian Reformers. Several unedited letters have been found in the rich MS. collection at Basle. The admirable work of Dr. M'Crie, on the "Reformation in

¹ It is doubtful whether De Witt or Grævius wrote the memoir prefixed to the Amsterdam edition; Aonii Palearii Verulani Opera. Amstelædami, apud Henricum Wetsteinium MDCCXCVI.

² Aonii Palearii Verulani Opera. Ienæ, ex offic. Chr. Franc. Buchii. MDCCXXVIII.

³ Aonii Palearii Miscellaneorum, ex MSS. Lib. Biblioth. Coll. Rom. Soc. Jesu. Romæ, 1757.

⁴ 1. Carl. Heinrich Theune, Programme de A. Paleario Verulano. Sorav. 4to. 1734. 2. Ekerman, Dissertat. de A. Paleario. Upsal, 1763. 3. Joh. Gurlitt, Leben des Aonius Palearius. Hamburg, 1805.

Italy," is doubtless known to most English readers, as the best guide to the vast stores of historical knowledge on the Reformation in Italy.

Paleario presents himself to us in his letters in all the varied circumstances of social and intellectual life, and here we find the energies of his impulsive character fully displayed. At one time eager in the pursuit of good, at another indignant at the infliction of wrong. Not devoid of ambition, but earnestly seeking better things. He was endued with one of those finely organized natures capable of the loftiest aspirations, and partook largely of those keen sensibilities which "turn at the touch of joy or woe, and turning tremble too." Living in an age when injustice trampled upon right, and when the morals and the doctrines of the Christian religion were almost unknown, he has transmitted to posterity the animating spectacle of a life of self-devotion to a glorious cause. With all the warm affections of humanity full within him, he pressed forward, through good and through evil report, to the accomplishment of his great Idea—a Reformation in Religion. For this, throughout the vicissitudes of a long life, he unceasingly strove; till at seventy years of age the flames of persecution hurried him to that eternal kingdom, whose dominion on earth he had so ardently desired.

Paleario's letters begin with an epistle addressed to the poet Mauro d' Arcano, who had just left Rome. He had accompanied his friend part of the way, stood gazing as he rode off, and only lost sight of him when Soracte and the adjacent woods and hills hid him from his view.

Paleario was at this time, like many other poor scholars, domesticated in the house of a rich noble, whom he called Cæsar. He writes to Mauro: "As I descended towards the river, I met *Cæsar noster*,¹ accompanied by a numerous suite; with his usual politeness and munificence he warmly recommended me to his people, and directed that during his absence everything should be at my disposal. Never was there a more illustrious or more affable person. God grant me to behold the

¹ Possibly *Cæsar noster* was the Cardinal Cesarini to whom Mauro d' Arcano was secretary. See a letter to Gandolfo Porrino, written by Mauro in Dionigi Atanagi, *Letters* 16 Dec. 1531. Giuliano Cesarini, a Roman, was made Cardinal by Alexander VI.

return of those whom I have seen depart. On returning to the city it seemed to me a desert."¹

He concludes a subsequent letter to the same friend with the mention of a rumour, not thoroughly authenticated, that there is displeasure between the Pope and the Emperor, because Clement is seeking to form a matrimonial alliance with the king of France. "Bologna," he says, "has taken arms, the Germans are preparing to fight; if this be the case we are lost. See what a tempest is impending. Do not wait till the combat is begun. Set off immediately. If you can reach Mantua, this will be the safest refuge."²

This letter is dated from Rome, and must have been written before the arrival of the imperial army, probably some time in the year 1526.

The next epistle contains some obscure allusion to Mauro's³ affairs, warning him against trusting money to Verrucoso, who is so loaded with debt that he dare not stir out of the house; he is grieved to see a friend's property badly managed, and runs the risk of importunity, preferring rather to be accused of immoderate zeal, than want of affection. He then proceeds to relate an annoyance to which he had himself been exposed, in the following terms:

"Do you know what disgrace I am in with Cæsar? I am surprised you have said nothing of it in your letters, The evil designs of the envious have at last found vent. What is it? A trifle, which you can easily arrange. I am accused of having in my possession a copy⁴ of a voluminous index of the

¹ *Palearii Opera*, lib. i. ep. 1. ² *Ibid.* lib. i. ep. 2. ³ See Appendix D.

⁴ Printing at this period had only been introduced into Italy about seventy years; the transcribing of books was still an engrossing occupation in convents and in the houses of the great. The first book printed in Italy was "Donatus pro Puerulis," at the Benedictine convent of St. Scolastica, near the ancient town of Subiaco, about forty miles from Rome; it is not now to be found. In 1465, a printing-press was established here by Conrad Sweynheym and Arnald Pannartz, German printers; here they printed this, and an edition of Lactantius, the first book extant printed out of Germany. The date of this book is, Sub ano. dn̄i. m.cccc.lxv. Pontificatus Pauli papæ II. anno eius secundo. Indictioe xiiii die vero antepenultia mensis Octobris in uenerabili monasterio Sublacensi. The two printing-presses were subsequently taken to Rome, to the house of Pietro de' Massimi. St. Benedetto founded twelve monasteries, of which two only remain. St. Scolastica was the sister of St. Benedetto. At the convent a small garden and plot full of thornless roses is shown. It was once, says tradition, only thorn-bushes, but when St. Benedetto threw himself on the prickles to lacerate himself by way of

books of Livy, with notes by Cattaneo. In the first place, how could I in so short a time copy this volume? And for what purpose? The work is so confused and diffuse, that unless additional labour were bestowed on it there would be no advantage. The author is rather to be praised for being the first to undertake this trouble than for the accuracy of the work. If then they accuse me of having seen the index, and of following, or as they say plagiarising, the method of arrangement, mark the injustice of these men. Before this book fell into my hands, I had nearly finished my Commentaries on the Orations of M. Tullius. Verily, on no account would I usurp the praise due to another; I never even dreamt of such a thing. Induced, as you know, by the handsome reward offered by a munificent personage, I cheerfully devoted nights of labour to this work. I cannot imagine how any one can be so foolish as to believe me capable of appropriating to myself the labours of another. Muzio, who is an excellent man, a worthy Roman citizen, and distinguished for his gentleness, piety, and integrity, has been of great use to me; and has shewn not only by words, but by actions, that nothing is more ungenerous than to wage war against the innocent. Thus did this courageous man take up my defence. What harm, said he, is there, if a scholar has taken such a copy? Suppose even that he has transcribed it? Is this so great a crime that the patron (*patronus*) should reproach him with angry countenance and threatening words, and say, 'I will take further measures; you shall not go without giving security. The library was confided to you, you received the money; give security, and go where you please.' How contemptible this appeared to me, and how indignant I felt, I need not say. You, had you been here, would have burst forth. Cincio Phrygipani, a most courteous and modest young noble, did not fail me on this occasion: when he saw the predicament in which I was placed, he voluntarily came forward and offered security. Is this then the reward of all my vigils! I make you responsible for the glaring wrong done me. But you will say, all this is done unknown to Cæsar. I would rather die than be exposed to such treatment. Shall I remain in Rome after being so grossly affronted? No, never!"¹

From this letter it appears that Mauro had recommended Paleario to Cæsar as a learned scholar, that he had been left master of the valuable library, and devoted himself with unceasing diligence to writing comments on Cicero's Orations. The recompense offered was necessary to his existence; he had a small patrimony, but it gave him but a slender income, and he was obliged to depend on the patronage of the great. The nobles and cardinals had generally two or three promising young men in their households, who passed their literary noviciate in

mortification, they miraculously turned to roses; these roses when blown bring forth serpents. The meaning of this is not clear to uninitiated ears. This legend was recounted on the spot to the author. See *Storia di Subiaco*.

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. i. ep. 3.

their service, acting as secretaries or amanuenses, with more or less salaries according to their standing. The payment of these compensations was left to stewards (*maestri di casa*) or other officials; they were uneducated men, responsible for their masters' property, and, as we see in the case of Paleario, shewed little judgment and less delicacy in the fulfilment of their office.

Paleario's next letter to this same friend was written in a much calmer spirit; he begins by telling him that his last letter was written late at night, but that no sooner had morning appeared, than he regretted having expressed himself so vehemently. But Paleario was not of a character suited to a dependent position; the affront put upon him roused his former dreams of study and independence, and he resolved to follow out for himself a new way of life. The following letter was written after the sack of Rome, as he says he intends "to return to those studies to which he had devoted six years before the capture of Rome, now for two years suspended."

As the sack of Rome took place in 1527, this brings us to the year 1529, when the following letter was written.

AONIO PALEARIO TO MAURO D'ARCANO.

"None lay aside their anger more quickly than those in whom it is easily kindled. On the 13th, when the night was far advanced, I wrote you a letter full of complaints. Scarcely had morning light appeared when I regretted having done so; for though the indignation which guided my pen was just, yet, as you know, such are my feelings towards you, and my unwillingness to offend, that I am disposed to bear everything. You cannot oblige me more, than by taking care that Cæsar is informed that those whom he left in the city are neither handsomely nor liberally treated by his people, while I have behaved to them in the kindest manner imaginable. I wish to dismiss from my mind what has been said and done against me; if ever I think of it again, may the gods visit me with their displeasure! Though you would believe me without an oath, yet I have sworn, that you may not imagine I am under the influence of anger if I now follow out the plan of life which I had laid down from my boyhood, and that neither you nor any one else may misconstrue my intentions. So earnestly do I thirst after philosophy, and those studies to which before the capture of Rome by the Spaniards I had devoted six years, that now, having laid them aside for two years past, I ardently desire to resume them. From the avarice of those whom it would not be proper to name,¹ there are no professors of philosophy at Rome. I hear that literature flourishes in Tuscany; there is nothing to prevent my going straight to Siena, unless I first visit Perugia, where my friend Ennio is vice-legate. I long

¹ Clement VII., remarkable for his avaricious character.

much to see him, for he is greatly attached to me, and the philosophers of Perugia are said to be by no means despicable. If the inveterate barbarisms with which commentators in false Latin have disfigured that branch of learning do not prevail there, I can nowhere be happier; but if I find that this vicious style of composition has reached that part of the country also, I desire nothing so ardently as to pass the Po, and visit your countrymen. In the city of Padua, if report speaks true, Lampridio, a man of great talent and rare learning, interprets the Greek compositions of Aristotle in Greek and Latin, and translates them into elegant Italian.

"I have entered thus fully into my plans, because I foresee that there will be many remarks made, such as, So he has left Rome! Oh, what inconsistency! Many will not scruple to insinuate, especially to Cæsar, that indignation has been the cause of my departure. Some will say that I do not myself know what I wish; for the present, I beg you will answer them: hereafter, when I have found that tranquillity necessary for study, the event will speak for itself. But you will say, Do you then abandon the (Roman) court? Yes, I shall indeed leave it, for what can be more base than to settle down in the prime of life, without employment, a mere drone and idler, in inglorious ease at Rome?

"The most eminent philosophers, in order to add to their knowledge, have visited on foot barbarous lands. Shall I, to dispel my ignorance, shrink from mounting on horseback and traversing a part of Italy? If God had granted me a rich and ample patrimony, the first thing I should have done would have been to travel, not only in Italy, France and Germany, the most cultivated provinces of Christendom, but even through the whole of Greece, where there is scarcely a foot of ground exempt from the power of the Turks. Such a desire ought not to appear to good men either frivolous or reprehensible; while our studies and our affairs at home are in so gloomy a condition, travel cannot be mean or ignoble to a prudent and sagacious mind. As when there is smoke and a smell of burning in the house, those who stay in are more to be blamed than those who go out; so young men are to be commended wherever they may go in search of light. Would to God I could speak to you on these subjects rather than write on them; for I am not afraid of bringing you over to my opinion, or that if you thought me wrong you would admonish me as a friend and reprove me as a brother; but under the circumstances everything turns out inconveniently. The road is not sufficiently secure, and the courier Fabio will set out for Perugia tomorrow, or at the latest the day after. I shall go with him. If you write to me, let the letter be forwarded to Perugia. Farewell. Rome."¹

There is no date to the above letter, but as in epistle the 5th to the same friend he says he received his answer the 14th of February, Paleario must have arrived at Perugia early in 1530.

These letters disclose the nature of Paleario's studies, his high intellectual aspirations, and his dissatisfaction with an idle

¹ *Palearii Opera*, lib. i. ep. 4.

and dependent life. We must not overlook the decision of character which prompted him to brave the opposition of his friend in the prosecution of well-grounded aims, nor the dignity of nature which led him to reject assistance combined with insult.

Mauro, it seems, approved of his resolution to leave Rome, and zealously defended his reputation. In return for this kindness Paleario expresses the warmest gratitude. He reaped the usual reward of decision; his friend, though he would not have recommended the step he had taken, now that it was done, approved and extolled it. We remark also in this letter Paleario's contempt for riches when unaccompanied by higher qualities.

AONIO PALEARIO TO MAURO D'ARCANO.¹

"Nothing, believe me, could give me greater pleasure than your letter which I received on the 14th of February. In it I perceive your kindness, benevolence, and devoted attachment. After having confuted the calumnies of the malevolent, confounded and overthrown the envious, you then undertake my defence at every point. What is this but devoted friendship? And so, most upright and excellent Mauro, you approve of my determination. I frankly tell you that though I remembered that you were always fond of all kinds of literature, yet I feared that the society of those with whom you live on such intimate terms might induce you to think I had done wrong in not following those persons from whom you cannot separate yourself. Now that I find your opinion after mature consideration is such as becomes a most learned man, it will be well with me wherever I go.

"You have done a kind act in restoring me to Cæsar's good opinion. You consider your career bound up with mine, but I do not like you to have so much trouble. As to the French bishop, to whom you wrote day after day, saying you had no friend dearer to you than me, I thank you: but he is a man who has shewn himself proud in every state of life. He is very rich I own, but as miserly as an usurer. He enjoys a most splendid ecclesiastical benefice, and would excite my respect if he were also gifted with wisdom and piety. I beg you not to ask me what I think of men of this kind, for I consider them miserable in whatever class of life they may be placed. You finish your letter with these words: 'I assure you he would be of use to you.' And if not, will this be a bar to my existence? Truly, if our daily meetings and your interesting conversation, of which I am now deprived, have had so little influence on me, I shall be like him whom you thus apostrophise, *O te beatum, qui istam inis viam!* But the dawn appears, and Apollonio's servant is knocking at the door,—here he is, coming towards me. Adieu. Perugia."¹

The Mauro d'Arcano here spoken of was a poetical genius of

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. i. ep. 5.

the sixteenth century. The light sparkling talents encouraged by Leo X. in his joyous assemblies, were chiefly employed in writing facetious poetry. These verses, recited at the Academy of the *Vignajuoli*, or at private banquets, kept the whole company in roars of laughter. He who could succeed best in a witty play of words, without regard to propriety, won the greatest applause. Neither music nor good cheer were wanting to exhilarate the guests. Mauro himself gives an account of one of these poetical suppers in a letter written to Gandolfo Porrino, from Rome, 16 Dec. 1531. Musettola,¹ he says, "gave a supper to the poets, at which no other wine was drunk but that from the vineyard of Pontano,² which was sent for on purpose from Naples. Such was its poetic vigour, that we all got heated not only by seeing, but in tasting and drinking it seven or eight times each; some even went so far as the number of the Muses. Our M. Marco of Lodi, at the end of supper, sang to the sound of the lyre played by M. Pietro Polo. He sang, *Per me si va ne la città dolente.*"³

This kind of inglorious occupation was by no means suited to our Paleario, and we cannot wonder that he gladly exchanged these giddy companions for more serious studies. To judge truly of his superiority of character, we must be intimately acquainted with the spirit of his age. Mauro, Berni, and other poets attached themselves to wealthy patrons whom they changed as often as interest or caprice suggested. Living only for the wants and amusement of the hour, they could detail the same jokes and recite the same verses from circle to circle with thoughtless jocundity.

Mauro was a native of Arcano, in the Friuli. He had been successively secretary to several distinguished persons, and died in the service of Cardinal Cesarini at Rome, in consequence of an accident. While pursuing a stag, he fell from his horse into a ditch and fractured his leg; fever ensued, which carried him off in 1536, at the age of 46 years.⁴ Similarity of tastes and a mutual love for poetry produced great intimacy between him and Berni. Their burlesque poems were printed, together

¹ Translator of Lucretius into Italian.

² P. Giovanni Pontano, the glory of the Neapolitan court, born 1426, died 1603.

³ Dionigi Atanagi, *Lettere Facete*, p. 220. Venet. 1582.

⁴ He was born in 1490, died 1536. See Tiraboschi, *Let. Ital.* vol. vii. p. 64.

with others, by Giunti in 1548. Ruscelli preferred the poems of Mauro to those of Berni, and thought the versification smoother and more harmonious. Mauro occasionally rose to higher subjects and a nobler style. Berni, of whose writings we shall hereafter have occasion to speak, was thought to be imbued with a leaning to the Reformed opinions towards the close of his life; but the keenest satire of the corruptions of Rome is no proof of real convictions.

Paleario was received at Perugia with the utmost kindness and hospitality by Ennio Filonardi, the governor of the town. They were old friends and fellow-townsmen. Ennio invited him to take up his abode in his house, and in order to induce him to establish himself there, offered him an honourable post in the College; but Paleario did not find the state of literature sufficiently advanced, his mind was bent on improvement: reports of the high state of intellectual cultivation at Siena and Padua increased his desire to press forward, and his next letter was dated Siena.

Perugia is one of the twelve Etruscan cities about whose origin there is so much uncertainty. It had been for ages successively in the power of the Romans, the Goths, and the Greeks. The French held it in the reign of Charlemagne. During the middle ages it fell under the dominion of petty princes, whose hereditary hatreds and tyranny produced perpetual conflicts. The successors of Charlemagne gave it to the Papal See, but when at war with the Pope they frequently resumed possession of their gift. In Paleario's time it was more than once a scene of treachery and assassination. The rivalry and ambition of various members of the Baglioni¹ family cost their native town both blood and treasure. At the accession of Paul III. in 1534 he built a strong fort near the entrance to the town, which obliged the inhabitants to resign themselves to the Papal dominion.

Perugia is indeed a city worth contending for; the extreme beauty of its situation, the salubrity of its air, the rich fruitful country which lies at its feet, with the forests of ancient oaks

¹ The last revolution was effected by the duke of Urbino, general of the League, in 1527; instead of assisting the Pope in his distress, he delayed with his army at Perugia to substitute Orazio Baglioni for Gentili in the government of the town, who was subsequently replaced by the Pope.

near the beautiful and classic lake of Thrasymene, make it a possession greatly to be desired.

It is celebrated as the birthplace of Pietro Vanuccini, commonly called Pietro Perugino, who in 1494 was Raphael's master. One of its greatest modern attractions is the well-preserved Etruscan tomb of the Volumni,¹ two miles from Perugia, a little out of the old Consular road. The discovery of this tomb, 5th February 1840, was purely accidental: some oxen were ploughing a piece of land belonging to a descendant of the Oddo Baglioni family, once lords of Perugia, when the earth appeared to sink suddenly under their hoofs at one particular spot; the ground was opened, and a way found which led down to a flight of steps, at the end of which was a massive door of stone with enormous hinges of the same material, which when rolled open discovered a tomb in as perfect preservation as if just completed, cut out of the solid tufo rock. It contained several Etruscan statues of the Volumni family,² with the usual patera in their hands, reclining in a half sitting position: one a female, apparently the mother of the family, is seated in a chair; under each statue an inscription in the Etruscan language notes the names of the deceased. In front, side by side, but not touching each other, stand two sculptured allegorical figures, intended to represent the genii of Good and Evil, supposed to guide and accompany every mortal in his walk through life. In several corners there were serpents' heads in iron or bronze, with their tongues out, as if hissing displeasure on the beholder, the meaning of which is not exactly known. This tomb had not been opened during the Christian era, although it must have been entered since its first construction; for besides the white Etruscan statues shining like ghosts in the gloomy tomb, there is a marble monument of more recent date, sacred to other members of the Volumni family, apparently of Roman workmanship; the inscription is in Latin, and the words being similar, greatly assisted in deciphering the writing on the other monuments, which were purely Etruscan.

Such was the delight with which the learned Vermiglioli

¹ See Appendix C.

² A king of Veii was called Larth Volumni, or Lartius Volumnius. In the war against Tarquin, a Dictator was elected for the first time; his name was T. Larth or Lartius. Larth in the Etruscan language means Lord.

contemplated this discovery, that for the first two or three days he could neither eat, drink, nor sleep, nor leave the tomb, so eagerly was he engaged in examining the bronze lamps and other relics found there, which threw so much light on a subject which had been his waking dream and nightly study for many years. On the return of Pius VII. from France in 1816, Gio. Battista Vermiglioli waited on the Pope to beg a grant of an uninhabited convent at Perugia to be used as a repository of art and antiquities. It now forms a magnificent public exhibition of curiosities, and has a superb gallery of casts from the best Grecian sculptors. When the Etruscan tomb was discovered he gave himself up to the joy of beholding a full confirmation of his Etruscan theories; the proprietor having married one of his nieces, La Contessa Vermiglioli Oddi, he had full opportunity of examining it to his heart's content. These allusions to modern Perugia are only a well-merited tribute to the memory of a learned man of the nineteenth century, who was always kind and courteous to strangers.¹

The University of Perugia was founded in 1307 by Clement V. It was in a highly flourishing state in the fifteenth century, when its professors were men of great talents and learning. During the sixteenth century it somewhat declined, or rather did not keep up with the progress made in classical literature.² Paleario found the study of the ancients had fallen into neglect, and the University more remarkable for jurisprudence than for the Belles Lettres: fresh from the reading of Cicero and his Orations, he turned with disgust from the barbarous Latinity of the schools. The writings of the Roman orator were among the first which were printed in Italy, and though still extremely scarce, yet they were accessible to students, and not only formed the taste but trained the mind to high thoughts and noble conceptions: and we shall presently see what suggestive hints Paleario received from his classical studies, and how he was led on step by step to the fountains of divine inspiration.

After a few months' stay³ in Perugia, Paleario arrived at

¹ Perugia is now, as ever, remarkable for the beauty of its inhabitants, both men and women; the regularity of their features and the elegance of their forms might well inspire the young Raphael to seek a higher style of excellence in painting.

² Tiraboschi, *Lett. Italiana*. t. vii. p. 100. ³ From February to October 1530.

Siena, full of high hopes and eager expectations. The flattering reports he had heard of its learning and love for literature led him to expect to find there a repose favourable to study, and all those aids and appliances from men of learning which his taste and his circumstances rendered necessary to his very existence. Nor was he utterly disappointed, though the envy and ill-nature of some dressed in a little brief authority threw him into serious difficulties, and laid the foundation for after evils. His first impressions will be best given by translating a letter written to some friends at Veroli, who wished him to return to his native place.

ANONIO PALEARIO TO FRANCESCO BONO AND MATTEO PAVONIO, OF VEROLI.

“I wish indeed I were with you. Nothing is more delightful to me than the recollection of my dear country, and love for my friends; but such is the desire of travelling which has taken possession of me, that it seems as if I should be for ever deprived, not only of the country where I was born, and which even on your account is dearest to me, but of any other, if such there be, which may hereafter bind me by the ties of wife and children. I never hear it said that in France and Germany literature flourishes, but I wish immediately to fly thither. When I left Rome last year I went to Perugia, where our excellent Ennio Filonardi is vice-legate. You need not ask how everything had been prepared for my reception while I was in Perugia; he wished me to stay in his own house; if I had consented he would have procured my appointment to an honourable post in the College of young students, and promised me his influence and authority; nothing was wanting on his part. I never knew a better man, either for his upright life, or for his zeal in giving assistance. But as this College is full of barbarisms¹, my first object was to leave as soon as possible.

I came to Siena on the 27th of October (1530). The city is seated on the brow of a beautiful hill, surrounded by a fertile and abundantly productive country, but it is corrupted by party-spirit and almost exhausted by factions: the greater part of the nobility, who are in general the only patrons of literature, live scattered in villages and hamlets; so that when the Nine Muses are, so to speak, banished and discomfited, we cannot wonder if there are no illustrious philosophers, no orators or poets in the state. The inhabitants of Siena, as well as the Tuscans in general, are of acute and vigorous intellects; their women are handsome; the young men, since the Academies² have been established, take delight in works written in their mother-tongue. The progress which the Italian language is making has this advantage, it diverts the at-

¹ Tiraboschi, *Lett. Italiana*, vol. vii. p. 100.

² The Academies to which Paleario here alludes were the *Rozzi* and *g^o Intronati*. The latter was founded in 1525 by *Antonio Vignali*, *Claudio Tolommeo*, *Luca Contile*, and *F. Bandini Piccolomini*, afterwards archbishop of Siena; also *Lancollotto Politi*, who subsequently became a Dominican monk and took the name of *Ambrogio Catarino*, and *Mariano Soccini* the younger. Its principal object was to cultivate and

tention from the Latin and Greek languages, which are acquired only by labour, which of itself is so formidable an enemy to study, that very few attain more than a superficial knowledge of literature. I wish to leave, for I feel an inexpressible desire to prosecute my studies in philosophy; but persons of distinction have hitherto retained me in their castles and villages. Their affability is great, their liberality still greater, and their splendour almost regal: were I not so wedded to study, nowhere could I remain with greater pleasure.

“After the capture and sack of Rome by the Spaniards, and the ravaging of Latium, what presents a greater spectacle of devastation than the provinces to which you recal me? What can be more destitute than the condition of our nobles? These things often make me reflect and resolve to quit my country. To these considerations I might add the unfriendly disposition of my companions, who have tormented me ever since I was a boy; corrupt and wicked youths, who, as they grew up, shewed they had no enemies so great as themselves. They, to say nothing of aught else, (I cannot write it without tears) have dared to destroy a part of my mother's tomb,¹ a most excellent woman of rare virtue and modesty: may heaven guard her ashes! Now it is your duty, who have religiously and carefully fulfilled all the claims of friendship, in return for the marked regard I have ever shewn you, to collect together the relics of my beloved ones, wherever they are scattered, and put them in an urn. The expense will be my care. I entreat you to do thus much to gratify my filial affection. I wish that in that part of the sacred edifice where my mother's tomb was, a large stone be placed, with the following inscription: ²

MATTHEO PALEARIO, ET
CLARE JANARILLE,
OPTIMIS PARENTIBUS: ET
ELYSE, FRANCISCE,
JANILLE, PALEARIS,
SORORIBUS HONESTISSIMIS:
AONIUS PALEARIUS POSUIT
MUTATO SOLO.

embellish the Tuscan or Italian language. To it is ascribed the new letters, j, u, and x added to the Italian alphabet, which Tressino claimed as his invention. Tolommei, one of the founders of this Academy, was the originator of a new manner of writing Italian poetry in imitation of Latin verse, but it was found that the genius of the two languages was too different to allow of their being subjected to the same rules. Moreri says Paleario is mentioned in one of the theatrical compositions of the *Intronati*, but a diligent search has failed to find what he alludes to. The *Intronati*, like its predecessor the *Rossi*, was much employed in composing satirical theatrical pieces.—Fontanini, *Eloq. Italiana*, vol. i. p. 30. Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. p. 129.

¹ In the universal licence caused by the presence of the invading army it would appear that the love of mischief, added to the desire of gold, increased the calamities of this unhappy country.

² Enquiries have been made at Veroli respecting the existence of this tomb; it is stated that “*il sepolcro attuale è nel profondo avvenuto in quella chiesa forse per lo rialzamento fattosi del pavimento in tempi posteriori all Aonio: siccome lo scrivente ha ragione di ritenere per le osservazione che vi ha praticato per sua curiosità.*”

"I have written about this two or three times to Maria, daughter of my mother's sister, but she is either overwhelmed with grief or declines writing. However this may be, let me know, so that if I am ever in favour with the Muses, I may consecrate those dear to me in every kind of monument. Farewell."¹

Paleario, though a man of good family and some fortune, was not rich enough to live without the assistance either of a patron, or of a stipend as professor. We have already seen how the natural spirit and independence of his character unfitted him for residing in the houses of great men. We find from his letters that he had accepted some pecuniary assistance from a rich young Roman friend, Cincio Phrygipani, to whom he had probably given lessons at Rome. It had been agreed between them when Paleario left Rome, that Cincio should accompany him to Padua, pay the expenses, and assist him in purchasing a library. The rich young man however had many temptations at Rome; his mentor absent, he forgot his promises, and even neglected to write. The following letter was sent to him by Paleario soon after his arrival at Siena: the tone of reproach, and even command, may perhaps offend the fastidiousness of modern refinement; but we must recollect that these are genuine letters, which faithfully depict the manners of the times. There is something intellectually wholesome in the doctrine that there are things better than money or birth, and that those who are superabundantly endowed with either should consider themselves but as stewards for the benefit of others.

AONIO PALEARIO TO CINCIO PHRYGIPANI.

"Do not expect me to write you what I think are the duties of a young man of intellect and noble birth. Our daily conversations, if you have not forgotten them, are admonition sufficient; if however, as I rather fear, they have passed out of your recollection, or if listening to other advice you have changed your mind, my letters will not persuade you to come to us, more particularly as I hear you have much neglected your studies. I do not know who they are who counsel you less faithfully than I have done. You have not answered my two last letters written a few days ago, but I was still more surprised when Livio came from Rome without bringing a line from you. When I asked him of your coming, about which he had written so often when he was in Rome, always praising your good sense, he replied that he could not give me any positive confirmation of what he had formerly promised.

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. i. ep. 9.

So then, after having deceived us with hopes, you keep us, who are longing so much for your arrival, still in expectation. If indeed I had ever imagined you could do without me, I should have been on my guard, and prepared not to suffer so much pain in case of being deprived of your society, and thus gradually strengthened myself for my disappointment. Who so happy as I, when you promised to come? Who so grieved at this last news? For though Livio does not positively say you will not come, yet I too easily believe that which I fear. What! will you really not come? If I am not mistaken, you will not. Are you so given up to the pleasures of Rome, that you cannot tear yourself away? What more can I say? As to your domestic affairs, your able and excellent brothers will take good care of them, and after all there is not more business than can be despatched in a day. I do not admit this as an excuse. If you have any regard for us and for your own reputation and dignity, do not allow yourself to be turned aside by the advice of companions. You share our opinions and follow the same studies, of which they are bitter enemies. It is due to your own nobleness and greatness of mind to reflect how you have promoted our wishes and to remember the promises you have made. When we came into Tuscany, we brought with us as much money as your generosity bestowed: if you had come yourself we should want nothing. I beseech you, if we should be obliged to go to Padua without you, to take care that we are not left unprovided.

“ You have a great inheritance (may God prosper it!); your family is small, you have an excellent heart, and aspire after great things. What is there so heavenly and divine, as to assist another in every emergency? What so Roman, as to sustain a guest and an old friend? What so like yourself, as to receive and heartily entertain scholars? We are in need of your generosity to continue those studies which are dearest and most attractive to you: we want to purchase a library of Greek books, and complete a collection of Latin authors. These last cost a great deal, and it is exceedingly difficult to procure Greek books. You who are of a noble race, richly endowed with the goods of fortune, and highly gifted with talent, should consider yourself as born to supply our wants. Adieu. Siena.”¹

The closing sentence will doubtless provoke a smile from the English reader: learning was not then, as now, attainable by all, but confined to a privileged class, who were occasionally the satirists, or the flatterers of the great; Paleario was neither, he spoke his mind plainly. This young man had money, he had not; therefore it was the duty of Cincio to assist him.

A subsequent letter to the same young friend informs us that Paleario still delayed his journey to Padua, waiting for the arrival of Cincio; but at length he resolved to set out without him, when an unexpected communication revived his hopes.

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. i. ep. 6.

AONIO PALEARIO TO CINCIO PHEYGIPANI.

"Oh most delightful and much desired news! Oh, here is your long-expected letter. When I had resolved to leave Tuscany, and my companions were ready to set out, behold the courier Fabio brings a letter, which imparts to me the purest joy. What! you say, going without me? I was indeed grieved to go without you. I had long delayed, and each day sought fresh excuses not to hasten. But at last, wearied out, what can I do? without books, without handkerchiefs, and without sheets, having sent everything before me that I might not need Mariani's mules on the journey. You ought not to make us wait for you more than a month. Though you write as if it were an affront to doubt of your arrival; yet, nevertheless, I am tormented with some doubts on account of the persons by whom you are surrounded."

"You will reside with us; you will live in the society of scholars, students of the Belles Lettres; you will reap great profit from your intercourse with companions of superior minds, and still greater from association with older men, well furnished with learning and erudition. You will derive also from study that delight which it has always afforded you, and even more, for here you will have no other amusement. At Padua there are poets, orators, and distinguished philosophers; wisdom is there congregated as in a house, where Pallas herself presides over the Belles Lettres: nowhere can you better gratify your insatiable thirst for reading and hearing lectures. Upon this however I need not dwell, for I know the eagerness of youth when they have taken a thing into their head. You who are arrived at man's estate, and filled with a desire for mental cultivation, ought not to require our exhortations, but rather hasten to join us. I thank you for your generous offers and promises; and see that nothing can be greater than your affection for me. For the present you need not trouble yourself about money. In consequence of your delay and your not having answered my letters, I have been obliged meanwhile to borrow. I have sent an order to my friend Pterigi to sell my house and land which are in the province of the Hernici: if he does not find a good purchaser, he is to sell them by auction. I am willing to give up everything rather than renounce the study of philosophy. I shall get rid of my servants, furniture, house and land, and all that I possess. In order that this might be done without difficulty during my absence, when I was in Rome I appointed Corsini my agent. I earnestly beg of you to get the notaries of the capital to prepare the power-of-attorney (*formulam mandati*), and to hand it to Corsini when he comes. But I rather fear that he is perhaps gone for the summer with Ennio to the island of Fibrene. If this be the case, I shall be extremely obliged to you if you would arrange for Pterigi to take Corsini's place, and that with this letter the order and power-of-attorney may be sent to my friends the Cantelmi. I am glad that your amiable brother Gregorio is so well. Of Girolamo I hear all the good I could desire; he is a young man of spirit and munificence, and also of virtue. He has managed my affairs in the most honorable manner; pray congratulate him in my name, and salute him heartily. Adieu. Siena."¹

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. i. ep. 8.

The above was probably written in 1531, about a year after Paleario's arrival in Siena, during which time he had remained there, though always intending to go to Padua. When on the point of setting out he was detained by the earnest persuasions of some rich and influential friends, Antonio Bellanti and Carlo Buoninsegni, who kept him with them for a year, hospitably received him at their villas, put their libraries at his disposal, and offered him every facility for study. Very possibly also, as we may glean from his letters to his Roman friend, his purse was empty. Cincio had not answered his letters; the plan of going to Padua in company with a rich and studious young noble had failed, and he was glad to accept the temporary kindness of his Siena friends: but the love of philosophy was as strong as ever; hence his joy when he received Cincio's letter, which reproached him for thinking of going to Padua without him. We may trace too the characteristic independence of his mind: he would have been glad and willing to accept the assistance of his friend if he had come in person and devoted himself to study; but this not being the case, he determined to follow out his own intentions. With the true improvidence of a scholar he thought no sacrifice too great for the accomplishment of his wishes, and for this purpose resolved to sell his patrimony and all his possessions at Veroli.

The next letter is written to his confidential servant, whom he had despatched to Veroli with orders to sell his property, but who on his arrival seems to have listened to the opinions of persons on the spot, and transmitted them to his master. This produced considerable irritation in Paleario's mind: impatient to set out for Padua, he could brook neither delay nor opposition, and only wanted his agent to follow his directions. Pterigi was probably something above the rank of a common servant, perhaps born on his estate, who had his master's interest so much at heart, that he ventured to oppose his wishes when he thought them against his interest.

AONIO PALEARIO TO PTERIGI GALLO.

"You drive me mad. Is it thus you despise my commands? What I desire most you attend to the least; thus do I pay the penalty of my sins. As usual, I am foolish enough to think that what I would not do myself, no one else would attempt. Why ask advice of others when you know my opinion? I prefer Tuscany to any other part of Italy, and when I can devote myself to

the repose of study, I shall choose that part of this country which is the most remarkable for the purity of its air, and the courteousness of its inhabitants. After the sack of the city (Rome), the fields ravaged by war, the inhabitants dying of hunger, the cities depopulated by the plague; what aught is there now in Latium but an open plain, air, and solitude? I wish to sell my paternal estate. The house is honoured by a new successor. Corsini will arrange about the garden and the farm. Basil and Alexander will require something; this shall be done at once. My furniture was good, the library by no means an ordinary one; this shall be their share. You have now received your directions; see that you execute them faithfully. If you are a man, that is to say, if you wish for my regard, make your will bend to mine and change your opinion; for if you cannot do this, I do not know how the affair will end. There is nothing so contrary to my wishes, as that those who coveted my property with hopeful avidity should think to obtain it even against my will. If you have made any promise do not at present confirm it, but rather withdraw gradually; pretend that you are expecting a letter from me. It will be best to leave without doing anything. It is quite absurd that I should have to teach you how to act in every case. I have need of your prudence in my behalf that the business for which I sent you thither may be completed. Well! do you understand? I write to you in Latin, because you do not understand Italian well, and because I think there is more point in the Latin tongue. When you arrive at Rome, go and salute Cincio Phrygipani cordially from me, and say how well I understand, by the many letters he writes me, that he has no need either of my entreaties or exhortations. I fear however that his crocodile tears, so hard to squeeze out, will extinguish his ardour for study. But I have fulfilled the duties of friendship, and have given this young man both sound and faithful counsels. Incite him, however, as much as you can by word of mouth. I am very desirous to withdraw him from Rome, and from the envy which follows, as the shadow does the body, all who live under the eyes of their fellow-citizens. I have always from his childhood hoped that he would become a man of high integrity and ancestral virtue. I am greatly attached to him, and hope he may accompany you to Tuscany. We set out for Padua the 26th of September. Oh, what sad intelligence of Lorenzo Carolo! Was he carried off by a fever? Is it possible? in so few days! All the circumstances are sad and distressing. What will become of his mother, and his most unhappy sisters? I can write no more for tears."¹

This letter is thoroughly Italian. The way in which Paleario desires him to withdraw from the fulfilment of his promises is not straightforward, the want of moral courage is strikingly displayed. Instead of telling his agent to say plainly he had gone beyond his directions in making any promises, he was instructed to draw off by degrees, keep up delusive hopes, and finally leave without saying anything certain, and thus break off his engagement. But Paleario had not yet directed his attention to the Scriptures, the only true source of moral courage.

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. i. ep. 12.

Perhaps there is nothing contributes more to the healthiness and soundness of the moral atmosphere, than the being able to hear and to bear unwelcome truths. It clears the visual eye of the mental organ, saves it from delusive expectations, and thus prepares the intellectual faculties to discern and grapple with difficulties which, in a world so full of evil, must be perpetually arising. As the experienced general confides in his reserved force to repair any disaster or mistake in the course of a battle, so, in the battle of life, moral courage, the offspring of truth, is the great reserve to fall back upon, with which to renew the combat secure success, and inspire confidence.

In consequence of Paleario's letter to his friends Bono and Pavonio of Veroli, expressing his determination to stay in Tuscany, he received a letter from Giovanni Martelli,¹ a friend of his father's, offering to buy his property on certain conditions; he immediately acceded to his proposal, and returned the following answer.

AONIO PALEARIO TO GIOVANNI MARTELLI.

"I received your most kind letter, in which you tell me that you are willing to relinquish your own paternal mansion and purchase mine if I approve of the terms of payment. I have often commissioned Pavonio and Bono, persons who know well my good will towards you, to say that I have nothing which I consider mine more than yours. I am content with the conditions, and send the agreement. Corsini, an active man and much your friend, will carefully attend to everything. I hope the purchase may turn out a good and satisfactory one for you. In the course of my whole life I never experienced greater pleasure than when I heard that you wished to take possession of my house. You wish to pay in five instalments; well, be it so; but I excuse you one: I give you a sixth. Pay the rest at your convenience. If any one objects, I am sorry, for I desire first and foremost that all the world may know that I hold you most dear, and next that my friends may enjoy it. With three fourths I shall take care that the tomb be repaired, so that if these relics of my dear ones can feel anything, they may take a kind of pleasure in it. What need is there for you to say so much of certain persons? I know these provincialists. It is my greatest consolation to think, as I cannot do so, that you inhabit my house. If I were there we should spend whole days together. Do you think I have forgotten that when I was a little fellow my father took me to you? and how he used to rejoice at having found a man to whom he could safely confide his children. Your kindness has been essential to me even from my boyhood."²

¹ Probably a relation of Vincenzo Martelli, secretary to the Prince of Salerno.

² Paleari *Opera*, lib. i. ep. 10. The writer of the letter from Veroli says there is a tradition there, that this Gio. Martelli who bought Paleario's house composed

As Siena was the residence of Paleario for several years, and it was there that his religious opinions attained maturity, a slight sketch of its history and political changes will not be irrelevant to our subject.

Siena was at one time a city of considerable strength. There are no authentic documents of its origin earlier than the year 290 before the Christian era. Livy mentions a colony of Romans having been sent there about that time; and there is a tradition that it was built by the Gaulish tribe, Senones,¹ as a city of refuge for their old men. This is alluded to by Fazio in his *Dittamondo*.²

“ Per quella strada, che vi era più piana
 Noi ci traemo alla città di Siena,
 La qual' è posta in parte forte, e sana.
 Di leggiadria, di bei costumi, è piena
 Di vaghe donne e d' huomini cortesi,
 E l'aer dolce, lucida, e serena.
 Questa cittade per alcun' intesi
 Lasciando ivi molti vecchi, Breno,
 Quando i Romani per lui fur morti, e presi,
 Habito prima, e l'altri da l'altro seno,
 Che dice quando il buon Carlo Martello
 Passò di quà, che i vecchi lasenno.”³

As soon as Siena⁴ became a Roman colony, it was governed, a legend upon the life and death of our holy mother Maria Salome, mother of the apostles James and John, in which, at Aonio's instigation, he inserted *delle menzogne e falsità*.

¹ *Universal Hist.* vol. viii. sec. v. p. 391.

² See Fazio, *Dittamondo*, lib. 3, canto 8.

³ Alberti says the more ancient writers contradict this. The two accounts may perhaps be reconciled, if we reflect on the frequent wars of those times, when cities were destroyed and afterwards rebuilt by the conquerors.

⁴ The accurate Alberti says of Siena: “ La Città dimandata Colonia Senensis, e parimente da Cornelio Tacito nel 4 libro dell' historie, ove si dice: *Manlius patricius ordinis Senatorii pulsatum se in Colonia Senensi catu multitudinis, et jussu magistratum querebatur, nec finem injuria hic stetiase. . . . Additumq. S. C. quo Senonium plebes modestie admoneretur. . . .* Edificarono questa città (come par voglia Polibio) i Galli Senoni scacciati da i Romani, quando egli dice che i Galli Senoni edificarono un' altra Colonia, nominandola Sena, oltre di quell' altra da loro fabricata presso al mare Adriatico. Il che conferma Gottifredi nel libro della memoria di tutte le cose, dicendo che fosse fatta da i detti Galli Senoni, essendo loro Capitano Breno contra i Romani. Il simile dice Policarpo nel sesto libro delle croniche, soggiungendo che da quelli fosse edificata per habitatione de i loro vecchi, acciò che quivi si riposassero: e ciò fosse fatto avanti l' incarnatione del figliuolo di Dio 382 anni.”—Alberti, *Descrizione di tutta l' Italia*, p. 58. Ed. Venezia, 1567.

according to the laws of Roman jurisprudence, by prefects sent from Rome; while all criminal causes were carried to Rome itself, Siena being within the given jurisdiction of 100 miles which appertained to the city. There still exists at Siena the fragment of a tablet containing an inscription, which was affixed to the wall, as marking the bounds of municipal jurisdiction.

Christianity was introduced into Siena by a person named Ansano, who fled from Rome during the persecutions in the reign of Diocletian; but the desire of rooting out what they termed a new religion pursued him to Siena. He was beheaded by order of Licinius the proconsul for being a Christian.

It is not surprising that the Romans, though a polished and intelligent people, should endeavour to crush all religions which differed from that of the state. Their ignorance of the true God prevented them from comprehending the love and clemency of His character. Unacquainted with the spiritual worship of the heart, their devotion consisted chiefly in pompous ceremonies; they carried images about in solemn procession, before which every creature was obliged to scatter incense in token of respect to these inanimate gods of man's creation. Those who ventured to refuse this act of homage, did it at the peril of their lives.

When Charlemagne was called by Pope Adrian I. in 773 to assist him against the Lombards, Siena was made a French colony, and was not, like Perugia and other towns, given over to the Church, but maintained its independence till a much later period. Upon Charlemagne's arrival in Rome, he kissed every step of the church of St. Peter as he ascended to meet the Pope, who stood waiting at the entrance to receive him. Adrian met him with a cordial embrace, and they entered the church together.

His successor Alexander III., who was elected Pope in 1159, was a native of Siena. He fell under the displeasure of the ferocious Frederic Barbarossa, because he had been elected three days after the death of Adrian IV. without waiting for the Emperor's consent. Being master of all Italy, and determined to maintain his power there, it was necessary for Frederic to have the Pope as a creature of his own. The struggles for power between the Emperor and the Pope had been the misery of the last papal reign. Adrian was an Englishman (Brakespear), of

a firm and unbending spirit. He bearded the Emperor when he was at the gates of Rome for his coronation, and before he permitted him to enter, compelled him to give up Arnaldo di Brescia. This zealous reformer had been bold enough to attack the temporal and ecclesiastical power of the Pope. Such daring audacity roused the personal enmity of the Pontiff, and his spirit knew no rest till he had issued orders for the destruction of his victim. He ordered him to be hanged, and his dead body was actually spitted and roasted before the fire.¹

During Alexander's reign, which lasted twenty-seven years, Italy never enjoyed the blessing of peace. Frederic cited him to appear before him, he refused; Frederic deposed him, and set up an antipope in the person of Octavius, who took the name of Vittorio. The wars of the Guelfs and Ghibellines were renewed. The Pope was more than once obliged to fly, but at length Frederic's faithless and savage treatment of the Lombards roused the princes to form a league against him: though before this time they had been divided among themselves, they now united in one common cause against the Emperor. This unity, so rare among the principalities of Italy, turned the tide of victory, which had hitherto been favourable to Frederic. In a desperate battle which was fought near Como, Frederic was thrown from his horse, and lost sight of for a time. He cut his way through to Pavia, and reappeared when all thought him dead and were searching for his body. An escape from such imminent danger made him more ready to yield to the advice of his counsellors, who persuaded him that his defeat was a chastisement for his disobedience to the Church.

Alexander, who had survived four antipopes upheld by the Emperor, was equally willing to come to terms of accommodation. They met at Venice in the church of St. Mark, when Frederic, laying aside the imperial mantle, threw himself before the Pontiff and kissed his feet.² Alexander shed tears of joy at

¹ " Arnaldo fu tratto dal castello ove stava nascosto; fu consegnato nelle mani dei Cardinali, e da questi rimesso al prefetto di Roma che lo fece impiccare, abbruciare, infilzato in uno spiedo il suo cadavere e spargere le sue ceneri nel Tevere, perchè il popolo non lo venerasse qual Santo. Ciò avvenne l'anno 1155, prima de' 18 di Giugno in cui segul la coronazione di Federigo, essendo Arnaldo in età, per quanto io penso, di circa 50 anni."—*Arnaldo di Brescia*, di Gio. Battista Niccolini. Firenze, 1843. Platina, *Vite dei Papi*, p. 321. Ed. Venezia, 1665.

² There is a fresco in the Sala Regia, in the Vatican palace at Rome, representing Frederic's humiliation.

seeing his bitterest enemy and the disturber of the peace of Italy humbled and subdued. He kindly raised and saluted him, and the lofty vaults of the church resounded with the *Te Deum*, as Frederic, giving his right hand to the Pope, walked to the choir, where he received the papal absolution and benediction in due form.

The next day, in the presence of an immense concourse of people, the Pope performed mass, and preached in St. Mark's, when Frederic paid him public obeisance, and presented an offering of great value. After mass, the Emperor held the stirrup while the Pope mounted his horse, and would have led him by the bridle, walking by the Pope's side as his equerry, but this Alexander would not permit.

Muratori, the historian on whose accuracy the greatest reliance may be placed, treats as a fabulous legend the old and often repeated story of Alexander putting his foot on Frederic's neck, and saying, *Super aspidem et basilicum ambulabis, conculcabis leonem et draconem*, 'thou shalt walk upon the serpent and the basilisk, and tread upon the lion and dragon,' with the reply, *Non tibi sed Petro*, 'not thou but Peter,' which called forth the haughty response, *Et mihi et Petro*, 'Peter and I also.' Though these words are cited by Dandolo and other chroniclers, they are altogether contrary to the habitual moderation of Alexander, who had learned wisdom from a long course of adversity.

We have entered more into the history of Alexander's contests with Frederic than relates to our subject, not only because he was a native of Siena, but because in his reign a very important change took place in the election of the Popes. The farther we go back in the history of the Church, the less power and the more simplicity we find in its institutions. The very name of Pope (*Papa*) only meant, originally, the head of a Christian family associated together for religious purposes. He was to minister to them in holy things, that is, to teach and instruct them; and he, as well as the other ministers, were at first selected by the people whom he was to guide in the way to heaven. Until the eleventh century the Popes were chosen by the whole of the Roman clergy, the nobility, judges, citizens, and people in Rome, subject to the assent of the Emperor. As corruption increased, and the title of Pope became more desired, the choice often gave rise to all the evils of a popular election.

On this account, Nicholas II. in 1059, taking advantage of the minority of Henry IV., passed a decree which raised the power of the Cardinals, by giving them authority to choose the Pope. This was a bold step towards an independent authority over the world at large, and gave great offence to the seven palatine judges, and to the Roman clergy in general, who were deprived of a voice in the election. In 1059, Alexander III., actuated by the same desire for absolute power, passed a law by which the election was vested in the Cardinals alone, without any reference to the clergy of Rome or to the Emperor's approval; henceforth the Popes were chosen by and from among the College of Cardinals.¹ The dying Pope frequently pointed out his successor. In some cases the votes were bought by the reigning powers, or by the Roman princes; in others, the election was carried on with great haste to shew its independence.

Siena was so alarmed at Frederic's power throughout Italy that it refused to open its gates to him. Being a place of great strength it was able to withstand the intruder, who left his brother to besiege it and take it by force; but the Sienese made so successful a resistance that he punished them by revoking many of their privileges. These were however in time restored, and in 1186 they were empowered to elect their own consuls, subject to the approval of the Emperor. The Sienese contributed large supplies of troops towards the conquest of the Holy Land, and many of their nobles and young men volunteered their personal services.

During the absence of the nobility in the Holy Land the Sienese introduced a popular form of government, and took the

¹ Cardinals were not formerly what they have become in process of time, and especially since the 12th century, when the power was given them to choose, or, as they call it, to create a Pope. They were originally parish priests, deacons, and sub-deacons. Those were called cardinals who had the charge of a parish, because on them hung, as it were, the *cardini* or immoveable hinges of the Church. We find them anciently called cardinal bishops, to distinguish them from those who had no fixed charge. There are many old documents to prove that each town had its cardinal presbyters and sub-deacon cardinals. Rossi, in his history of Ravenna, mentions that the canons of Ravenna did not lay aside the title of cardinal till 1568. The Church of Naples had also its cardinals. Ughelli speaks of two cardinal presbyters in the Neapolitan Church. There were also cardinal priests in the Church of Lucca. The etymology of the word appears to give the derivation from *cardinare*, to connect, incorporate, or fix.—Muratori, *Antichità Italiana*, tom. iii. p. 3, ed. Roma, 1575. Rossi, *Storia Ravennate*. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*.

supreme power out of the hands of the Consuls, which caused both parties to have recourse to arms to defend their rights. Before they came to actual fighting mediators interfered, and their differences were reconciled by a resolution to increase the number of Consuls to six; one-third of this number was to be chosen from the people, and two-thirds to be gentlemen and Ghibellines. The people, having once found what they could gain by popular commotion, renewed their endeavours every year to encroach further on the power of the nobles; this gave rise to an infinite variety of changes in the government. Thus in 1273 the Consuls were removed, and twenty-four *Signori* or gentlemen replaced them; these twenty-four were soon after increased to thirty. In 1279 the government of the *Quindici*, or Fifteen magistrates, was established, and in six years after that of the Nine *Priori* and *Defensori*; this form of government gave so much satisfaction that it remained unchanged for seventy years. The nobles then rose, determined to obtain more power, and a new form of government appeared, called the Magistracy of the Twelve Prætors. From 1368 to 1384 the government of the *Riformatori* was prevalent. During these frequent changes the inhabitants were divided into four different factions, the *Monti*, the *Dodici*, the *Riformatori*, and the *Popolo*.¹

The popular faction was generally the strongest, and when the state became beyond control, its liberty often fell a sacrifice to popular cabals, under the influence of individual ambition. Thus from 1390 to 1404 Siena was governed by the Duke of Milan; under the Pontificate of Pius II. it was tyrannised over by the nobles; afterwards it fell a prey to the intrigues of the Duke of Calabria.

In 1499 the Sienese, who in the time of Dante had so vigorously withstood the princelike Provenzano, were compelled to submit to one of their own citizens, Pandolfo Petrucci, who governed the city till his death in 1512. His two sons and a nephew usurped the reins of government; the citizens freed themselves from his tyranny by violent resistance, but shewed their incapacity for governing by falling into a state of anarchy. This in time opened the way for the entrance of the Medici family.

¹ Siena took its *Podestà* from Modena as far back as 1225, in which year '*Gorardus Rangonus fuit Podestà di Siena*. Poccia all' anno 1227 fuit Podestà, Inghiramus di Macerata Modenese,' and so on till 1500. Muratori, *Antichità Italiana*, tom. iii. p. 30.

Clement VII. with his papal bulls, and Charles V. with his Spanish troops, compelled the unhappy Republic to appeal to Francis I. On the defeat of that monarch at Pavia, Siena was obliged to yield to the imperial arms. Charles governed it by deputy till 1555, when Cosmo I., Grand Duke of Tuscany, attacked and conquered it. According to the terms of the capitulation, a nominal degree of liberty was permitted them. The government was composed of a *Capitano del Popolo* and eight *Priori*: the Company of the *Balia* (Town Council), the Chief Magistrate of Bicherna, the *Consulta* or Privy Council, and the Secretary of the Laws, the Captain of Justice, were all different phases of magistracy, who governed by turns till the time of Pietro Leopoldo I., when he included Siena in his wise and parental reformation of the laws of Tuscany.¹

¹ Malvolti, *Storia del Siena*. Gigli, *Diario*. See Appendix E.

CHAPTER III.

PALEARIO AS AN ORATOR.

1531—1533.

PALEARIO GOES TO PADUA—LAMPRIDIO—UNIVERSITY—PALEARIO RECALLED TO SIENA—BELLANTI FAMILY—ORATION IN BEHALF OF ANTONIO BELLANTI—CAUSE GAINED—SUBSEQUENT ORATION—PALEARIO'S ITALIAN POETRY—BEMBO—HIS HISTORY.

THOUGH Paleario had been detained a year at Siena, he was still desirous of accomplishing his original design of going to Padua, there to pursue his studies and join the learned society of which he had heard so flattering and attractive a description. Being now furnished with the means of accomplishing his journey, he prepared to set out.

The distinguished poet and linguist Benedetto Lampridio was at this time in the zenith of his fame. Paleario in all probability had known him at Rome, for Lampridio went there very young, and was received into the house of Paolo Cortese.¹ He was so well versed in the Greek and Latin classics, that the learned Giovanni Lascari² took him as coadjutor in the formation of the new Greek college established by Leo X. At the death

¹ Paolo Cortese (born 1465, died 1510) was descended from a learned Tuscan family of St. Gemignano. He was the first theological writer who ventured to discard the barbarisms of the schools, and introduce classic elegance into scholastic theology. As apostolical secretary he had great influence at Rome, and was one of the chief supports of the literary academy which met in his own house. In the latter years of his life he resided in his *Castello Cortesiano* at St. Gemignano, where he kept a kind of literary court, and was visited by all the learned celebrities of his time. His works were printed at Basle, in 1540, with a laudatory preface by Beato Benano. Among his Latin tracts may be named *De Sacrarum Litterarum omniumque Disciplinarum Scientia*, and *De Cardinalatu*.—Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* vol. vi. p. 228.

² See Appendix A.

of this Pope in 1521 he left Rome and went to Padua, where he opened a private school and lectured on Greek and Roman classics. Paolo Giovio says he was too proud to submit to competition as candidate for a public chair; but the fact was that private lectures were more remunerative, as well as more independent. The fame of his talents and character induced Federigo Gonzaga,¹ duke of Mantua, to invite him to come and undertake the education of his only son Francesco.² Bembo held him in such high estimation, that he sent his son Torquato to Mantua on purpose to profit by his instructions. In urging the youth to application, he tells him that he is more fortunate than all the boys in Italy, or even in Europe, for none of them have so good a master, "*così eccellente e singolar precettore, e così amorevole, come hai tu sebbene sono figliuoli di gran Principi e gran Rè.*"³ He died at Mantua in 1540.

When Paleario visited the university of Padua, it was just rising to its greatest glory. It had existed 200 years, and shared the various fortunes of its possessors: at one time raised by the protection of its sovereign to the highest pitch of prosperity and distinction; at another, its lecture-rooms closed, and its professors dismissed. In 1313 Padua belonged to Henry VII. of Germany. The inhabitants having exhibited symptoms of revolt, he issued a decree to close the university altogether, and refused them the privilege of conferring degrees. His death alone, the same year, saved the university from destruction. At the close of this century it changed masters. Ubertino of Carrara recovered possession, he restored its ancient privileges, and by fresh concessions encouraged a revival of its reputation and splendour.

Padua came into possession of the Venetians in the beginning of the fifteenth century. The senate was so desirous to raise the

¹ Son of Isabella d' Este, the Marchioness of Mantua, mentioned in Chap. I.

² Gregorio Cortese, a learned Benedictine monk, related to Paolo, wrote to Cardinal Contarini on the 8th of March, 1536: "Non tacerò come i giorni passati essendo in Mantova fui pregato da quell' Illustrissimo Signore di fare che M. Lampridio andasse a stare con lui ad effetto, che il suo unico figliuolo avesse la creanza sotto esso, ed anche desiderando il prefato Signore avere una compagnia, con la quale alle volte potesse esercitarsi in ragionamenti virtuosi; e così conclusa la cosa M. Lampridio se n' è andato con provisione di trecento ducati, e le stanze, e le spese per tre bocche."—Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. p. 199.

³ Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. ii. p. 128. Ed. Venetia, 1660.

fame of their university, that every other public school or university in their dominions was closed, and the professors' chairs richly endowed. This monopoly of education, however, did not produce the advantages expected. Scholars, finding no other university than that of Padua, sometimes went out of the state for instruction. The senate, not sufficiently enlightened on the subject of free trade and reciprocal advantages, enacted that degrees conferred by other universities were of no value within the Venetian territories. But this, instead of increasing the number of students, was the cause of the total withdrawal of foreigners. Several Italian sovereigns followed the example of Venice, and would not allow the degrees conferred by the Paduan university to be of force in their dominions.

During the long vexatious war between the Pope and the Venetians, which lasted twenty years, the university had been closed. On the restoration of peace in 1529, the inhabitants of Padua sent messengers to Venice, for permission to reopen the university. This request was immediately complied with. Three patricians, with the title of Reformers, were commissioned to superintend the regulation of the university. It soon recovered its ancient fame. Students flocked in great numbers from all parts of Europe. Youths came even from the extreme confines of Russia, to carry back to their cold and uncivilized country the polished graces of civilized life, and a knowledge of classical literature. A new and spacious building was erected, and the most eminent men were selected to fill the professors' chairs. The university of Padua¹ was, however, more indebted for its revival to the energy of a single individual, Pietro Bembo, than to the protection of the senate.

Paleario spent nearly a year at Padua, in the full enjoyment of the delights of study, and in enthusiastic admiration of Lam-

¹ In 1543 the university began to fall off. Bonfadio writes: "We are in rather a miserable state here. Yesterday the professor of law had a quarrel with the university. Oradino gave the lie to Ansuino, who returned the compliment by a violent blow: I do not know what will be the consequences." In 1558 Falloppio writes to Aldobrandini that many professors' chairs are vacant; and in 1581 he says, "These gentlemen (the patricians) are by no means alive to the importance of study. They have no money, and take no trouble to procure any for the benefit of the university. I was even obliged to advance a few florins, and woe be to those who should ask them for 400 florins for a work on natural history."—Bonfadio, *Letters*.

pridio's eloquence. He wrote in ecstasy to his friend Maffei on hearing him lecture on the Orations of Demosthenes :

"He lectures with so much energy as almost to bring before his auditors the senators mentioned by Demosthenes. In his manner and gesture he seems to imitate the vehement eloquence and sonorous voice of the great orator himself; nothing finer can be imagined. How I wish, my dear Maffei, you had been present, for you would, I am sure, have acknowledged that a single lecture from Lampridio is worth all the magnificence and popular glory of Rome."¹

He then seems to have intended visiting Rome; but, when he reached Bologna, he was recalled to Siena by the entreaties of his friends there, who wanted his professional assistance. On his return he wrote the following letter to Bernardino Maffei.

"While I was eagerly expecting a letter from you (having sent mine the 15th of May by Girolamo Riario), our friend Paccio came in a boat from Venice to Padua, and made it his business to visit the citizens of Rome. He told me you had not received any letter from me. This is very annoying, for though my letters were written in a familiar manner, and not in the eloquent terms with which yours, I hear, abound, still they were full of affection and goodwill, and expressed my regard for you. I was very near coming to visit you, but was prevented by the affairs of friends, to whom I am under deep obligations for their great kindness. Just as I had reached Bologna, I received letters from them, entreating me to return immediately to Tuscany. This I did; how could I refuse to comply with the claims of friendship?"²

The popular faction at this time prevailed at Siena. Its violence and injustice evinced its incapacity for government; indeed, the liberty of those boasted republics seems only to have been a license for wicked men to enrich themselves at the expense of others. Acting on the true levelling principle, wherever there was an honorable, rich, prosperous man, he became the object of envy, his property was coveted, and no means left untried to compass his destruction.

Antonio Bellanti was descended from a wealthy family of French origin, formerly one of the most ancient and noble of Siena,³ but now entirely extinct. Some conjecture that they sprang from Bellanda, a celebrated warrior in the time of Charlemagne.⁴ One thing however is certain: when Charles

¹ *Palearii Opera*, lib. i. ep. 19.

² *Ibid.* lib. i. ep. 11.

³ Gregorio Gigli. *Diario Senese*, p. 216.

⁴ In proof of this, they shewed that Bellanda's arms were uniform with those of Bellanti, a lion with a bar.

VIII. passed through Siena in 1495, his barons acknowledged the family and arms as French. Robert Guiche, bishop of Nantes, a maternal relation, (made Cardinal by Julius III. in 1505,) shewed great favour to this family; and we may add that Petrini Bellanti had inherited a large fortune from a distant relation, who died in France in the fifteenth century. Various members of this family had filled the highest civil offices; their wealth, as well as their integrity, entitled them to a share in the government. They possessed no less than six estates in the Sienese territory. Petrini was a theologian of great talent, as well as a philosopher and lawyer; though blind at five years old he was professor of Law in the Universities of Pisa and Siena; he played on all kinds of musical instruments, and invented one called the Angelica, now fallen into disuse.¹ Antonio, son of Petrini Bellanti, conspired against Rafaele Petrucci, who had long constituted himself lord or *Tiranno* of Siena. Both he and his father had been distinguished patriots, and always took the side of liberty: the better class wished him to assume the guidance of the state; but the opposite faction was strong enough to declare him a rebel, and to issue a decree of banishment which drove him into exile, when his son Antonio, Paleario's friend, was only thirteen years of age. On his death-bed he made this child swear to be faithful to his country; never to put up with insults from the senate, but not to rebel against its authority.

The young Antonio returned to Siena and became extremely popular, and in due time was chosen tribune of the people. This roused the envy and cupidity of some violent and lawless fellow-citizens. A conspiracy was organized against him; and he was accused of bringing salt into the city contrary to law. The Saline

¹ Lucio Bellanti, who died in 1495, believed in judicial astrology. He published a book entitled *De Astrologiæ veritate Liber Questionum*, in which, under twenty different heads, he advocated the truth of this science. Among his arguments in its favour, he cites the prophecy of a certain bishop, a famous astronomer, who by his calculations predicted the coming of a false prophet five months before the tragical end of Savonarola. The prediction was applied to him in these words: *Compiures sunt autem Florentiæ testes fide dignissimi, quibus inspecta Hieronymi Savonarolæ genitura, quinque ante ejus jacturam menses, dum florebat, et ipsum Hieronymum ad heresim inclinatum et laqueo vitam terminaturum prædici.* Tiraboschi judiciously remarks that it was not necessary to consult the stars, to know five months before Savonarola's end, what the issue would be.—Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* vol. vi. p. 304.

laws were at that time so severe, that whoever transported salt from one country-house to another, or to the city, was condemned to lose all his property, and even his life; the estate was awarded to the accusers and witnesses. The penalty was terrible, the danger imminent. In this dilemma Bellanti summoned Paleario to his aid; he knew that he could depend on his fearless exposure of the injustice of the accusation, and entreated him to bestow on his friend the benefit of his talents both as a lawyer and an orator.

Paleario proved before the senate the covetousness and falsehood of the accusers, and also that the officials had suborned witnesses for Bellanti's condemnation. He declared that when it was alleged that he retained his servant by force, in the country, to prevent him being called as a witness, he sent him immediately to Siena, where he was thrown into prison and put to torture to make him betray his master. The poor fellow's constancy, love of truth, and attachment to Bellanti were, however, proof against all these tortures. When the cord was loosened which racked his limbs, he threw himself at the feet of his tormentors, and entreated them to oblige the accuser to submit to the same ordeal. On discovering there was no proof against him or his master, he bitterly reproached the curators of the Saline laws, and desired to be judged in open court. One of the witnesses was inimical to Bellanti, because, as his vassal, he had condemned him to be imprisoned in chains for not paying his debts, and he openly confessed that he would swear anything to be free from his burdens. To win him to their purpose the Salinators made him a citizen of Orbitello, which protected him from being sued for debt, and promised him an estate belonging to the accused, if by his testimony he would convict his liege lord. Two of Bellanti's supposed agents were arrested and taken in chains to the city; but, when it was shewn that they were not at the time agents of Bellanti, they were liberated. Paleario reserved as his last and most convincing argument the fact, that Bellanti having lent a considerable sum of money to the senate, was repaid in yearly portions of salt; thus giving the judges to understand that it was a part of this salt which had been removed. He wound up the whole by entreating them not to condemn an innocent man, but rather to revoke the law which placed the life and property of an upright fellow-citizen in

jeopardy for the sake of four or five bushels of salt; and appealed to the magistrates, Osma and Cova, to show their greatness of mind by exercising justice, and exalt themselves in the eyes of the Emperor Charles, their protector, by their equity and impartiality.

This eloquent and forcible appeal was not lost. The proofs of conspiracy and subornation made a strong impression on the minds of the judges. Bellanti was absolved.

In this oration Paleario seems to have caught the spirit of the old Roman orators. Like them, he labours to throw discredit on the characters of the accusers, to point out the corrupt and self-interested motives of the witnesses; appeals to the justice of the magistrates, and to the patriotic feelings of all lovers of order and justice; beseeches them not to condemn an innocent man, whose ancestors had been the support of the state, and who was himself a man of singular and distinguished patriotism.

As Siena was governed by Roman laws, public trials were no doubt conducted after the Roman manner; the turbulence of popular ambition had indeed introduced many innovations. It would require a special study to understand the different offices of the *monti*, the *dodici*, the *riformatori*, and the *popolo*, alluded to in the former chapter. The classical student will perceive that they were modifications of Consular government, which Malavolti says was established in 1273. Some of the ancient laws, Paleario tells us in his oration, had become obsolete. When however the life and property of a distinguished citizen was at stake, and his cause was advocated by an eloquent pleader, well versed in Roman jurisprudence, his civil rights were vindicated and the cause gained.

Paleario's brilliant success in the defence of Bellanti riveted their mutual friendship, and established his reputation as an orator; but it laid a train of enmity against him which produced disastrous consequences. Nearly ten years after, a conspiracy was formed against Paleario himself by the same party, on different grounds, when his life was in peril from the violence of the faction. He composed an oration in defence of himself: we give a paragraph which alludes to the trial of Bellanti, reserving the remainder for its proper place in the course of the history.

“ I came into Tuscany three years after the sack of Rome by the Spaniards, when the whole of Latium was a prey to the disasters and cruelties of war; when the province of the Hernici was wasted by plague and famine, and all around devastated by three terrible woes, the villas burned, and the towns depopulated by death.

“ I had heard of the happy state of this part of Italy, that it was occupied in useful studies, and adorned by the love of literature. As soon, however, as I set my foot within your territory, I found your country had not escaped the calamities of the times, and that you had suffered from the same revolutions which had desolated Latium and the Hernici. I did not find here the philosophers I so ardently sought, nor the poets and orators I had heard spoken of. They had either been silenced by sickness or put to death by cruel men. The youth of the country were factious and eager for novelty; the old, inflamed with party spirit, thought of nothing but cruelty.

“ In this dismal state of things two young men shone conspicuous for their talents and character, Carlo Bartolomeo and Bernardo Buoninsegni, united together in the closest bonds of friendship, by the similarity of their studies, and by the congeniality of their dispositions and principles. Finding it impossible to be useful to the Republic, they devoted themselves to those pursuits which impart the truest consolation; when we apply ourselves to them, present evils lose their sting. The contemplation of great things fills the mind with such ineffable delight, that those who devote themselves to these studies no longer suffer from the misfortunes of our miserable and wretched times. These young men detained me for a whole year, just as I was on the point of leaving Siena. Everything was prepared for my departure, when they persuaded me to stay; and, as inducements, one offered me the use of the books which his learned father had collected from different parts of Tuscany; the other introduced me to the friendship of the most distinguished persons who lived in their villas and castles: among these was the excellent Antonio Bellanti Petrini, who was accused by those who sought to destroy the glory of a most ancient family, and the property and good name of a distinguished man. You know, O Senators, with what peril, and with how much devotion I defended your fellow-citizen. This was the beginning of all my troubles; the very circumstance which I hoped would procure the good-will of the citizens, raised me up many enemies. If men are so hard and cruel towards me for having defended one of their own citizens against the plots of wicked men, in what way ought they to punish him who spoiled and oppressed the friends of the people of Siena? Are you not surprised, now that the Republic is reorganized, that a person whom you sentenced to imprisonment for having amassed an immense fortune by blood and the oppression of his fellow-citizens, should find defenders among the chief persons of the state? I do not say this to irritate you against any one, but to make you comprehend that he cannot be a virtuous man, who hates me for having defended an excellent citizen. When Antonio was accused, Osma and Cova induced the Senate, who were assembled in the house of Spannocchi, to absolve him unanimously: for I had proved, in the clearest manner, that the witnesses were unworthy of credit. The justice done to this worthy man so annoyed Ottone Melio Cotta, a great man in the

opinion of the vulgar, (who measure greatness not by a man's mental gifts or moral qualifications, but by the extent of his riches and the position he holds in the state,) but a bad, violent, and arrogant man, according to the estimation of those who do not follow the opinion of the crowd. When he saw that all present were disposed in favour of Bellanti, he began to shake his scanty locks, as the dragon does his mane, and to roll his eyes on me with fiery glance; then, getting heated, in his agitation he shifted his mantle from shoulder to shoulder, and began with his natural subtlety to speak Spanish, partly to prejudice against me the brave Spaniards who were present, and partly that I might not confute his objections; but, not being quite ignorant of that language, I understood all that his wicked tongue uttered against Bellanti. He said that he possessed a well-fortified castle which was dangerous to the Republic, especially as it was continually kept open, and might be used as an asylum for the ill-disposed. At such language, seeing the impression it made on Osma and Cova, I cannot express to you, O Senators, the virtuous indignation which burned within me. I granted that he owned a castle built by his uncle, and shewed that it was useful to the Republic because, being situated on the confines of the state, it might serve as a point from whence to make sallies and carry the war into the enemy's territory, or to send succour or provisions. I did not see how such things could be hurtful to the state, unless indeed the very existence of a virtuous and strong-minded man, and the interests of his well educated family, be injurious? I contended that these accusations sprang from envy and malevolence on the part of Melio Cotta; that the falsity of the accusation was evident, because the enemies of Bellanti, who had moved heaven and earth against him, had never touched on this point. Would they, do you think, have overlooked a circumstance of such importance, and grounded their accusations on six barrels of salt, could they have convicted him of so capital a crime, as that of receiving into his castle men denounced by the Senate as enemies of the state?

"Having by this strain of argument reestablished my friend in the good opinion of the judges, and warded off the rage of Cotta, words cannot describe the hatred he conceived, or the rancour which, from that time to this, he has nourished against me. As I gave little heed, and the cause was generally unknown, it was easy for this furious and loquacious man to sharpen against me his poisonous tongue."¹

While at Siena, Paleario wrote a letter to his friend Mauro d'Arcano, which gives a graphic picture of the state of society and manners there. It appears that, to Paleario's great vexation, a letter of his had been opened and read, in which he had expressed himself too freely about some persons belonging to the Academy of Siena.

AONIO PALEARIO TO MAURO D'ARCANO.

"Evil take this Luceio, who makes such a disturbance! He arrived at Siena the 21st of September, with a letter I had written to you upon important

¹ Palearii Opera, Orat. iii. p. 78, ed. Wetstein.

matters : with this in his hand he tried to alienate from me persons conspicuous for their fortune and influence, whom he could not bear to see friendly towards me. I am burning with indignation and grief. Your brother has treated me ill; for while you were absent from Rome, he opened a packet in which there was a letter of mine, addressed to you about the Censorship, and about certain individuals whom the stupid Academy, by their admiration, exalt to the skies. If they could be turned out of the senate, as I have often written to you, it would be the best thing which could happen; the rest you know. This letter is in the hands of my enemies, by whose means I do not say. This bold, bad man has not failed to shew and read it to every person who is spoken of in it with disapprobation. At last I prevailed on him through Cattaneo to desist from this proceeding. This grave man admonished, and I see convinced him, that it did not become a respectable man to treat a friend thus; he could do no worse if he were an enemy.

“ While he was acting in this manner he kept up the farce of civility; for when he came in last night to Bogino’s house, he bowed to me, and held out his hand in token of friendship; but, to make you smile in the midst of your vexation, no sooner did he leave, than he took the first convenient opportunity to pour forth, in my absence, the venom of his wickedness. But you, like a wise man, avoided his society, I hear, some days before he left Rome. Irritated I imagine by this, he arrived at Siena with his hair standing on end like a crested snake, his eyes starting out of his head, and ran hither and thither seeking to give vent to his rabid and poisonous tongue. When Federigo Carteromaco, a young man of great modesty, asked him from whence arose such sudden and unlooked-for hatred, he answered that he was unfavourably spoken of by me in the letter that he was carrying about. I had written to you not to allow yourself to be influenced by the gossip of frivolous persons, in case various reports reached you; these words he saw applied to himself, and to no one else. To our friend Maffei, who in the most courteous manner begged him to leave me alone, this empty boaster replied, that he did not want to fight with me, but with Bembo and Sadoletto. You know his old ostentatious ways. I send you the letter written to Maffei, that you may know there is some merit in despising this man. I think it will be better not to write any more about this affair, for these contentions disturb my peace of mind. I desire to lay aside all rancour; time may perhaps change his nature. If meanwhile he begins prating, I shall not answer him. I am at present so devoted to literary leisure and to the muses, that I cannot detach myself from them. You will oblige me by not reproaching your brother on my account, but speak to him gently. It will be enough, when you think it opportune, to beg and entreat him in a brotherly manner to allow himself to be loved by us as you and I love one another. Siena.”¹

The Bogino mentioned in this letter, at whose house friends met in the evening, appears to have been a relation of the Bellanti family. Paleario addressed a letter of condolence to Madonna Aurelia Bellanti on the death of Bogino. Whether he was this

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. i. ep. 13.

lady's husband or son does not clearly appear, but Paleario, while consoling her, seems deeply affected himself.

AONIO PALEARIO TO THE MOST MAGNIFICENT AND VIRTUOUS LADY,
AURELIA BELLANTI.

"If those indeed live who are freed from the ties of this world and are flown to a better life, why allow ourselves to be so overcome with tears and useless grief, which arises from want of reasonable reflection? For certainly if you allow reason to guide you, which alone distinguishes us from other animals, much less painful will be the anguish which hitherto appeared to myself unbearable. What new and unusual thing has happened to our Bogino that you should thus weep for him? For us, and for all who are born after us, the same fate is reserved. We have seen the long line of our forefathers pass away in the same manner. I, who till now have given free course to my tears, have at length given heed to the wise remembrance of my elders, who, to console you in like manner, vie with each other in honouring with eternal gifts the happy and holy ashes of your Bogino, which if you look at and see truly, it affords some solace to the unhappy to see that he did not think of weeping for his misfortunes, and the grief which touched him alone is now, we see, become universal. But if this ought to dry your tears, how much more the consideration, that by means of their great talents,¹ death can never have absolute power over our Bogino. Rejoice then, rejoice eternally, that he, having lived well, has attained eternal life. Thus put an end to your tears, as he which left us said, we ought not to weep for him, but more advisedly for ourselves. I should enlarge further on topics of consolation, if I did not know you to be both prudent and magnanimous, and that unstable fortune can devise nothing against you which your divine intellect has not long since foreseen. If I, who am thus trying to console you, dwell longer on these thoughts, they will conquer me, and I shall myself have need of consolation."²

This letter is rather obscure, as we are not acquainted with the circumstances of the case, or who this Bogino was. His death, however, made a great impression on Paleario, for he wrote an Italian poem on the occasion in form of dialogue, between Paleario and Senio, entitled *Del Caparbio, Egloga il cui titolo è Bogino*.

It is perhaps the only poem written in Italian by Paleario, in existence: a specimen is subjoined.

DE AONIO PALEARI.

Ninfe, ch' al toscò Tèune, a l' arbia a l' arno
Drizate il corso, onde l' altiero fiume

¹ Immortalised by their commemorations.

² MS. in Italian in Magliabecchi library at Florence.

Che 'l giovan fulminato in grembo accolse
 Glorioso men va, ne come il primo
 Spargete al vento hora l' aurate chiome
 E con amare lagrime accrescete
 A l' acqua orgoglio e a la vita arena
 Tal ch' al padre de l' onde creschi il regno
 Acciò col braccio la gran madre anticha
 Vie più adegnato chel' usato, cinga
 L' alma gentile, che Dio larga concesse
 Al bel paese a voi, irrigati i campi
 Non più degnando noi volata è in cielo :
 Stanno l' alme beate intorno, e liete
 Lodano il suo tornare, e il verde lauro
 Tesson talhor con biancheggiante oliva.

Hebbero al suo apparir novelli fiori
 E da le basse e più profondi valli
 A l' alte stelle, rimbombano il suono
 Onde la terra, e il cielo oh' il tutto cuopre
 Bogin sente cantare, e le tre Parce
 A volger cominciano il bianco filo.¹

His friend's affair thus happily terminated, Paleario again turned his thoughts towards Padua. He wrote a letter about this time to Lampridio, affectionately reproaching him for not writing.

"I thought that no one loved me more than you did, so many and so great were the favours you bestowed on me during my visit to Padua. But now I fear I am almost forgotten; for though you have frequently received letters from me, you have not sent me even a note. What reason have you to offer as an excuse? When I go to Padua, you will find no way of defending yourself; the more especially as, when I was setting out, you promised to write to me very often, and to make me illustrious with your melodious verses in company with our other friends. Had you done this I could better have borne the rest. I have never desired anything more ardently than (as I cannot by my own) to be commended by your divine verses, which are so exquisitely polished. It is a great thing to be mentioned in the writings of Lampridio: if I could obtain this favour I should have some slight hope of immortality. But enough.

"As I wrote you recently, I intend to leave Tuscany on the 27th of October, for I am very desirous of seeing you. Meanwhile, I look eagerly for a letter. Siena. Bembo and Lazaro salute you."²

¹ This poem is found in MS. in the Magliabecchi library. I am indebted to the kindness of Mons. Jules Bonnet, author of the interesting life of Olympia Morata in French, for pointing out these MSS.

² Palearii *Opera*, lib. i. ep. 14.

To Bembo Paleario wrote apologizing for being silent for a whole year, and warmly expressing the regard he had entertained for him from his boyhood, and how greatly he admired his polished and elegant turn of mind. He had feared to annoy him by writing of things not worthy the attention of a Bembo. When at Padua he did not venture to visit him often, for fear of disturbing him while writing his history, and transmitting to posterity the imperishable memory of present events. To this letter, which appears to have been written at the close of the year 1533, Bembo returned the following answer.

PIETRO BEMBO TO AONIO PALEARIO.

"In your letter just received, I observe, what I never doubted, your great regard for me. Lampridio and I often speak with admiration of your kind and amiable disposition, the agreeable fruit of which we enjoyed when you were at Padua. This by your absence we have lost, and it would indeed be a privation, if you did not make it up by frequently writing to us. We have been rather expecting to see you instead of your letters; not only because you promised to come, but on account of the frequent reports of Siena being in arms. Your quiet and studious habits have nothing in common with factious spirits. There can be no attraction there for you, if we except those excellent persons whose reputation you have so successfully defended with your eloquent oration. What can you do in the midst of arms? You are surrounded with assassins. What reflection or study can be pursued under the licence of the sword? You should dwell, believe me, where you can find good and learned men, particularly as you have left your country for the purpose of finishing your studies. The books you have begun to write on the immortality of the soul, not only require but demand completion. Return to the cultivation of the gentle muses, and the society of those who love you. Lampridio passes whole days with me. His conversation and society afford me the greatest delight, on account of his upright character and his warm attachment to his friends. Not a day passes that he does not speak of you in the most affectionate terms. He is composing a Pindaric poem. But I will not tell you all; you will see when you come. I only add, that the more haste you make, the greater will be your pleasure. If you love us, as you assuredly do, keep us no longer in suspense. I see you are looking eagerly for my history.¹ The partial regard for me which leads you to praise my work, is by no means unacceptable. May it be as you say. All my leisure is devoted to this work. If you think so highly of it, (see how much I value your opinion), I flatter myself that, with study and attention, I may produce something worth reading.

¹ Bembo began his history of Venice in 1527. It was written in Latin, and printed by Aldo, after Bembo's death. By directions in his will it was published in Italian by his executor Carlo Gualteruzzi, in 1552.

"You ask me about Vergerio,¹ and beg me to tell you what I know of him. He is an elegant scholar, an amiable man, a great friend of mine, and much disposed to love persons like yourself. You ask where he is? I believe he is now in Germany at the court of king Ferdinand, to whom, when you have dedicated your books, I do not see what you will gain. I may tell you (if you are not aware of it) that kings are pretty fully occupied just now. But do not be discouraged; on receiving a letter from me, Vergerio will readily use his influence and authority in your favour."²

From this letter it appears that Paleario was sedulously occupied in the culture of the muses, and that he was writing a poem on the Immortality of the Soul, for the completion of which he required tranquillity and leisure. Nowhere could he find more congeniality or sympathy than in the society of such men as Lampridio and Bembo.

Bembo was a native of Venice; his father Bernardo Bembo was a Venetian senator, and filled the highest offices in the state. When appointed ambassador to Florence he took his son with him, then a child of eight years old, an age when the organs are flexible and the intelligence active, and he profited by his early residence in Tuscany to acquire the Italian language in its utmost elegance and purity. His father, observing the facility with which he learned languages, sent him to Messina to study Greek under Costantino Lascari. After two years' diligent attention he returned home to complete his education at Padua; here he studied philosophy, and afterwards complied with his father's wishes, and devoted himself to state affairs. But his love of study finally prevailed, and he entered the Church, not to win souls, but to have more leisure for his favorite pursuits. He subsequently spent a short time at Ferrara, where the university was of considerable note. There he contracted some valuable friendships with Sadoletto, Strozzi, and others, never in after life dissolved. He acquired also the favour of Duke Alphonso of Este, who had married in 1502 Lucrezia Borgia, the daughter of Alexander VI. She was one of the most beautiful and engaging women of her time; some say also, one of the most

¹ Peter Paul Vergerio was sent Nuncio to Ferdinand, king of the Romans, in 1529, to induce him to prevent any discussion about religion in the Diet at Worms. See P. Sarpi, *Concil. Trident.* p. 49. In the Jena edition of Paleario's works, we find a letter, prefixed to the poem *De Immortalitate Animorum*, addressed to Vergerio, in which he is entreated to present the poem to the king.

² *Palearii Opera*, lib. i. ep. 16.

vicious. But as there are various opinions on this subject, we give her the benefit of a doubt. She was a patroness of learning and of learned men, and received Bembo, at that time an accomplished scholar and an elegant young man, with distinguished favour. This was enough to set many busy rumours afloat as to the nature of their friendship.¹ Bembo was a poet, and he celebrated her beauty in verse with the tenderness of an early passion. She was also the wife of a powerful prince, and it was his interest to propitiate her good graces.

Bembo left Ferrara unwillingly, and went to Venice at the request of Aldo Manuzio,² who was forming a learned academy there; Bembo entered with zeal into the plan, and was one of its most efficient members. He also took great pleasure in correcting the fine editions of the classics which issued from the celebrated printing establishment which Aldo had opened at Venice. When tired of this he made journies to Rome, and visited Urbino, one of the most polished courts of Italy; where he found the society so congenial, that he remained there six years, and made many powerful friends. In one of his visits to Rome, a book was sent to Pope Julius II. from Dacia, written with so many notes and abbreviations that nobody could understand it, till Bembo succeeded in deciphering the difficult passages. The Pope was so delighted, that he immediately rewarded him with the rich generalship of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, at Bologna. This was a signal favour, as Julius had been at war with the Venetians, and was not favorably disposed towards that republic.

Leo X., on his accession to the papal crown, made Bembo his secretary, with a salary of 2000 florins of gold. This was a situation exactly suited to his taste. It fixed him at Rome, and in the court of a Pope peculiarly devoted to literature: he also enjoyed the society of his friend Sadoleto, who was conjoined with him in the office of Pontifical Secretary. He was employed by the Pope in several confidential missions, some of which he executed so much to Leo's satisfaction, that he increased his salary to 3000 florins. This handsome income was in some respects a snare, as it led him to forget his vows to the

¹ In a new collection of the works of P. Calogera, vol. iv., this question is gravely discussed in a dissertation by Baltassare Oltrachi, "*Sopra i primi amori di Monsignor Pietro Bembo.*"

² See Appendix B.

Church, and yield to the captivations of beauty. Morosina, a young and pretty girl, lived with him as a wife for twenty-two years. He educated his daughter with great care; his letters to her are still extant. The fatigues of his office and his application to study having injured his health, he went to Padua for change of air. Here he heard of the death of Leo X., and determined to withdraw from Rome and spend the rest of his days at Padua, dividing his time between the pleasures of literature and the society of his friends. Having been enriched by several benefices given him by Pope Leo, he longed to taste the sweets of an elegant retirement, enlivened by social enjoyments. His house became the temple of the Muses. All the learned men who flocked to Padua as a seat of learning were eager for admission to the society of Bembo, and foreigners felt themselves honoured by an introduction to him. He formed a splendid library, collected a valuable set of medals and ancient monuments, and laid out a botanical garden, which he filled with all sorts of plants. The spring and autumn were generally passed at a villa called Bozza, near Padua, which had long been in the possession of his family. There he delighted to retire for study, and composition, both in prose and verse. At the election of Clement VII. he most unwillingly tore himself from this delightful abode; but he considered it his duty to go to Rome to pay homage to the new Pope, a near relative of his former patron. Clement thought so highly of Bembo that he was disposed to grant him every favour he could desire; but liberty and repose had become too dear to him; so after kissing the foot of the Pope he returned to Padua, and resumed his former mode of life, practising on a minor scale the same encouragement to learning, by holding a court of learned men, as Leo had done in a more lavish style at Rome.

The Republic of Venice, anxious to have their history well written, requested Bembo to employ his eloquent pen to transmit their fame to posterity. He accepted this office with reluctance, for it interrupted more favourite studies. He gave up part of the emoluments attached to his post of historiographer: this was the more generous, as lawsuits and delays in the payment of his income often put him to inconvenience for want of money. When the senate refused to increase the salary of John Spagnuolo, professor of philosophy in the university of Padua, he begged that 100 florins should be taken from the

salary due to him as historiographer, and given to increase Spagnuolo's annual stipend of 200 florins. He writes to Ranusio in 1525: "Be assured, unless he remain, this poor university will not have four scholars from beyond the realm this year, and even these will stay against their will. It does not interest me personally, except that as a Venetian it grieves me to see matters managed so differently from my wishes. It was no longer ago than the beginning of the year they allowed Romulo Amaseo,¹ whom we so greatly needed, to go to Bologna, where they know his value and hold him most deservedly dear."

The encouragement which Bembo gave to learning, and the generous manner in which he wished to reward it, greatly contributed to fill the university with scholars, especially artists. Many young nobles, attracted by the fame of such erudite scholars, flocked to Padua to finish their studies.

But Bembo's literary retirement and ease were not to be of long duration. When Paul III., of the Farnese family, was called to the papal throne in 1534, his first thought was to support the dignity of the Roman Catholic religion by the creation of a great number of cardinals, remarkable for their talents and learning. Among these Bembo was a special favorite. He was of the same age as the Pope. Their studies had been similar, and even their irregularities were of the same kind. Paul passed his early days in the learned court of Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence; Bembo devoted his youth to the pleasures of literature in the refined society of Leo X. at Rome.

Alexander Farnese, though he had acknowledged a son and daughter, was yet elected Pope; and though many represented that the freedom of Bembo's life and writings made him unworthy of the dignity of cardinal, that his children were blots on the priestly character, yet at the death of Morosina, their mother, in 1538, the Pope, at the instigation of Contarini and Sadoletto, added Bembo to the choice selection he had previously made of wise and learned men for the office of Cardinal.

Bembo went immediately to Rome, and was ordained priest,² being about sixty-nine years of age. With his new dignity he put on a new character. He laid aside poetry and the *Belles Lettres*, and began to read the Scriptures and the Fathers with

¹ See Appendix C.

² Till raised to the purple, he had not taken priest's orders.

great assiduity. Of his old studies, he only retained his history of Venice. The Pope gave him the bishopric of Gubbio, and subsequently that of Bergamo, but would never suffer him to reside in either of his dioceses. Bembo married his daughter to Peter Gradenigo, and gave her so handsome a dower, that, but for the Pope's beneficence, he would have been unable to keep up the state necessary to his dignity as cardinal.

It is a question whether he was so happy in his exalted station at Rome, as with his books, his garden, and the society of his friends at Padua, where he was the soul of every literary undertaking. But he had attained what was an object of ambition to most men of his age and standing; to have been passed over would have given him pain. He enjoyed for eight years the blessings of a vigorous old age; his days were at last shortened by an accident, which he met with in passing through a narrow gateway on horseback. The horse shied, threw him on one side, and gave him a blow, deemed too slight to be of consequence; but fever ensued, which carried him off in the 77th year of his age. He was buried at Rome, in the church of St. Maria di Minerva, between his early patrons Leo X. and Clement VII.

His amiable and social spirit made him much beloved by his friends. He contributed greatly to restore the classic style of writing Latin, which marked the time of Cicero. In his sonnets he imitates Petrarch, of whom he was a great admirer. His chief work is the History of Venice from the year 1487 to 1513. It is written with elegance, in which however there is a certain shade of over-refinement, Bembo's usual defect, owing to his having been so close a copyist of Cicero. It wants dates also, and does not abound in details; this, curious to say, was owing to the public archives not being thrown open to him because he was an ecclesiastic; so jealous were the Venetians of the power of the Church. He who had not full access to the secret documents of the national archives was ill fitted for the task of historiographer; for he was thus deprived of the means necessary for compiling a history worthy of being transmitted to posterity. The letters of Bembo are considered models of elegant composition; they contributed greatly to improve the style of writing in the Italian language, which was only then beginning to be used, instead of Latin, as a means of communication between

learned men. His Prose, or rules for writing Italian, occupied him for twenty-five years. It went through no less than nine editions, so great was the value set on the extreme polish and refinement of style.¹

¹ Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. p. 276.

CHAPTER IV.

GENERAL HISTORY.

1527—1534.

FLORENCE THROWS OFF THE AUTHORITY OF THE MEDICI—ORGANIZES A REPUBLIC—
ELECTS CHRIST AS KING—SIEGE OF FLORENCE—CAPITULATION—ALESSANDRO
DE' MEDICI CREATED DUKE—BRUCCIOLI—HIS LABOURS—TRANSLATION OF THE
SCRIPTURES—ITALIAN NEW TESTAMENT SENT TO ANNA D' ESTE—PREFACE—STATE
OF RELIGION IN GERMANY—PACIFICATION OF NUREMBERG—JOHN, ELECTOR OF
SAXONY—ULRIC ZUINGLE—ECOLAMPADIUS.

IN the treaty of peace which was signed between the Pope and the Emperor at Barcelona in 1529,¹ a secret article was inserted by which Charles promised to reduce Florence to obedience, and to give Margaret his natural daughter in marriage to the Pope's nephew, Alessandro de' Medici,² Duke of Penna, with the understanding that he was to be placed at the head of the government.

Ever since 1512 Florence and its dependencies had been under the authority of the Medici family. By the command of Clement VII. Cardinal Cortona held the reins of power in the name of the young Ippolito de' Medici; but causes of dissatisfaction were not wanting to excite the city to rebellion. The government had long promised to allow young men of family to carry arms, but never had courage to fulfil this promise. These fiery youths, burning with indignation at being denied a privilege due to their rank, only waited a favourable opportunity to join in a popular cry against the Medici. They were

¹ Fra Niccolo, a monk of St. Marco, was the Pope's emissary on this occasion. Clement put great confidence in this friar because he had left the Savonarola party to become a partisan of the Medici family.

² Natural son of Giuliano de' Medici, and grandson of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

secretly encouraged by some of the older and more wealthy citizens, such as Luigi Guicciardini, Niccolò Capponi, and others. Matters were thus ripe for a rising, when one day, some trifling affront being offered in the streets, a commotion took place; all of a sudden a voice called out, *Popolo, popolo, libertà!* The whole population rushed in the utmost excitement to the great square in which the palace stood, forced the guard, entered the council-chamber, and obliged the Signoria to declare the two nephews of the Pope, Alessandro and Ippolito, rebels. It so happened that these two youths had that morning accompanied the Cardinal beyond the gates to pay a visit to the Duke of Urbino, who, at the head of the army of the league, was protecting Florence from the menacing attitude of Bourbon's army. At the first rumour of the rebellion they hurried back to the city, and by force and the use of artillery soon regained possession of the palace. Francesco Guicciardini, the historian, the Pope's lieutenant in the army of the league, was employed to draw up articles of agreement between the Signoria and the Medici; both parties promised to forgive and forget; but it proved a hollow truce, for no sooner did the people of Florence hear of the sack of Rome, and that the Pope was a prisoner, than they resolved to make another struggle for freedom.

Meanwhile the popular party received an important reinforcement by the arrival of Filippo Strozzi and his wife Clarice.¹ They had escaped from Rome by sea just before its capture, and landed at Leghorn. Capponi was Strozzi's brother-in-law; the latter had griefs against the Pope which won him easily over to the popular party. When Clement made terms with the Colonna, after their aggression at Rome, Strozzi, being a wealthy man, was given up as a hostage and taken prisoner to Naples, where, as far as Clement was concerned, he might have remained for ever; for when war broke out he did not think it worth while to waste a thought on his hostage. But Clarice his wife, a woman of an energetic daring spirit, never rested till she procured his liberty from Ugo di Moncada the Emperor's viceroy.

Filippo now joined heart and soul in the project of freeing his country from tyranny. He was chosen as the fittest person to convey a message from the Florentine people to the young

¹ Daughter of Piero de' Medici, and niece of Leo X.

princes. As ambassador from the people he intimated to them that they must leave Florence immediately and give up the fortresses of Pisa and Leghorn. Their youth, he said, would protect them from personal injury. On hearing this astounding message they requested time for consideration, and retired with the Cardinal into an adjoining apartment. As they remained some time absent and inactive, Filippo began to grow impatient; he felt the tremendous anxiety of those without, and turned to his wife, saying, *Clarice è saria bene che costoro oramai si spacciassero ed a te s' appartiene fare quanto in tal caso tu stimi che sia di mestiero*. She, whose part in this bloodless revolution had probably been concerted beforehand, immediately advanced with haughty step to the room in which the Medici had retired, and addressing them in a decided and energetic tone, said that she, as a woman, was surprised at their delay in accepting the favourable terms offered them. From their proceedings it was clear they were not of the real blood of the Medici family, neither they nor Clement,¹ a most unworthy Pope, and now deservedly a prisoner. "Go," she said, "leave this house and this country; hasten away from the Council, for I shall be among the very first against you, nor will I permit you any longer to retain your rank here."

The angry words and commanding tones of Clarice, their own relation, so frightened the two princes and the Cardinal that they delayed no longer; but calling in Filippo they put themselves under his protection, and with tears in their eyes begged him to defend them from injury. The following morning they left Florence,² accompanied by a guard of three hundred soldiers and by Copponi, Vettori, and Strozzi. The latter followed them to Pisa with strict orders not to lose sight of them for an instant till they had given up the fortresses. Thus peacefully was the government overturned. Two thousand five hundred persons immediately assembled in the great hall of the Palazzo Vecchio, to choose a Gonfaloniere or chief magistrate as head of the republican government.³

¹ They were all three illegitimate.—Segni, *Storia Fiorentina*, vol. i. p. 17.

² As they passed down Via Grande the populace were heard to whisper, "We shall one day repent letting these men depart."—Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*.

³ Bernardo Castiglione made an eloquent speech in favour of liberty and against the Pope: "*Abbiassi a fare con costui; che sebbene tien la sede ed il grado santo, è pure*

The choice fell on Niccolò Capponi,¹ whose private virtues and the traditionary patriotism of his family entitled him to the confidence of his fellow-citizens. But whatever might have been the purity of his motives and the ardour of his hopes for the regeneration of the country, he soon found that to please popular assemblies was a somewhat hazardous attempt. It was during his magistracy that the *Piagnoni*, in imitation of Savonarola, passed a law in the great Council and confirmed it with solemn oaths, by which they elected Christ to be their king. The title of this decree was written in letters of gold over the door of the Palazzo de' Signori thus, *YHS XPS REX Populi Flor: S. P. Q. R. consensu declaratus.*²

This decree still exists in the archives of Florence, *nei libri dei Partiti*,³ under the date of the 9th of February, 1527.⁴ It was passed by a majority of 994 votes out of 1002. The Virgin Mary was at the same time elected queen; she had twenty-four contrary votes. Here the corruptions of the Roman Catholic Church, both in doctrine and practice, come out in bold relief. To elect Christ as their king and spiritual Head, if they intended to be his obedient subjects, was well; but if in the spirit of republican fanaticism they gave Him the title of king as a sign that they had thrown off all other authority, they were acting in direct opposition to the commands of Christ. To elevate the Virgin Mary to a level with their Saviour shewed

in tutto lontano per ogni costume dal nome, che tiene falsamente, essendo in verità molto piu simile a un Silla, e ad un Tiberio, e ad un Nerone, tiranni atrocissimi che a giustissimi re, o sacrosanti pontefici."—Segni, *Storie Fiorentine*, vol. i. p. 178.

¹ See Bernardo Segni, *Vita di Niccolò Capponi. Storie Fiorentine*, vol. iii. p. 929. Cantù says there were 18, Varchi 20, and Segni 26 dissentient votes.

² Segni, *Storie Fiorentine*, vol. i. p. 17.

³ See Appendix A.

⁴ It could not have been 1527 according to the common era, as Florence did not become a republic till the month of May 1527. Florence began the year on the 25th of March, the Annunciation, and consequently would be a year behind. Niccolò Capponi was the son of the patriotic Piero Capponi, who in 1484 tore up, in presence of Charles VIII. of France, the articles of agreement offered to the city of Florence as unworthy the acceptance of a free city. To the threats of the king's ministers he boldly replied, '*Voi dateste nelle vostre trombe, e noi soneremo le nostre campane.*' Such determined resolution on the part of one man saved the city from the most obnoxious articles. The king accepted 20,000 crowns, promised the restitution of Pisa and the fortresses, passed over the claims of Piero de' Medici, and two days after was on his way to Rome.—Muratori, *Annali*, vol. ix. Parte ii. p. 249; and Guicciardini, *Storia d' Italia*.

a deplorable ignorance of His character and mission; and was, in fact, exchanging the doctrines of Christianity for the traditions of paganism.

At the most critical moment of the siege of Florence the Gonfaloniere Carducci, either with the superstitious idea of propitiating Christ, or the political one of flattering the republican tendencies of the people, again proposed to elect him as king. The motion was carried in the Council of the *Ottanta* by sixty-three votes, twenty-six being contrary. In the great popular Council there were 798 votes in favour of the proposal, and 196 against it. The quaint old chronicler Giovanni Cambi has recorded in the old-fashioned Italian of the time the speeches delivered on this occasion. He relates that on the 10th of June 1528 (read 1529) the inscription by which Jesus Christ was elected king of the Florentine people was uncovered to public view with much ceremony and pomp.

Historians differ as to the exact words of the inscription, but the one transcribed above carries with it the strongest marks of veracity. The two different elections may perhaps account for the various readings of the decree. During the lapse of centuries the circumstance was altogether forgotten, for the Florentines never gave any proof of having inaugurated a reign of religion and morality, or of being the subjects of a king whose "kingdom is not of this world."¹

In the year 1846, on removing the Grand Ducal arms from the door of the Palazzo Vecchio, to the surprise of those well versed in the history of their country, a very different inscription than the one given above was found engraved on the marble. We acknowledge its superiority, for it is such as suits every nation upon earth: *REX REGUM ET DOMINUS DOMINANTIUM*, 'King of kings and Lord of lords.' When these grand and impressive words were substituted for the popular

¹ Such is the materialism of the Roman Catholic religion that its votaries find it difficult to raise their minds to a spiritual understanding of divine truth. Even the Scriptures are quoted and admired rather as proverbial axioms than as the dictates of inspiration. This was most painfully manifest in Italy during the revolutions of 1848. In the political assemblies that beautiful promise, "Where two or three are met together in my name, there am I in the midst of you," was used in something of the same spirit which caused Christ to be elected king at Florence, without inquiring whether they were in very deed met in His name or were deliberating under his pure and holy influence.

decree, is still matter of conjecture ; but the observations of Varchi lead to the supposition that it was altered soon after the reestablishment of the Medici family. He says, *pensando che nessuno dovesse levarla mai*. This seems to intimate that it had already been removed before he wrote his history ; perhaps in the time of Cosmo I.¹

Charles V., unwilling to leave the centre of Italy in the enjoyment of free institutions, and afraid of Florence being supported by France, lent a ready aid for its subjection. He sent the Prince of Orange, at the head of the same army which had captured Rome, to attack Florence ; its very name inspired terror, but the Florentines prepared for a valiant defence.

On the 4th of October 1529, the besieging forces sat down before the walls. Being vigorously repulsed in their first assault, the siege was converted into a blockade. The Florentine general, Malatesta Baglioni, of Perugia, saw it was impossible for these raw and undisciplined troops to make head against the veteran soldiers of the Empire. But he was not a Tuscan, he had been recently a subject of the Pope. His counsels were distrusted, and he was even suspected of holding communication with the enemy. The citizens were confident in their strength, and trusted to certain predictions of victory which issued from the convent of St. Marco. But wiser heads saw the danger, and knew that if the warfare was prolonged they would be exposed to the miseries of famine and the horrors of pillage. Discord and disunion prevailed in the camp ; a strong party impugned the integrity of their leader, and raised the cry of treachery. Opinions were divided as to whether Malatesta deserved this reproach ; but as the object was the submission, not the destruction, of the city, it is very possible that the enemy tampered with the general in command. For ten months the city stood on the defensive, still hopeful of victory. An unexpected misfortune at length

¹ I am under great obligations to Professor Bonaini, who has the superintendence of the archives of Tuscany, for having furnished me with accurate information about this decree. With him originated the idea of arranging the archives which were in so disordered and inaccessible a state. The splendid archives in the Uffizi at Florence reflect the highest honour on his ability and judgment, and may be considered a monument of national glory. At Milan, where they have historical documents of untold value, they are following Bonaini's plan of arrangement, but the jealousy of Austrian administration makes access more difficult.

roused the inhabitants to a sense of their peril. Francesco Ferruccio, a valiant captain, at the head of a strong body of troops, fought a desperate battle at Gavignana with the Imperial army. Philibert, Prince of Orange, shewed his strategic skill by drawing off his troops from the walls to prevent this reinforcement from entering Florence. The ardour of the soldier overstepped the reserve of the general; he gained the victory, but at the expense of his own life; 2500 Florentine soldiers were either killed or disabled in this engagement. Ferruccio¹ was surprised and taken prisoner while reposing after the conflict, and was basely murdered in cold blood by his personal enemy Marmaldo. This grievous catastrophe overwhelmed the dispirited city. They threw all the blame of this misfortune on Malatesta, who had refused to attack the Imperial camp when weakened by the departure of the Prince of Orange.

The Signoria met in council, and in the heat of excitement they drew up a writing depriving Malatesta of his command. Andreuolo Niccolini was desired to present it in person. Malatesta was furious, drew his sword, and wounded the messenger. The city was in tumult, the Gonfaloniere in a passion called for his arms, his corslet, and war-horse, *Arme, arme, e vengati il cavallo e 'l corsaletto*, to go out with the banner of the people against Malatesta. Meanwhile he, at the head of his Perugian squadron, was barricading all the streets from Via Maggio to Ponte Vecchio, and planting artillery at every opening. But before the conflict began, pacific counsels prevailed. Zanobi Bartolini was sent with a conciliatory message to bring Malatesta to a conference. He, who wished for nothing better, immediately complied, and appeared well armed and accompanied by his soldiers at the Palazzo, where they agreed to treat with the enemy. Warned by the fate of Rome, Florence, on the 12th of August, 1530, capitulated, and agreed to pay 40,000 ducats for the ransom of the city. To the last they had hoped for assistance from France, but Francis, eager to recover his children, had bound himself by the League of Cambray to

¹ Ferruccio was at first victorious, and repulsed the enemy, but the Imperial troops rallied. Ferruccio, when taken prisoner, was conducted fully armed before Marmaldo, who insultingly exclaimed, '*Tu sei pure giunto alle mie mani!*' Marmaldo disarmed and then wounded him ignominiously in the neck, leaving his followers to dispatch him, an act of cruelty unworthy of a true soldier.

remain neutral, and was even obliged to withdraw his ambassador from Florence.¹

It is vain to rely on foreign aid for the emancipation of Italy; the cause is national; even the greatest tyrant whoever breathed would find it impossible to withstand the exertions of a united people to break their chains. The bristling bayonets of all the capitals in Italy could not destroy a whole population. They would be of no avail against the reasonable and steadfast perseverance of a nation demanding that rational liberty, which is far removed on the one hand from absolute government, and on the other from popular licence.

Those sincere but mistaken patriots, who advocate republican rule in their admiration of the brilliant traditions of their ancestors, forget that all things have their appointed season and suitability. During the infancy or growing magnitude of states, when the mass were slaves, or the greater number immersed in darkness and ignorance, there was an ample field for individual energy. Whoever rose superior to his compeers, either in prowess or in talent, speedily acquired dominion. But in the nineteenth century, the age of civilization and diffusion of knowledge, when learning is accessible to the lowest grades of society, it is just that the interests of all should be represented, and their claims be heard through the voice of a constitutional government.

There is no reason to despair that Italy, so richly gifted with talent, will not in time discern her true interests. The glorious experiment so successfully working out in one Italian state, must finally bring conviction to the most ardent republicans, and constrain them to acknowledge the happy effects of a well-balanced government systematically tending to moral and material improvement.

Florence, unhappily, has only had one sovereign since Lorenzo the Magnificent, who has entertained enlightened projects for the welfare of his subjects. Pietro Leopoldo I.,² Grand Duke of Tuscany, in his beneficial reforms went before the spirit of his age, and was often obliged to urge his unwilling subjects to accept the liberal boons he offered them; whereas now, under

¹ For further particulars consult Varchi and Segni, *Storie Fiorentine*, and Guicciardini, *Storia d' Italia*.

² See Appendix B.

the influence of Austria, the government has revoked the most rational concessions, and the Tuscans see themselves thrown back in civilized progress.

The agitated state of Florence was not favourable to the growth of spiritual religion, and the doctrines of the Reformers do not seem to have made much progress there, though some of the individuals who most eminently distinguished themselves in this sacred cause were natives of this flourishing city. Peter Martyr, Carnesecchi, and Bruccioli were all Florentines, and each was eminent for the advocacy of Divine truth in his own peculiar sphere. Peter Martyr was an exile for the Gospel's sake; he carried to distant lands the Word of God, which he was forbidden to preach in his own. Carnesecchi was a martyr, who with unflinching constancy defended the truth unto death. Bruccioli rendered valuable service to the cause of the Gospel by his several translations of it into the vulgar tongue.

As the two first claim a separate and peculiar notice, we shall here give a brief account of Bruccioli's labours.

Antonio Bruccioli¹ was strongly tinctured with republican principles, and consequently adverse to the house of Medici. He was engaged in the conspiracy against Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (Clement VII.), and obliged to fly to France. He returned in 1527, when the popular party were in power, but was again driven out in 1529, at the approach of the Imperial army. He then retired to Venice, and devoted himself with the most unwearied assiduity to the translation of the Scriptures. Tiraboschi says the first complete edition was published in 1532², and dedicated to Francis I. But the king seems neither to have noticed nor rewarded him, for Aretino, in 1538, writes to the Marchioness of Pescara, Vittoria Colonna, that his gossip Bruccioli had not in five years received an answer from the most Christian king. As Bruccioli, in the prosecution of his long and arduous undertaking, had not only availed himself of the comments of the Reformers, but had himself learned something of the spiritual

¹ Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. p. 321.

² The first edition was printed by Lucantonio Giunti, a Florentine, at Venice, in 1532, in one volume, folio, without notes. This was quickly followed by succeeding editions. In 1542 and 1546 he published translations of the whole Bible in 7 volumes, with comments in a Protestant sense. It was printed at Venice by Zanetti and the brothers Bruccioli.—Fontanini, *Eloq. Italiana*, with note, by Zeno, vol. i. p. 117. See Appendix C.

meaning of the Scriptures, there was a general outcry against his version among the Friars. Aretino advises him to despise the *Chiaccherare dei Frati*.¹

His indefatigable industry, says Aretino, was so great that he composed more books than he had lived years. What were his religious opinions may be fully gathered from the Preface to the New Testament, dedicated to the Princess Anna d' Este.² It is without date of year, or printer's name, but is supposed to have been published in 1536. It is so interesting an exposition of the value of the Gospel, that we feel persuaded it will be read with pleasure.

This Preface fills twenty-two pages. It begins thus:—

“Having last year, most illustrious Lady, sent to your Excellency the Epistles and Gospels for the whole year, now that I am reprinting the New Testament of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, I wish it to come forth under your honoured name; knowing that holy and divine things are best dedicated to pious souls who prize them, and who trust wholly in God. Such by public report is your ladyship, instructed in the way of the Lord by your most christian and most holy mother.

“I send you therefore, as suitable to your Excellency, this divine light of the Holy Gospel, which is a promise of grace, blessing and good will from God through Christ; for such grace is none other than the good will of God towards us, or the will of God who has had mercy on us. This promise of favour from the Most High God reveals, to the conscience which knows its sinfulness, Christ, full of grace and truth. When John preached repentance, he at the same time pointed to Christ, saying, *Behold the Lamb of God, which takes away the sins of the world*. These few points I have briefly touched on, most illustrious Lady, that as you pass your eye over the chapters, you may remark what is the Gospel, and what it announces to us. Here my epistle would have come to an end, but that I am compelled to lengthen it, in order to answer those who, with a subtle and hypocritical spirit, moved by Satan, malign christian charity by saying it is not right that the holy and divine Scriptures should be in any language but the original, consequently not in any spoken language.

“For an opinion so unholy is not only void of christian charity, but is also contrary to what has been spoken by the Holy Spirit through the mouth of his prophets and apostles. But those who condemn the translation of the Holy Scriptures and the word of God into our language for the general advantage of those who do not know the original, either condemn S. Jerome, who translated them into the Slavonic language and piously contrived that they should be read and understood in his translation; or they pretend that the Slavonic language is to be held in greater veneration than the Italian, or any other spoken language in

¹ Aretino, *Letters*, lib. i. p. 177.

² Daughter of Hercules II., Duke of Ferrara, and of Renée of France. She married Francis, Duke of Guise.

Europe, and that it is to be prized and understood by a greater number of persons than any other, or even the whole of the originals put together. Christ said, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature: he who believes and is baptized shall be saved; 'a proof that he desired his light to all in every language. This was confirmed by the gift of tongues; they sat upon each, and all were filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak in different tongues. This gift of tongues, what does it mean, but that the word of God was to be understood in every country, and in all the languages of the world? Let the people then receive the sweet and precious visitation¹ of Jesus Christ in the heavenly light of the Gospel, which is the true rule of the Christian, a rule of life and of salvation. Let us then follow the wisdom of God, in which there can never be any deficiency of understanding, knowing that men and their doctrines are nothing but in as far as they are confirmed and strengthened by the word of God.

"To those who, under pretence of piety, say that it is dangerous to set this light before the eyes of the vulgar, because there are things both difficult and obscure which the unlearned cannot understand and which may lead them astray, I reply first, that they are fighting against the Holy Spirit, who reveals these deep secrets to the simple and ignorant, deeming them to be the most worthy, not having their minds puffed up with worldly wisdom. In answer to those who assert that there are difficult passages in the Gospel, I answer that these are few, and offer no danger to simple minds who are willing to be taught what they do not understand. Far greater danger is to be apprehended from scholars, who seek to know more than they ought to know. The passages which they allege are dangerous, mislead those only who, from their knowledge of languages, think much of themselves. By taking occasion to shew that they know more than others, they have fallen into manifest obscurities. But to us Paul says, 'He that speaketh with tongues, edifies himself; but he that prophesieth, edifies the Church;' and a little after he adds, 'Now, brethren, if I come unto you speaking with tongues, what shall it profit you, except I speak to you either by revelation, or by knowledge, or by prophecy?'"

"If we are all one in Christ, why should we not all eat of this gospel bread so that all may be nourished unto edification? Paul's object³ evidently is that all may understand what he hears. If we ought to hear the gospel that we may be united to Christ, we must hear it in that language in which the hearer can be edified, and not in the pomp of tongues, but so that it can be understood by the unlearned who wish to receive it with purity of heart. Christ says, 'I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to babes.'⁴ So that I cannot in any way see how the writings of the Gospel are to be taken away from the unlearned as if they were profane persons, they having been given to all, and given in such a way that they are easier to be understood by the pious and modest unlearned than by the arrogant philosopher.

"The people of Judea concealed their mysteries because they dwelt

¹ *Dolce e chara visitations.*

² 1 Cor. xiv. 4, 6.

³ In 1 Cor. xiv.

⁴ Matt. xi. 25.

in the shadow; but Evangelical light can never remain concealed. Some will perhaps exclaim that a woman or a shoemaker are unworthy to speak of the Holy Scriptures But consider, who were Christ's hearers? A mixed multitude of blind, lame, beggars, publicans, centurions, artisans, women and children; and is it now a hard thing for Christ to be read by those whom he wished should hear him? Every one will confess that those will profit the most from Evangelical preaching, who in their own houses meditate on the Scriptures, and after the sermon can return again to read them. If they did nothing more, this would be great fruit, as they would more readily go to hear the heavenly word of God and understand it better, for in the books of the Gospel divine wisdom is wonderfully and in a most remarkable manner imparted to the unlearned.

"None are so ignorant that they may not learn this Evangelical philosophy, provided they come to it with a pure and ready mind, free from the vexing cares of this world, and from that cupidity and vain-glory which incapacitates the most learned from knowing Christ. Why then should it not be deemed good for all to read the Gospel each in his own native tongue; the Italian in Italian, the French in French, the English in English, the German in German, and the Indians in the Indian language?"

"I wonder it does not strike everyone as ridiculous to hear men and women whispering their psalms and prayers like parrots in Latin and Greek, without understanding a word of what they are saying. They cannot in this way derive that edification, which they would do if they were written in their own language. If we consider it in a pious and christian point of view, would it not be a holy and praiseworthy thing if the ploughman, while he was guiding the plough, were to sing psalms in his native tongue; the weaver at his loom to refresh himself from his labours by repeating some portions of Scripture, and the boatman at the helm, he also might sing some verses; and thus all, while industriously occupied, would solace their labours by the holy praises of God and the words of the Gospel; and the venerable matron, while employed about the house or spinning her flax, instead of talking with her family about the Trojans, or Fiesole, or Rome, might recite something of the Gospel to her young grandchildren. Our ancestors, in that primitive Church founded by the most holy Son of God our Saviour, built upon the blood of the martyrs, sought to know nothing so much as the Gospel; rightly conceiving that to know this was to know all things, and that no other knowledge was holy or fruitful: for this reason they strove that all should turn with their whole hearts to this most holy heavenly light, to this refulgent sun which gives soul and life to every one who beholds it; a living life, blessing the man who sees it with a pious eye and looks on it as the true light of day, the very breath of life."

He goes on to point out that it is the duty of each individual Christian to seek both for himself and others this heavenly bread; but more especially is it the duty of pastors to nourish their flocks with this substantial bread, which can alone sanctify the heart of man. The Gospel gives life and immortality,

which is not acquired by a spirit of sophistry or reasoning, but by a pure and simple confidence in Christ, and a humble opinion of ourselves. Without the aid of human philosophy, the Gospel drew over the greatest princes, kingdoms, and nations of the world. Philosophy has never made such conquests as these. Christ ought to be our only teacher. God has said, that in him he is well pleased.

“Let then all people of every tongue come to this Most Holy Author and Giver of life. May the Italians, who know no language but their own, taste of this heavenly bread. Through God’s help, by whom all things exist, under the faithful protection of your most illustrious Ladyship, I lay this translation before the pious public, in order that they by partaking may live for ever. I invite every pious mind to slake its thirst at this most holy Fountain. A single draught of this living water can quench our thirst for ever. Let us then clothe ourselves with the precepts of this Divine Author, lay aside the vain doctrines of men, and follow those of God, which will make us heavenly citizens of the eternal Jerusalem, our heavenly country. There, in the company of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, we shall live for ever blest, to whom be glory and honour from generation to generation. Amen and Amen.”¹

After its capitulation, Florence was governed by Baccio Valori² and other agents of the Medici family under the orders of Clement VII. He directed the Florentines to send an embassy to Charles, signifying their desire to have Alessandro de’ Medici, natural son of Lorenzo, for their chief.³ While Florence was divided in opinion about the kind of government they were likely to have, and the more temperate inclined to that of the great Lorenzo de’ Medici, all parties were surprised by the sudden arrival in post-haste of Ippolito de’ Medici. We have seen that in 1527 he was the ostensible head of the government, and was driven away by the popular party; but now, hearing that his cousin Alessandro had been invited, he resolved to ascertain the extent of his own influence, and

¹ See Appendix B.

² Baccio Valori was for eight months at the head of the government. He was exposed to great envy and ill-will from his fellow-countrymen, both on account of his having previously favored the Medici party, and because each thought they had an equal right to rule. He was succeeded by a friar named Niccolò della Magna, a friend of Girolamo Savonarola.—Segni, *Storie Fiorentina*, vol. ii. p. 338.

³ Segni says, Clement rather contrived, than ordered this embassy, wishing it should appear to come from the Florentines themselves. Palla Rucellai and Francesco Valori were the ambassadors.—Segni, vol. ii. p. 339.

whether there was any opening for himself. But nobody stirred in his behalf. Fra Niccolò, the Pope's agent, had no notice of his coming, but Baccio Valori arrived the next day from Rome and announced Clement's preference of Alessandro. The disappointed youth was with some difficulty persuaded to lay aside his ambitious schemes, and set out next day on his return to Rome.

Alessandro entered Florence on the 5th of July 1531. Of spurious birth and neglected education, he found himself at twenty years of age suddenly raised to a position utterly unsuitable to his habits and principles. The promise of liberty inserted in the articles of capitulation was totally overlooked, and the unhappy city soon found itself under the absolute control of a youth who was totally regardless of the welfare of his people, and outraged public morality by the glaring indulgence of the most debasing propensities.

We have already seen¹ that while the Imperial troops were besieging Florence, the Pope and the Emperor were settling the affairs of Europe at Bologna. Let us now enquire what progress true religion and free discussion made after the publication of the Protestant Confession of Faith in 1530.

The Decree of Augsburg, which commanded the reestablishment of the Roman Catholic rites throughout Germany, thoroughly disgusted the Protestants. Their princes, finding liberty of conscience denied, and a form of religion contrary to Scripture forced on them by fine, confiscation, and death, resolved to unite for their common defence.² The union of seven princes and twenty-four cities alarmed the Emperor, for it was a formidable obstacle to his plans of defence against the Turks. Finding that the edict was virtually a dead letter, which only alienated the affections of his subjects, he intimated that a Diet would be held at Ratisbon for the purpose of conciliation; but before it assembled he pressed the Pope to call a Council. Clement, wearied by such repeated entreaties, reluctantly consented, stipulating that the Council should be held in Italy. He bade the Emperor choose Bologna, Parma, or Piacenza, and promised to grant the Protestants

¹ Chap. I.

² They met at Smalcald to combine for their common defence, hence the league of Smalcald.

a safe conduct to come and go at pleasure. But the Germans refused to submit to a Council held in Italy, under the influence of the Pope; being fully persuaded that such an assembly would be both unable and unwilling to carry out any substantial reforms in religion. The Emperor represented that it was not Italy, but Germany, which sought for a Council; but the Pope remained inflexible, inwardly rejoicing that he had so fair an excuse for putting off the dreaded assembly.

Charles, harassed by the threatened approach of the Turks, resolved to grant such concessions in religion as should unite all his subjects in a common defence of the Empire. On the 23rd of July 1532, he issued a decree called the 'Pacification of Nuremberg,' which granted liberty of conscience till the meeting of a general Council, and quashed all suits of law on account of religion. He promised also that if a Council were not held within the year, he would assemble the States-general to decide the points in dispute. To be allowed to worship God according to their conscience was all that the Elector of Saxony and the other Protestant princes desired. They immediately promised to obey the Emperor, to serve him faithfully in peace and war, and to unite in defence of the Empire.

This first public decree in favour of religious liberty gave great offence at Rome. It was considered a violation of the Emperor's oath, for he had sworn to devote himself to the extirpation of heresy. More disinterested and impartial judges commended the prudence of the Emperor, in granting a rational liberty to his subjects in matters of faith rather than see them arrayed against his authority, while the whole country was exposed to the incursions of the enemies of Christianity. Some even doubted whether it was for the advantage of Christendom to allow a single city (Rome) to rule the affairs of Europe, and for its own private ends to embroil the princes in war.

In the year 1532 the friends of the Reformation were called upon to deplore the loss of one of their warmest and most steadfast supporters, John, Elector of Saxony. He had imbibed the reformed opinions during the reign of his excellent brother Frederic the Wise. Thoroughly convinced of the truth of Luther's doctrine, he embraced it as of scriptural authority, and may be considered, says Mosheim, as the second parent and founder of the Lutheran Church. As soon as he became Elector he de-

terminated to oppose the authority of Rome in religion, by assuming to himself, as sovereign, supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. He established reformed churches within his dominions, and rendered them complete and independent bodies, furnished with salutary laws and wise regulations, entirely different both in doctrine and discipline from the Church of Rome. With this object in view he invited the chief reformers, Luther and Melancthon, to draw up a form of ecclesiastical government, containing rules for public worship, and to fix the rank, offices, and services of the clergy. This code was completed in 1527, and publicly promulgated by heralds.

John, being himself a man of sincere piety, felt how important it was that the churches should be supplied with pious and learned men; he directed that those ministers of the Gospel who dishonoured religion by their conduct should be removed from the sacred office. His example was followed by all those States and princes of Germany who renounced the papal jurisdiction, and thus a similar discipline was introduced into all the churches which separated from the Church of Rome.¹

John survived the pacification of Nuremberg only thirteen days. He had long been out of health; and on the 16th Aug. 1532, he was suddenly carried off by a fit of apoplexy at a hunting seat in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg. Neither his children nor his friends arrived in time to bid him adieu. Luther and Melancthon were sent for, but found him at the point of death. Luther said, "wisdom had expired with his brother Frederick, and probity with John his successor." He was most affectionately attached to Luther, and frequently gave him substantial proofs of his regard. He visited him during a dangerous illness, and begged him not to be anxious about his wife and children; for, said he, "if God calls you away I will look on them as a solemn trust left to my charge, and will care for them as for my own."

Scott, who furnishes us with these particulars, says, "he took such delight in the Holy Scriptures, that he would frequently have them read to him by youths of noble families for six hours in the day.....He was accustomed also to take down the sermons which he heard in the most accurate manner."

¹ Mosheim, *Ecol. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 67.

Such habits for one in his rank of life, involved in so much important business, seem to carry us back to the days of David or Daniel, and shew what may be done when the heart is thoroughly engaged. His deadness to the world was very remarkable. When he was informed of the rebellion of the rustics which led to so afflictive a war in Germany, he said: "If it be the will of God that I should continue a prince, as I have hitherto been, his will be done; but if otherwise, I can descend to a lower station: fewer horses and a humbler equipage will serve me just as well." Luther preached and published two sermons on his death from Thess. iv. 13, 14, and shed many tears while he delivered them. In one of them he says: "We give thanks to God who comprehended our beloved prince in the benefit and influence of the death and resurrection of Christ. You know what risk, even of life itself, he encountered at Augsburg. I will not commend him for his virtues, though they were great; I acknowledge he was a sinner, and needed the remission of sins. I do not therefore set him forth as perfect. Yet he was an excellent and most kind man, free from all guile, and one in whom I could never trace pride, anger, or envy. He was ready to forgive, nay, mild and gentle even to excess."¹

John Frederick, his son and successor, was no less attached than his father to the truths which the Reformation had brought to light. He defended with the boldness and zeal of youth the same cause which John had supported with the caution and prudence of more advanced age. Another distinguished reformer had the year before been suddenly removed, at a time when he appeared the most necessary to the reformed church.

Ulric Zuingle² was one of those strong and original minds who think for themselves, and who find it impossible to run with the stream of public opinion. Long before the papal authority was attacked in Germany he had already sounded the trumpet of reform in Switzerland. He was a canon of the cathedral of Zurich, a man of great erudition, superior judgment, and intrepid character. From his youth he had felt an aversion to the superstitions of the church. As early as the year 1515 he began to study and explain the Scriptures to the people, and to

¹ Scott, *Continuation of Milner's Ch. Hist.* vol. i. p. 127.

² Zuingle, born 1487, died 1531.

censure, though in a prudent and moderate way, the practices of the Church of Rome. His enlarged mind and independent Swiss education enabled him to go at once to the root of the matter, and helped him to expose boldly those abuses which Luther was led step by step to discover. They were both men of talent and sincerity, but Zuingle's mind was the more cultivated of the two, and he possessed a much larger share of penetration into character and foresight as to consequences. When Luther came forward to protest against indulgences, Zuingle was encouraged to speak out in the same cause. In 1519 he opposed with much courage and success an Italian monk named Samson, who was carrying on a gainful traffic in indulgences. This, his first public step in the direction of reform, brought others to rally round his banner, and in a very short time the Pope's supremacy was rejected throughout Switzerland. It is not reasonable to expect that those courageous men who came forward to renovate the whole frame of society should be wholly free from error or defect. In rising up against some of the corruptions prevalent in this world, they would scarcely attain so high a degree of perfection as to shake off all the habits and feelings in which they had been nurtured. It is easy for us to see now that Zuingle was in error when he gave to the civil magistrate the power of coercion in religion. The great object was to get free from the dominion of the church; some authority was necessary to control the disorders of the populace, and the civil power being the most legitimate was called in aid, though its domination over the church seems contrary to the spirit of the Christian religion, a religion which rose in spite of, and was diffused without the aid of civil authority.

Zuingle differed in some points of doctrine from Luther, especially about the Lord's Supper. The latter was so wedded to the idea of the real presence, that he departed very slightly from the Roman Catholic interpretation. The Swiss reformer on the other hand was endowed with a mind comprehensive enough to lay aside all human traditions, and able to take his views of divine truth directly from the Gospel. He embraced the simple and original intention of this commemorative ordinance, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' He thus clearly expresses himself: "The body and blood of Christ are not really present in the Eucharist; the bread and wine are external signs,

or symbols designed to excite in the minds of Christians the remembrance of the sufferings and death of the Divine Saviour, and the benefits to be derived from true faith in his atoning sacrifice of himself." This view of the ordinance was unanimously embraced by the whole Helvetic Church.

Zuingli's theological opinions were not at first thoroughly understood by the other Reformers; but in 1529 there was a conference at Marpurg, at the invitation of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; Luther, Melancthon, Zuingli, and Oecolampadius were present. They disputed four days before the Landgrave on several important points, particularly on the nature of the Lord's Supper. In this discussion Zuingli fully cleared himself from all suspicion of unsoundness in christian doctrine, and gave entire satisfaction to Luther and his friends. He may be considered the head of the reformed Swiss Church; his ardent zeal for truth induced him to remove the images out of the churches, together with everything not commanded in the Gospel, such as altars, wax tapers, forms of exorcism, and auricular confession. His great object was to establish a simple mode of worship, consistent with the spiritual doctrines of the Gospel, as remote as possible from everything which tended to superstition.

The sincerity and firmness of this great man drew all Switzerland after him, and the influence of his character promised to establish the Reformation on a solid and scriptural basis, when he was suddenly carried off by a death ill suited to an ecclesiastic or minister of the Gospel. He was killed in a battle fought in 1531 between the Protestants and Catholics of Zurich. Well indeed did Jesus Christ, who knew the violence of civil strife, say, "they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."¹ Some excuse may be made for Zuingli, as he lived in a country where all from their earliest youth were trained to arms, and where it was invariably the custom for the clergy to accompany their armies to battle, to pray for their success, and to administer consolation to the wounded and dying. Oecolampadius, his friend, testifies to his unwillingness to go out with the military, and proves that it was not as a party engaged, nor as a leader of armed bands, that he went forth; but at the express command of the Senate, and with the hope of being

¹ Matt. xxvi. 52.

called on as conciliator. The engagement came on suddenly; he was three times thrown down, but always regained his feet, till he received a wound in the throat, from a spear, which he felt to be mortal. In the true spirit of a Christian he exclaimed, "Is this to be esteemed a calamity? They can kill the body, but the soul they cannot touch." "When the soldiers came to strip the slain he was found yet alive, lying on his back, with his hands clasped together and his eyes lifted up to heaven. He was asked if he wished a confessor to be sent for; then if he would invoke the Virgin; on his declining both, he was instantly despatched.....His body was condemned by a military tribunal to be cut in pieces and burned to ashes."¹ Thus abruptly terminated the life of this eminent witness to divine truth, when only half the usual course of man was run. At the time of his death, which took place on the 11th of October 1531, he was only forty-four years of age.²

He was soon followed to the grave by his friend and disciple Ecolampadius, a man as remarkable for the modesty and forbearance of his character, as for the spirit and zeal with which he advocated vital religion. He owed to his mother the advantage of a learned education. His father, a merchant in Franconia, wished him to engage in commerce, but his mother's entreaties prevailed, and he was sent to college both at Heilbron and Heidelberg, and to Bologna for a short time to study jurisprudence. Finally, the bent of his mind became manifest; he established himself at Heidelberg as a student of theology, and devoted all the energies of a powerful intellect to the philosophy of the schools. He was appointed tutor to the sons of the Elector Palatine; but the habits and manners of a court did not suit his taste. He returned to the study of theology, and devoted his most earnest attention to the Holy Scriptures, and afterwards became minister of the Gospel at Basle. Thence he followed the example of his friend Zuingli of Zurich, by writing expositions of Scripture, and setting forth the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel. He survived his friend and fellow-labourer so short a time, that grief for his loss is supposed

¹ Scott's *Cont. of Münster*, vol. i. p. 119; Mosheim's *Ecol. Hist.* vol. iv.; also Melchior Adam, *Vita Zuinglii*, p. 25, ed. Heidelbergæ, 1620.

² Melchior Adam gives the date of his birth 1487, but in the margin says some fix it in 1484.

to have hastened his end. He was fifteen days confined to bed, earnestly longing to be "clothed upon" with that immortality in which there is no warfare. He administered consolation to his weeping friends, and with the eye of faith pierced within the veil. He made no will, for he had nothing to leave, though his parents were people of good substance. In his dying moments he called his three children to his bedside, and addressing them each by name bade them love God as their Father, and entreated his wife to train them up in piety, integrity, and peaceableness. He addressed his church through his elders in a beautiful and impressive exhortation, beseeching them to let the name of Christ be glorified by their lives and conversation. "Live," he said, "in love one with another, pass your whole lives as in the sight of God. In vain is piety inculcated by words only; the light of a holy life, a heavenly temper of mind is necessary, and it is the most effectual means of confounding Satan and converting the world to God." His brethren gave him their hands as a pledge that they would undertake the charge of the church, and exert themselves to fulfil his wishes. With the humility becoming a penitent about to appear before Him "who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity," he repeated the whole of the 51st Psalm, dwelling especially on the petitions for forgiveness of sins. After a short pause he ejaculated, 'Save me, O Christ Jesus,' and calmly yielded up his spirit to God who gave it. All present were filled with gratitude on witnessing his peaceful end: they expressed their thankfulness on bended knees with uplifted hands around his bed. The strong faith and humble assurance of their departed brother rejoiced and comforted their hearts. He was buried in the cathedral of Basle; all the magistrates of the city attended his funeral, and the whole town mourned his death.¹

The Turks had invaded Hungary in 1529^a with the intention of dethroning Ferdinand. They made a show also of assaulting Vienna, and Soliman declared his resolution to force the Emperor to a battle; and though at the approach of winter he retired without fighting, yet he had made good his pretensions to Hungary as a fief of the Turkish empire. Anne, Ferdinand's

¹ Scott's *Continuation*, vol. i. p. 121; Melchior Adam, p. 45; Sleidani *Comment.* p. 221, ed. Argentorati, 1621.

² They encamped before Vienna 13th Sept. 1529.—Giovio, *Istoria*, vol. ii. p. 163.

wife, at the death of her brother Louis,¹ became sole heiress of the Jagellon family. The crown however was elective. Ferdinand offered himself as a candidate, and was elected by a committee of twenty-four persons empowered to choose a king. But John of Zaypoli, Waivode of Transylvania, who could lead to the field 40,000 men, was chosen by the nobles in preference to a foreigner. To ensure successful possession of the crown, he offered to enter into a tributary alliance with the Turks if they would maintain him in power. Meanwhile Ferdinand sent an embassy to Constantinople, demanding the restitution of Belgrade. Soliman dismissed the ambassador with a haughty reply. "He would come," he said, "to Hungary in person with the keys of the Hungarian fortresses round his neck, when Ferdinand might take them from him if he could."²

This menace obliged Charles and Ferdinand to unite their forces against the common enemy, and detained the Emperor in Germany. His aunt Margaret, governess of the Netherlands, died in 1530. In her he lost a wise counsellor and steady adherent to his interests. Her death overcame his objections to the election of his brother Ferdinand as king of the Romans. He was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1531, and soon after Charles appointed his sister Mary, the widowed queen of Hungary, governess of the Low Countries. It was not only important to drive the Turks out of Hungary, but for the sake of his Italian dominions Charles sought to crush them altogether. For this purpose he levied a numerous army. The shores of the Mediterranean had suffered so severely from these oriental pirates, that, contrary to all expectation, the Italians enrolled themselves in great numbers. Alphonso del Vasto, to whom the collection of the Italian troops was committed, found himself surrounded by a much larger body of men than he could pay, clothe, or arm. Even the richest merchants of Lombardy took up arms against these ferocious corsairs. The injuries inflicted on Rome were overlooked, and the Italians made no difficulty of fighting side by side with the Germans: but war in those days was a trade, a means of subsistence or advancement. Subsidiary troops changed sides as often as interest prompted, in defiance of principles, opinions, and nationality.³

¹ He was drowned at the battle of Mohatz in 1526.

² Giovio, *Istoria del suo tempo*.

³ A remnant of this ancient usage is still retained among the Swiss. Although

The command of this vast army was given to Antonio di Leva. Del Vasto was at the head of the Italian and Spanish infantry, Don Ferranti Gonzaga commanded the light horse, and Ippolito di Medici brought up a body of sharpshooters sent by the Pope, followed by a numerous company of Italian nobles. This handsome and spirited young man was much more suited to be a warrior than a cardinal. So large and heterogeneous an army could not be kept together without causes of discontent, for discipline was imperfect and money scarce. Meanwhile Soliman, in the short space of fifty-five days, had arrived at Belgrade; leaving the Danube to the left, he advanced by way of Styria to Austria. He was detained at Guinz by the resolute bravery of Inrichitz the Hungarian governor, and the town finally escaped by an honorable capitulation. The Turks scattered themselves in parties about the country in search of booty, and were often killed or taken prisoners by the Hungarians. A trap was made for them by a rude kind of machine in use among the peasants. An immense beam of wood, stuck full of copper or iron spikes, was fixed to a tall pillar or trunk of a tree contrived to turn round both to the right and to the left; when drawn across the road it completely barred the way. The Turkish cavalry, neither knowing how to turn this machine nor venturing to jump over it, were frequently caught as in a net.¹ When taken, their heads were cut off and sent to Vienna as a presage of victory. Prisoners brought into the Imperial camp gave most exaggerated accounts of Soliman's army, which they said was the largest force ever commanded by a Mahometan, and computed to amount to 500,000 men.

Ferdinand sent ambassadors to Soliman at Guinz, demanding the reason of his entrance into Hungary. They were most courteously received and munificently treated. According to the eastern custom each was presented with a silken robe flowing to the ground, and a cup of the purest silver. Care was taken to let them see that the camp was richly provided both with necessaries and luxuries. They were struck with the admirable discipline, temperance, and silence which prevailed. It

themselves a free people, they hire out their swords to support absolutism. The Piedmontese, on the contrary, have made a step in the right direction. In 1848, when called into Tuscany, they refused to use their arms against Italians.

¹ Giovinetti, *Istoria del suo tempo*, vol. ii. p. 244.

was seldom they were admitted to the presence of the Sultan, but the rare interviews which were granted impressed them with admiration of his dignity and magnificence. His Vizier and confidential adviser Abraim furnished them liberally with all they could desire except wine, which was not allowed in the camp. The soldiers lived on mutton and rice; they had no bread, except cakes occasionally baked on the hearth. The ambassadors described Abraim to be a man of a firm, grave, and elevated character, who possessed the entire confidence and shared the authority of the Sultan both in the army and the state. They were dismissed with letters to Ferdinand, written in the Arabic tongue in gold and silver characters, on a long narrow book of scolloped paper, sealed with a seal of gold and enclosed in a bag of crimson silk. In these missives Soliman, with oriental hyperbole, styled himself sovereign of nearly all the nations of the world. He had come, he said, from Turkey to defend the cause of king John, his friend and tributary ally. He was ready, if opposed, to fight a battle under the protection of God and Mahomet.¹ But notwithstanding this high-sounding language, the protracted resistance of Guinz, and the immense army assembled by Charles, made their due impression on Soliman. By the advice of his Vizier he relinquished the project of conquering Vienna. Hearing that the Christian fleet, under the command of Doria, was at the mouth of the Dardanelles, without risking a battle or exposing his troops to the rigours of winter, he returned in haste to Constantinople, carrying with him as captives 30,000 Hungarian peasants.²

The retreat of the Turks was highly advantageous to Charles, for Francis had already engaged the assistance of England, with the intention of seizing the Duchy of Milan while Charles was employed with the Turks in Hungary. The Pope was only waiting the right moment to declare in their favour; but the departure of the Turks, and the arrival of the Emperor in Italy, warned him to dissimulate a little longer.³

¹ The ambassadors, on their return to Vienna, described Soliman as being above the middle size, of a spare figure and pale complexion, with a handsome aquiline nose.—Giovio, *Istoria*, p. 244.

² Muratori, *Annali*, tom. x. p. 329.

³ Though Rome only pretended to interfere as an ecclesiastical power, yet by her secret intrigues and unbounded ambition she frequently kindled war, and guided the policy of the nations.

to Germany, Charles became impatient to return to Spain. He had been absent four years, and during the whole of this time separated from his young wife, to whom he was tenderly attached.

He ordered the Italian troops to join the German forces, and assist his brother Ferdinand in conquering Hungary; but the Italians, disappointed in their hopes of booty from the Ottoman army, and still cherishing a keen remembrance of the conduct of the Germans at the sack of Rome, refused to march according to orders. Though Charles went in person to harangue them, they took the road to Italy in open mutiny, sacking and burning the small towns as they passed along. It was in vain to remonstrate; they replied, they were only following the example of the Germans.¹

Charles himself designed to go to Spain by way of Italy, and arrangements were made for the departure of himself and suite according to etiquette; but the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici overleaped the regulations, and hurried on before the Emperor, accompanied by Pier Maria Rosso. The Emperor, already irritated at the revolt of the troops, had them both arrested. This indignity offered to his legate was highly displeasing to Clement, and Charles, on consideration, sent orders to release the Cardinal before his encounter with the Pope.

They met at Bologna on the 8th of Dec. 1532, with demonstrations of the same good will which had formerly subsisted between them, but in reality they were by no means well pleased with each other. Charles earnestly desired the assembling of a Council to tranquillize his subjects. He wished to disband his expensive army; but, to do this with security, the League which had been agreed on at his coronation must be confirmed and strengthened. His apprehensions of French machinations against Milan had induced him to seek this interview with Clement. He hoped to persuade him to give his niece Catherine de' Medici in marriage to Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, and thus prevent her union with the second son of Henry II. The Council was as unpalatable as ever. Every year of delay made a free assembly more perilous for the papal see, as the Protestants were gradually settling their views of divine truth on a firmer basis than that of any human authority. Clement

¹ Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, vol. x. p. 24. Ed. Pisa.

plainly told the Emperor, that, having received his consent to treat with the French king for a matrimonial alliance between his niece and the duke of Orleans, he could not now draw back. Charles had too much penetration not to perceive that a coalition between the Pope and Francis would be highly prejudicial to his interests. They had both wrongs to revenge; and their united influence threatened peril to his Italian dominions. Clement, however, was by no means disposed to waive his ambitious views. He had already, he said, married his illegitimate nephew to the natural daughter of the Emperor; he would now marry his legitimate niece to a prince of the blood royal of France.¹

The Emperor, disappointed at not gaining his point, tried to secure some influence at the papal court by naming three persons worthy of the dignity of cardinal, but of these one only was accepted by the Pope. The next subject to be settled was the proportion which each state concerned in the League was to pay for the defence of Italy. Venice refused its adhesion, and the Pope made this an excuse for delay. The Duke of Ferrara said he could not contribute his share to the defence of Italy while his own states were claimed by the Pope. At length, after much discussion, the Pope promised not to attack Ferrara for eighteen months; and, in order to be prepared for any sudden attack, it was agreed that each state should pay down a deposit on its appointed quota² for the defence of Italy. Antonio di Leva was chosen captain general, and Milan was fixed on as his head-quarters. These conditions were signed on the Emperor's favourite and fortunate day, his birthday, 24th February, 1533. The following morning he set out for Genoa, where he embarked for Spain in the galleys of André Doria. The Pope returned to Rome accompanied by two French Cardinals, to whom he observed, that it was needless to disturb themselves about the strength of the League; for when Charles's army was disbanded the field would be open for the king of France.

The Duke of Savoy, fearful of displeasing the Emperor, refused to allow the Pope to occupy the fortress at Nice in

¹ Guicciardini, *Storia d' Italia*, vol. x. p. 31.

² Charles was to pay 30,000 ducats, the Pope 20,000 for his own estates and for Florence, Milan 15,000, Ferrara 10,000, Genoa 6000, Sienna 2000, Lucca 1000.—*Ibid.* p. 29.

his projected journey for the completion of his niece's marriage. Marseilles was therefore fixed on as the place of meeting with the French king.

When an event so important as her marriage was decided, Catherine was but a child, only thirteen years old. At a very tender age she had gone through many vicissitudes. During the siege of Florence and its different changes of government she was carried from convent to convent. Each party wished to get possession of her as a sort of rallying point. She was placed first in the convent of the Murate, which had a great name for sanctity, the inmates of which were divided into two parties, those who were favourable and those who were adverse to the Medici family. Their partisans in the city were confident of success. It was customary to send baskets of cakes at certain seasons as presents to the abbess of the Murate and to the little duchess. Her friends seized this opportunity of conveying to her mute but expressive signs of encouragement. They placed at the bottom of the basket an ingenious device of balls¹ curiously made in flowers, in a manner which Florence alone can accomplish.² As soon as this significant step was whispered abroad, the popular party complained to the government of this undue exertion of influence. Silvestri Aldobrandini was immediately sent to convey her safely in an honourable manner to another convent, that of St. Lucia, a religious edifice built by her ancestors. Catherine, though at this time only eleven years of age, had heard enough of the tumults in the city to be dreadfully alarmed at her removal. She burst into a flood of tears,³ no assurances could pacify her fears that she was immediately to be put to death; nor was her alarm groundless, for she was surrounded with danger. Various propositions had been made about her by the enemies of the Medici family, of a very insulting nature. Some were for giving her up to the soldiers, others barbarously proposed to tie her to the walls of the city, and thus expose her to certain destruction when the enemy approached to batter them down.

¹ Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*.

² *Ibid.* The Medici arms are five balls. They are supposed to denote that the original profession of their ancestors was that of apothecary. They put up gilded balls at their shop-door as a sign that they made pills.

³ *Storia Cronologica della città di Firenze*, dell' Abate G. Maria Mercati. Napoli, 1755.

When Florence was conquered, and the power of the Medici reestablished there, Octaviano de' Medici was desired to escort the little duchess to Rome, where she remained till Alexander was made Duke of Florence. She then returned to her native city, and resided there till she went to Nice in 1533.

The Pope set sail from Pisa¹ in the French galleys commanded by John Stuart, duke of Albany, Catherine's uncle. As soon as the fleet neared Marseilles, a number of vessels put to sea to welcome his arrival with trumpets and hautboys. He disembarked under a salute of 300 pieces of cannon, and resided for two days at the palace which Montmorency had prepared for him. Francis meanwhile was honoured with a private audience, in which the Pope and he mutually bewailed their recent misfortunes.²

On the 4th of October Clement made his public entry on horseback, dressed in pontifical robes, with a mitre on his head. The triple crown was carried in a chair by his side; a master of the ceremonies, mounted on a white horse, rode before him, two attendants richly dressed held his bridle on each side. He was followed by twelve Cardinals on mules; then came the young bride, and her bevy of noble and beautiful ladies, Italian and French, in dresses of oriental magnificence. At the same moment that the Pope entered the town the French king went out at the opposite gate, thus paying him the compliment of putting it into his uncontrolled possession.

Next morning Francis made his entry in due form, accompanied by Queen Eleanor, the youthful bridegroom, and all the princes and princesses of the blood royal,³ followed by a magnificent retinue. He immediately went to pay a formal visit to the Pope, who awaited his approach seated on a throne under a superb canopy.⁴ His majesty made a movement to kiss the

¹ Segni says he was ashamed to pass by Florence, which he had besieged for eleven months.—Segni, *Storie Fiorentine*, vol. ii. p. 386.

² Paolo Giovio, *Istorie*, vol. ii. p. 288.

³ It was on this occasion that Marguerite, the daughter of Francis I., first saw and was captivated by Philibert, duke of Savoy. The impression then made on her young heart, made her refuse every other alliance. It was not till the year 1559, when she was forty years of age, that she was united to the object of her early affection.

⁴ See in Matt. xxi. 5, the fulfilment of Zech. ix. 9, and mark the contrast between our 'lowly' Saviour and the pompous Pope vicar.

Pope's foot, but Clement graciously raised and cordially embraced him. The young couple were then introduced to each other. Henry was sixteen and Catherine seventeen years of age.¹ The marriage was soon after celebrated with great pomp, to the extreme satisfaction of the Pope. He was so overjoyed that he himself accompanied the newly married pair to their private apartments.² By this alliance he hoped to secure the peace of Italy and the Duchy of Milan for his nephew and niece. France had a legal claim to this fair Duchy in right of Valentina, sister of Filippo, the last of the Visconti family. Valentina married Louis, Duke of Orleans, son of Charles V. Her father Galeazzo gave her for dower the town of Asti in Piedmont, and stipulated in the marriage contract that, if her brother died without male heirs, Valentina's children by Louis of France should inherit the Duchy of Milan. This article proved eventually to be pregnant with most unhappy consequences. Galeazzo never fulfilled his promise of giving up the town and dependencies of Asti. Valentina was therefore looked on with coldness at the court of France,³ her husband neglected and was jealous of her, and finally dismissed her with disgrace. This, though a great affront to the unhappy duchess, was a small evil in comparison with the waste of blood and treasure which this heritage entailed on France and Italy.

Charles VIII., who had claims on Naples as descendant of the Anjou race, was invited into Italy by Lodovico Sforza, the treacherous uncle of the expiring Giovan Galeazzo, Duke of Milan.⁴ He encouraged Charles to proceed on his expedition

¹ Segni, *Storie Fiorentine*, vol. ii. p. 387.

² *Ibid.*

³ Lacretelle, *Hist. de France*, vol. iv. p. 345. Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia*.

⁴ At the death of Filippo, the last male heir of the Visconti family, Francesco Sforza claimed the sovereignty in right of his wife Bianca Maria, sister of Filippo. Charles, Duke of Orleans, claimed also in right of his wife Valentina, on whom the duchy had been settled by the will of Giovan Galeazzo, her father, the first duke of Milan. The people rose in tumult, shouted liberty, and tore the will to pieces. They chose Francesco Sforza for their captain, and subsequently he was unanimously elected duke. His eldest son Galeazzo succeeded, and his eldest of the same name filled his father's place. He was a violent, dissolute character; his excesses drove the people to assassinate him. His son Giovan Galeazzo was nominally Duke of Milan; but being young and of a feeble temperament both in mind and body, he was governed first by his mother Bona of Savoy, and then by his uncle Lodovico Sforza.—Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia*, pp. 310, 437.

to Naples with the hope of distracting king Ferdinand's attention from the interests of his granddaughter¹ and her infant son.

Louis XII. made a second incursion with the view of taking possession of Milan, but success did not permanently crown his efforts.² The prize however was still coveted by the French crown, and the chivalrous Francis I., great grandson of the same Valentina, was allured across the Alps by the attractive reports of this beautiful possession. He fought, was vanquished, and taken prisoner; but even these misfortunes could not quench his desire for a footing in Italy. What was not practicable by force he hoped to obtain by alliance and negotiation, and this the darling object of his wishes seemed nearer attainment by the marriage of his son Henry, Duke of Orleans, with the Pope's niece.

In addition to the hope of the duchy of Milan, Catherine's dower was 100,000 crowns of gold in ready money, and the estates of Auvergne in right of her mother, the unhappy Madeleine de la Tour.³ Besides a splendid income of 10,000 ducats per annum, Catherine brought to France rich caskets of jewels and precious stones of immense value. Among these were some pearls of extraordinary size and beauty, which she afterwards bestowed on her daughter-in-law, Mary Queen of Scots.⁴

¹ Isabella, daughter of Alphonso duke of Calabria, married Giovan Galeazzo; he died at an early age, leaving one child, Francesco Sforza, four years old, who was for a time the victim of his uncle's perfidy, but afterwards reinstated by Charles V. in possession of Milan. At his death without issue, the duchy reverted to the Austrian prince, and has ever since remained in possession of that power, except during the period of Napoleon's transitory occupation.

² In 1507, Trivulzio, a Milanese noble in the service of France, gave a splendid entertainment at Milan to Louis XII. Twelve hundred ladies were present, 160 maitres-d' hotel regulated the banquet, and 1200 attendants dressed in velvet and satin placed the dishes on the table and handed the wine. The king opened the ball with the marchioness of Mantua, and cardinals and prelates joined him in the dance.—Laoretelle, *Hist. de France*, vol. vi. p. 131.

³ She married the dissipated Lorenzo de' Medici, and died soon after she gave birth to Catherine. Her father expired a few days after, a victim to his intemperate and irregular habits.

⁴ Those who wish to know further particulars of Catherine's early life, may consult a modern publication entitled *The Girlhood of Catherine de' Medici*, by Mr. Trollope. It is compiled with considerable care from authentic historians. Though what is here said of Catherine was written before Mr. Trollope's work appeared, it has been pleasurable to read in the pages of another, the same ideas suggested by the same materials.

This marriage was so gratifying to France that the name of the young princess was coupled with the expressive motto, "She brought light and peace"; but her subsequent influence was far from bringing tranquillity to France. The present aspect of this alliance was hopeful. It was a counterpoise to the Emperor's power in Italy; Charles knew well this was considered one of its chief advantages, but he was not on that account more disposed to give up the duchy of Milan. In reply to the claims on the Visconti inheritance he declared them null and void, because they had never been sanctioned by the Emperor, the feudal chief of the duchy; the Pope's consent he averred did not replace the right of investiture, which could only be conferred by their suzerain lord.

Had Clement's life been prolonged, his intrigues might have given rise to serious difficulties. After a month spent in brilliant spectacles, sumptuous banquets, and gorgeous rejoicings, he left Marseilles in the French galleys to return to Rome. The sea was so rough that he put back to Savona, and distrusting the skill of the French mariners embarked in the galley of Andrea Doria, who carried him safely to Civita Vecchia.

This excursion and marriage was almost the last act of Clement's life; shortly after his return he complained of great weakness of stomach, and told his friends he should not be long with them. His fears of approaching dissolution were awakened by the death of a friar, who had foretold that the Pope would not long outlive him. The first question Clement asked on his return to Rome was, "What had become of the friar?" When told he was dead, convinced that the prediction would soon be verified, he ordered his sepulchral garments to be made ready, and prepared to leave the world. The disease in the stomach was accompanied by fever; he gradually declined in strength, and finally, at the age of sixty-six, on 25th September, 1534, he finished his course on earth, and went to give an account of his stewardship to his Heavenly Master.¹

Clement VII. had outlived the respect of his court and the affection of his friends, and was little trusted by the princes of

¹ Clement reigned ten years, ten months, and seven days. He was first buried in St. Peter's, but Paul IV. removed his remains and those of Leo X. to the church of the Minerva. Platina, *Vite dei Pontifici*, p. 520.

Europe.¹ He left behind him a reputation for avarice and dissimulation. Totally devoid of benevolence, he felt no remorse at rousing the passions of others to serve his own interests. His actions were not governed by honourable and upright motives; we look in vain for those high and holy sentiments which ought to distinguish the man who assumes the name and the office of Vicar, or representative of our Lord Jesus Christ. The individual weakness of the Pope, and the injurious influence of temporal and spiritual power being united under one head, were never more evident than during the reign of Clement. The dignity of his office was exposed to the deepest humiliation. He was set at defiance by the most powerful prince of Christendom, and at length found himself constrained to sue for aid and protection to his oppressor. Charles, from motives of policy and for the tranquillity of Italy, received his overtures with favour; but the Pope in his own dominions was preached against as antichrist, and his vacillation and bad faith openly condemned. England during his reign shook off her allegiance to the Papacy, and Germany claimed liberty of conscience; two signal misfortunes to happen to one Pope. We shall see, as we advance in the history of Paleario and his times, how Clement's nepotism and self-interested views prepared the way for further papal encroachments, till they rose to a height of overgrown tyranny hateful to humanity.

¹ "Mori odioso alla corte, sospetto ai Principi, e con fama più presto grave et odiosa, che piacevole, essendo reputato avaro, di poca fede, e alieno di natura a beneficare gli uomini."—Guicciardini, *Storia*, vol. x. p. 38. "Per fare da Principe, secondo il rito de' mondani, la natura e la sperienza l'aveano fornito di molti ajuti. Ma se cercate in lui le virtù di Pontefice Vicario di Cristo, e qual bene egli facesse alla chiesa in que' gran torbidi della Religione, e quali abusi e disordini egli levasse, benchè da essi prendesse origine e pretesto il terribile Scisma, che tuttavia divide tanti popoli dalla vera Chiesa di Dio: non sarà sì facile il trovarlo."—Muratori, *Annali*, vol. x. p. 347. "Morto papa Clemente l'anno 1534 parve, che la maggior parte degli uomini ne sentissono grande allegrezza."—Segni, *Storie Fior.* vol. ii. p. 403.

CHAPTER V.

PALEARIO AS A POET AND PHILOSOPHER.

1533—1537.

GOES TO PADUA—POMPONAZZO—CICERO'S WRITINGS—POEM 'ON THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL'—CORRESPONDENCE WITH SADOLETO—ITALIAN VERSION—MAFFEI—SATIRE ON GREEK QUOTATIONS—LETTER TO LAMPRIDIO—PLATO—ARISTOTLE—GENIUS OF THEIR STUDIES—PAPACY ADVERSE TO THE GOSPEL—SCHOLASTIC METHOD—BANISHED AT THE REFORMATION—PALEARIO BUYS THE VILLA CECINIANO—MARRIAGE—VETTORI—VERINO—PHILOSOPHICAL CORRESPONDENCE.

PALEARIO set out for Padua soon after the receipt of Bembo's letter, resumed his beloved studies in philosophy, and devoted himself to the completion of the poem mentioned by Bembo, "On the Immortality of the Soul."

The revival of Greek literature had caused the works of Aristotle to be sedulously studied, and his opinions were received as oracles by learned men: to impugn his doctrines, or to impute to him any false or defective ideas, was looked on as a literary heresy. Metaphysicians, writing on the soul or spirit, sought chiefly to know Aristotle's opinion on such points; what he had written on these important subjects was received with the reverence due only to inspired truth.

The celebrated Mantuan philosopher, Pomponazzo,¹ exercised his acute and powerful intellect on these points, and drew upon himself the severest censures, because he wrote that Aristotle did not believe in the immortality of the soul: this was considered equivalent to saying that the soul was not immortal. His book was publicly burned at Venice; its author escaped the same fate by declaring he spoke only as a philosopher, but that whatever

¹ See Appendix A.

the Church teaches ought to be believed. Truth, perhaps, was not so much his object as philosophical discussion; thus it cost him little to profess obedience to the Church, and even to court its approbation: with this view he procured a permission from the bishop's vicar and the inquisitors of Bologna to send it to press. Pier Nicolò Castellani,¹ a native of Faenza, professor in the university of Pisa, wrote a book to prove that Aristotle believed in the immortality of the soul; he dedicated his work to Clement VII.; this sealed its orthodoxy, and satisfied many who were desirous to believe their adored philosopher sound on this important point. But Paleario was earnest and serious in his search after truth. In his literary studies he chose particularly those works of Cicero, the healthy spirit of which contributed to train the mind to lofty thoughts and noble conceptions. Gibbon has judiciously pointed out the wholesome effects of Cicero's writings, in contradistinction to the imaginative and intellectual theories of the Greeks.

“The writings of Cicero represent in the most lively colours the ignorance, the errors, and the uncertainty of the ancient philosophers with regard to the immortality of the soul. When they are desirous of arming their disciples against the fear of death, they inculcate, as an obvious, though melancholy position, that the fatal stroke of our dissolution releases us from the calamities of life; and that those can no longer suffer who no longer exist. Yet there were a few sages of Greece and Rome who had conceived a more exalted, and, in some respects, a juster idea of human nature.

“They discovered, that as none of the properties of matter will apply to the operations of the mind, the human soul must consequently be a substance distinct from the body, pure, simple, and spiritual, incapable of dissolution, and susceptible of a much higher degree of virtue and happiness after the release from its corporeal prison.

“Since therefore the most sublime efforts of philosophy can extend no farther than feebly to point out the desire, the hope, or, at most, the probability of a future state, there is nothing, except a divine revelation, that can ascertain the existence, and describe the condition, of the invisible country which is destined to receive the souls of men after their separation from the body.

“The first book of the Tusculan Questions, and the treatise De Senectute, and the *Somnium Scipionis*, contain in the most beautiful language everything that Grecian philosophy, or Roman good sense, could possibly suggest, on this dark but important subject.”²

The following correspondence with Jacopo Sadoletto (after-

¹ Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* vol. vii.

² *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. ii. pp. 293, 294, and Note.

wards cardinal), who had been pontifical secretary to Leo and Clement, informs us that Paleario finished his poem on the Immortality of the Soul at Padua. He then requested Sadoletto to give him the benefit of his patronage in bringing it out. From the tone of the letter, we may infer they were personally known to each other. They had met probably at Rome, or at Veroli, before the sack of Rome. Sadoletto foresaw the storm approaching, and warned the Pope of his danger; but finding his counsel unheeded, asked and obtained permission to leave the city, just twenty days before its capture. He retired to his bishopric at Carpentras, near Avignon, and there Paleario sent him his poem.

ANTONIO PALEARIO, OF VEROLI, TO JACOPO SADOLETO.

"Some years ago, while in Tuscany, I was told that you (with whom I would as willingly dwell as with the immortal gods) had been about that time at Veroli. I was so vexed, that never during my whole life have I thought myself so unfortunate. I heard that you, a person of great dignity and wisdom, did not disdain the humble roof of my friend and countryman Girolamo, and that nothing could exceed your courtesy, and the pleasure you took in conversing with these people. On my return there, some months after, many persons spoke to me of your great virtue. Is this indeed the man (they exclaimed) whom Leo and Clement and all the learned honour? This revived my desire for your society; though indeed I have always entertained for you a peculiar love and respect.

"Do not therefore be surprised, if being a good deal perplexed on the question of the immortality of the soul, and obliged to draw from philosophy the greater part of my arguments, I fear the outcry of certain individuals, and thus hesitate not to call on you, the valiant defender and promoter of studies of this nature, to befriend and advocate my cause. You have written many things admirably; nothing in my opinion, except your theological works, can be more beautiful than your Phædrus. From it we learn, that in the loss we have sustained of so many valuable works left us by our ancestors, none are so much to be regretted as those books in which philosophy is extolled and defended by that prince of orators, M. Tullius. Indeed, after the destruction¹ of these wretched times, nothing seems to need more powerful patronage than philosophy. Though formerly it stood in high estimation, now stripped

¹ The sack of Rome was a heavy blow to literature and learned men. Many lost their all. Antonio Valdo, of Padua, a great traveller, professor at the Sapienza at Rome, was taken prisoner, and had the misery of seeing the labours of years wantonly destroyed; his house was sacked, and the MSS. used for cooking in his presence; he was himself exposed to great torments by his captors, and is said to have died of hunger. Houses were littered with the most precious MSS. of antiquity. See Valer. *de Infelicit. Liter.* lib. i. p. 24, (quoted by Tiraboschi).

of its ornaments, it has no ground to stand upon. On this account only, had I not many other reasons for being attached to you, I should hold you in the highest veneration. As a proof of my regard and affection I have sent you my books, such as they are, through your learned friend Lazaro,¹ with whom I am very intimate. I am well aware that they are far from being perfect, or polished with that scrupulous care which you would desire. 11th February. Padua."²

The next letter seems to have followed immediately on the former, in consequence of an unexpected opportunity of sending the poem by a French courier who passed through Padua. They did not however reach Sadoletto till three months after date.

AONIO PALEARIO TO JACOPO SADOLETO.

"Though your courtesy is so great as not to be equalled by any of your rank, notwithstanding, on leaving Padua, I would not send my letter without one from Lazaro. Not that I thought I had much need of it, but as he spontaneously offered to present me to your benevolent notice, I would not refuse the kind offices of a man so greatly attached to me. These letters are accompanied by my writings on the immortality of the soul. Though they are scarcely worthy of being read by so learned a man, still I flatter myself that your name being mentioned in terms of affection in the second book, may in some degree prove my regard for you. When Orgetorix sent me the book, I was told that a courier of the French embassy was passing your way; I had not time to read it, and sent it to you without being corrected. Some days after, on looking it over, I discovered to my great annoyance several typographical errors. In the copy which I sent to Gryphius³ you may see what they are. I do not know any one but himself who can relieve my anxiety on this point. I am quite ashamed to see so many defects in the copies which I have given to my friends to read, and have begged him not to fail me in this important point. He can easily add my poem to those of other authors who have written on Christian subjects. I scarcely dare hope to obtain this favour, if you do not send him a letter of recommendation to accompany my work. Thus, though it requires some consideration before I ask a favour of the most learned and virtuous of men, still I do not hesitate to beg of you, what is most important and necessary for me, that Gryphius may know my poem is honoured with your patronage and approbation. I would add more, if I did not think you were almost obliged to help forward my poem, not so much because it contains great things, as because it sets forth my great love for you. Siena."

This letter, though not dated, must have been written in 1536. This is proved by the reply of Sadoletto.

¹ Lazaro Buonamici. See Appendix B.

³ Sebastian Gryphius. See Appendix C.

² *Palearii Opera*, lib. ii. ep. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.* lib. ii. ep. 2.

These letters of Paleario, accompanied by one from Lazaro Buonamici, were both answered by Sadoletto soon after he received them. In his reply to Lazaro¹ he tells him, that though dated the 15th of March, he did not receive it till about the 15th of May. Paleario's letter had been still longer on the road, for his was dated the 11th of February, and did not reach till the middle of May. Sadoletto praises Paleario to his friend, much in the same style he had written to himself; commends the elegance of the poems, the talent and amiable character of the author, but above all admires the zeal for religion which appears throughout.

It is just possible that Paleario, who was then unsettled, might, on the completion of his poem, have entertained some faint hopes that Sadoletto would take him under his personal patronage, and thus his anxious desire to cross the Alps be gratified; but no encouragement of this kind was given him.

JACOPO SADOLETTO TO AONIO PALEARIO.

"Your letter was long in reaching me; though dated the 11th of February I did not receive it till nearly the middle of May. After reading it I rejoiced to think, that to the talents which I know you to possess, you joined also a large measure of regard for me. What can be more desirable, than to possess the esteem of good and learned men? As soon as I had finished your letter, which greatly pleased me both on account of its elegant style and affectionate tone, I began to read your poem. It took me three days: each day I read a book. The judgment I have formed of your work is this. Few have treated the subject, either in our own day or that of our forefathers, with so much elegance, and none with more erudition. What I specially admire is the poem not being loaded with forced and specious arguments, or images drawn from mythological subjects; your reasoning is based on true and holy principles of religion. As the mild and gentle expression of a man's countenance is a sign of an upright and well-regulated mind, so the piety which shines forth in your writings commands admiration of your learning and good feeling. In other respects your poem pleases me. I see whom you aim to imitate, and what you wish to express in your verses. There is no deficiency of judgment in the choice of materials, and you have fully succeeded in the execution of your plan. I do not overlook the elegant turn of the sentences, the point of the periods, nor the general harmony of the style; the whole is so well imagined, that your talents shine throughout. Sometimes, though

¹ *Ex tuis literis Idib. Martij datis, quas ego paulo ante Idus Martias accepi, illum facio questum, quod optimi et doctissimi viri Aonij Palearij amicitia auctus sum.*—Jac. Sadol. *Epist.* lib. v. p. 213. Ed. 1554.

rarely, I could have wished that you had more fully discussed certain points which are hard to be understood. These (that you may not cite Lucretius) do not belong to that class of matters, in which the difficulty of the subject renders it necessarily obscure; for in this case the writer has some excuse; but I refer to things relating to every-day life, on which you expressed yourself too concisely, and on which I could have wished you to enlarge more fully. This however does not recur often enough to discourage you. . . .

"As to the real merits of the poem and its exquisite composition, I repeat, that I have not for many years read a work of this nature with so much pleasure. I need not however exhort you to proceed in the path on which you have entered. The approbation and encouragement of the public, and the delightful charm there is in writing poetry, will be sufficient incitement. This indeed is shared by every learned man who brings forth the conceptions of his brain, but to poets it is given in much larger measure. I do not mean by this to say that you are more a poet than an orator, but deduce from your letter, which is written with much elegance, that you are able to distinguish yourself in both styles of writing.

"As regards myself, and the honourable mention you make of my name, I scarcely know how to answer you, for if I accept your praise as merited, I fear to appear arrogant; while, if I refuse it, I may be thought ungrateful for not responding to the opinion you have kindly formed of me. In this delicate dilemma, I take the part most congenial to modesty. I thank you for your courtesy and regard, and confess myself obliged by your good opinion, and entreat you to believe that I entertain for you much affectionate esteem, both on account of your talents and upright character, as well as for the solicitous friendship of which you have given me such striking proofs, and also because you recal to my mind times and people, which can never be effaced from my memory nor erased from my regard. Thus, besides what I owe you on your own account, the esteem which I feel for those of whom you speak is turned towards you. Should opportunity offer, I shall shew by my actions the sincerity of my feelings. Farewell. Carpentras, 27th May, 1536."¹

The following is a letter of recommendation to the printer.

JACOPO SADOLETO, BISHOP OF CARPENTRAS, TO SEBASTIAN GREYPHIUS.

"I received a few days ago Paleario's book on the Immortality of the Soul; a poem which interests me greatly, both from its exalted title, and the epic form in which the author has treated the subject. I sat down eagerly to read it, anxious to see if the work corresponded to the sublime title with which it is adorned. I found, to my great delight and unspeakable admiration, a subject too lofty even for the highest talent, treated with so much seriousness and erudition, and such elegance and harmony of style, that I can say I have

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. ii. ep. 3; and Sadoleto, *Epist.* lib. v. p. 217. Ed. Colonia, 1554.

not read any work of our times which has afforded me more delight. To descend to particulars, I may say, that it is all written in good and accurate Latin, and shews evident marks of great diligence and discernment; brilliant passages also may be found strikingly conspicuous for classic taste. But what I appreciate more than all the rest, are the Christian sentiments and the pure and upright religious opinions it contains. The veneration towards a beneficent Creator, and the feelings of piety found here, are not only calculated to instruct the ignorant, but are suited to fan the flame of devotion, and direct the mind towards pure religion.

“ But why all this, my dear Gryphius?¹ Just because I wished first to give my testimony in favour of this learned man; that, after having told you what I think of him, I may go on to ask what he, whose cause I plead, earnestly entreats of you by letter, namely, that you will print these three books of his poem. He will consider himself greatly honoured by your so doing, and you will gratify my anxious desire. You are in high repute with the Italians; whatever issues from your press is greatly valued; if it has your name to it, that is sufficient. Your probity, diligence, and erudition are well known. What is there, then, to prevent you from gratifying the wishes of your friends, and those of all good men? I do not think you will repent, if you add this poem to the writings of Actio Synceri² and Vida, both learned and elegant poets, with whom our Aonio may with justice be compared. He treats with elegance the same sacred subject, and is besides more profoundly versed in philosophic reasoning. But you will understand this as well yourself. I entreat you to be persuaded, that by acceding to my wishes and those of Aonio, you will infinitely oblige us both. Adieu, my dear Gryphius. Carpentras, 29th June, 1536.”³

The curious mixture of Pagan and Christian imagery in this singular poem is highly illustrative of the state of learning and opinion in Paleario's time, and brings us into close acquaintance with the character of his mind. While we admire his lofty conceptions and aims at divine knowledge, we must at the same time lament to see his flagging wing so often brought down to earth. Though we perceive that he had studied the Scriptures, and was to a considerable degree imbued with their light, he was not yet made free from the dominance of human authority: fear of consequences obliged him to clothe in the form of hypothesis the distinctive qualities of the Gospel, and thus

¹ This eminent printer, whose accuracy and diligence were so highly esteemed, willingly complied with the request of Sadoletto. Several editions of this poem, *De Immortalitate Animorum*, issued from his press both singly, and in conjunction with Paleario's Epistles and Orations.

² Sannazaro.

³ Palearii *Opera*, Accessio nova, p. 564. *Ep. Clarorum Virorum*, Lugduni, 1561. Jac. Sadoletto, *Epist.* lib. v. p. 220.

leaves us in the dark as to his real opinions : but he had gone too far to recede ; he was struggling towards light, and soon we shall find him basking in the perfect liberty and love of the Gospel. The contemplation of divine truth rouses the intellectual powers, and developes their full measure of strength. It is as true of the mental organization as it is of the material frame, that 'it grows on what it feeds on.' Minds occupied with little things remain dwarfish and limited in their views. There is a grandeur in the sacred writings which raises the tone of the most ordinary mind. Those who receive the truth in the love of it, exalt their moral and intellectual standard, even apart from the most precious part of the gift, spiritual enlightenment. By contact with inspiration, the intellectual powers are invigorated and etherialised, and enabled to take sounder views of things in general. Nothing promotes good sense so much as the study of the Scriptures, and we do not hesitate to say that it is this which makes the great practical difference between nations. In countries where this holy book is made the rule of life, where it is in the hands of the mass of the population, where legislation is based upon and carried out with due regard for the divine law, where there is a salutary fear of adding to, or taking from, the dictates of revelation, either in doctrine or practice, there we see truth prevail, and, in spite of the constantly recurring infirmities of human nature, the unerring rule is looked to as a standard. By this progress is measured and defects corrected.

True, we have seen errors advocated by individuals who profess to study the Scriptures, but if we examine them closely we shall find they take a partial and one-sided view of some one particular truth ; this is as injurious to mental soundness, as it would be destructive of the vigour of the body, if one member only were kept in exercise while the rest reposed in sluggish inertness. Other errors have arisen from a too great love of reasoning on divine things : such is the subtlety of the human mind, that, as we have seen in our own day, the most solid and important truths have evaporated like smoke from the mental laboratory. The casuist taken in his own labyrinth is bewildered and lost, and only relieved from his difficulty by giving up all, and submitting to an authority which inculcates blind obedience and irresponsible conformity.

Paleario's poem on the Immortality of the Soul is divided

into three parts, and dedicated to Ferdinand, king of the Romans.¹

The poem opens by an invocation of the heavenly spirits to aid him in celebrating the wisdom and power of the Creator, and his goodness in endowing man with intellectual faculties, sparks of the immortal essence; a subject never before sung in verse. He dwells on the sublime attributes of the Creator with holy reverence and poetic rapture; points to the wonders of his omnipotent and providential care in sustaining the world and all things therein, and then glances at the happy and sinless state of the blessed, enjoying everlasting repose in the presence of the one only Triune God.

In the second part he invokes Aristotle to guide him through the labyrinths of obscure reasoning, and to aid him in shedding light on this divine subject. He entreats Sadoletto to read his poem and to offer it to some of the acute spirits of Germany, France, and Rome. He tells him he has followed in his track, and made a clear distinction between the mind and the soul, words often used indifferently, though they differ in sense. Mind increases in vigour with our stature, and diminishes in strength as we advance in life. But the soul is always the same, both in childhood and old age.

In the opening passage of the third part he proposes to narrate what is the abode of souls, and what are the rewards and punishments which await them at the end of the world. He invokes John, the beloved disciple, who leaned on our Lord's breast at supper, and then adverts to the different theories of a future life, hints at the retributive expiation which some believe in, and speaks of those who have been predestinated to eternal life before the foundation of the world. The Son, constituted heir of all things, sent from heaven to take our nature, to heal our infirmities, to die, blotting out our iniquities. Those who believe in him, far as the east is from the west will he put their transgressions from them. He rejects the metempsychosis of the Greeks, and the belief in purgatory; but strives to paint in glowing imagery the end of the world. Language is too finite and conception too feeble to pourtray this great mystery. The poet's flagging wing betrays the material

¹ Younger brother of Charles V.; he married Anne Jagellon, heiress of the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, and received the title of King of the Romans.

origin of his contemplations, and we close the perusal of this interesting poem, exclaiming with the Apostle, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him."¹

There is a very beautiful Italian translation of this poem in verse by the Abbate Raffaele Pastore.² As it is a very scarce work, we give a few extracts.

Iddio è questi, il Creator Sovrano,³
 E di tutto il Fattor, del Cielo il Rege,
 Fuor di cui nè Fermezza, o Santitate
 Esser non puote: a lui s' indrizza, a lui
 Mira ogni cosa; d' ogni creatura
 Il Solo, e il Sommo egli è Principio e Fine
 E qual il cerchio de' Pianeti immenso
 Tutto chiude, ed abbraccia il mar, la Terra,
 E l' aere e il foco: tal l' Onnipotente
 Entro sè stesso, l' Universo tutto
 Comprende, e ne le cose, ove che sia,
 E dentro, e a tutto, e sempre egli è presente:
 Ma pur esser non può spazio sì vasto
 Che racchiuderlo possa, e tener dentro:
 E fuor de l' Etra, e fuor de gli altri Cieli
 Per sua immensitate il capo estolle,
 E sdegna ogni confine, ogni creato
 Senso e' sorpassa: qual di fumicello
 Angusto guado l' Oceano immenso.

Capirlo in oltre umano alto intelletto
 Non può già mai, che poich' a sì sovrano
 Tempio e' venne, e' s'arresta, e bassa l' ali:
 Ma quindi invigorito, e di sè stesso
 Miglior gran lunga, e più leggero, e snello
 De' Celesti a' Superni, ed aurei Templi
 S' innalza a volo, e con stupor s' avvisa
 Che lontano sia pur quel, ch' ei da presso
 Credeva, de' Beati il Sire Eterno.

Here is another beautiful and most scriptural passage.

⁴ un gran mistero è questo,
 Odi, ch' io tel disvelo: quel ch' io dissi

¹ 1 Cor. ii. 9.

² Pastore was a Neapolitan. It was published at Venice, with the date of London, in 1776, in company with a version of Lucretius, by the same translator.

³ "Hic Deus, hic opifex rerum est, hic rector Olympi."

De Immortal. Anim. 116, 120, lib. i. ed. Wetstein.

⁴ "Quæ superest igitur, magna hæc, jam percipe, res est."

De Immortal. Anim. lib. i. 420.

D' ogni cosa il Fattor, l' eterno, immenso
 Unico e solo Iddio, ei pur distinto
 E in tre persone; poichè in comprendendo
 Egli ogni cosa, ed ogni esterno obietto,
 I più remoti, e i più nascosi ancora,
 E sue perfezioni, e sè medesimo
 In un sol punto: egli è de' Numi il Padre
 E poichè *Mente* egli è ottima, e somma,
 Ottimo e Sommo in ogni cosa essendo,
Mente che tutto l' Universo regge:
 E pur Dio quella mente, è Dio, che in cielo
 Da que' felici abitator nomato,
 Del Genitor Sovrano, è la gran Prole.
 A lui diè l' assoluto universale
 Impero il sommo Padre: a lui di tutte
 Le sue produzione è debitrice
 L' industrie terra.....

Or mentre ch' egli il Genitor compiace,
 E mentre tutto oprar ingenuamente
 Miralo il Genitor: tal mutua in loro
 Fiamma s' accende, oh' ad amarsi astretti
 Con dolcissima forza indi l' un l' altro
 Ne sono entrambi: or come insinuarsi
 In esseri Divini amor sì fatto,
 Non essendo egli pur massimo Iddio?
 Così del Cielo il Regnator sovrano,
 Benchè uno sempre, ei pur ne si rivela
 (Certa altrettanto, che mirabil cosa!)
 Distinto in tre persone al mondo, e al Cielo.

Hallam, in his "Literature of the Middle Ages,"¹ says, "Paleario aims rather to be philosophical than poetical;" and again, "Aonius Palearius, though his poem on the Immortality of the Soul is equalled by Sadoletto himself to those of Vida² and Sannazaro,³ seems not entitled to anything like such eulogy. He became afterwards suspected of Lutheranism, and lost his life on the scaffold at Rome."⁴

¹ Vol. ii. p. 202.

² Vida wrote the *Cristiade*. It was published in 1535.

³ Author of the *Arcadia*, and the celebrated poem *De Partu Virginis*. The imagery is chiefly mythological.

⁴ Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 432. The poem *De Immortalitate Animorum* is considered by many learned men one of the finest Latin poems of the sixteenth century. Gerardus Joannes Vossius speaks of it as *æque immortalis carminis, quod fecit de animorum immortalitate*.

Thus lightly does Hallam dismiss this eminent Christian martyr. The passage alluded to is in a letter from Sadoletto to Seb. Gryphius the printer: "*Nec erit cur te pœniteat, hunc talem librum Actij Synceri et Vidæ doctissimorum hominum ac præstantissimorum poetarum scriptis adjunxisse ipsis cum quibus certè hic jure comparari potest.*"¹

Among Paleario's circle of learned friends, he maintained a close correspondence with Bernardino Maffei² (afterwards cardinal); they wrote sometimes in Latin, sometimes in Italian. Paleario, while in his full enthusiasm for Lampridio's lectures on Demosthenes, penned a letter filled with Greek quotations. Maffei, when writing to his brother, joked a little about this display of erudition; Paleario seems to have been rather sensitive under this friendly satire; but the following letters shew it did not diminish the warmth of their friendship.

BERNARDINO MAFFEI² TO AONIO PALEARIO.

"If I were not fully conscious within myself of the most constant and friendly feelings towards you, I would dwell more at length on the multiplicity of my daily occupations, and throw the blame upon them for permitting you to write a second letter before I had answered the first. But these things are more noticed by new acquaintances, than between old friends like you and me. I rather pass on to your letters, so full of your accustomed regard and kind feelings, that they have given me the greatest pleasure. You complain, because in writing to my brother I joked rather freely about your having written to me in Greek, to shew off your learning in this line; this has pained me a good deal. What, I pray you, becomes of our friendship, if we cannot joke a little and speak freely to each other? I never indeed thought it possible that our friendship could be affected by so slight a cause; nor was there in the letter of my dear and excellent brother anything which could offend. Thus, my dear Aonio, if you believe in my affection or gratitude towards you, and do not think me of a light inconstant character, take in good part that which you seem rather to have taken ill; believe what I said came from a sincere and affectionate friend. As to your remark, that Lampridio and all our most intimate friends wonder that I have become so negligent in writing, and think I am changed; I would here excuse myself, if I had not answered them all in my last letter to Barbaro, and if I did not know that the testimony of those who are going to you, and of our friend Gherio, would confute this accusation. I could adduce many and most plausible reasons for my silence. I am not one of those who change their feelings all of a sudden to persons whom they have admitted to their friendship, or cease to love those who still persevere in their

¹ Jac. Sadol. *Epist.* p. 222; and Palearii *Opera*, p. 566.

² See Appendix D.

attachment and regard. But enough of this. I was not able to find any one to salute Mauro¹ in your name. He was seized with a malignant fever on the first of August, and died in a few days; leaving behind him a high opinion of his talents, and regret for his death. This is all I have to say in reply to your letter. Do not imagine it possible that our old friendship is in any degree lessened; continue to love me with your usual warmth. Salute Bembo from me, and thank him for remembering me so kindly. Adieu. Rome. 5 March."²

ANTONIO PALEARIO TO BERNARDINO MAFFEI.

"Your letter has grieved me a good deal, for you neither venture to accuse me openly of a change of feelings towards you, nor do you acknowledge my constancy towards you. Though you make use of very soft expressions, in which you always abound, I, who know your keen satire, discern quite another sense than what appears on the surface. If I did not know that your brother Achilles writes you an account of our daily conversations, and tells you that I admire your excellences so much that you seem to me almost divine; and that your father also, a wise and judicious man, has informed you of my devoted affection for you all; if this were not the case, I should fear you thought my regard diminished. Judge, I pray you, rather by facts than by the play of words in a letter written in Italian, (for which language is remarkable), and then you will see how strong and sacred are the ties which bind me to you. I have always thought that a friendship which springs from, and is nourished by, devotion to the same line of study, is solid and unalterable. Your wise and excellent father has done all in his power to establish and increase it; as to your brother, he is much attached to me, and greatly beloved in return. Not a day passes that I do not feel myself under obligation to you and yours. Your friendship, and the benefits conferred, make you more potent with me than any other person: do not imagine that any one can be dearer to me than you are. As to the letter which I wrote you in Greek, I did this, because, as you were at Padua which is another Athens, and enthusiastically devoted to the study of that language, I thought you would prefer a Greek letter to one in our own tongue. Good heavens! what was there in that letter for me to boast of, who have never been a proficient in this kind of eloquence? But now know, that while you are at Rome I shall write to you only in Latin."³

This letter is dated February, Padua.

The next letter to Lampridio must have been written soon after the former. We find by it that he had not forgotten Maffei's castigation.

"You often sprinkle your letter with Greek quotations: this is excusable in you on account of your learning and erudition; but if I were to do so it

¹ This is the same Mauro with whom Paleario corresponds in the beginning of the second chapter. As Mauro d' Arcano died at Rome in August 1536, this letter must have been written in 1537.

² *Palearii Opera*, lib. i. ep. 18.

³ *Ibid.* lib. i. ep. 19.

would not be so well received. Hear what happened to me. I wrote in this style a few days ago to Maffei; he wrote back immediately with his own hand, severely blaming me; and when writing to his brother in Italian, made a joke of it. When I answered in Tuscan¹ he did not take it well; and praised the authors Ubaldino and Delio, pompous men, who now rule in Rome. As they assembled a kind of Senate every day and continued to annoy our friends, I cited the Epistles to Atticus in which Cicero did the same thing. They, seeing the Senate bowed to this authority, became silent. But I shall take care not to pass bounds. Even Cervini said that our letters *ελλυχνίων βζεν, smelt of the lamp*; better this than *ἀπαιδευσίας, of ignorance*. Let him hug himself as much as he likes, in complacency with his poem 'On the Poppy,' written with too much licence in Italian blank verse. He has written nothing else, and certainly will not have me for a rival. What? you will say, in Italian verse! *Τὴν μὲν τοι κακότητα καὶ λαδὸν ἐστὶν ἐλέσθαι βῆτιως, λείη μὲν ὀδὸς μάλα δ' ἐγγύθει ναίει:*² but this is his fault, not ours. What affects me most, is that which you write at the end of your letter, *ὦ πάροι, ἢ μάλα δὴ κρατερὸφρόνος ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἐβῆῃ*. See how high they aspire: if they attain the object of their ambition, they will not be much better off. I sympathise with your complaints—I have suffered the same; it seems as if by a certain fatality nothing unfortunate happens to you without reaching me at the same time. He has a chapel near my land; we had a dispute about the boundaries: this miser values a foot of land much more than he does me; he sent his peasants on my ground, tore up the fence, and removed the boundary. Are these the men you are to believe? A plague take them and their fellows, whom nothing can satisfy.³

"There are great reports about the Council;⁴ we do not know how it will turn out. Pole⁵ is to be legate at Trent, Flaminio goes with him, also Priuli, and perhaps Carneseochi; more upright men are not to be found on earth. I met these worthy persons at Florence. Vettori loves us, and we love him; he is entirely immersed in the rhetoric of Aristotle, on which he is writing

¹ Paleario here makes a distinction between *Italico* and *Thusco*; *ad fratrem scribens Italico, risit, cui ego cum Thusco respondi non tulit.*

² "Worthlessness is easily found, and often met with; the way is smooth, it is near."

³ The privileges possessed by the priests made them universally odious; they had it in their power to gratify their evil and avaricious desires under the name and authority of religion. Removing landmarks is severely reprobated in the Old Testament: "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark." (Deut. xix. 14.)

⁴ The Council was not convoked by Paul III. till the year 1541. The bull was issued 22nd May, 1542, when three legates, Paris, Morone, and Pole, were sent to Trent 26th August that same year; but no business was done, and they were recalled in seven months. Between 1537 and 1542 there is a considerable space of time. Both Tiraboschi and Lazzari observe that as Pole was not legate at Trent till 1542, there must be some mistake. The only way of solving the difficulty is to remember the slow operations of the Roman Court, and how long they talked of doing things before they proceeded to action.

⁵ Reginald Pole, Cardinal, an Englishman, deacon of St. Mary in Cosmedin.

commentaries. What? you ask. He already equals or surpasses the ancients, who passed their lives in such occupations.

"There are two men now in Italy who excel in writing, Vittorio and Manuzio. The letters of Paolo Manuzio¹ come very near those of Tully; which were much admired by Bembo and Sadoleto, but are now no longer read. The commentaries of Pietro (Vettori) have disclosed the treasures of Aristotle; what we thought impossible to convey in Latin, is now rendered both elegantly and in a good Latin style.

"You ask about Giovio;² the old man writes history very well; he not only details events, but also records the manners, customs, and institutions, not of kings only, but of all people and nations; he writes in a pompous and well-balanced style, but is rather deficient in purity. You perhaps think I mean of life—no, of diction also.

"Giulio Camillo³ is building a splendid theatre. There never was such a combination among ignorant men who think, without study, to write like Cicero. According to the signs of the planets, he puts up boxes with tickets on them, a bright idea, my dear Lampridio, ἀνὴρ ὁ λογοδαίδαλος τοῦ Ἀριστιπποῦ λαμβάνει βλένους, καὶ τοῦ Μίδου θηρεύει ὄνυχους, *The clever talker catches Aristippus' simuletons, and hunts the wild asses of Midas.* You laugh—I am not joking; he collected from them a great deal of money, promising to inspire them with eloquence—what more? I do not know, I forget what I wished to say. Oh, now I remember it. That Verpa of yours, who is not a man but a blockhead, whom I lauded to the skies, has never answered my letter. It is said he behaved very ill to Antipalo. O Nemesis! O holy Nemesis! how he is exposed to contempt. But I am perhaps speaking too rashly. Farewell! continue to love me, and frequently rejoice my heart with your most welcome letters."⁴

Let us now glance at the influence and tendencies of Aristotle's writings. In the Grecian Republic, the doctrines of Plato ruled exclusively in the schools of philosophy. We find them also in the writings of the most distinguished ecclesiastics in the early ages. His moral sentiments were so pure and exalted, that the fathers, to attract the attention of Pagans who looked on him as an irrefragable authority, made ample use of his doctrines. He taught that the knowledge derived from the divine origin of the soul becomes weakened by its communion with matter; and that knowledge acquired by the experience of things is not true knowledge, but only a revival or remembrance of former cognitions. He was ever looking, through the phenomena presented to the senses, into the transcendental and more elevated region

¹ Son of Aldo Manuzio, il Vecchio.

² Paolo Giovio, bishop of Nocera; he wrote, besides other things, *Historie del suo tempo.*

³ Appendix E.

⁴ *Palearii Opera*, lib. i. ep. 17.

of ideas, and he laid it down as a theory, that we must be in possession of the universal idea before we can understand the individual conception.

Aristotle, on the contrary, though he had been the pupil of Plato for twenty years, no sooner opened a school for himself than he severely criticised the doctrines of his master, and took up a position altogether opposite to that of Plato. He occupied himself much in close observation of the changes in the material world. His maxim was that *nihil est in intellectu quod non fuit in sensu*, "there is nothing in the mind which has not been conveyed there by the senses;" and that it is only by individual experience we can arrive at general truths. Aristotle, however, by no means lost sight of the plastic powers of the human intelligence. In his *Dialectics*, we find him asserting *à priori* principles of reasoning, which, instead of being the result of induction, only places us in a position for acquiring knowledge. He admitted that every idea had not a real existence, such as we picture it in our minds, but that each is derived from different combinations suggested by things seen, and from thence he argues that we form an idea of God whom we have not seen. The force of his syllogistic process lies in its power of demonstration; it shews that, certain premises granted, certain conclusions follow. His enumeration of ideas as exhibited in the *Ten Categories* is an attempt to classify the forms of thought. Of these *Categories* a great mystery was made in former times, but their value is more grammatical than logical, and the nomenclature is at once redundant and deficient. The study of them has too often led men to rest satisfied with words, when they have only got hold of an artificial arrangement which does not present one clear idea to the mind.

Laying aside Aristotle's philosophic theories, what chiefly distinguishes him is the genius of observation, and the uniting in his researches the most marvellous activity with the most persevering diligence and sagacity of mind; he discovered that every distinct object in nature and art forms one of an immense series of facts, sometimes uniform, but never confused, sometimes various and remarkable for their disparity. This induced him to examine nature closely, to elucidate his thesis with numerous divisions and definitions; and he declined entering into the deeper regions of truth, till he had explored the exterior limits in which it was

enclosed. Such a project would have discouraged any other man, but he set himself to study the general and individual history of nature; the origin and eternity of the world; the causes, principles, and essences of beings; the union and reciprocal action of the elements; the composition and decomposition of bodies; the subjects of motion: infinity, void, space, and time, all came under his cognisance. He described whatever has a being, and what is going on above or under the earth; examined the superficies of bodies, and the properties of matter; reasoned on the distances and the revolutions of planets, also on the nature of the stars and their spheres; dived into the bowels of the earth and analysed the fossils and minerals; discussed the violent convulsions of the globe and the sea, the rivers, plants and animals which are found on its surface—all claimed his attention. He studied man in all his parts and faculties, the anatomy of his body, the nature and powers of his soul, the objects of his sensations, the most secret emotions of his heart, laws, government, science, art; and traced in the revolutions of ages the multiform and varied changes of people, and the course of human events.

Such was the Stagirite philosopher, and such the efforts of his genius. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the astonishing extent of his acquirements and the depth of his conceptions, the Aristotelian doctrines were for a considerable space of time wholly neglected, while Plato's brilliant genius and his eloquent discourses attracted the minds of the Greeks. Won by the liveliness of his imagination and the richness of a happy and engaging manner of writing, they contrasted it with the dry and severe Aristotelian method, which was in some degree obscure to the generality of readers. The fame of Plato soon spread to the Romans. Cicero highly extolled him, and called him *Deus noster*; he followed him closely, and held him up so vehemently to admiration that he soon became celebrated throughout Italy for his followers, and his works were universally read and studied from the period of the Roman Emperors.

Meanwhile the works of Aristotle remained in obscurity; he differed on so many points from Plato his master, that he could not make up his mind to publish opinions so contrary, but put them into the hands of Theophrastus, his most devoted disciple and successor, so that all who succeeded Aristotle only taught

his doctrines by tradition. After the death of Theophrastus, Strabo¹ narrates that the works of Aristotle were exposed to so many risks, that this sufficiently accounts for the silence of those times as to his doctrines, when the opinions of Plato were in the zenith of their fame. At length the fate of war brought these precious MSS. to light. Sylla, the victorious Roman general, in his war against Mithridates, took prisoner the grammarian Tyrannio, and at the same time the MSS. of Aristotle fell into his hands; but neither he nor his colleague Lucullus were able to appreciate the value of the treasure they carried to Rome.

But Andronicus of Rhodes, well versed in his philosophy, devoted himself to the care of bringing to light these valuable writings, just as Cicero was rising into fame; when he was raised to the rank of Tribune his approbation brought Aristotle's doctrines into notice, and they gradually acquired fame and influence, till the time of Philip Augustus. An assembly of bishops subsequently condemned his *Metaphysics*, and under Innocent III. and Gregory IV. the philosophers of the Paris university were forbidden to teach them, and those who were still attached to his doctrines were looked on as heretics. The violent emulation which afterwards arose about the doctrines of Aristotle, between the Nominalists and the Realists, the Thomists and the Scotists, divided the whole of Europe, and caused the stable characteristics, the essential peculiarities, of the philosopher to evaporate as it were into subtleties, and the gravity of the Aristotelian philosophy to become corrupted by the confusion and animosity of the various disputants. The licence of permitting free scope to individual imaginations grew to such a height, that while the uproar of the schools sounded the name of Aristotle, his real voice was suffocated, and his doctrine totally overlooked. The bad taste of the times and the ignorance of literature increased the madness of excessive reasoning, opened the way for foolish and empty contests, and encouraged a spirit of childish ostentation which delighted in opposition. These puerile disputes occupied the minds of men for a series of ages, and degraded the dignity of philosophy.

The varied dispositions of the human mind caused the philosophy of the Stagirite to be at one time laid aside and vilified, at another lauded to the skies, till we come to that

¹ xiii. p. 608.

unhappy period when the scholastic method was adopted in the study of holy subjects; this was the method used by those monks among the Benedictines who had the charge of public instruction. St. Bernard, the reforming Benedictine, had enough strong good sense to oppose the subtlety of the scholastic method introduced by Abelard, but it subsequently gained ground.

Anatolia, bishop of Laodicea, called by Eusebius one of the wisest men of his age, first taught among Christians the doctrine of Aristotle in Alexandria,¹ and by this authority it acquired great credit in Egypt and in Italy. St. Augustine himself, who was endowed with so penetrating a genius, would not have made use of the works of Aristotle if he had not much admired his method; in his writings against Crescentius he blames this Donatist grammarian, because he sought to suppress the dialectic method, so advantageous for the defence of truth.

Severinus Boethius,² who was three times Consul of Rome, studied at Athens for eighteen years the philosophy of Aristotle, elucidated it by many comments, and greatly contributed to render it celebrated throughout the west. During the disturbance of the Italian wars, the stupidity of the people was so great, that the learned in this branch of knowledge were taken for necromancers, as Bellarmine wrote of Pope Silvester II. who knew something of philosophy and geometry.

But the reputation of the Stagirite was diffused with still greater fame among the Arabs, to whom the sciences had passed from Greece to Italy, and from Italy to Africa. Those centuries which were ages of ignorance in Europe, were ages of light in Africa and Egypt, where there arose a crowd of philosophers who enriched by their notes the doctrines of Aristotle: among these came first Avicenna and Averroes, who, as Alighieri writes, *fece il gran comento*. Universities were opened to teach his philosophy at Tunis, Tripoli, Fez, and Morocco; wherever the Arabs extended their conquests, they carried with them the spirit of the philosophy they had embraced, especially in Spain.¹

The Spaniards carried the commentaries of Aristotle into France, where they were as yet unknown, and his doctrines began to be taught publicly in the university of Paris.

¹ See Appendix F.

² Born 470, died 524. Some say his sons were Consuls, and he only once.

³ Catania, *Giornale dell' I. R. Istituto*, Lombardia, 1853.

The period in which the success of Aristotle appeared most variable, was when the scholastic method arose; it not only vexed philosophy with its arid forms, but even took possession of theological doctrines for a remarkable period of time. But unfortunately the Aristotle of the schools was not that of Greece; a slight affinity only was to be discovered. The alterations which his doctrine had undergone in Arabia added to its incongruities; notwithstanding, the authority of this philosopher was as it were irrefragable; when his *ipse dixit* could be cited, it was vain to dissent, some conciliatory explanation was all that was permitted. Thus Seneca's saying became literally true, *Versat nos et præcipitat traditus per manus error alienisque perimus exemplis*. Supported by the axioms of Aristotle, the human mind sought to defend its fanciful extravagances. In order to remove the temptation to perverse interpretations, the books of Aristotle were burned, and the reading of them forbidden.

We have here traced the wonderful efforts of the human mind in two different phases or generic tendencies; the one, in Plato, a mind of original strength and noble conceptions, unshackled by human theories, soaring to the Seat of the Most High God, "if haply he might find him"; the other, in Aristotle, who, cast in a more experimental mould, and of a more earthly but perhaps less profound texture,¹ with ideas elevated by the doctrines of his master, worked upon his materials with keener observation, and subjected the flights of imagination to the test of demonstration. So contrary was his system to the spirit of the age, that his writings lay dormant for 200 years² after his death, and it was only a century previous to the Christian era that they were generally known; and from that time till the present his doctrines have been taken up and extolled, or laid aside and vilified, according to the caprice of human nature.

¹ Maurice, *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*.

² Strabo's account of Aristotle's works is confirmed by the testimony of Athenæus, Plutarch, and Suidas; but modern scholars assert, that this only relates to a part of Aristotle's writings, and that it is not on this account to be concluded that Aristotle did not himself publish some of his works. We may remark by the way, that the word 'publish' is of different acceptation when applied to MS. and to printing. Some think his dialogues and esoteric writings were published by the author in his lifetime. This is a new opinion entertained within the last ten years, originating from the patient research of German philosophers, and must in some degree be hypothetical. Strabo's account is acknowledged to be founded on truth, though susceptible of exceptions.—See *Victor Cousin*. Smith's *Biog. Dictionary*.

In the middle ages, great divisions arose between ecclesiastics and learned men on the merits of Aristotle. His doctrines had in course of time been so greatly corrupted through the carelessness of copyists and commentators, that they had lost their distinctive qualities. It was then the scholastic method arose, which made use of the axioms of Aristotle to support the wildest extravagances of the human mind, and to advocate the most puerile nonentities. This was the state of philosophy at the time of the Reformation; so deeply deplored by men like Paleario.

The study of the original languages, and the appeal to Scripture on theological points, infused new vigour into the intellectual man, while it tended to fan the flame of piety and devotion; though Gibbon says, "the human faculties are fortified by the art and practice of dialectics, the ten predicaments of Aristotle collect and methodize our ideas, and his syllogism is the keenest weapon of dispute. It was most dexterously wielded in the schools of the Saracens; but as it is more effectual for the detection of error than for the investigation of truth, it is not surprising that new generations of masters should still revolve in the same circle of logical argument."¹

The vagueness of Plato's notions might, in some degree, be owing to the Pagan darkness which surrounded him; to doubt the fables of the gods was sure to stamp his system as one of doubt; his thoughts ranged on subjects upon which heathen mythology could give him no assistance, and he had no "sure word of prophecy," but only a faint reflection of Jewish traditions. Gibbon has the following remarkable passage on Plato's writings:

"The genius of Plato, informed by his own meditation, or by the traditional knowledge of the priests of Egypt, had ventured to explore the mysterious nature of the deity. When he had elevated his mind to the sublime contemplation of the first self-existent necessary cause of the universe; the Athenian sage was incapable of conceiving *how* the simple unity of his essence could admit the infinite variety of distinct and successive ideas which compose the mind of the intellectual world; *how* a being purely incorporeal could execute that perfect model, and mould with plastic hand the rude and independent chaos. The vain hope of extricating himself from these difficulties, which must ever oppress the feeble powers of the human mind, might induce Plato to consider the divine nature under the threefold modification—of the first cause, the reason or logos, and the soul or the spirit of the universe. His poetical imagination sometimes fixed and animated these metaphysical abstractions; the three archical or original principles were

¹ *Decline and Fall*, vol. x. p. 46.

represented in the Platonic system as three Gods, united with each other by a mysterious and ineffable generation; and the Logos was particularly considered under the most accessible character of the Son of the Eternal Father, and the Creator and Governor of the world. Such appear to have been the secret doctrines which were cautiously whispered in the gardens of the academy; and which, according to the more recent disciples of Plato, could not be perfectly understood till after an assiduous study of thirty years."¹

These doctrines were very possibly derived by Plato from the traditional creed of the patriarchs; and though Gibbon in his note doubts this, and adduces as a reason the obscure state and unsociable habits of the Jewish nation, this objection has little weight, when we recollect their extensive commerce, their busy seaports, their frequent captivities. Jerusalem was one of the most civilized cities of its day; the Jewish temple the finest and most ancient work of art in existence; heads of families being bound to appear in the temple once a year, Jerusalem was the resort of all the tribes of the east, and their migratory habits offered every facility for disseminating their religious opinions. Why were these opinions of Plato "cautiously whispered," but because they were adverse to the material ideas of the Pantheist, and took a range too high for the community to understand.

The life of Paleario exhibits society, as it were, in a transition state; when men were looking for a change and sighing to be free, he was only one of the many who groaned in secret over ecclesiastical abuses, and who diligently studied the gospel to understand the divine law. They looked with anxious hope to the meeting of a free general Council, as the means of emancipation from papal thralldom. It proved, indeed, a fallacious hope; no Pope could ever be brought to consent to such a suicidal measure as free discussion on matters of faith. The immense difficulty of deciding doctrinal points in a public assembly had not been duly weighed. The disputants could only consist either of the clergy numerically strong on the papal side, or enlightened men such as Paleario, who had diligently studied the subject in a scriptural manner, but who as fallible individuals were liable to error. The grand principles of religious toleration were at that time too imperfectly understood as the basis of religious liberty: even its most zealous advocates did not venture to claim it as their *right*, as the *prerogative* of every intelligent being to be left free in his choice as to religion;

¹ *Decline and Fall*, vol. iii. p. 314.

and yet here lies the whole root of the matter—man's responsibility before God both for his belief and his actions. A responsible being must be a free agent; the liberty of choice, the exercise of reason and judgment, are integral parts of every sincere acceptance of opinions; but the whole policy of the Romish Church lies in an opposite direction; it forbids examination, seals up the sources of light, and persecutes those who differ from it even in the most trifling points; condemns to the flames not only books of philosophy, but the Scriptures themselves, if not issued under its sanction. Nor do the consequences of this false principle stop even here; hurried on by intemperate zeal, even the persons of those who dissent from its arbitrary decrees were devoted to the flames: forgetting the evangelic and apostolic command to call no man master on earth, they exalt him, whom they entitle the visible head of the Church, to the seat of temporal and spiritual power, arm him with the sword, and allow him to wield it against the most sincere and faithful followers of Christ and his apostles.

The undue exaltation of human authority was well foreseen by Paul, when he reproached the Corinthians for saying, "I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?"¹ The apostle utterly disclaims that headship which belongs to Christ alone; He was crucified for us; to Him only are due supreme honours, so impiously lavished on his nominal vicegerent. The Papacy proves its inconsistency by upholding what is called Christian authority on principles utterly at variance with the whole spirit of the gospel. The real object of which is touchingly quoted from Isaiah, when Christ, "as his custom was, went into the synagogue on the sabbath-day and stood up for to read. And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Esaias; and when he had opened the book he found the place where it was written, The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor, he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set-at liberty them that are bruised. And he closed the book, and he gave it again to the minister, and sat down: and the eyes of all them that were in the synagogue were fastened

¹ 1 Cor. i. 12, 13.

on him. And he began to say unto them, *This day* is this scripture fulfilled in your ears."

What then is the mission which our blessed Lord came to accomplish? Mark the tender and compassionate benevolence of the prophecy which he says was fulfilled that very day; the gospel preached to the poor, the broken-hearted healed, the captive delivered, the blind receiving sight, and liberty granted to the oppressed. Now mark the contrast: the gospel is *not* preached to the poor, it is held as a sealed and forbidden book; and the hearts of true Christians are broken by arbitrary and prohibitive decrees. The mind of man is kept captive; liberty is withheld from the bruised and oppressed; scriptural light is excluded lest the blind should see; and spiritual despotism still continues to persecute all diligent seekers of Divine truth.¹

During the prevalence of the scholastic method, not only was the original genius of Aristotle obscured, but all sound reasoning discarded. The clergy, who were the chief instructors, taught a blind obedience to the Church. Credulity and superstition blunted the understanding and crippled the intellectual powers. This, as Paleario remarks, if confined to human literature, might have been borne; but it became a yoke too heavy to be tolerated when suffered to intrude into sacred things and mix itself with divine philosophy, forbidding to the Christian, set free by the publication of the gospel, all reasonable enquiry into the articles of his belief. The whole of Christendom revolted; the Reformation was the fruit of this awakening; and though a large part of Europe settled down under its former thralldom, yet light had appeared, and darkness no longer prevailed. The reformers did not totally discard Aristotle's philosophy, but rather strove to purify it from the corruptions it had contracted. Melancthon particularly recommended the Aristotelian system of logic, as a means of strengthening the reasoning faculties, and as a valuable aid in religious instruction. He did not value it in a christian point of view, but used it as a mine of knowledge useful to the interpretation of the sacred oracles. While he gave Aristotle his just meed of praise as an original thinker, he drew a clear distinction between the science and philosophy of Aristotle, and the knowledge of christian doctrine for the salvation of the soul.

Calvin, whose mind was of a larger and firmer grasp, held

Aristotle's morals comparatively light. He found all that was necessary on this point in the Scriptures, and kept philosophy and theology distinctly apart. These sciences, which had been confounded and mixed up together in scholastic studies, became independent of each other at the period of the Reformation. The philosophy of the schools, thus deserted, sought new partisans, and not unfrequently turned all its strength against religion, which it had so lately claimed as an inseparable companion.¹

Neither Bembo's earnest persuasions, nor Paleario's great enjoyment in the literary society at Padua, could make him forget his friends at Siena. Their hearty hospitality and social benevolence had impressed him with so deep a sense of gratitude and affection, that, after some hesitation, he at length decided to fix himself near Siena. Previous to settling down, he went to Rome to visit his friends, particularly Ennio Filonardi his townsman, who was now governor of St. Angelo. On his return he spent some time at Volterra, and it was there perhaps that he heard of the villa of Ceciniano being offered for sale, as the family, its original possessors, were natives of Volterra. In a letter which he wrote about this time to Paul Sadoleto, a nephew of the cardinal, he alludes to his visit to Volterra in the month of June; gives him an account of his friend Marco, a venerable bishop, of their conversation together, the friendly manner in which he had received him, and the christian tone of his discourse. He encourages Paul to persevere in his studies, and to fulfil the expectations of his friends, particularly "because he has so illustrious an uncle; who, while Christ is the chief object of his meditations and occupations, nevertheless takes pleasure in an elegance of style not usual with our ancestors, and knows how to join eloquence with wisdom. While men more sharp-witted than erudite have cast this most holy subject into such utter darkness, that sacred literature seems covered with eternal night; so much the more worthy of praise is he, by whose means we begin to see. I will speak frankly, my dear Paul, as is my wont; there have been men both vicious and sophistical, who, from ostentation or greediness, have wrapped the most important subjects in obscurity. If this had been done only in human philosophy we might have patience; but when they come by litigious questions in ponderous volumes to stifle all

¹ *Etudes Littéraires de la Reformat.* par A. Sayons. Paris, 1854.

divine wisdom, by which we live and attain to light and tend towards heaven, good men can never approve this. There are some at the present time, who like the owls delight in darkness, and groan at the approach of light. It would be useless to require them to cease from their folly. Your uncle was among the first to oppose himself to this system, and the first who sought to interpret sacred subjects in Latin with clearness and elegance.

"He being now at the helm of the Christian Republic,¹ good men fear that he will lay aside these studies. What a fatal disturbance in all things has suddenly arisen! Who is there who does not pervert even matters of divine right, and those primal, useful institutions which our ancestors held in high veneration? The people are oppressed by cruel laws, and virtuous men can scarcely breathe in these days. We retain a shadow only of christian devotion, but for a long time past we have no real piety."

This letter is dated Siena, 11th of June, and must have been written in the year 1537, for we find that Paleario about this time bought a villa called Ceciniano.² He had been for a short time located in the town of Colle, a small episcopal city seated on an eminence crowned by the ruins of a picturesque old castle, which was then in its pristine glory and feudal grandeur. Ceciniano lies among the hills, about three miles from Colle, a little off the road to Volterra. Then, as now, there was no carriage-road, and its visitors must either travel on foot or on horseback. Its retired situation and good air were great attractions for a studious man. Seen at a distance it is a prominent object, but not remarkable for its beauty now, whatever it may formerly have been. This villa is said in ancient times to have belonged to the Cecina family. They trace back their ancestors to Aula Cecina, whose cause Cicero defended.³ Paleario was probably persuaded to make this purchase by some of the principal inhabitants of Colle, who shewed him great hospitality and attention, and from one of these families he selected his wife,

¹ Jacopo Sadoletto was made Cardinal in 1536.

² Palearii *Opera*, lib. ii. ep. 6.

³ In the *Notizie Storiche della Città di Volterra da Aula Cecina*, published at Pisa, in Italian, in 1758, we find the following passage. A. F. Gori, a very painstaking author in the study of inscriptions and notes, says, "*Virorum illustrium qui ex hac Familia prodierunt ducit agmen A. Cecina, Tusca disciplina peritissimus et Volaterris Augurum princeps quem laudat Cicero ejusdem A. Cecina filio scribens, Ep. vi. 6, et nobilissimum atque optimum virum predicat.*"

Marietta Guidotti.¹ After he had bought a villa, the next step was to take a wife. He had arrived at that age, thirty-four years, when a man who intends to marry begins to think seriously about it; his friends were anxious to see him possess this crowning point of domestic felicity. Paleario, naturally of a warm and affectionate disposition, was peculiarly suited to enjoy the sweets of a happy union. He was a man capable of a sincere attachment, and superior to that selfishness which makes a wife, especially in Italy, a mere appendage to a man's comforts, whom he either treats with indifference, or from whom he requires an absolute sacrifice to his will and wishes; exacting, as a mark of her affection, that she should have no tastes, feelings, or opinions different from his; that her individuality should merge into that of her lordly husband, and herself be too happy to have mind and body enslaved in the bonds of matrimony. A letter of Paleario to his old friend, cardinal Filonardi, gives an account of his motives for marrying.

He begins with an apology for his long silence, and offers as an excuse his "being about to do a thing which required serious reflection."

"To whom indeed could I have better applied than to a man of your wisdom, tried by good fortune, and raised by your own excellence to so eminent a post, and one who has always loaded me with benefits? But in truth, when I was at Rome last year, having become acquainted with your opinion on this matter, I felt ashamed to ask again by letter, what I had so often heard from you personally. In our daily conversations I often told you how weary I was of our miserable times; that I desired nothing so earnestly as to lead a christian life, and avail myself of Paul's permission.² You approved my determination, and affirmed that this opinion was neither new nor futile, but derived from ancient institutions, and found inscribed in the Holy Scriptures.

"On my return to Tuscany I bought Ceciniano,³ the villa of Cecina⁴ of Volterra, whose cause our Marcus Tullius of Arpinum defended before the

¹ In the municipal archives of Colle there is a note of his having paid duty on Marietta's dower (800 florins) in 1538.

² 1 Cor. vii. 9.

³ See Appendix G.

⁴ A. Cecina, a native of Etruria, the friend of Cicero, took part with Pompey in the civil war between him and Cæsar; on the success of the latter, Cecina fled to Sicily. Cicero, who had reconciled himself to the conqueror, did his best to serve the interests of his friend Cecina. There is a stream near Volterra which flows by the villa called Ceciniano, which in all probability took its name from this family as well as the villa. We may place its date at least a hundred years before Christ, as Cicero was assassinated 43 years B.C. In one of his letters to A. Cecina

Recuperatores.¹ I was then easily persuaded to follow the advice of my friends, who exhorted me to take a wife. After due reflection, I considered that here I had neither relations nor connexions; that I had arrived at the age of thirty-four years, that my health was delicate, that the manners of the Tuscans pleased me; what was there then to prevent my uniting myself in marriage with a young girl, the daughter of excellent persons, by whom she had been carefully and modestly brought up? This seemed the more desirable, as Ceciniano, where I propose to retire from time to time to live in seclusion and to occupy myself in composition, is in the territory of Colle, whose inhabitants have treated me with great respect. The town itself pleases me for the salubrity of the air, the style of its buildings, and the sociable disposition of its inhabitants, and because it is at a convenient distance from Siena, and not very far from the most flourishing city of Tuscany; these were the motives which induced me to yield to the entreaties of my friends who had interested themselves in my welfare. If it were not for the thought of my friends, and the great desire I feel for your society, I should say I had taken a wise resolution. As to what you write about my sister's son, I also desire it, and I ought to do so; but in these learned days the study of classical literature requires no ordinary vigour of mind and quickness of intellect; these, on account of his delicate constitution, he possesses in a very moderate degree. I have advised him to devote himself to the medical profession; for though a medical man ought not to be quite ignorant of philosophy, yet it is not absolutely necessary to be perfect in all the elegances of Greek and Latin literature, like the orator, the poet, and the philosopher. Siena. 1st March."²

A letter, written about this time to cardinal Sadoletto, speaks of a near neighbour, a retired bishop, Luca Joannino of Volterra, formerly bishop of Anagni. He had been induced to give up his bishopric under promise of compensation, but this had not yet been granted him. Paleario begs Sadoletto to represent to the Pope, that he had given up both dignity, authority, and profit. He describes him as

“A good man, who, after his daily devotions, employs his time in reading works on theology and agriculture, and takes great delight in improving his fertile and pleasant little farm; says he is a true Christian; that though he has been employed in public offices, he is so devoid of ambition that he thinks nothing so delightful as a villa of his own, even though not very elegant;

he alludes to the art of divination, as one in which the Etruscans excelled: *Si te ratio quaedam Etrusca disciplina, quam a patre, nobilissimo atque optimo viro, acceperas non fefellit*.—See *Ep. ad Cecinam*, vi. 6. Cecina, or Cœcina, wrote a work on Etruscan history. See the *Veronese Scholia on the Æneid*, vol. x. 183, 198. Niebuhr's *Rome*, vol. i. p. 12.

¹ *Recuperatores*, judges appointed by the prætor to examine private matters.

² *Palearii Opera*, lib. ii. ep. 7.

nothing he thinks can give so much pleasure to a free man, nor can a good man be anywhere so happy as in the tranquil retirement and literary leisure of the country. These things he repeats so often, that he reminds me of Xenophon's saying about Cyrus, *δικαίως μοι δοκεῖς, ὃ Κύρῳ, εὐδαίμων εἶναι, ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὃν ἀρετῇ εὐδαιμονεῖς*—*it appears to me right, O Cyrus, that you should be happy, because you are good.* I go often to Ceciniano to enjoy the beauty of the place and the conversation of this learned man. He is much attached to you, and often asks about your health; being somewhat uneasy because I expressed a fear lest this journey of several days (though you travel in good company) should fatigue or injure you, which may God avert! Last year you were ill, and much reduced from the violence of your malady and the effects of medicine. Ceciniano. May."¹

The following letter, written to his episcopal neighbour, makes us acquainted with some of Paleario's thoughts and habits of life. It alludes to a publication of which we have no account; perhaps it was a book on the marriage of the priests, a subject at that time much discussed; or it might be on the duties of married life, peculiarly likely to interest Paleario at this juncture. We have here a graphic account of his impatience at the interruption of tiresome visitors; the price of corn was to these intruders the most interesting subject. They had too much obtuseness and self-importance to perceive that their presence was unwelcome. Paleario, immersed in his book, was not tolerant of the interruption, and made his escape home, whence he wrote the following letter.

AONIO PALEARIO TO LUCA JOANNINO, BISHOP.

"When a few days ago you invited me to supper, to add fresh gusto to our meal, you introduced at the second course a book upon marriage. Just as I had eagerly began to read it, I was disturbed by some foolish visitors who spoke of nothing but grain. I never remember hearing more loquacious talkers, nor have I ever seen more self-importance on such trifling topics. I returned to Ceciniano quite disgusted, and sat down to read attentively the book which I had brought away. As you wish me to tell you frankly what I think of it, I observe in the inventive or imaginative part what you pointed out, namely, the great talent of the young author, and much good sense in the arrangement of the subject. It is written in a pure and energetic style, but I should have preferred more polished and harmonious language; it is more oratorical than poetical. This would have been easy to a writer fond of the splendour of diction. Jovinian and Augustine have written largely on this

¹ This letter must have been written in 1538; the journey to which Paleario alludes, was that made with Paul III. when he went to Nice, in the month of May, accompanied by several cardinals. See *Palearii Opera*, lib. ii. ep. 8. Sadoletto, ep. p. 492.

subject, but more like theologians than orators or philosophers. If your (and now also my) friend Guidi had added the arguments they draw from the canonical Scriptures, and illustrated them with the graces of oratory, nothing could have been finer. What he has taken from the works of poets and philosophers is written with so much elegance and judgment, that I think he is capable of setting forth with equal grace the writings of the Latin theologians on matrimony, which have been handed down to us in such a rough and inelegant form. You should use your authority and influence with the young author for this purpose; you cannot be blind to the good which this pamphlet may produce. Adieu. From Ceciniano."¹

During the first years of Paleario's residence at Ceciniano he was much occupied in philosophic studies. The publication of his poem "On the Immortality of the Soul" had made him generally known. Some of the most eminent scholars and philosophers desired both his acquaintance and friendship. Among these was the celebrated Piero Vettori. His father, Paul Vettori, formerly commanded the pontifical galleys. When sent to Spain to bring Pope Adrian VI. to Italy, he took his young son with him, but he was unfortunately taken ill at Barcelona, and obliged to remain there. On his recovery he gratified his thirst for knowledge by visiting the neighbouring provinces, and collecting a great number of ancient MSS. These he carried with him to Italy, and established himself in his native city Florence, where he was enrolled among a band of liberals. In 1527, when the Pope was confined in St. Angelo, they rose in favour of liberty, and broke the statues of Leo and Clement, in hatred of the Medici family. This, after the reestablishment of ducal power, made him looked on with suspicion, which obliged him to live retired, and occupy himself only with his studies. At the death of Duke Alessandro, as he was ascending the staircase of Salvati's house, a soldier called out in a threatening tone, "Piagnone,² Piagnone, I have a great mind to cut off your head with my halbert." He was so alarmed that he immediately set off for Rome, and staid there till the disturbance was over at Florence. There he made acquaintance with the poet Annibale Caro, who thus writes of him to Varchi:

"Piero Vettori arrived here two days ago; he is at the house of Monsignor Ardinghelli. I instantly went to visit him, though previously unacquainted. He received me very kindly; this, not only from his own politeness, but also

¹ *Palearii Opera*, lib. ii. ep. 9.

² Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*.

for your sake. I can scarcely express how much I was pleased with him in this first interview. He seems to be just what a man ought to be. I do not speak of his literary ability, as every one knows how great that is. I am not much taken with those who make a show of their devotion to letters; but Vettori seems to be endued with a pure taste both in literature and in habits of life. The modesty of his character commands admiration and inspires affection."¹

At the accession of Cosmo, I Vettori returned to Florence, and was chosen professor of the Greek and Latin tongues, and of elocution. He filled the chair of eloquence with such celebrity that Cardinal Farnese sent him, in token of approbation, a silver cup full of gold pieces: the duke of Urbino, and afterwards Julius III., made him a present of a splendid gold chain. Marcellus II. invited him to Rome, and conferred on him the office of secretary of the Papal Briefs. On the early and unexpected death of this Pope, Vettori returned to Florence and renewed his vast literary undertakings.²

A mutual friend named Casali, a great admirer of both Paleario and Vettori, was the first medium of communication between them; he carried messages expressive of mutual good will and esteem, before they became personally acquainted. This encouraged Paleario to open a correspondence by letter with Vettori, in which he warmly expressed admiration of his talents, dwelt on the sympathy of their pursuits and the identity of their friends, particularly Lampridio and Marcello Cervini;³ tells him he had heard much from them of his

¹ Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. p. 309.

² Tiraboschi says that it is scarcely possible to give a just idea of his immense literary labours. He occupied himself with incessant perseverance in correcting the editions of classical writers in Greek and Latin, collating MSS., selecting the best readings, and expounding the most difficult passages. He edited Cicero, Terence, Varro, and Sallust; corrected and polished the *Electra* of Euripides, and various works of Michael of Ephesus, Demetrius Phalereus, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, and others. The tragedies of *Æschylus* and the works of Clement of Alexandria were either for the first time printed by him in the original Greek, or greatly corrected and improved. His comments on the rhetoric, poetry, ethics, and politics of Aristotle were among his most valuable productions. His various lectures, in thirty-two books, full of criticisms and elucidations, shew the depth of his erudition and his intimate acquaintance with the dead languages. He wrote also several orations, some poems, and many letters both in Latin and Italian. A beautiful little treatise on the cultivation of the olive is still extant. Canon Bandini, who has written his life, gives us also an account of several MSS. which have never been published.

³ Afterwards Pope under the title of Marcello II.

amiable character; regrets he had not written before, as they are near enough to hear from each other every day; hopes to be able to visit him, and see with his own eyes a person he so earnestly desires to love. Meanwhile he entreats that he may be numbered among his most intimate friends, and begs him to believe that nothing will afford him more pleasure than a letter from his pen. This, he adds, will be a real consolation in the midst of his anxieties, and perhaps prevent him from laying aside his classical studies, which are already much interrupted by his domestic affairs; thus, thank God, all will not end ill, if, "while separated from my own people and my valued friends, I find in Tuscany one not only well versed in the Belles Lettres, but full of kindness and courtesy."¹

Vettori's answer was in the same friendly tone. It commends Casali's politeness in visiting him, and bringing a kind message from Paleario: tells him how much he had spoken of his gentleness and amiability, as well as of his elegant manners. He had indeed before heard of his talents and learning, but Casali's affectionate and honorable mention of him had re-awakened the desire he had felt for his friendship. He had greatly admired the erudition and depth of thought in his sublime divine poem, but had not dared to love him. But now however that he knows his kind feelings towards him and the benevolence of his character, spoken of by the good old man, he feels anxious for his friendship, as few are so highly esteemed and regarded as he is. It will always be a pleasure to do him any service in his power.²

A friendship so happily begun was cemented by the similarity of their literary tastes and by esteem for each other's character. Paleario's answer to Vettori's letter is so interesting, that we are sure a complete translation will be agreeable.

AONIO PALEARIO TO PIERO VETTORI.

"Although your virtue was sufficiently attractive to command my love, your letter has still more excited my affection, for I can discern in it an image of your amiability, and a speaking likeness of your mind such as I have often pictured it to be. I never indeed doubted that if I wrote to you I should receive an answer worthy of Vettori, and that, if by chance I should need your good offices, I should find in you a willing friend and ready helper; for the first

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. ii. ep. 10.

² *Ibid.* ep. 11.

duty of a man who devotes himself to the study of the Belles Lettres and the liberal sciences, is not to deceive his friends in their opinion of him. But in fact I had formed so clear an idea of you, that, though we had never met, I knew you as well as those I see every day. Though you are at a distance, you are ever present with me, perhaps because I have no other friend in Tuscany who unites the deepest erudition to the finest eloquence. For to grant much to many, some understand dialectics, are not ignorant of physics; but, good heavens! how little they know or use the art of elocution; how often in their orations do we hear a hard and barbarous phraseology. Many devote themselves to theology. The more Latin students have hitherto neglected these studies, the more diligently ought they now to apply themselves to them, in order that this branch of knowledge may be set forth in lucid and suitable language and adorned by the graces of harmonious composition, by those rhetorical ornaments which first delight and finally impress the minds of men. But those who are ignorant and inexperienced in these things are content with the obscurity in which sophists rather than learned men have for ages enwrapped this most noble branch of knowledge—theology. Many undertake, while still lisping, the deep and extensive study of the law, whose beardless minds do not see that those juriconsults whom they most applaud have sought to acquire a chaste and attic style. We have also certain little doctors, whose learning consists in a superstitious and empty volubility of words. They never study philosophy, nor enter into the spirit of literature;—may I die, if I ever saw more impudence than theirs. For though eloquence has always been most deservedly commended, yet nothing can be more vapid, when it is not adorned by learning or enriched by knowledge. On these accounts I have always admired your superior talent and intelligent judgment, which unites the art of speaking well with the deepest erudition.

“Desiring to cultivate both these branches of knowledge, I bought last year the villa of A. Cecinæ, which is in the territory of Volterra, that I might bury myself in the library of books I proposed purchasing; but it did not turn out as I wished. The town of Colle being of small extent, I bought Ceciniano dearer than I intended; thus, though they tell me I have made a good purchase, I am so oppressed with debt, that this villa, which I bought with the idea of devoting myself to study, only distracts me from it. When freed from this perturbation and uneasiness, if it please God ever to free me from it, I shall return in right earnest to the study of your distinguished compositions. Meanwhile do not despise my Ceciniano, considering the healthiness of the place, and the high esteem of a man who loves you sincerely. Let the city of Colle be a place of amusement, to which you can retire whenever the business of the capital becomes a nuisance; you will there find recreation for your mind. It was the custom of your philosophers and orators to retire for a time from the presence of their fellow-citizens. Do not object because your suburban villas are beautiful, and ours are not to be compared with them. No one disputes the magnificence of your villas; but just because they are so near the town, for that very reason, in my opinion, they are not so suited for the full enjoyment of tranquillity and leisure. Many go to visit you from politeness, many from curiosity, and some to annoy you with insipid gossip. You need

not fear any of these inconveniences at Ceciniano, except finding there a man who will never leave you a moment, so eager is he to enjoy your delightful society. Adieu. Ceciniano. 21st February."¹

No date of year to the letter—probably 1538 or 1539.

This letter gives a clear insight into Paleario's manner of life. It is that of many learned men, especially in Italy, with minds so highly cultivated as to generate independence of thought, in circumstances so limited that their subsistence depends on the assistance of their fellow-creatures, they are continually sighing for a leisure they cannot fully enjoy; such is their desire for perfect liberty that they gladly fly to solitude, there to taste that freedom from irksome intrusion so wearing to the studious mind. Paleario seems to have been too large in his ideas and habits for his purse; the annoyance of pecuniary difficulties disturbed the repose of his thoughts, and prevented him from taking their usual high range; but the taste for philosophy was too strong to be laid aside, and he sought refreshment and encouragement in the society of his friends. It would appear that Vettori accepted his invitation to Ceciniano, for in the following April we find a letter from Paleario to Verino, which alludes to their conversation together of a highly interesting nature.

Francesco Verino was Professor of Philosophy at Florence; some commentaries of his on Dante were published, in company with others, in 1547, by Doni. From the following letter we learn that Paleario had accompanied Vettori throughout on a visit to Verino.

AONIO PALEARIO TO FRANCESCO VERINO.²

"When, in company with our Vettori, I paid a visit to you, who occupy yourself so skilfully about natural philosophy; towards the hour of supper you introduced this very difficult question: When men die, in what state is the soul? Does it die with the body? As I returned home I meditated on this πρόβλημα (*problem*); and after reconsidering the answer I had given to your question, I composed a letter, not such as is found among the treasures of philosophy, but with the feelings of a man who loves you, and who writes the moment he sits down after riding home. I said that this subject cannot, as you think, be physically treated, and added, that if we had remained longer with you we should have greatly enjoyed the discussion. Good heavens! why, most learned man, am I so far from you? If I were to employ a year in turning over the works of the Peripatetics, I should not so easily find the

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. ii. ep. 12.

² *Ibid.* ep. 13.

passages which you in an hour would adduce. In order that you may point them out to me, as soon as I have leisure I will pay you a visit; nor will I leave you till we have fully argued the point, which I do not think pertains to the natural philosopher. He may treat of soul or spirit (in Latin you know the same idea is often expressed by both) as long as he keeps to a clear and express definition of the following passage: *ψυχή ἐστιν ἐντελέχεια ἡ πρώτη σήμερος φυσικοῦ, δυνάμει ζωὴν ἔχουσα—the soul is the highest perfection of the physical body, having life in itself.* Thus, when it ceases to be, *ἐντελέχεια σήμερος φυσικοῦ ζωὴν ἔχουσα, the perfection of the physical body being life,* the physical or natural philosopher ceases to occupy himself about it: for he cannot equally understand the principle of the soul, and the strength and celerity of its powers, except as existing in the body; nor can he comprehend the glorious and eternal mind, the source of all motion throughout the circle and orbit of the world, and which is termed the *primum mobile*. When you lay aside the consideration of that which is moved, the physical philosopher remains ignorant of the principle of motion: his whole attention is occupied in examining that which is moved, within the limits of which that part of philosophy is confined.

“Every science has bounds which it is not permitted to overstep. As it is not the province of the physical philosopher to discuss what God was before the fair heavens were made (whose beginning has been fixed by some), nor what he will be after the destruction of the world; neither can he discuss the nature of the soul, either before it was joined to the body, or after it has left it, if he confine himself to his peculiar province. Impressed with these considerations in the division of my books,¹ I said that I had scrupulously followed the opinions of those theologians whose system considers the soul as altogether distinct from the matter of the body. They also have proofs and documents which they produce in battle-array and fight valiantly (for truth). Their grave, sincere, and gentle persuasions, than which nothing can be more divine, are singularly adapted to influence the minds of men, more particularly those who are naturally inclined to the study of this subject. Nothing is more able to yield peace, consolation, and hope than this first of sciences theology, (by the recklessness of ignorant men now so utterly degraded), if it be raised to its proper level by the efforts and genius of orators and philosophers. Farewell, and remember me kindly to the learned and excellent Campano and Vettori, and love me as you love them. From the city of Colle. 11th April.”²

Here we see Paleario's philosophic studies point always to theology, thither they invariably tended. Had he lived in our days of liberty, instead of alluding to the sacred Scriptures as documents from which truth was to be learned, he would openly have acknowledged the authority of the word of God, and appealed to the dictates of divine inspiration. But he lived in Italy, the centre of the Papacy, where to quote the Bible was to

¹ *De Immortalitate Animorum.*

² *Palearii Opera*, lib. ii. ep. 13.

proclaim himself a heretic and a partisan of the German Reformers. He makes a natural allusion to his own feelings when he says, "nothing yields more peace, consolation, and hope than theology." This certainly was the case with him during his whole life. Religion was his guiding star, his life and hope.

Verino was either not so well prepared, or not so anxious to discuss the important subject of this letter; for in the next epistle, while continuing the discussion, Paleario gently reproaches his friend for not entering more fully into the subject.

AONIO PALEARIO TO FRANCESCO VERINO.¹

"While eagerly expecting a long letter from you, I received a note, written in your name, of about three or four lines. In it a subject which has been treated in every school of philosophy, and is now become common, is spoken of as new and unheard of. It appears the more unworthy of your pen that it was written neither in Greek nor Latin. The esteem which I bear you makes me think that this is probably the fault of the courier, who came for the letter before you had time to write it properly. Since you have grown old and availed yourself of Vettori's help, you have laid aside all barbarisms, and would not willingly be numbered among those who from ostentation of learning are contented with the signs of erudition which satisfy ambitious men. I have heard with pleasure that, though late in life, you have devoted yourself with much assiduity to the study of Greek. You learned Latin at an early age, and yet if you cannot render a phrase well in that language, you put it into Italian. On this account I like you much, for I greatly approve the saying of Milo, *οὐκ ἕνεκα τῶν λόγων τὰ πράγματα συντελείσθαι, ἀλλ' ἕνεκα τῶν πραγμάτων τοὺς λόγους*—*things are not adapted to words, but words are made to suit the matter*. It does not signify whether we speak in Latin or Italian, provided we speak well. The opinions of philosophers are so various, that a single language is not sufficient to express them. We ought, however, carefully to avoid a misplaced use of words, and the change of that which is called expression; not only because our ancestors, who spoke with so much significance, expressed *τὴν αὐτὴν διδνοίαν*, *the same sense*, but in order to spare our successors unnecessary trouble by changing the use of words and the style of elocution. This has always been the opinion of my dear Vettori, and also of your Campano, whom if we follow, we shall do well. Exclude, I beseech you, from our society those dregs of philosophers, those apes in rings and gowns, who esteem nothing Aristotelian that is not full of barbarisms. You have rightly seized the philosopher's idea of the immortality of the soul in the third book *περὶ ψυχῆς*, which I quote in Greek not to alter the sense: *ὁ νοῦς χωριστὸς καὶ ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀμιγῆς τῇ οὐσίᾳ ὣν ἐνεργεῖα*: and a little after, *χωρισθεὶς ὃ ἔστι μόνον ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀβίον*: and in the second book, *περὶ ζώων γενέσεως, λείπεται δὲ τὸν νοῦν μόνον θύραθεν ἐπεισιέναι, καὶ θεῖον εἶναι μόνον*—*the soul is distinct, not subject to foreign admixture or passion, being*

¹ Palearii Opera, lib. ii. ep. 14.

in its essence a power or energy; being distinct, it alone is immortal and eternal: and in the second book on the generation of animals, he says, 'thus the soul or mind alone comes from an external source, and it alone is of a divine nature.' Do you think I have not read this? or that while the Greeks, Alexander, Themistius, Simplicius, expounded, thundered, fulminated, and confused everything; while the barbarous commentators Averroes and Avicenna furiously disputed on the same subject, and the semi-Latins, Thomas, Scotus, Pomponatius, Sinnessani, were fighting with each other, all seeking to be heard—have I alone, think you, shut my eyes to this clamour? You may have observed in the division of my books, that in the second I have proved the immortality of the soul from the arguments of the Stoics, though mixed with those of the Peripatetics. I do not think in this book I have omitted any of their arguments. Some things have been accurately treated by Aristotle, as in these lines:

Non aliquid mixtum, non concretum ex elementis,
Sed purum, æternum, quodque omni est tabe solutum.¹

This idea is thus expressed: *ὁ νοῦς χωριστὸς καὶ ἀμειγρῆς, καὶ ἀπαθὴς, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἀθάνατον καὶ αἰθέριον*—the mind is distinct, not commixed or subject to the influence of matter, and as such is immortal. I fear I shall weary you. Now I come to what you write to me. Your note does not contain an answer to mine, *ἔσχε λόγον*—explain yourself. You said that the question as to the state of souls after death, and whether they die with the body, may be treated physically. I absolutely deny this. What do you reply? It belongs to you to prove that Aristotle has done this when treating of physics. Your arguments do not bear upon the point; for the philosopher, in those passages which you quote, only points out the essence of the soul as constituting an active or passive mind or spirit, *νοῦν τὸν μὲν ποιητικὸν, τὸν δὲ παθητικὸν*: because the one *χωριστὸς καὶ ἀμειγρῆς, καὶ ἀπαθὴς*—is distinct, unmixed, not subject to the influence of matter in man; this your favorite could not digest (*concoquere*): the other is *φθαρτὸς, corruptibile*; this also certain lynx-eyed interpreters could not perceive. If this be not Aristotle's meaning, see his own words: *ἐπεὶ δ' ὅσπερ ἐν ἀπόσει τῆ φύσει ἐστὶ τι τὸ μὲν ὅλη ἐκδοσε γίνεαι, τοῦτο δὲ ὅτι πάντα δυνάμει ἐκείνα, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ αἴτιον καὶ ποιητικὸν, τῆ ποιῆν πάντα, οἷον ἡ τέχνη πρὸς τὴν ὅλην πέπονθεν, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἐν τῆ ψυχῇ ὑπάρχειν ταύτας τὰς διαφορὰς. καὶ ἔστιν ὁ μὲν τοιοῦτος νοῦς τῆ πάντα γίνεσθαι, ὁ δὲ τῆ πάντα ποιῆν*—now just as every natural substance has two component parts proper to its own class, the one material, and endowed with bare capabilities of receiving impressions; the other, the moving cause and sole power for producing them, related to each other as art to matter; it necessarily follows, that the existence of these different elements be preserved also in the soul; there must be one part of the soul (or mind) fitted by nature to receive impressions, and another to produce them. Thus you see the philosopher seeks to define *τὴν φύσιν, καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς ὑπαρχούσας ἐν τῆ ψυχῇ*—the

¹ "Not mixed with matter's sordid form, of elements composed,
But incorrupt and pure, eternal in its nature."

nature and distinctive attributes of the soul, and does not touch the question you proposed, viz. Where do the souls of men go after the death of the body?

"And in the second book *περι τῶν ζῶων γενέσεως*, on the generation of animals, he investigates the origin of the soul, *ὅτι θέρπεν*, as coming from without. This question is foreign to the province of the physical philosopher, but not alien to the researches of the metaphysician, τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά. I have not come lightly to this conclusion. Aristotle writes: τῶν μετὰ τὰ φυσικά τῶ λ. εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑστερόν τι ὑπομένει, σκεπτόειν. ἐπ' ἐνίων γὰρ οὐδὲν κωλύει, ὅσον εἰ ἡ ψυχὴ τοιοῦτον, μὴ πᾶσα, ἀλλ' ὁ νοῦς. πᾶσαν γὰρ ἀδύνατον ἴσως—*In the book of metaphysics headed λ, (we find): We must consider whether there survive afterwards any part or not: now there are certain considerations from which we can have no difficulty in stating there does. If the soul be of the kind here described, it may be that not all, but the intellectual part alone survives, for perhaps it is impossible it should survive in its complete entirety.* Relying on his authority, I venture to say in Greek, for I cannot find the Latin, ψυχὴ μὲν ἢ νοητικὴ, πότερον αἰθεράδες, ἢ οὐ: ἀθίον, ἢ οὐ: πρόβλημα εἶναι φυσικόν. ὅπου δὲ χωρισθεῖσα νοεῖ εἶδειν, ἑτέρας γε, φυσικῆς οὐδαμῶς εἶναι θεωρίας—*whether the intellectual part of the soul be of an ethereal or imperishable nature or not, is a physical question; but to consider where, after its severance from its other component part, it carries on its intellectual functions, is a question of some other science, certainly it does not belong to physics.*"

Paleario contended that the office of the natural or physical philosopher is at an end when death destroys the body; that it belongs to the metaphysician to discuss what becomes of the soul. These are subjects of high and holy import, occurring naturally perhaps to every reflecting mind, but only to be wisely handled by those who wish to trace the hand of Omnipotence in all things, and to gather from the pages of inspiration all that it has pleased Divine Wisdom to reveal on the subject. How the soul invisibly leaves its hitherto indissoluble companion, why it "roves round its clay tenement," and quits it reluctantly; how bright are the visions of some at this solemn moment, and how dark those of others, may possibly be physically explained; much of the tranquillity of spirit may depend on the nature of the disease and the influence of the remedies used. Some complaints leave the mind in perfect calm, the hopes and aspirations of the Christian grow brighter as the body declines; the senses seem to hear the music of the spheres, and to be rapt in beatific vision; others are racked with doubt and uncertainty, a prey to anxiety and dismay; even though their lives have been exemplary, and their hopes fixed on the Rock of Ages, they shiver on the brink of death, and cannot

realise the glories of the unseen world. These are subjects left in inexplicable mystery not to be unfolded till "we shall know even as we are known."

We see from the above letters that Paleario was much engrossed with these deep subjects; they led him to write a poem on the Immortality of the Soul, and he pursued still further the train of thought which his poem had suggested, searched more closely those "ancient documents," the Scriptures, till he began to understand the freeness and the fulness of the Gospel doctrines; and finally he embodied his reflections in a treatise full of arguments drawn from the inspired writings.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL HISTORY.—VALDÉS.

1520—1540.

PAUL III.—JULIA GONZAGA—IPPOLITO DE' MEDICI—POISONED—ALESSANDRO—TYRANNICAL GOVERNMENT—CHARLES VISITS NAPLES—ALPONSO AND JUAN VALDÉS ANNOUNCEMENT OF GOSPEL DOCTRINES AT NAPLES—WRITINGS OF THE BROTHERS VALDÉS OFTEN CONFOUNDED—ALPONSO AUTHOR OF THE DOS DIÁLOGOS—THEIR SUBJECT-MATTER—SECRETARY TO GATTINARA THE IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR—JUAN VALDÉS—ADVICE ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE—TAULER—XIMENES—TRILINGUAL COLLEGE—POLYGLOTT BIBLE—DON PIETRO TOLEDO, VICEROY OF NAPLES—JUAN VALDÉS, HIS SECRETARY—EXPOUNDS THE GOSPEL IN PRIVATE ASSEMBLIES—HIS ONE HUNDRED AND TEN CONSIDERATIONS—TRANSLATED INTO ITALIAN—PREFACE BY CURIONE—WORKS—COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS, DEDICATED TO JULIA GONZAGA—LETTER OF BONFADIO TO CARNESECOCHI ON THE DEATH OF VALDÉS IN 1540.

As soon as the last rites of humanity were paid to Clement, the choice of his successor became a subject of anxious consideration. Ippolito de' Medici was too young and too violent to fill decorously the Papal chair; but he remembered his uncle's advice, and before the French and Spanish party could effectually unite and strengthen themselves, he concerted with Cardinal Lorraine, and persuaded him to vote with the Italians. After a short deliberation of twenty-four hours, the conclave, composed of thirty-five cardinals, elected Alexander Farnese, who assumed the name of Paul III.¹

For a hundred years past there had not been a Pope so universally agreeable to the Romans, or to Italy in general. A native of the Roman States, educated at Florence, his fine abilities and liberal spirit gave encouraging promise of patronage

¹ Balbo says of him, "Sangue d' antichi Condottieri, prelato tutt' altro che incolpevole."—Balbo, *Sommario*, p. 293. Ed. Firenze, 1856.

to literature and learned men. He was of an old Tuscan family, said to have come originally from Germany, which had in process of time acquired considerable property near Bolsena.¹ Paul was sixty-seven years of age when created Pope: till the election was over he assumed an appearance of age and decrepitude, which made the other cardinals more willing to vote in his favour.² Ranke has drawn his character, from MSS. to which ordinary readers have no access, in so graphic a manner that we cannot do better than cite his words. "Paul III. was a man of easy, magnificent, liberal habits. Seldom has a Pope been so much beloved at Rome as he was on his first accession. There was something noble in his naming the cardinals without their knowledge. How advantageously does such conduct contrast with the petty personal considerations it had been a rule to observe: but he did not appoint them merely, he left them unusual liberty; he bore with contradiction in the concestory, and encouraged unrestrained freedom of discussion. But if he left due liberty to others, if he accorded to each the advantage incident to his position, he was equally resolved not to forego one single prerogative of his own. Ambassadors found it difficult to treat with him. They were surprised to see that he betrayed no deficiency in spirit, and yet could seldom be brought to a decisive resolution. He studied to fetter others, watched to lay hold of a binding word, to obtain an irrevocable assurance; but he never was willing to pledge himself. This disposition he displayed even in minor things; he was not inclined to refuse or promise any thing beforehand, liking to have his hands free to the last moment. But how much more was this evinced by him in difficult circumstances! Sometimes it would happen that he himself pointed out an escape from a difficulty, or a means of accommodation; and when others were disposed to adopt it, he would nevertheless draw back. He wished always to remain master of his own transactions. He belonged to the classical school, and aimed at speaking both Latin and Italian with unvarying choiceness and elegance: he always selected his words with a twofold view to their import and form; he delivered himself in a low tone, and with the slowest deliberation. People were often at a loss to know exactly how they stood with him. Sometimes

¹ Platina, *Vite de Pontefici*, p. 522.

² Muratori, *Annali*, vol. x. p. 348.

they thought they should rather infer the very opposite to what his words ostensibly portended. But this would not have been correct in all cases. Those who knew him more intimately remarked, that he entertained the strongest hopes of accomplishing a project just at the very time when he abstained from all mention of it, neither alluding to the thing itself, nor to the persons whom it concerned. For thus much was manifest that he never let go a purpose he had once embraced. He trusted to carry out every project, if not immediately yet some other time, under altered circumstances, by another course."¹

The above may be received as a generic description of Italian character. It owes much of its apparent vacillation to a deep penetration into character, and an acuteness of mind which desires to be prepared for every circumstance, while it is deficient in that prompt practical power which is able to cope with difficulties. Thus in Italy men are frequently constrained to relinquish their dearest hopes at the moment of fruition. Though so long tried in the school of adversity, they find it difficult to anticipate evil or disappointment. These national characteristics in some degree explain why their late efforts for liberty have not been crowned with success. There is a moral strength which overcomes every obstacle in the wholesome maxim, Do what is right, persevere, and leave the consequences to Providence. It is more difficult for a Pope than for other individuals to follow a straightforward policy. The most upright intentions are hampered by the twofold exercise of temporal and spiritual power. The Church restrains the beneficence of the prince. If the one seeks to cultivate the intelligence of his subjects, the other inculcates blind obedience. It is difficult to make these powers fit in well together; the Pope is thus driven to hide his purpose in plausible discourse; and while exercising the most extravagant assumption of authority, he uses the language of the profoundest humility.

During Clement's last illness the Turkish fleet had been hovering on the coast of Italy, like a bird of prey seeking spoil. It was commanded by Barbarossa, brother of the king of Algiers,² a daring corsair. He landed at several places, burned

¹ Ranke, *Hist. of the Popes*, pp. 63, 64. Ed. Kelly, 1843.

² Muratori, *Annali*, vol. x. p. 355.

and devastated the country round, and carried off numerous captives.

The beautiful and accomplished Julia Gonzaga narrowly escaped falling into his hands. The barbarians, to the number of 2,000, landed in the dead of night on the Calabrian coast, and pushed on to Fondi,¹ where Julia, the widow of Vespasian Colonna, lived in retirement. She was suddenly awakened by a faithful attendant, who, at the first assault on the walls, gave the alarm, and made preparations for her safety. Such was the impetuosity of the attack, that she had only time to jump out of a window, barefoot, in her night-dress, mount a horse, and escape across the mountains, when they burst into the house.² Enraged at not finding their prize, they vented their disappointment on the town, pillaging, burning, and destroying everything within their reach. They stripped the coffins of Prospero and Antonio Colonna of their rich coverings of gold and silver, and carried them with other booty to their vessels.

Julia Gonzaga of Gazzuolo,³ duchess of Trajetto and Fondi, was married at an early age to Vespasian Colonna, the son of Prospero, lord of Fondi. He was an old man, a widower with one daughter, Isabella. He had lost both a leg and an arm in battle, and was so much out of health as to be a most unsuitable husband for his young and beautiful wife. It appears that his moral qualities inspired her with affection, and he respected her as something angelic. He left her guardian of his daughter Isabella, charging her with the disposal of her hand either to Ippolito de' Medici, the nephew of Clement VII., or to one of her own brothers. As Isabella was a great heiress, Julia would have preferred that her own family should benefit by this wealth: but in order fully to carry out her husband's injunctions, a matrimonial treaty was opened with the Medici. But Ippolito fell in love with the beautiful mother-in-law, and refused the hand of Isabella. She not unwillingly accepted

¹ This town was given by Ferdinand, king of Naples, to Prospero Colonna, as a reward for his military services. It was inherited by Vespasian Colonna, Julia's husband. Litta, *Famiglie Italiane*; Alberti, *Descrittione*, p. 137.

² Muratori, *Annali*, vol. x. p. 343; Giannone, *Storia di Napoli*, vol. xi. p. 124; Gregorio Rosso, *Giornali anno 1534*.

³ A collateral branch of the reigning family at Mantua. Charles V. raised the marquis of Mantua to the rank of duke.

as her husband Julia's brother, Luigi Gonzaga, surnamed Rodomonte. He was a young warrior renowned for his great strength.¹ Luigi was at Rome in 1527, when it was sacked. He won Clement's favour by the assistance he afforded during his escape from the castle of St. Angelo, by escorting him with a body of troops to Montefiascone. As a reward, the Pope commissioned him to drive Orsini out of Palliano, and put his widowed sister in possession. Julia and her step-daughter went to reside there, when the young hero had full opportunity to win the good graces of the heiress. To prevent all collision with the Pope, to whom, as head of the Medici family, Isabella's vast wealth was a great temptation, Luigi persuaded her to consent to a private marriage. The rightful heir of Palliano was Ascanio Colonna, son of Fabrizio. During the contest between the Pope and the Colonnas, their hereditary rivals, the Orsini had been allowed to appropriate it: but Ascanio could not quietly see his family property pass into another family, and Julia was ultimately obliged to leave it for her estates at Fondi. The charms of her beauty and the renown of her talents made her the theme of universal admiration. She was one of a number of noble ladies in the kingdom of Naples who devoted themselves to the study of literature. All the poets and literati of Italy came to pay her homage, and the fame of her personal charms even attracted the Sultan of the East.

As guardian of her step-daughter she was unhappily involved in much litigation. It would appear, that though the property belonged to Isabella, Julia had a life interest in it; sacrifices were required of her which she was not disposed to make. Hence dissatisfaction between the mother and daughter-in-law.

Her legal perplexities were increased fourfold by the death of her brother Luigi, a year after his marriage. He left his wife with the hope of becoming a mother, and went to Vicovaro, where he was unfortunately killed in an engagement. At parting Isabella had given him a gem set in a gold ring, on which was engraved by a master-hand two eyes expressive of the

¹ At Madrid, while in the service of Charles V., he met in single combat a Moor of gigantic proportions, and in the presence of assembled thousands suffocated him in his embrace. He could crush in his hand the strongest iron horse-shoe, and break the toughest ropes, and was able to throw an iron ball immeasurably farther than any other man.

tender affection which would be ever present with him. Their youth and rank, together with Luigi's early death, caused this expressive ring to be sung in verse by no less than six poets.

Paleario was one; he thus commemorates the gem :

Lumina dum in pulchram defixa teneret Elisam
 Gonzaga proles regia Aloisius :
 Flagrantem vultu divino his ore puellam
 Purpureo juvenem commonuisse ferunt :
 Quod spectas avidus, miraberis haud satis unquam,
 Ipse meis nisi me luminibus videas.
 Mox juveni ardenti geminos donavit ocellos,
 Alter amoris erat : alter erat Veneris.¹

Giulia was left guardian of her nephew Vespasian, born after his father's death. This increased the disputes between the ladies to such a degree that Gandolpho Porrino,² who had been Giulia's secretary, wrote to her that the Pope wished them to come to an agreement. He blames her for allowing a litigious spirit to make her depart from the natural benignity of her disposition. In 1537 the lady Giulia was obliged to go in person to Naples to terminate these lawsuits, and there is every reason to believe that she found there, in the announcement of the Gospel, that peace of mind to which courts of law are so inimical. It is on record that she joined those private assemblies where the Scriptures were read and explained by Juan Valdés,³ the viceroy's secretary. She is said to have frequented

¹ The following is a free rather than a poetical translation :

While Lewis fixed his eager gaze
 (Gonzaga he of princely race)
 On fair Eliza's blushing face,
 Her beauty kindled at his praise,
 And fanned his love to burning flame.
 Then to the flushing youth she came,
 And pointing to the gem-like prize,
 "What now thou see'st with warm desire,
 And never canst enough admire,
 No more thou'lt see but with these eyes."
 Two eyes she gave her ardent spouse,
 Soft mem'ries in his heart to rouse ;
 When distant from her gifted mind,
 Of love and beauty both combined.

² Gandolfo Porrino was a native of Modena and a poet of no mean talent. He was one of Giulia's poetic admirers. His poems were published in 1551, and are highly praised by Crescembini.—Tiraboschi, *Leti. Italiana*, vol. vii. p. 18.

³ Valdés dedicated to her his *Commentary on the Epistles to the Romans* in the VOL. I.

those assemblies, at which Valdés presided, and where she met Vittoria Colonna and other ladies of distinction. When persecution came she was enumerated among the reformers, and on this account exposed to many annoyances. She was on friendly terms with Carnesecchi,¹ Peter Martyr, Ochino, and other learned men who had embraced the reformed opinions. At last she was cited before the Inquisition, and her correspondence with some of these persons exposed her to great vexation, and some say she died of grief and alarm.²

Ippolito de' Medici, Giulia's admirer, was the illegitimate son of Giuliano, son of Lorenzo de' Medici; he partook largely of the virtues and defects of his race. The easy, joyous nature of this family, fond of show and prodigality, suited the age in which they lived, and was the great secret of their success. We have seen that when very young he was the ostensible head of the government at Florence³; when turned out by the republican party he took the road to Pistoia, Lucca, and Pisa, and from thence he escaped by sea to Savoy, where he remained till he was summoned to Rome by Clement after he regained his liberty. He was at this time about twenty-one years of age, very handsome, of graceful, affable manners, endowed with considerable natural talent, and resembling Leo X. in generosity and munificence. He patronized all who distinguished themselves either in arms or literature, was a good Latin scholar, and a friend to authors and literary men. Brought

Spanish language. He died in 1540; but it was printed at Venice in 1556. Valdés prefixed to it a long epistle, written expressly for the lady Giulia's edification. He exhorts her to true piety and a thorough reliance on Christ. He expresses a hope that the frequent reading of the Psalms of David, which had been translated in the previous year from the Hebrew into Spanish, would form her mind to such piety and confidence toward God, that she would be willing, like David, to remit all into his hands. He desires that she may go on progressing, and be fashioned to perfection and constancy in things pertaining to the Gospel, following the example of St. Paul, whose Epistles he had translated from Greek into Spanish. The continual reading of these, he felt assured, would afford her much spiritual edification.

¹ See Chap. xxxii. for an account of Carnesecchi. The letters of the lady Giulia among his papers were considered proofs of his heretical opinions.—Serristori, *Legazione*. Firenze, 1853. See also Affò, *Vita di Giulia Gonzaga*.

² Balbo, *Sommario*, p. 282.

³ "Giovanetto e sotto la cura di Silvio Passerini da Cortona cardinale amministra ogni cosa."—Segni, *Storia Fiorentina*, vol. i. p. 7.

up in civil warfare, he gathered round him at Rome a band of the fiercest condottieri, whom he maintained as part of his court, and was by them both feared and esteemed. Presuming upon his position, and full of self-confidence, his ambition knew no bounds, and the lightness and inconstancy of his character led him into many imprudent acts. He was secretly jealous of his cousin Alessandro's position, and Clement was in constant terror lest he should foment a disturbance at Florence.¹

Though in possession of a splendid income, he was restless and discontented. At the death of Pompeo Colonna, viceroy of Naples, he was made cardinal, chancellor, and archbishop of Monreale. To these dignities large benefices were attached, but he preferred warlike enterprise to ecclesiastical honours, and aspired to be a prince of some independent state, where he could exact homage and confer favours. At length the rich legation or governorship of Bologna was conferred on him. There he was opposed by Malatesta Baglioni, who complained to the Pope of his nephew's extravagances; but Clement only shrugged his shoulders, and replied that it was impossible to restrain the cardinal's mad brain. At Clement's death he reconciled himself to Filippo Strozzi, the head of the republican party at Florence. In 1536 he was chosen one of the deputation sent to Charles V. at Naples by the malcontents at Florence, with a complaint of the grievances of Alessandro's government. On his way he stopped at Itri near Fondi to visit Giulia Gonzaga: here he was seized with a sudden illness of so serious a nature that after thirteen hours of intense suffering he expired. The symptoms resembled cholera, but reports were immediately circulated that he was poisoned by order of Alessandro, who, it was said, had bribed Ippolito's groom to administer it, in order to rid himself of so formidable a rival. For the honour of humanity let us hope that these sudden indispositions, ascribed to poison, were not always the result of foul play. At certain seasons of the year the impurity of the air near the Pontine marshes was often fatal to life. Alessandro indeed was ripe for any crime, and he could not behold with indifference the cardinal's union with the malcontents. The victim himself thought he was poisoned, and suspected his groom; but desired that the evil-doer might not be sought

¹ Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*.

after. It was a proof of the natural benignity of his nature, that he died forgiving him and all his enemies. If the servant were really guilty, he was visited some time after by a public retribution; for when he returned to his native town the inhabitants refused to harbour the murderer of so kind a master, and rushed on him with volleys of stones till he lay dead at their feet.¹

Charles had now completed his preparations for attacking the Turks on the coast of Africa. Barbarossa, from a corsair, had become the Sultan's high-admiral, and his fleet was so numerous and powerful, that he even menaced Sicily and Sardinia. At the death of the king of Tunis he possessed himself of this and other towns on the coast, from whence he could readily infest the seas and attack the merchantmen. Trade became paralysed, for few dared to run the risk of their merchandise falling into the hands of this formidable corsair, who had already carried off more than ten thousand Christians as slaves. This urged the Emperor to organize an expedition of such magnitude as to crush his dangerous neighbour entirely, and resolved to command it in person.

The valiant Andrea Doria was admiral of the fleet, the Marchese del Vasto was general of the veteran Spanish and Italian troops. Eight thousand soldiers were expected from Germany, and the Pope sent Virginio Orsini with ten armed galleys. The Emperor embarked at Barcelona with a fleet of three hundred vessels, and was joined by Doria with sixteen galleys. They sailed for Majorca, where Vasto was waiting to embark the troops. To the surprise of Barbarossa this formidable armada appeared before Goletta. As seen from Tunis it seemed to cover the ocean. The whole army was quickly disembarked and drawn up on the shore: it numbered thirty thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry. The Turks at first had only twenty thousand troops, but they were soon joined by numbers which swelled their force to sixty thousand foot and ten thousand horse. Trenches were dug and batteries erected to assault the place. So great was the heat and such the scarcity of water, that the Germans, who suffered most from thirst, offered a crown of gold for a single draught. Goletta was twelve miles from Tunis, at the

¹ Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*.

mouth of a sheet of standing water, in which lay the fleet of Barbarossa, which numbered forty or fifty vessels. As soon as the first breach was made in the walls, the Turkish soldiers drew up the drawbridge unperceived, and escaped; the Imperial troops entered Goletta, and took possession of the Turkish fleet and all its artillery. If the counsels of some had been listened to, here all operations would have terminated; but Charles, of firmer purpose, determined to finish his enterprise or die in the attempt. He ordered the army to march upon Tunis.

Meanwhile Mulassah, an aspirant for that kingdom, appeared in the camp, threw himself on his knees before Charles, and gave him valuable information about the enemy, who were preparing to give him battle on the open field. It was a fearful moment, but the courage of Charles was equal to the occasion. He immediately conferred on the Marchese del Vasto the command of the whole army, while he himself passed from company to company, exhorting and animating the troops to fight with their usual valour. When Vasto saw him thus exposing himself, he said with a smile: "Most sacred Majesty, I shall begin my office of General, by telling you to remove from hence and retire to a place of security, lest your life should be endangered, and the dominion of Christianity overturned." The Emperor cheerfully replied: "Do not fear, my lord marquis; no Emperor was ever killed by a musket ball."¹ The battle now commenced with impetuosity and great slaughter of the Turks; they soon gave way and fled. Previous to the battle Barbarossa had conceived the horrible project of murdering in cold blood all the Christian slaves, six thousand in number.² For the easier fulfilment of this barbarous design, he ordered them all to be chained and shut up in the fortress of Tunis. This proved their safeguard. His minister, Sinam, a Jew, earnestly dissuaded him from such cruelty, and during the heat of the battle two apostate Christians, who had become Mahometans, and had charge of the slaves, loosed the chains of some of their friends. These eagerly assisted the rest to remove their shackles. They broke into the armoury, supplied themselves with arms, killed the Turks who opposed them, and

¹ Segni, *Storie Fiorentine*, vol. ii. p. 435.

² Giovio and Segni say 6,000, some 15,000, and Pietro Messia makes them amount to 20,000. See Muratori, *Annali*, vol. x. p. 156.

took possession of the fort. When Barbarossa, after the battle, sought refuge there, he was denied admittance. He fled to Bona, and the victory was complete. The Imperial army entered Tunis on the 21st of July, 1535; and the soldiers were unhappily allowed a whole day of licence to sack the town. Many valuable books and ancient MSS. in the Arabic language were wantonly destroyed. Some of these very men had been at the sack of Rome.

Tunis was given up to Mulassah to hold as a fief of the Spanish crown; Doria took Bona,¹ dismantled the fortifications, and left a garrison in the fort.

Thus was Christendom for a season delivered from the assaults of these pirates. Charles, flushed with the success of this glorious expedition, thought it a happy moment to pay his Neapolitan subjects a visit. He had been specially invited by the marchese del Vasto and the princes of Salerno and Bisignano. They hoped to induce him either to relax the rigour of Toledo's government, or to remove him altogether.

The Emperor dismissed his fleet at Palermo, crossed the Faro, and landed at Reggio in Calabria. This his first visit to Naples was a daily triumph. The clergy and barons went in procession to meet him, and the nobility vied with each other in paying him homage; they pressed to kiss his knee and his hand, arrayed in the most sumptuous robes.

The seven chief officers of state were all dressed in vests of white satin with flowing robes of crimson. The twenty-nine municipal officers (*capi delle piazze*) and their counsellors were robed in purple damask silk. This gorgeous procession was closed by the prelates and clergy of all ranks and degrees. The Neapolitan barons claimed the privilege of presenting themselves before the Emperor with their heads covered like the grandees of Spain. Their claims for precedence were so embarrassing that the Emperor was obliged to forbid seats to be placed in the chapel, in order that all might be on an equal footing.²

Illustrious persons flocked from all quarters of Italy to pay their respects to the victorious sovereign. The dukes of Urbino

¹ The ancient Hippo, Augustine's Episcopal See.

² Giannone, *Storia di Napoli*, vol. xi. p. 135. "L' imperatore era vestito di velluto morato e con un cappello alla Borgognana dello medesimo con lo suo tosona in petto."—Gregorio Rosso, *Giornali*. Anno 1536.

and Ferrara, and Alessandro de' Medici, duke of Florence, the Emperor's intended son-in-law, appeared with splendid retinues at the Neapolitan court. The Pope and the republic of Venice sent ambassadors to congratulate the Emperor on the success of his expedition against the Turks. The republican party at Florence had also their representatives to complain of Alessandro's tyrannical government. Ippolito de' Medici had died on the way, but Filippo Strozzi, in concert with the cardinals Salviati and Ridolfi, had taken his place; they were joined by many republican exiles who dared not shew themselves in Florence. When admitted to an audience they complained of the duke's severity and partiality, and of the heavy taxes he imposed, to provide himself with money to lavish on luxury and personal follies. The last and heaviest charges were his total disregard of morality and the honour of families,¹ the little respect he shewed for human life by poisoning and putting to death any who were personally obnoxious to him. They concluded their appeal by earnestly entreating the Emperor to remove so wicked a prince from the government of Florence, and beseeching him not to confirm his power by giving him his daughter in marriage. The Emperor requested to have their grievances in writing. It is matter of deep regret that Francesco Guicciardini, the historian, took the duke's part, and vindicated his immoralities on account of his youth. The Emperor delayed his reply. Meanwhile the several parties, while impatiently waiting his decision, refused to speak or even to bow to each other, though many of them were nearly related. The liberals offered a large sum of money, 100,000 ducats, for ten years, and the fortresses of Leghorn and Florence. Their offer was not absolutely refused, and they began to be sanguine as to the result, when suddenly news came of the death of Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan. This event changed the whole face of affairs, and decided Charles to confirm Alessandro in the government of Florence, as a means of preserving the duchy of Milan. The popular party had always shewn themselves friendly to the French, and Charles was too sagacious not to perceive that Francis would now make another

¹ " *Ed ultimamente lo dannavano, come venefico, ed ammazzatore d' uomini di sua mano propria coll' esempio di Giorgio Ridolfi, e con quello della Luisa figliuola di Filippo Strozzi.*"—Segni, *Storie Fiorentine*, vol. ii. p. 448.

attempt to gain a footing in Italy. Alessandro was soon after betrothed to Margaret, then a girl of thirteen years of age.

Charles spent some months in inactivity at Naples, amusing himself in the society of the choicest nobility of Italy. The number of beautiful and highly gifted ladies were the greatest ornaments of the Neapolitan court. Maria and Giovanna of Aragon, sisters, were irregularly descended from the Aragon dynasty. Maria was married to the Marchese del Vasto, and Giovanna to Ascanio Colonna. The heiress Isabella Colonna had lately been united to Lannoi,¹ prince of Sulmona. Eleanora, the daughter of the viceroy, was in the bloom of her maiden beauty; she little thought how soon it would be her lot to be duchess of Tuscany. Charles, though by no means insensible to the charms of beauty, never gave himself wholly up to pleasure; his prudence rarely slumbered, and his habitual self-command was perhaps one of the reasons of his successful government. In his retirement at Yuste he often spoke of the care with which he dressed his hair at Naples in 1536 to please the ladies.²

Before he left Naples he assembled a parliament in the church of S. Lorenzo, and laid before them the wants of the crown and its great need of funds to prosecute the war in Lombardy. The barons without hesitation, *per vanità et fasto*, says Giannone,³ voted him a million and a half of ducats. This was so enormous a sum that he knew well it never could be raised, and voluntarily remitted the 500,000, and accepted the million. This lavish generosity on the part of the barons, who were to pay two-thirds of the sum, was not entirely disinterested. They hoped, by thus propitiating their sovereign, they would succeed in getting the viceroy removed. His severe and impartial justice was very distasteful to the Neapolitan nobles, who were accustomed to keep armed retainers to enforce their wishes. They frequently consulted together as to the best method of proceeding. While they were still undecided the Marchese del Vasto took an opportunity, one evening when accompanying the Emperor home to the castle, to represent how advantageous it would be to his interests if Toledo were

¹ Son of Lannoi, the Flemish Viceroy, who died of the plague at Naples in 1529.

² See Mignet, *Charles Quint, son abdication*.

³ Giannone, *Storia di Napoli*, vol. xi. p. 134.

removed from the command of the viceroy. But when he found Charles of a contrary opinion, he dropped the subject and no longer frequented the meetings in St. Lorenzo. This weakened the party of the nobles, and the popular faction signified to the Emperor that they dreaded the oppression of the barons more than the severity of the viceroy. Toledo's power was thus confirmed, and his authority increased; but Charles, unwilling to leave Naples without conferring some marks of favour, granted thirty-one articles or privileges to the city, and twenty-four to the provinces; these were duly registered in a full parliament at St. Lorenzo on the 3rd of February, 1536.

One of the last acts of the Emperor at Naples was to enjoin Toledo to use great vigilance to prevent the reformed opinions from entering the kingdom of Naples. The deep and lasting root they had taken in Germany made him very anxious to keep them out of his Italian dominions. In the month of February a rigorous edict was published and universally circulated, which decreed that no one was to have intercourse or association with persons infected with, or suspected of, Lutheranism, under peril of losing both life and property. But it was too late; already these doctrines were diffused among the court, in the cloister, and even announced from the pulpit. The secretary of the viceroy, Juan Valdés, was deeply imbued with these much dreaded opinions. The Capuchin friar, Bernardino Ochino,¹ whose preaching the Emperor had listened to with so much applause, set forth the very doctrines which Charles was so desirous of opposing.

Such was the interesting character of Valdés, and so great his success in announcing the Gospel, that we must pause in our narrative of Charles's progress through Italy, and detain the reader at Naples, while we say something of the history of the two remarkable brothers, Alfonso and Juan Valdés.

Naples was the favoured place where the glad tidings of the Gospel were first heard in Italy at the period of the Reformation. There is reason also to believe that it made more

¹ "Si dilettaſſe molto ſentire Fra Bernardino di Siena, Cappuccino, che predicava a S. Gio. Maggiore con ſpirito e devozione grande, che faceva piagnere le pietre."—Gregorio Rosso, *Giornali*, p. 133. Giannone, *Storia di Napoli*, vol. xi. p. 178. Antonino Castaldo, *Storia*.

considerable and extensive progress there than in any other part of the Peninsula. In the very centre of a Spanish court, under the vigilant eye of a rigid viceroy, one remarkable man, Juan Valdés, a Spaniard of talent and erudition, through the superintending providence of God was permitted to promulgate the blessed truths of salvation. He had facilities as a Spaniard, and as the secretary of the viceroy, which no other person could command. Known to be an acknowledged and attached subject of the reigning sovereign, he was not exposed to the suspicion or jealousy which might have arisen had he been a Neapolitan.

Never since Paul preached in his own hired house at Rome, had the elevating doctrines of the Christian faith been more faithfully set forth. Their growth was at first silent and unperceived, but as they began to take deeper root the vast phalanx of monks, the chief maintainers of superstition, discovered the existence of the vital spark, and knew that if it was allowed to gather strength their reign was over and their gains gone. The remedy however was at hand, the subtle policy of the Roman Catholic religion had provided for all such cases. The treacherous machinery of the confessional was put in motion, and the converts were soon brought under the lash both of spiritual and temporal power. The kingdoms of this world have always been arrayed against the doctrines of the Saviour. The same intolerance which urged the Jewish Sanhedrim to attack his person has been exercised by the Papacy against his followers. Bigotry and violence combined to tread out every spark of spiritual light; thus superstition and misrule still sit as vampires to exhaust the life-blood of that classic land. But we anticipate. Before we come to facts which will convince the reader that no language can be too strong to reprobate the slaughter of the faithful, let us refresh our spirits by the view of a verdant spot in the midst of this vast howling wilderness.

There were two twin brothers of the name of Valdés, Alfonso and Juan, both remarkable men, of high education and breeding, who were held in great estimation in the sixteenth century on account of their talents and learning. They were of ancient lineage, sons of Don Fernando de Valdés, corregidor and military commander of Cuenca in Catalonia. So similar were they in ap-

pearance and in talent that they have been confounded together as one and the same person. Authors have found it difficult accurately to ascribe to each brother the several writings which bear their names. The early records of their lives are so obscure and inadequate, that it is only in the writings of their contemporaries that some few particulars can be gleaned. In a letter from Erasmus to Juan in 1528, he tells him that "he understands that he resembles his brother so much both in appearance and intellect, that they are not like twins but one person."¹ Alfonso was a lawyer, and Juan² devoted himself to learning and theology.

They both accompanied Charles to Germany, Alfonso as early as 1520, when Charles went to receive the Imperial crown. The disputes about indulgences had already awakened attention. Luther had been cited to Rome in 1518, and Alfonso gratified the curiosity of his friend Peter Martyr of Angliera,³ by writing him an account, "*De nova secta Lutheranorum apud Germanos exorta.*" This letter excited such a lively interest that he sent it to a friend with these few words: "Read an account of the dreadful prodigies which Alfonso Valdés, a very promising youth, has sent me. His father, Ferdinando de Valdés, corregidor of Cuenca, you know. The narrative is not less faithful than it is elegant."⁴

Alfonso⁵ Valdés was a great friend of Erasmus, and took

¹ The author is under great obligations to Mr. Wiffen, of Woburn, for having pointed out the proof that there were two brothers. This is proved by the letters of Erasmus to them both. See *D. Erasmi Op. Omnia*. Lugd. Bat. 1703. Appendix A.

² M'Crie says Juan was a priest, and quotes Burscheri, *Spicil.* v. p. 17, in proof, but I have not been able to find the book. See M'Crie, *Reform. in Spain*. Llorente speaks of Juan Alfonso Valdés. It is not impossible that the twins were named Juan Alfonso and Alfonso Juan: hence the confusion in their persons. Celio Secundo Curione, who published the 110 Considerations in Italian, says in his preface, written ten years after the death of Valdés, "Gio. de Valdesso was a native of Spain, of a noble and ancient race, and brought up in an honorable state of life. He was at first a gentleman and knighted by the Emperor Charles V. But when Christ was revealed to him he did not stay much longer at court, but lived in Italy, chiefly at Naples, where he died in 1540. From Baale, 1550." Serassi also calls him Gio. Alfonso Valdés.

³ Appendix B.

⁴ See *Opus Epist. Petri Martyris*, Paris, 1670, for Alfonso's letters. The second is addressed thus—Alphonsus Valdesius Petro Martyri suo De Examinatione Lutheri ejusque Doctrina Wormatiæ, 3 Idus Maii, 1521.

⁵ Llorente calls him Jean Alphonse, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, vol. ii. 281; iii. 478, quoted from Mayana, *Vie de Jean Louis Vives predicateur de Ch. V.*, a work I have not been able to see.

an active part in his defence in 1527, when it was proposed to condemn his works.

His converse with Erasmus and the German reformers directed his attention to the Scriptures, and he learned to look at the corruptions of the Papacy through the glass of the sacred records. While his mind was fully impressed with the absurdity and inconsistency of the Roman Catholic Church calling itself a Christian community, when its doctrines and practice were in direct opposition both to Christian morality and precept, he wrote two works in the form of dialogue, in which he satirized with considerable humour and originality the mercenary and corrupt practices of the Papal court.

These Dialogues,¹ '*Dos Dialógos*,' have been ascribed by several writers to his brother Juan, but the letters of Baldassarre Castiglione,² Papal nuncio in Spain, decide the point, and prove that they were written by Alfonso. Castiglione went to Spain in 1524, and died at Toledo in 1529. He was a man of vast erudition and an elegant poet. His *Cortigiano* was published in 1528; in some passages he expressed himself so freely that his work was put in the Index. It was probably to prove himself a true champion of the Church of Rome that he censured Valdés for writing these *Dialógos*.

Serassi, in his notes to Castiglione's epistles, published in 1769, gives a letter written by Alfonso de Valdés, in which he distinctly alludes to being called to account for one of these Dialogues by the secretary of the nuncio. *Antes que d' esta villa partissimos para Valentia VS. me embid a hablar con M. Gabriel su Secretario sobre una obrezilla que yo escribise el anno pasado.* "Before I left this city for Valentia, your lordship sent M. Gabriel your secretary to speak to me about a little work which I wrote last year."³

These two Dialogues, though now generally found together, were separate works written at different periods. The first, a dialogue between Mercury and Charon, was written after

¹ M'Crie, *Reformation in Spain*, note, p. 146. In *Los Protestantes Españoles*, De Castro says, "the publication of these Dialogues is notorious in the history of Spanish Protestants, and so is the fact that they were written by Juan de Valdés." Both Bayle and Moreri confound the two brothers together, and so does Llorente.

² *Lettere del conte Baldassarre Castiglione, publicate dall' Abate Serassi. Padua, 1769.*

³ See Appendix C. for original letter.

the war in 1521, and the second between Lactancio and an archdeacon after the sack of Rome in 1527. This last was composed in the year 1528, as may be seen in the body of the work, and censured by the nuncio in 1529.

In his preface to the first Dialogue, the author declares that he wrote it to shew that it was not Charles, but Francis, who was the cause of the war; and that to enliven the tedium of his subject he had introduced Charon, the boatman of the Styx, holding conversations with his passengers to the other world. The greater part of these are souls passing into hell.

Under the form of dialogue, which gives so much scope for familiar observations, he lashes the corruptions of the age with keen and subtle irony, and contrasts the high privileges of Christianity with the practice of humanity in general, and Roman Catholics in particular. Each soul, when disencumbered from the body and while passing into eternity, is represented as surrounded by an atmosphere of truth which obliges it to recount with unconscious veracity the aims and objects of its past life. The hypocrite with unblushing sincerity relates the clever manner in which he feigned sanctity. The corrupt courtier tells how he flattered to advance his interests. The tyrannical prince how he oppressed his subjects to extend his dominions. The bishop boasts how he squeezed out his revenues, and how hospitable he was in keeping a good table. The theologian records how, by the use of scholastic reasoning, he made people believe what he pleased. The good and upright ascribe all they had done well to the gracious influence of the love of God on their hearts.

When we reflect on the frightful state of religion and morals throughout Christendom when Valdés wrote, we are surprised to find such pure and holy sentiments in the midst of so much perversion of mind; but our surprise ceases when we trace the source from whence he drew this heavenly wisdom, and perceive that all his precepts are borrowed from the pages of divine inspiration.

Mercury, when asked why Spain is tranquil when all other nations are in tumult, replies that this is because the Spaniards have a good prince, Charles V., who governs well. They are happy also in a judicious Inquisitor, Don Alfonso Manrique, archbishop of Seville, who during the late outcry against Erasmus kept

all things quiet by his conciliatory disposition. To this Charon replies with fiendish malice, that he wishes he could have this archbishop in his power, he would put him to the oar for ten years to punish him for his love of peace. After an outline of the quarrels between Charles and Francis, in which the whole blame of the war is cast upon the latter and on the Pope, Mercury says he has travelled over the whole world to discover a people living according to the laws of nature and reason, but he found everywhere nothing but vanity. He then turned to the nations called Christian, persuaded that there at least he should find morality, but here too he was doomed to be disappointed. In some countries men lived in direct opposition to the laws of Christ, and even in the highest sphere¹ he found earthly desires and cares occupied their minds instead of heavenly aspirations. Their hopes, instead of being fixed on Christ, were all placed on certain kinds of dresses, different sorts of food, paternosters and repetitions of prayers, pilgrimages and wax candles. Some hoped to get to heaven by building churches and monasteries, others thought to win the divine favour by their much speaking, while another class were trying to secure their salvation by silence. So completely ignorant were they of the divine attributes of clemency and love, that some imagined that the discipline of the whip, fasting to inanition, and going barefoot, were services acceptable to God. But in all these he could not find a spark of that real love and charity enjoined in the Gospel. Very small indeed, he grieved to say, was the number of those who put their trust in Jesus Christ, or who sought rather to enrich themselves with virtue than with the riches of this world. All seemed to be going about robbing and deceiving their neighbours, leaving the poor to perish with hunger. If any wished to conform themselves sincerely to the doctrines of the Gospel, they were considered mad. No one felt any esteem for that moral courage which enables a man to govern his passions and regulate his appetites; but all stood in awe and admiration of brute force and daring violence. Thus those who were called Christians were in no respect better than the Turks or the Arabs, for they also delighted in war and spoil.

This melancholy picture of the degradation of humanity is interrupted by the arrival of a soul, whose haughty demeanour

¹ Rome.

makes them conjecture he is some Persian satrap, but on nearer approach they find he is a famous preacher puffed up with the greatness of his reputation. When questioned he says: "I put on an air of sanctity to get credit with the public; in the pulpit I took care never to reprove those who were present. If I had they might have been converted and lived like Christians, and then for very shame I should myself have been obliged to perform good actions. CHARON. Then under pretence of preaching Jesus Christ you preached the kingdom of Satan. SOUL. I do not even know what you mean by preaching Jesus Christ. I had but one object, to satisfy all my desires and live like a Pope. CHARON. Oh! Come, pay the passage money; on the other side you will see what sort of happiness you have prepared for yourself. SOUL. Pay the passage? Do not you know that monks are exempt from all payment? CHARON. You must either pay or leave your frock. SOUL. Most willingly, I only wish it had been taken from me in the other world. CHARON. What! have you found it too heavy to wear? SOUL. Do you think it is a light burden to be always pretending to be holy against one's will? CHARON. How can we wonder that Christians are so bad; are there many of such teachers and preachers? MER. More than there ought to be."

They then resume their conversation. Mercury gives a long account of the challenges which have passed between Charles, Francis, and Henry of England, of the war about the duchy of Milan, how Francis broke the engagements he had made in Spain, and recounts the treachery and bad faith of Clement VII. At this point of the discourse a company of souls arrive; one keeps himself separate from the others, he proves to be a king's councillor. Charon asks him how it came to pass that he who governed others was not able to govern himself, since he was going to hell. The astounded councillor starts at the name of hell, and says he was a good Christian, had been baptized, and so on, mentioning many religious observances; and that he died in the habit of the Franciscan order, and after all to go to hell!

Next passes the spirit of a reigning duke. He confesses he had lived to enjoy himself and squeeze money out of his subjects; but as a make-weight he had built churches, and made sure of Heaven by purchasing Papal bulls as a passport

there. Charon replies: "Are you so foolish as to expect to enjoy the benefits of Christ's death and sufferings without having done anything he commanded you?"

A lordly bishop now appears. Though alone, he asks if *we* can pass? This manner of speaking, he says, is suitable to his dignity. He had been twenty years a bishop. "CHARON. Tell me what it is to be a bishop? SOUL. To be a bishop is to be dressed in a white rochet, say mass with a mitre on the head, and gloves and rings on the hands, to send clergy to the bishopric, secure the revenue and spend it in pleasure, to have always plenty of servants to serve, and benefices to give away! CHARON. But neither Peter nor any of the Apostles were bishops, nor had any of these things. The little which belonged to them they gave to follow Christ. I will tell you what it is to be a bishop. To be solicitous for the souls under your care, and willing if necessary to sacrifice your life for them. To preach to your flock faithfully, and to set them a good example. For this purpose it is necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. To live free from worldly cares, and in the constant exercise of prayer for the salvation of your people. To see that holy persons administer the sacraments. To relieve the poor, freely giving them what you have freely received." The soul of the bishop, filled with astonishment at this discourse, replies with ignorant simplicity, that he had never heard of these things before, and never considered any other qualification necessary for a bishop but to keep a good table for those who came to dine with him.

"CHARON. See that disconsolate soul approaching; let us ask who he is. SOUL. Do not you see I am a Cardinal? CHARON. Take this trouble on yourself. SOUL. It will rather fall on you if I take oar in hand. MER. Do not consent, Charon. CHARON. Why? MER. Because if he guides your boat as he has done the Church of Jesus Christ, you may give it up for lost. CHARON. Leave off your jokes, Mercury; your day is past, you are no longer Jove's pander. SOUL. Do you think so little of me as to suppose I would undertake so mean an office? CHARON. And you really imagined I would trust my boat to a man like you? MER. Come, tell us how you governed the vessel of the Church of Christ? SOUL. I do not understand what you say. MER. Must I speak plainer? since you were

a pillar of the church, and held the charge of its government, tell me how you ruled it? SOUL. Do me the favour not to make me enter into this labyrinth, as if I had had nothing to do but to govern churches. MER. Tell me then what you did? SOUL. I raised money to maintain the war by putting on fresh taxes and selling offices. MER. And perhaps benefices? SOUL. You must not mention that; I will explain. Besides these we sold the revenues of the church, the monasteries, and the hospitals. MER. Of the hospitals? Were you not ashamed to sell the revenues left to maintain the poor, and make use of them to destroy and kill mankind? SOUL. Lay aside these follies; in ten days time you can tell me. CHARON. If these appear follies to you, pass in the boat, and you will soon know the truth."

Mercury then reads a letter from the Emperor Charles to the king of England, justifying the incursion of the imperial troops into Rome under Ugo Moncada, and imputing it to Clement's having leagued against him, and the soldiers not being under proper discipline. It is dated 2nd of August 1526, and signed Alfonso de Valdés.

They now interrogate a passing spirit who confesses himself to have been a councillor of the king of England, and inveighs against the cardinal (Wolsey) as the sole cause of the friendship between the king and the emperor being interrupted.

Next comes a king, whose good deeds consisted in warring against the Turks, and patching up an unholy life according to his confessor's advice, by building churches and repeating prayers of which he did not understand a word.

A king's secretary appears next on the scene, a Frenchman. When asked what he had done of importance in life, he replies, "In ten years, by great management, I accumulated 8000 crowns of gold." His management consisted in corruption and fraud. CHARON. Did you ever do your master any great service? SOUL. The greatest in the world. I advised him, when he was a prisoner, to agree to all that the emperor required, and when free, not to keep one of his promises. CHARON. True services indeed! So you robbed the merchants, deceived the king who trusted you, and counselled him to act so as to lose his honour and reputation for ever."

They now resume the narrative, and while in the most

interesting part they perceive a frightful phantom of a soul approaching, as thin and spare as a long pole. "MER. It must be a hypocrite. Where are you going? SOUL. To heaven. MER. To heaven! What sort of a life did you lead in the world, that you are going to heaven? SOUL. I was a perfect Christian. MER. Do you think there is any difference between calling oneself perfect, and being so? SOUL. There is, but I not only called myself perfect, but was so in reality. MER. Your thinking yourself perfect is a proof that you were not so. SOUL. But it would be still more foolish not to think myself perfect when I am truly so. MER. Let us hear in what way you were so perfect? SOUL. I was a Christian. MER. But even among Christians there are robbers. SOUL. I was a priest. MER. Some of them are great rogues. SOUL. I gave up all I had to seek Christian perfection. MER. This you might have done and kept your possessions. SOUL. How so? MER. Because poverty exists in the will, as well as in the substance. SOUL. I said mass daily, the canonical hours, and a great many prayers in private devotion. I fasted on bread and water every day commanded by the church, never slept on a bed even when ill, never knew the luxury of a shirt, went barefoot, and flogged myself three times a week. For thirty years I never ate meat, and very little before, even when I was thought dying, though the physicians told me I was in great danger. On all these accounts I was held in such high estimation that every one kissed my raiment as a saint. MER. These were good means for following Christian doctrine if your constitution could bear them; but, to speak the truth, I have not yet heard you say anything to entitle you to be called so perfect that you are sure to go to heaven. SOUL. What do you mean? You drive me distracted. MER. All that you have mentioned are only external operations, and means for arriving at the internal. You trusted so entirely in these that you thought of nothing more. Had you charity? SOUL. What do you mean by charity? MER. Did you love God above all things, and your neighbour as yourself? SOUL. That was just the chief thing which I did. MER. Indeed! Let us hear how. Did you ever injure the reputation of your neighbour and grumble against him? SOUL. Why should I not? particularly against those who spoke ill of and reproved

me. MER. Because you were under obligation to render good for evil; but you rendered evil for good, for it was a good action to reprove you if you did ill. What did you say of them? SOUL. I said they were bad men, and persecuted the Christian religion. MER. Was this true? SOUL. No, but I had no other means of revenging myself as they stopped my gains. If I had not done so I should have died of hunger. MER. Would it not then have been better to have kept your own property, rather than offend God by your actions?"

The next passenger is a theologian, who does not know God, but who declares that to be a theologian it is necessary to be able to dispute *pro* and *contra* on theological questions. He boasts that he was so expert in this art that he could make people believe what he pleased, either by false or true arguments. "CHARON. How did you manage to do this? SOUL. I will shew you by an example as big as yourself, and prove you to be a rogue. A rogue has a beard and never combs his hair. You have a beard and never comb your hair, *ergo* you are a rogue. CHARON. I own myself vanquished: but wait a little and I will shew you that you are an ass, not by sophistry, but by sound reasoning. Tell me, then, what is an ass? SOUL. An animal without reason. CHARON. What is reason? SOUL. The power of choosing the good and avoiding the evil. CHARON. If you then while in the world had not understanding enough to follow the good and avoid evil, then you were without reason. Thus out of your own mouth you are proved to be an ass. SOUL. I never found this in my theology. CHARON. Did you ever read any of the Epistles of St. Paul? SOUL. No, nor ever even heard them mentioned except at mass. CHARON. And the Gospels? SOUL. Nor these neither. CHARON. How then could you be a theologian? SOUL. As if the Epistles and Gospels were necessary to make a theologian. CHARON. What then did you read? SOUL. Scotus, and St. Tomaso, Niccolò de Lira, Durando, and such like divines, and above all Aristotle. CHARON. And the Old and New Testament, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, and other holy divines, did you never read them? SOUL. Sometimes, but rarely, for they have not the same acuteness which the others have. CHARON. As the eggs so are the chickens. So you passed your whole life in handling disputes and doubtful

questions in order to be considered wise; while you totally neglected reading the Scriptures, and those divines in which you might have found true Christian doctrine. Be not surprised, then, if with these tools you have reaped such fruit. SOUL. Are you preaching to me? You had better direct that I am not to pay the passage, for I have won. CHARON. I consent, off with you."

Another soul is now seen crossing the mountain. Charon, unwilling to lose the passage money, calls to him to come back. The soul then courteously asks for room in the boat. "CHARON. Where are you going? SOUL. To heaven. Charon mutters between his teeth, Plague on you then, for you cannot pass in my boat. SOUL. So I thought. CHARON. Why? SOUL. Because such is the will of Jesus Christ. CHARON. As I cannot draw anything else from you, favour me by narrating what manner of life you led in the world, since you are entering into glory."

The soul then relates that when very young he felt great detestation of evil, but still continued to consort with bad companions. At the age of twenty he began to reflect and enquire what it was to be a Christian. Convinced that ambition was inconsistent with the Christian character, he resolved to lay aside all the aspiring projects of fortune and distinction which he had hitherto cherished. About this time he began to ridicule some of the superstitions he saw practised among Christians, but did not wholly lay aside all vicious pleasures. At the age of twenty-five, however, he reflected seriously on the kind of life he was leading, and the bad use he was making of the knowledge which God in his infinite goodness had granted him, and reasoned thus with himself: "Christian doctrine is either true or not: if true, it is folly to live, as I do, in a manner quite contrary to its precepts. If it is false, why should I charge myself with cumbrous ceremonies and outward observances? God immediately enlightened my mind to discern that the Christian doctrine was true, and from that hour I resolved to lay aside all superstitions and to abstain from all vice; I determined, in as far as my weakness permitted, to follow a Christian course, whatever might be the opposition of my relations and friends. Some said I was mad, others that I was going to be a monk, but I bore all patiently for Christ's sake. I

did not however become a monk, for though many said that monks had fewer temptations to sin than others, yet I thought that every state has its temptations. At one time, indeed, I thought it was the only career which would effectually smother ambition, and had half resolved to enter a convent; but a friend, a monk, to whom I revealed my intention, dissuaded me by saying, that in no place in the world was there so much ambition and desire to govern as in a convent. So I contented myself with seeking the society of those who bore the image of Jesus Christ. CHARON. Did you become a priest then? SOUL. No, for I thought myself unworthy to administer the holy sacrament with so much minuteness, and I dreaded the burden of being obliged to read every day such long services; I thought it better to employ the time in endeavouring to understand the services which the others repeated but did not understand. CHARON. What mode of life then did you choose? SOUL. I married, but not for beauty or fortune. I chose a wife of my own rank, with whom I lived very happily. Whatever I wished pleased her, and I on my part felt the same pleasure in yielding to her wishes."

He did not go on any pilgrimage, because he found many returned worse than they went. He heard mass on the days appointed, and fasted when his health permitted it. When he fasted voluntarily he ate meat as well as fish, but with great moderation. When asked if he prayed, he replied, continually. "CHARON. How is that possible? SOUL. In every place and at all times I tried to direct both my actions and words to the glory of Jesus Christ, conceiving this to be the best of all prayers. CHARON. Did you never ask anything of God? SOUL. Yes, I asked him to pardon my sins, and to give me grace to persevere in his service, always acknowledging myself the chief of sinners. CHARON. Do you not know how wrong it is to tell lies? You must be aware that there are many in the world worse than you. SOUL. Yes, but I also know that if God in his great goodness had not snatched me from the influence of sin I should have been worse than others; this made me know I was the greatest of sinners, and that whatever good there was in me belonged to God alone."

There is every probability that the character of one, if not both the brothers, is here described. In the preface it is said

that a married person is introduced because celibacy was considered a cardinal Christian virtue. We do not know if either of the brothers were married, but that is a subject apart from the conversion of heart here pourtrayed.

A soul is now seen labouring along with a heavy load of lead. Charon calls out to him, "Holla there! you will sink the boat with your lead. SOUL. Do not you see it is holy lead, used at Rome in sealing the bulls? CHARON. What do you bring it here for? SOUL. I have sold so little this last year that I have a good deal on hand, and so brought it here to see if it could be turned to any profit. CHARON. Throw it into the river, or I will throw you there, and it too. And you, Carthusian monk, what do you want with such a beard? I will either cut it off, or you shall not go in my boat. SOUL. What am I to cut it off with? CHARON. Come here, and we will cut it with this saw. You, philosophers of many superstitions, there are no fools here for you to deceive. Do not you see that other laden with ceremonies? There, leave them and take the oar. What sort of reasoning have you under your cloak, that you take the road to hell? Sit down all of you, and begin to row away. SOUL. See, Charon, look at him pushing himself first. Do not you know that the monks of St. Francis precede the Dominicans? CHARON. I never saw anything like this. Oh, Mercury, I have more trouble in arranging these monks than in guiding my boat. Some day or other they will sink it with their contests whether the Virgin Mary was conceived in original sin or not."

Just as Mercury is relating, to Charon's great joy, that the king of France has refused the Emperor's challenge, their attention is attracted by a rare occurrence, a soul passing the mountain with a crown on his head. "MER. See with what splendour he approaches; perhaps he will not speak to us. CHARON. Oh yes, he will, for generally the highest in rank are the most courteous, and mean persons most proud. SOUL. Do not be afraid, brethren, nor awed by my dignity, for even in the world I never discouraged any one." They then enter into discussion on the virtues of a king, too long for transcription here.

Next comes a good bishop. In this conversation the same principles and arguments are brought forward which have been already given.

As after a bad bishop we have had a bad cardinal, so after

the good bishop a cardinal of grave and dignified aspect advances with measured step. They accost him and entreat that he would tell them by what means he attained to this dignity. "SOUL. I bought it with 2500 ducats, but twenty days after I bitterly repented my purchase. MER. Why? SOUL. When I joined the consistory and saw how affairs were managed, and found that when I proposed anything for the public good I met with nothing but reproof and contradiction, I was so annoyed that I did not know how to carry myself. At length, finding that I could neither be useful to others nor to myself, I left it all, Rome, the consistory, and the purple, and retired to an abbacy of my own, within a month's time from my being cardinal. There, in the government of my monks and other dependents, by the grace of Jesus Christ, I so passed my days that it has pleased God to grant me eternal life. MER. You served a good master, and have gained a great reward."

"CHARON. See, Mercury, how hastily that soul is passing along like a goat escaping from the fangs of the wolf. MER. Let us go to him. SOUL. What do you want with me? MER. To tell us who you were. SOUL. You will make me lose too much time. MER. Tell us, we pray, for the love of Jesus Christ. SOUL. With this entreaty you will obtain from me whatever you wish. Brethren, since you wish to know, in my youth I sought, not only to learn, but to have the experience of Christian doctrine. This appeared to be the only true path, and all the rest vanity. My intentions being pure, my studies were always accompanied with prayer, and I continually asked God to grant me his grace. Not confiding in my own abilities or strength, the Holy Scriptures were opened up so clearly to me, that I devoted my whole heart to them, and they took such deep root in my mind that in a short time many divines, who had spent their whole lives in studying vain and useless subtleties, felt quite confounded before me. Not desiring to be punished as the servant was who hid his Lord's talent, and knowing that God had abundantly imparted to me his grace, I desired not to receive it in vain, but first among my friends and then in the pulpit I began to spread, and publish abroad what God had conferred on me. I knew it to be his will that thus men should serve him on earth as the angels serve him in heaven. This was my earnest desire, and to this end I directed all my words

and actions. I did not try to make my sermons either elevated or elegant, but Christian; and was indifferent about being called stupid, or that my sermons were complained of as unworthy of a literary man, if they were but acknowledged to be Christian. Above all things, I endeavoured always to conform my actions to my words, taking it to be a very evil thing to be found guilty of what I reprov'd in others. I knew how little fruit arises from a vicious preacher, even should his discourses be the best in the world; and what influence his teaching has, who freely and without scruple speaks as a man does in whom no vice can be noted. Before I went into the pulpit, I prayed to God with great fervour and devotion that he would inspire me with his grace, so that my words might be for his service and for the benefit and usefulness of his people. I entreated him also that he would not let me speak, but that his Spirit might speak by my mouth. When I ascended the pulpit I did not think of myself or of any other thing, but, with my heart inflamed and burning in the fire of charity and the love of God and my neighbours, I spoke that which I thought most useful to them. MER. How did you arrange your sermons? SOUL. In the beginning, before I opened my discourse, I entreated and admonished all to kneel down and raise their hearts to God that he would give them grace that their souls might be converted and built up by what they were about to hear, and that all vicious and evil inclinations might be taken away from them, so that in future they might become new men. MER. I know that it is usual at the beginning of the sermon to ask grace of the Virgin Mary, and not of God. SOUL. Sometimes I also did so, and applied to her as mediatrix, but generally I asked it of God, for he only can give it. MER. Did you not make them say the Ave Maria, as other preachers do? SOUL. Seldom. MER. Why? SOUL. Because the heart is more confirmed when it raises itself to supplicate from God a favour of which it knows its need, than when words are repeated which for the most part are not understood by those who say them. The soul obtains more from God by sighs and holy desires than does the voice with many words, while the mind, as often happens, is in public places and even in worse company. MER. Do not you approve then of vocal prayer? SOUL. On the contrary, I consider it both holy and necessary; but I think mental prayer still better: for I find

those who pray with the lips while the heart is far from God much blamed in Holy Scripture; and I see it is a Christian doctrine that those who truly adore God adore him in spirit and in truth. For God being a spirit chooses to be worshipped in spirit. MER. After you had asked for grace, what did you say next? SOUL. If the Gospel was short as well as the Epistle I divided my sermon into three parts; first I explained the Epistle, secondly the Gospel: not trying to unravel subtleties or raise difficulties, but only to shew the literal sense, and point out anything which manifested the greatness and goodness of God, that I might draw the hearts of my hearers to love Him. The third part was devoted to admonition and reproof, which I took care so to administer, that all might perceive I was not moved by ambition, passion, or affection, but only by a desire for the general welfare."¹

In order to be impartial, after having so severely condemned the monks, he introduces the soul of a Franciscan friar ascending to heaven. He had welcomed poverty gladly, and had been careful to be also poor in spirit, and to lead in reality that strict and holy life which others only feigned to do.

The dialogue closes with the vision of a female soul who comes floating along, singing in joyous accents. She relates her history. Her father and mother taught her to read Latin, which enabled her to read the Holy Scriptures.¹ This she did with so much pleasure that she soon became thoroughly acquainted with them, and aimed to conform her life to their precepts. She imparted her impressions to her friends and neighbours, but in a modest and diffident way, as became her age and sex, in order to avoid reproach. Women, she said, should even be more careful than men what opinions they embrace, and should be willing to have them carefully examined. As silence, especially in young women, is both laudable and decorous, so too much speaking is both improper and unseemly. She lived in this state for many years, always endeavouring to preach rather by her actions than her words, and feeling disinclined to marriage. As a woman is not allowed to choose the object of her affections, but must take as a husband whoever her father or brother recommends, she felt afraid lest a husband should be given her with whom she could not live happily.

¹ *Dos Dialogos*, p. 315.

She was however at last married to a man who led her a most miserable life, but she bore his unkindness with patience, earnestly hoping that God would rather permit her to draw him over to her way of thinking, than that he should influence her to his opinions. Meanwhile she behaved towards him with the utmost submission and humility. Sometimes she ventured on some gentle reproofs, and gradually acquired so much power over him, that he laid aside his vices one after another, till at last he became gentle and affectionate, and made such progress in virtue that she in her turn learned of him.

Just as she was leaving them another female soul, a nun, appears coming quickly along. Mercury wants to interrogate her, but Charon says, "Let her alone, do not you see that it is a woman and a nun? if once she begins she will never finish." Here the first dialogue terminates. It has presented us with pictures of every variety of character, and all kinds of precepts, but the balance has ever been in favour of what is holy, good, and true.

The other dialogue, which is usually bound up with the first, is between an archdeacon just arrived from Rome after its capture in 1527, and a young *Caballero* of his acquaintance called Lactancio, whom he meets in the public square at Valladolid. They retire together to the church of San Francisco to converse upon the stupendous events which have taken place at Rome. The archdeacon is full of horror at the scenes he has witnessed and the insults offered to pontifical and clerical authority. Lactancio undertakes to prove that it is not the Emperor, but the Pope who is to blame; but before he begins, he asks the archdeacon what he considers to be the office of a pope. He finds some difficulty in framing his reply; "for," says he, "if we look back to the days of St. Peter we find one state of things, and in our own times quite another." But being closely pressed, he is obliged to confess that the office of the pontiff was to set forth the Holy Scriptures, and to teach a Christian people the doctrines of Christ, both by words and actions. Lactancio then says the pope has failed in his duty of imitating Jesus Christ; how can he follow Christ, who breaks the peace by making war? and he then proves that the pope has been the sole cause of the war, first by sending an army into Lombardy; secondly by breaking the treaty with

Ugo Moncada and the Colonnas; that his soldiers had set the example of the most unseemly outrages on the friends and dependents of the Colonna family. "Read all the canonical Epistles of St. Paul, you will find there nothing but peace, concord, union, love, and hope in that which is good, and charity. When Jesus Christ was born there was no cry of To arms! To arms! nor of Blood! blood! war! war! but angels' voices were heard in the air pronouncing these words, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men.¹ When war reigns what place is there for charity, and this being one of the principal foundations of our faith, can the head be without it? If princes and secular lords war together we need not be surprised, for as sheep they follow their pastor. If the head goes to war the members must of course fight."

The archdeacon then recounts the wickedness and profanity of the imperial army at Rome. Lactancio takes up the argument, and proves that far greater evils had been committed by the profane and licentious lives of the priests and cardinals in the city. When the archdeacon mourns the desecration of the churches built for God's service, Lactancio replies, that much more dishonour is done to God's glory by the defilement of sin, and quotes St. Paul: "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God;" and again, "Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost?"² God is neither visible nor corporeal; he desires chiefly to be honoured in an invisible and spiritual manner; he delights not in gold or silver, nor does he need any of these things. He being Lord and Master asks of us our hearts only. Observe that he being Lord of all could, if he pleased, in a moment make a hundred thousand temples far richer and more sumptuous than that of Solomon.

"ARCH. That is clear: but perhaps he desires that we of our own free-will offer him these things that we may have some merit.

LACT. What merit can there be in our giving to God what he despises and refuses, while we retain that which he asks of us?

ARCH. Would you then not have any churches? or not have them so beautifully adorned?

¹ Luke ii. 14.

² 1 Cor. iii. 16; and vi. 19.

LACT. Why not? on the contrary I think them necessary, but I would not have them built for vain-glory, nor would I, that in paying honour to churches of stone we should fail to honour the church of God which is our soul; nor that, in order to build or adorn one of these, we leave off assisting the poor; nor, to make paintings and sculptures of wood and inanimate marble, should we allow the poor to go naked who are the images of Christ. Tell me why JESUS CHRIST despised all riches and worldly goods?

ARCH. That we might neither prize nor care for them.

LACT. Why then should we offer to him, as a thing precious and acceptable, what we certainly know he despises and wishes us to despise?"

Lactancio desires to hear about the sack of Rome, and the Archdeacon replies: "What shall I say of the temples and churches, in which God was wont to be worshipped and praised, being turned into stables for horses? Oh, what a strange thing it was to see the church of St. Peter entirely filled with horses! even to think of it is heart breaking.

LACT. This indeed can never be approved by any good man, but we often see things done in time of necessity which the laws forbid: in time of war this and far worse things are done, the guilt of which falls on those who are the cause of the war.

ARCH. That is a very pretty excuse.

LACT. Wherefore not? But let us see whether those who commit greater and more frightful disorders, in more holy places than these, are not guilty of greater abominations than the soldiers.

ARCH. This I think cannot be denied.

LACT. Tell me then, if you have read the Holy Scriptures, did you not find there that God does not inhabit temples made by the hands of men, but that every man is a temple in which God dwells?

ARCH. Sometimes.

LACT. Which would be the greater wickedness and abomination, to turn into stables temples of stone, which the Apostle says God does not inhabit, or to make stables of our souls which are the true temples of God?

ARCH. Certainly it would be a greater abomination to make stables of our souls; but how can this be done?

LACT. How! What do you consider a stable to be?

ARCH. A place where beasts are enclosed and shut up.

LACT. And what do you call beasts?

ARCH. Brute animals, without reason.

LACT. Cannot vices be rightly called brute, and without reason?

ARCH. Undoubtedly, and worse than the beasts.

LACT. Thus it is a greater abomination to admit vices, which are worse than beasts, into the soul, which is the true temple where God inhabits, than it is to put horses into a church of stone.

ARCH. This indeed now appears to me to be so.

LACT. You may also see how blinded your understanding was in Rome, when you continually met persons in the streets who had evidently turned their souls into stables of vice, though it made no impression on you: but because, in a time of necessity, you saw horses lodged in the church of St. Peter, you look on it as so great an abomination that your heart breaks at the thought of it. It remained however unmoved when you saw in Rome such a multitude of souls gorged with fetid and abominable vices, that God who made them, though willing to ransom them through the death of his Son Jesus Christ, is driven away. A pretty religion indeed yours is!

ARCH. Who has taught you at so early an age to reason thus?

LACT. Observe, sir, that God has at this time permitted these people to rob his churches, to prove to us that he puts little value on what can be stolen, or on that which doth corrupt, in order that we may for the future devote to his majesty living and not inanimate temples, that we may offer him our hearts, our wills, our souls, rather than gold or silver or such like ornaments, and serve him in the manner he has commanded, and not with our own imaginations."

The archdeacon mourns the loss of so many relics. He had seen, he said, baskets full of them carried to the house of John of Urbino,¹ and thinks this sacrilegious outrage done to the bones of the saints the greatest sin the soldiers committed at Rome. Lactancio replies that the slaughter of 4000 living human beings was surely a much greater crime. He takes occasion

¹ A famous Spanish Colonel.

to point out the height of folly to which this veneration for relics had arrived, and relates that in an ancient monastery he had seen a list of relics belonging to the convent, among which was 'a piece of the torrent of Cedron'; and that when he asked if it was water or the stones of the torrent, they desired him not to make game of their relics. In this same list there was 'earth from the spot where the angels appeared to the shepherds, feathers from the wing of the angel Gabriel, hay from the stable where Christ was born,' and many other things fitted only to excite laughter. "Not long ago," said he, "I was shewn in a church a rib of St. Saviour! I did not know before that there was any other Saviour but one, Jesus Christ. At Asquigrana there is a pair of old worn stockings said to have belonged to Joseph. They are only brought out once in five years, when multitudes flock to see them as if they were something superlatively holy." As their conversation proceeds Lactancio presses the archdeacon to say why he thus reverences the relics. He replies, "To excite my devotion. LACT. And why do you wish to be devout? ARCH. To save my soul. LACT. Then why not take the surest way? ARCH. What do you consider the most secure way? LACT. That pointed out to us by JESUS CHRIST: to love God above all things, trust in him only, and on him rest all our hopes."¹

Alfonso was secretary to the Emperor under the chancellor Mercurino Gattinara,² and he accompanied Charles V. to Bologna in 1529, and to Augsburg in 1530, when the Protestant Confession of faith was publicly laid before the Emperor. Considerable attention was paid by persons at court

¹ "El que mostró Jesu Cristo: amar á Dios sobre todas las cosas: i poner en El solo toda nuestra esperanza."—*Dos Dialogos*, p. 450. I am obliged to Mr. Wiffen for a copy of the *Dialogues* in Spanish, mine being an Italian translation, without date of year or place.

² "Mercurino Gattinara di Arborio, near Vercelli, in Piedmont, born 1465, died 1530, was an eminent juriconsult, and an honourable and enlightened man, favourable to the Reformation. He was of a noble family of Vercelli, and was successively Counsellor of the Duke of Savoy, and President of the Parliament of Franche Comté. In 1518 Charles V. appointed him his Chancellor. He drew up the articles of conciliation between the Emperor and the Pope in 1529. Soon after he was raised to the dignity of Cardinal. In that same year he arranged the terms of a treaty for the defence of Italy, which was considered by Cardinal Granvelle a political *capo lavoro*. He died at Innspruck in June 1530."—See Gerdes, *Hist. Reform.* vol. i. pp. 195—204; and Gerdes, *Italia Reform.* p. 267.

to the religious discussions in Germany, and conversations on these subjects were frequent between men of learning and piety. All enlightened persons were deeply interested in the great controversy in favour of scriptural guidance and religious liberty. Alfonso Valdés had several confidential interviews with Melancthon, who shewed him the Confession of faith before it was presented to the Diet. Charles, though too much engaged with the cares of his vast empire to give the subject due consideration, authorized Alfonso Valdés to direct Melancthon to draw up a summary of the reformed opinions, contrasted point by point with those held by the Roman Catholic church.

Of Alfonso we have no further certain account, nor do we know what becamé of him after Gattinara's death. Llorente mentions a work of his entitled, *De capta et diruta Roma*, which perhaps was the original of the work afterwards published in the Spanish language, and translated into Italian. He mentions also another writing by Alfonso, *De motibus Hispaniæ*, which gives an account of the revolt of Castille; it is cited in the Epistles of Peter Martyr, of Angliera.

There is every reason to believe that it was Juan, and not Alfonso, who was the author of the treatise called Advice on the Interpretation of Scripture,¹ which was privately circulated. It was remarkable for the following propositions :

1. That in order to understand the Holy Scriptures, we must not rely on the interpretation of the Fathers.
2. That we are justified by a lively faith in the passion and death of our Saviour.
3. That we may arrive at certainty concerning our justification.

This treatise, which gained for Juan Valdés the title of heretic, was not altogether an original work, but in a great measure copied from the *Christian Institutions* of Tauler. It was proved in the trial of Bartolomé de Carranza, archbishop of Toledo, that Juan, when a very young man, had written this *Aviso* in a letter to Carranza, who was at that time professor of theology in the college of San Gregorio at Valladolid. Friar Luis de la Cruz,² when called to witness that this heretical writing was

¹ "Aviso sobre los interpretes de la sagrada Escritura." Llorente says Juan was the author, and that Niccolò Antonio speaks of it as his.—Llorente, tom. ii. p. 478.

² Llorente, tom. iii. p. 244.

found among the papers of the archbishop, declared that it was he, and not the archbishop, who had copied this letter of Valdés, given it the title of *pio*, and inserted its contents in the *Commentary on the Philippians* written by Carranza. He had since discovered that it was found in Tauler's works. This Dominican monk was a German who flourished before Luther, and had made considerable progress in philosophy and theology. Though deeply tinged with mysticism, he was an eloquent preacher, and so freely reproved the vices of his brother monks, that he drew on himself great persecution from them. There is a great mixture of truth and asceticism in his writings. He resembled Savonarola rather than Luther, and like him denounced all the elegancies of luxury with the tone of a prophet. The distinctive peculiarities of his writings are that the soul becomes etherealised and purified by the mortification of the body, and that, by detaching itself from all earthly desires and interests, it returns naturally to the worship of its Creator as the true source of spiritual life. Taught by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit that God has revealed himself to us by his Son, he is enabled through grace to maintain a secret and inward communion with the divine nature. This changes and subdues the will, and enables man to serve his Maker in a spiritual manner.

Such aspirations may be in some degree entertained by every Christian, but neither the excess of mortification, nor the height of beatitude, are suited to the generality of mankind. The one shews an ignorance of the benign character of our heavenly Father, the other is an anticipation of heaven vouchsafed to few here below. God has not made man a purely contemplative being, though some of his purest joys consist in raising his mind above this earthly sphere. To a monk, in the unnatural state of life he has chosen, these contemplations must afford the highest sources of consolation, but at the same time they have a tendency to foster the reveries of fanaticism. They have frequently engendered the most extravagant pretensions, and the most subtle religious errors. Man cannot, with impunity, quit the natural course of life which God in his wisdom has appointed for him.

It is thought that the brothers Valdés studied at the university of Alcalá de Henares. Cardinal Ximenes had recently

founded there a Trilingual college,¹ and was a munificent patron of literature. Ximenes possessed one of those master minds born to rule his fellow-men. He strove to grasp every species of knowledge, and to govern with uncontrolled authority. Had he not been a priest and an archbishop, bound to work for the good of the Church, such was the compass of his intellect and the activity of his genius, that he might have been esteemed one of the great benefactors of the human race. But his piety and zeal, though real, were too much devoted to upholding the power of the Inquisition. It had been established in Spain ever since 1477. Justly indeed was it named Inquisition, for it arrogated to itself the right to enquire into the thoughts and search out the most secret opinions of the human mind. This monstrous tyranny was invented for the extirpation of heresy and the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church. But both its aims and its office were in direct opposition to the Gospel. It professed indeed a zeal for the honour of religion, but the God of mercy disowns such service, and stamps as folly such means to promote his cause.

Ximenes had greater reason to rejoice in the success of a more religious and more legitimate project, the printing of his splendid Polyglot edition of the Bible. It was begun in the year 1502, and finished in 1517,² and filled six volumes folio. No expense was spared to bring it out accurately. He paid 4000 ducats for four Hebrew mss., and the whole work is said to have cost 50,000 ducats, but the selling price was fixed at 6½ ducats.

When the last volume was brought to him he raised his hands and eyes to heaven, and said, "I thank thee, O Jesus Christ my Saviour, that thou hast permitted me to see the completion of this work, which I have so anxiously desired to finish before I die:" then turning to his friends he said, "God has permitted me to do many things which in your partial eyes appear great, but among them all there is not one which ought so fully to rejoice your hearts as the accomplishment of this

¹ See *Istoria del Card. Ximenes*, tom. i. p. 120; translation from the French of Flechier.

² It is a curious coincidence of events that Ximenes finished his Bible in the very same year that Luther began his opposition to Papal decrees, and directed the attention of Europe to the contents of the Holy Scriptures.

edition of the Bible. It is the source of sacred learning; from it a purer theology flows than from the shallow brooks of earthly wisdom."

Before Juan Valdés left Spain his opinions and his writings had reached the knowledge of the Inquisition. Llorente¹ says he was formally declared a heretic; but this must have been after he left the country, and probably after his death, when his religious works were extensively circulated. He had injured his health by abstinence and excessive study; and as the eyes of the Inquisition were on him, he availed himself of the Emperor's protection to quit Spain.²

At the death of Pompeo Colonna in 1532, Charles appointed Don Pedro Toledo,³ a younger son of the Duke of Alva, viceroy of Naples. In this choice of a representative he exercised his usual good judgment. Toledo was a faithful adherent and active promoter of the interests of the Spanish crown. Since the accession of Charles he had assisted in putting down the rebellion in Spain caused by excessive taxation, and was so great a favourite with the Emperor that he kept him constantly near his person, on his several journies to Flanders, Italy, and Germany. The news of Pompeo's death reached the court at Ratisbon, when much perplexity prevailed on account of the Turkish invasion. Charles was glad to commit the kingdom of Naples to the charge of a viceroy on whom he could so thoroughly rely. Juan Valdés, who was also at Ratisbon, had influence enough to be named Toledo's secretary. The delicious climate of Naples promised to be favourable to his health, while the freedom he would enjoy under such powerful protection enabled him to pursue his religious studies. He

¹ Llorente, vol. ii. p. 478.

² We have no correct data to assist us in determining when Juan left Spain, but probably it was about the year 1529.

³ Don Pedro was born at Alva de Tormes in 1484. He began his career as page to king Ferdinand. At his court he became so expert in all military exercises and knightly accomplishments that he carried off the prize at the bull-fights, and was called the great *Toreador*. Though a younger brother, the king bestowed on him the hand of the wealthy heiress Donna Maria Oporio, Marchioness of Villa Franca. A medal was struck at Naples in his honour, and is now in the Imperial Museum at Vienna. It is of bronze: on one side is the image of Toledo with a long beard, and the motto, 'Petrus Toletus. Opt. Prin.': on the reverse the image of the same seated, with a figure of Justice kneeling before him, which Toledo is raising with his right arm. The motto, 'Erectori Justitiæ.'

made a rapid journey on horseback with Toledo and Niccolò Antonio Caracciolo, Marchese de Vico, a wealthy Neapolitan noble, whose name has been immortalised by the christian fortitude of his only son.¹ We may not unnaturally suppose that the Confession of Augsburg and the progress of the reformed opinions formed a subject of their conversation on the road. Toledo had already expressed his determination to repress the disorders at Naples and to govern with strictness and impartiality.² Never had any city been in greater need of the rigorous administration of justice. Licence universally prevailed; the nobles oppressed the people, and prevented by their armed bands the judicial punishment of criminals.

Toledo was a Spaniard and too rigid a Roman Catholic to have any sympathy with the reformers, but Valdés was well acquainted with the subject. His love of theology had led him to search the Scriptures and to examine how far the views of the Lutherans were in accordance with the inspired writings; and his simple and virtuous habits made him a suitable secretary for an upright governor.

While the viceroy as ruler laudably strove to make his authority a terror to evil-doers, Valdés pursued a more excellent way. He assembled his friends, who were the choicest and best of the society at Naples, and set before them the purifying doctrines of the Gospel. His long residence at court had given him a graceful and pleasing demeanour. His high breeding was but the polish of those christian graces which won all hearts.³ The gentle yet earnest manner in which he pressed upon his hearers the important truths of salvation made the greater impression, because he was himself an exemplary pattern of the christian virtues which he advocated. The great and the noble, and many lovely and accomplished ladies hung with delight on the words of divine wisdom which fell from his lips. In the same company we find the Capuchin friar with his thin spare face and long beard. From what he has himself recorded we may imagine his keen eyes fixed on the speaker, while he listened with astonishment to the way of peace and reconciliation with God he had so long

¹ See Vol. II.

² Giannone, *Storia di Napoli*, tom. xi. p. 104, ed. Capolago.

³ See Caracciolo, *Vita di Paolo IV.* MS.

sought in vain. There also was the learned monk Peter Martyr Vermiglio, to whom England is so much indebted; Vittoria Colonna, the beautiful and accomplished widow of the valiant Fernando D' Avalos, and Giulia Gonzaga, one of the handsomest and most virtuous women of her time.

These friendly meetings took place in some secluded garden or isolated tower, where they could uninterruptedly commune on the deep and solemn subject of man's salvation and the way of acceptance with God his maker. They were strictly private, not preachings, but conversations, or exhortations and interpretations of Scripture, in which, no doubt, the preachers above mentioned occasionally took part. Both were renowned for their eloquence in the pulpit and for their earnest search after truth. Many, who afterwards sealed their testimony to divine truth with their blood, here first learned to know the value of a Saviour's finished work. Isabella Manrica or Manrique,¹ says M'Crie, embraced the reformed opinions at Naples under Valdés, and exerted herself zealously in promoting it.² The protonotary Carnesecchi, who laid down his life in his Master's cause, the poet Marc' Antonio Flaminio, the historian Bonfadio, the noble Caracciolo, Montalcino,³ Lorenzo Romano, and many others, were the disciples in this school of christian doctrine.

Caracciolo says that Valdés went to Rome in 1535⁴ with Charles V. Charles did not go to Rome in 1535, but in 1536. We do not know on what authority he is said to have accompanied the Emperor, though it is by no means improbable that either he or his brother formed part of the Emperor's

¹ Perhaps a relation of Alonso Manrique, Archbishop of Seville, and Chief Inquisitor in Spain, whom Alfonso Valdés praises for his goodness and moderation in *Das Dialogos*, p. 6.

² M'Crie, *Reform. in Italy*, p. 100.

³ *Italiae Reformatae*, p. 77.

⁴ The passage in Caracciolo runs thus: "Accade appresso cioè nel 1535, che con Carlo V. venne in Roma un D. Gio. Valdés nobile Spagnuolo, ma altrettanto perfido heretico. Era costui (mi disse il Cardinale di Monreale che se lo ricordava) di bell' aspetto e di dolciissime maniere, e d'un parlare soave ed attrattivo, faceva professione di lingue e di Sacra Scrittura, s' annidò in Napoli, ed in Terra di Lavoro; di costui tre furono i principali discepoli Fra Pietro Martire Vermiglio, Canonico Regolare, ed abate di S. Pietro d' Ara; Fra Bernardino Ochino da Siena, Predicatore Cappuccino, e Marc' Antonio Flaminio da Imola tutti tre letterati principalmente nelle lingue e nelle lettere humane. Hora costoro mentre furono in Napoli per fare brigate maggiore di discepoli s' erano divisi in diversi pulpiti di Scrittura santa. Il Vermiglio in S. Pietro d' Ara leggeva l' epistole di S. Paolo. . . . Il Valdés leggeva in sua casa l' istesse epistole."

court. We lose sight of Alfonso after Gattinara's death, but he might have been appointed private secretary to Charles himself, and thus accompany him to Rome. The Papal court could not have much attraction for Juan. Caracciolo wrote in the following century, and has fallen into many inaccuracies in speaking of the reformers; he may possibly have brought Juan Valdés to Rome in order to connect him with the unhappy death of another Valdés before his time, who killed himself by jumping from a tower in a paroxysm of disappointed love.¹ The bigoted Theatine readily seized on this fact to support his favourite but erroneous theory, that all those who departed from the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church died miserable deaths.

We find in Caracciolo's MS. full confirmation of the extensive dispersion of scriptural doctrines in Italy. He says that in 1524 "the heresy of Luther was spread from east to west, and had produced various hydra-headed sects who refused to submit to the Roman Catholic Church. In Italy there was an utter abuse of holy rites, and a contempt for church ceremonies, ecclesiastics, and priests. Their superiors left them unpunished, and rather connived at these impious practices; so that even in Rome itself Catholic doctrines were spoken of with derision, and it was considered the distinguishing mark of a gentleman to hold heretical or erroneous opinions. The words of Scripture and the doctrines of the Romish Church were in the mouths of courtiers, who had never thought of these subjects till the mysteries and superstitions of the Church were ridiculed as unworthy of belief."²

This zealous friar, thinking to do himself and his order of the Theatines honour, recounts how, under the seal of confession, they had discovered the names of many heretics, and were the means of their leaving Naples.³ Valdés and his disciples continued to frequent the churches, where indeed a considerable

¹ Valer. *Infelice. Liter.* Mr. Wiffen says Caracciolo is the first who has confounded this person with the apostolic Valdés.

² *Vita di Paolo IV.* da P. Don Antonio Caracciolo, p. 60, MS. Brit. Museum.

³ "I nostri Padri scoprirono l' Eresie in Napoli essendo il nostro ordine sterbo persecutor dell' Eresie, e che fa professione di difendere la fede cattolica. Il modo con che furono da i nostri scoperti oltre quel ch' habbiamo detto di sopra s' ha da sapere che Raniero Gualando et Antonio Capponi per la pratica che hebbero con Valdés e Ochino furono a pericolo anch' essi incautamente d' esser macchiati un

portion of truth was preached both by Ochino and Peter Martyr. Before his converts were strong enough to take a step forward their master and teacher died. He was graciously taken from the evil to come, before the fire of relentless persecution was fully kindled. The little flock, deprived of their guide, dispersed, and were left to indulge in secret those spiritual aspirations which Valdés had taught them was the only true communion with God.

One of the most remarkable works of Juan Valdés is the 110 Considerations, *Le cento et dieci divine considerationi*. It was written in Spanish, translated into Italian, and published by Celio Secundo Curione, at Basle in 1550. The editor in his preface gives a slight account of Valdés as a knight and a courtier; he states that he died of a fever at Naples in 1540, and says that "it was owing to P. P. Vergerio¹ that this excellent work has been given to the public. He brought it from Italy when he left the Romish communion, and forsook every worldly advantage, taking nothing with him but this and other books, which he considered heavenly treasure." Curione's preface was prefixed to both the English and French translations. In the Cambridge edition there is a letter recommending the work written by George Herbert to the translator, Nicholas Ferrar.² He encourages him to publish it as "intending the honour of God's servant the author, who, being obscured

poco di quella pece. Ma perche si confessavano dai Padri nostri a S. Paolo, però i nostri che ne stavan sospetti si fecero riferire da loro tutto ciò che intendevano da quegli occulti Eretici. In questo modo vennero a conoscer i nostri il mal seme che coloro seminavano e le segrete conventicole d'huomini e di donne che facevano; le quali da loro scoperte e scritte al Cardinal Teatino (Carafa) in Roma. Quei capi eretici se ne fuggirono tutti da Napoli." At p. 196 Caracciolo writes: "In Napoli per opera del Valdés, Ochino e Pietro Martire, del Flaminio e di altri loro compagni se ne appearano tanti e particolarmente molti maestri di scuola che arrivarono al numero de tremila come si riconobbe poi quando si ritrattarono."

¹ See M'Crie's *Reformation in Italy*.

² It was translated into French by Claude de Kequissenen, and printed at Lyons by Claude Senneton in 1663, and again at Paris in 1665. In the year 1638 a translation into English was printed at Oxford by Leonard Lichfield, the university printer, enriched with notes by George Herbert. There is reason to believe that an earlier translation was printed at Cambridge, as in the edition of 1646, printed for E. D. by Roger Daniel, printer to the university, a letter from George Herbert is prefixed, dated "from his parsonage of Bemerton, near Salisbury, Sept. 29, 1632." I am indebted to Mr. Wiffen's kindness for the English Cambridge edition of the *Hundred and Ten Considerations*; as also for the Spanish of 1858.

in his own country, would have to flourish in the land of light and the region of the Gospel among his chosen." One of the "three eminent things observable therein," given by Herbert, is, "that God in the midst of popery opened the eyes of one to understand and to express so clearly and excellently the interest of the Gospel in the acceptance of Christ's righteousness (as he sheweth through all his considerations), a thing strangely buried and darkened by the adversaries, and their great stumbling-block."

Curione, in his preface, says, "Many persons have written on Christian subjects, but it would be difficult to find anyone who has treated them in a more complete and heavenly manner than Juan Valdés. . . . Some indeed have written many large books; few tend to edification, but are filled with vain questions and philosophic disputes.

"These great writers have fallen into subtle and ingenious explanations of Scripture, rather suited to suggest doubts than to allay them. They have a greater tendency to distract from the study of the Scriptures than to make men disciples of Christ. He, to whom his Church is dearer than life, has opened the eyes and awakened the understanding of some, that they may by degrees lead his sheep to the green and wholesome pastures of the Scriptures, those pure, clear, sweet fountains of the word of God. Each has striven in this work according to the gift of grace granted him from above. . . . Our author, in these divine considerations and other writings, has so wisely considered and set before us for meditation the office and duty of a true Christian, that few, very few, can compete with him on this point. . . . This book is indeed worthy to be called the text-book of Christians. . . . It teaches the origin, occasion, progress, and end of every action and event done under heaven, either by God or the Devil, by the faithful man filled with a true zeal and love towards God, or by the wicked full of impiety and rebellion towards God his Creator, and all is proved in a clear and certain manner by Scripture."

M'Crie says, "the doctrines of justification by faith in Christ, and of regeneration by the agency of the Spirit, form the groundwork of the writings of Valdés."¹ Those who are fortunate enough to meet with this rare and spiritual work will find

¹ M'Crie's *Reformation in Spain*, p. 145.

in it much godly edification. The author dwells on the spirit of adoption which is bestowed on the children of God in a most happy manner, and sets forth the peculiar privileges of the Christian in apostolic language. If you are Christ's "all things are yours." At the same time he, in some parts, exhibits a leaning to the idea of a private and almost miraculous influence of the Holy Spirit as a thing to be looked for and expected. In one of his Considerations he compares the light of the Scriptures to that of a candle, that of the Spirit to the sun. This, abstractedly speaking, is true; but if we come to revelations of the Spirit, how shall we, now that the age of miracles is past, distinguish between the enthusiasm of human imagination and the voice of heavenly wisdom? If once we leave the safe guidance of written inspiration, how shall we stem the torrent of fanaticism? Our Lord himself, in his arguments and exhortations to the Jews, frequently said, "it is written." We cannot indeed deny that the great Eternal Spirit, who made the eye, the ear, and the understanding of man, can, how and where he will, communicate ideas, suggest thoughts, and reveal truths. We have also the express declaration, that "the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirits that we are the children of God;" but this witness of the Spirit is, in compassion to the infirmity of our nature, granted to us only in measure. He helps our "infirmities," and through the inspired word leads us to Christ. The Spirit, that is the Holy Spirit, is the Spirit of Truth; but we are warned not to "believe every spirit, but to try them whether they are of God." How much more then ought we to try our own spirits, and bring them to the test of divine revelation. Valdés, though greatly enlightened, was not inspired. All human teaching must be brought to "the law and the testimony" to prove its soundness; for this purpose the written word is inestimably precious.

He wrote also Commentaries on the Psalms and the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John. They are not now to be found, and perhaps they never were printed; but his Commentaries on the Epistles to the Romans and to the Corinthians are still extant.¹ That on the Romans he dedicated to the Lady

¹ *Comentario ó Declaracion breve y compendiosa sobre la Epistola de S. Paulo Apóstol á los Romanos, muy saludable para todo Cristiano.* Compuesto por Juan Valdésio, pio, y sincero Theólogo. En Venecia, en casa de Juan Philadelpho, MDCVI.

Giulia Gonzaga. He expresses a hope that "the constant reading of the Psalms of David, which he had sent her last year translated from Hebrew into Spanish," had contributed to form her mind to piety like that of David. Wishing her to be equally well established "in the Gospel of Christ, as was St. Paul," he now sends her his "Epistles translated from Greek into Spanish," sure that she will derive from them "much spiritual instruction," if she does not read them "from curiosity or vanity," but in order to imitate St. Paul in as far as he imitated Christ. He presses on her as a duty to aim at receiving the image of God in her soul, taking not only David and Paul for a pattern, but also Christ and God himself, and to be ever striving to perfect herself in piety and knowledge of the Gospel.

A letter written by Giacomo Bonfadio to the Protonotary Carneseccchi, after the death of Valdés, gives some account of these meetings. He alludes to them in the most touching manner, for they had left a savour of sweetness and consolation on the memory of all who made part of this goodly company. Carneseccchi was at Florence when Bonfadio wrote to him thus :

TO MONSIGNOR¹ CARNESECCHI.

"I have heard by letter from M. Maro' Antonio Flaminio, that your lordship has had a very bad fever which has brought you to the gates of death, and that though out of danger you have not yet left your bed. This has given me very great concern, knowing how very temperate your lordship is in all things, and what a regular life you lead. I can find no other cause for your illness but your very delicate constitution, which shews how divine is your soul. Would that God may preserve your life, as the Romans took care of that statue which fell from heaven, and he will do it for the benefit of many, so that one of the brightest lights of Tuscan virtue may not be extinguished. I beseech you therefore, my Lord, with God's help, attend to your recovery, and enjoy your usual cheerfulness, as when we were at Naples. Would that we were now in that happy company. I think I see you ardently longing for that country, and often remembering Chiaia and the beautiful

Comentario á declaracion familiar, y compendiosea sobre la primera Epistola de San Paulo Apóstol á los Corinthios, muy útil para todos los amadores de la piedad Christiana. Compuesto por Juan VV. pio y sincero Theologo. En Venecia, en casa de Juan Philadelpho, MDLVII.—The Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans is in the library of Geneva. In the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, there is a copy of the original editions of both Commentaries bound up together. See Appendix D.

¹ The Italian Monsignor is untranslatable; it is not equal to My Lord, which with us implies birth and title, but in Italy it denotes clerical dignity or office.

Pausilippo.¹ Let us confess the truth, my Lord. Florence is very beautiful, both within and without; this cannot be denied. But notwithstanding, the charming situation of Naples, its beautiful shores, and eternal spring boast a higher degree of excellence. There nature seems to rule with more imperial sway, filling the land with joy and gladness. If you were now, sir, at the windows of our favourite tower, looking round upon those beautiful gardens, or the expansive bosom of that smiling sea, your heart would beat with tenfold vigour. I remember before your departure you often said you would return, and repeatedly invited me also to do so.

“Would to God we could return; while, on the other hand, I keep thinking, Where should we go now that Valdés is dead? This has been a great loss for us and for the world; because Signor Valdés was one among the rare men of Europe. The writings which he has left us on the Epistles of St. Paul and the Psalms of David give full proof of this. He was most undoubtedly, both in words and actions, and in all his counsels, a most perfect man. He devoted an atom only of his mind to the consideration of his feeble emaciated body; the greater part of his most pure intellect, as if out of the body, was always raised to the contemplation of truth and of divine things.

“I sympathise much with M. Maro' Antonio, because he loved and admired him even more than any one else. It seems to me, sir, that when so many good qualities and so much learning are united in one mind, they make war, as it were, on the body, and seek to rise as quickly as possible to the place from whence they descended. Thus I do not regret being but little favoured in this respect, for I should be afraid they would rebel and leave me on earth as a dunce. I would rather live, if I could, and this I exhort your lordship to do. I kiss your hand. May our Lord give that prosperity in life which you desire.” From Lago di Garda. Jacopo Bonfadio.”

Juan Valdés was indeed a most holy man. Such heaven-directed spirits appear from time to time on earth to teach

¹ This mountain, which runs into the sea, is highly cultivated, and was so in the time of Valdés. Alberti, in 1577, describes it as “*tutto coltivato, e pieno di habitationi, e Ville, e ben lavorato, e d' alberi fruttiferi ornato, che è cosa molto dilettevole da vedere. Ben' è vero che avanti si salisca al detto, vedesi una bella pianura tutta fertile, e producevole di grano, ove sono alti alberi dalle viti accompagnati; dalle quali si cavano buoni vini.*” The road from Naples to Pozzuoli runs through the heart of the mountain, and has been excavated out of the solid rock. This is spoken of by Pliny, in Chap. vi. Bk. 3, and is also mentioned by Strabo, Bk. 4, p. 246; it was at one time very dark, but Alphonso I. of Aragon had openings made which cast a ray of light from end to end. This tunnel, as it is now called, is about 2000 feet long. Alberti says Cæsar had a fish-pond or *Peschiera* here, where there was a fish sixty years old. This no longer exists, but further on the road to Baia there is a very large disused square tank, which is said to have been used as a reservoir for fish.—Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta l' Italia*, p. 182.

² This letter has no date, but must have been written about the year 1540 or 1541. See *Lettere Volgari*, vol. i. p. 58, ed. 1567; and Bonfadio, *Lettere*, p. 33. 1810.

as the dignity of our nature, and to shew the elevation of thought which the soul is capable of attaining when undebased by earthly desires. His influence was great, but no human record has been preserved of its fruits. These are known only to the great Searcher of hearts who registers the names of his children.

Little is known of his latter days. It has been said that his private assemblies were put an end to by command of the Viceroy through his brother Fra Gio. de Toledo, the archbishop. He died just before cardinal Carafa persuaded Paul III. to institute the Inquisition at Rome, and to establish an Index for prohibited books.

The Theatine friars were, as we have seen,¹ most active instruments in extirpating gospel truth. They were energetically assisted by Scipione di Rebibba, vicar of Naples. We shall meet with him hereafter as cardinal of Pisa. The death of Valdés spared him the fiery contest between authority and conscience.

Juan Valdés was a good grammarian, and is supposed to have written the *Dialogo de las Lenguas*.² Ticknor, in his able *History of Spanish Literature*, gives an account of this work, and ascribes it to Juan Valdés the reformer, but he passes over, and seems quite ignorant of, the other works of the two brothers. The dialogue on languages is supposed to be carried on between two Spaniards and two Italians, at a country-house on the sea-shore near Naples. Parts of it are learned, but Ticknor says he falls into some errors, such as supposing that the Greek language once prevailed universally in Spain. Other parts are lively and entertaining, and some are full of good sense and sound criticism. The instructor is named Valdés, and he seems to have been a person of some authority, and to have been long at Naples and in other parts of Italy. He speaks of Garcilasso de la Vega as alive; he died in 1536.³ This tallies so far with the history of Valdés, as we know he was at Naples between

¹ MS. *Vita di Gio. Pietro Carafa, Paolo IV.*, da P. Don Antonio Caracciolo. There are three copies of this MS. in the British Museum.

² Printed by Mayans y Siscar, in *Origenes de la Lengua Española*. 2 vols. 12mo. Madrid, 1737.

³ Not having seen the book we have given this account nearly in the words of Ticknor. See Ticknor's *Spanish Literature*, vol. i. p. 602.

the years 1532 and 1536. It was not printed till two hundred years after, most probably on account of his being reputed a heretic.

How many literary treasures have been obscured and destroyed by bigotry! Ticknor says that, in 1490, the grand Inquisitor Torquemada burned a quantity of Hebrew Bibles and MSS., and destroyed six thousand other volumes, alleging that they treated of magic and sorcery.¹

Vergerio, in his remarks on the Index of prohibited books published by Giovan della Casa, papal legate at Venice, gives an account of some books written by Valdés which were put in the Index. They are not now perhaps to be found.² One is a short tract of thirteen pages. Vergerio deems it "one of the sweetest, gravest, and most pious and useful books which can anywhere be found. It teaches the manner in which we ought to hold and to preach the Gospel, and cites some beautiful passages of Scripture in which are contained the chief points necessary to salvation. With this view he makes use of two striking comparisons. In one he says that our Lord God deals with us as a king once did with some of his vassals who were flying from his kingdom. He published an edict which granted a general pardon to all the exiles, and liberty to return home with promises of good treatment. All those who believed the word and trusted the promises of his majesty returned to their country and lived like good men in obedience to the commands of their lord, and enjoyed the fruits of his clemency and kindness. Those who did not trust him staid without, deprived of their country, their property, and the benefits of his grace and pardon. Thus, he continues, neither more nor less has God done and still goes on to do for us. He publishes everywhere the good and precious news, that he has through Christ, his beloved Son, punished and pardoned all our sins; and if we believe in this pardon, in his promises, and so trust in him as to submit ourselves to the obedience of his precepts, he will restore us to his favour and receive us into the kingdom of eternal life. Thus speaks, says Vergerio, the author of this little book, and with the Scriptures in his

¹ Ticknor's *Spanish Literature*, vol. i. p. 422.

² "Modo di tenere nell' insegnar, et nel predicar al principio della religion Christiana, un libriccino il quale è solamente de xiiij carte in ottavo."—*Il Catalogo*.

hand he goes from passage to passage proving the truth of his comparison, and that it is the sum of salvation. But this is condemned and excommunicated by the legate and the friars. I cannot imagine they have done this for any other reason but from the desire of concealing the very point on which our salvation turns; to extinguish, as I have so often said and must again repeat, every light, whether it be small or great, by which men may see and understand the love of God shewn forth in Christ.

“They condemn those who teach and preach Jesus Christ sincerely and prudently, and allow every one to read as good and approved a certain little book called *Barletta*, which professes to teach how to preach, though it contains nothing but the greatest folly, ignorance and impiety that ever was written. It teaches when the preacher is to pull his cap over his eyes, when he is to look at the wooden crucifix with a gentle look, and when with a stern expression; it next teaches what fables are to be related at Easter; there is one among them in which the Evangelists are called cowards, because they had not said that Christ appeared first to his mother. What do you think of this kind of ribaldry? But these are the things which please and are dear to the Pharisees, because they so enfeeble and darken the minds of those who read them that they cannot come to the knowledge of the benefits which God has conferred on us through his well-beloved Son.

“The author of this good little book was called Valdés, a Spaniard, who brought much fruit to the church at Naples, and only died a few years ago. He had many disciples, men of importance. It is true that, though a part of them have come out clear and zealous, others have remained cold and timid. May God warm and purify them! He wrote also many other beautiful things, among these one which is also condemned in this Catalogue; it is entitled, How the children of Christians¹ ought to be instructed. This is only in one sheet, full of beauty and wisdom. I am surprised at the temerity and impiety

¹ In qual maniera si dovrebbero instituire i figliuoli de Christiani.

² *Il Catalogo de' Libri Le Quale Nuovamente nel mese di Maggio nell' anno presente MDXLVIII. sono stati condannati e scomunicati per heretici. Da M. Giovan dalla Casa legato di Vinetia et d' alcuni frati. E' aggiunto sopra Il Medesimo Catalogo un indicio e discorso del Vergerio.*

of those who have condemned it. He has besides written one hundred considerations and some questions and answers. I can give you this good news that it will soon be printed, for it would be a pity that this treasure should be hid and not communicated to many faithful believers, so I promise you that you shall soon have it."

This *Catalogo* is so very rare a book that it cannot be purchased; we have given this extract from a copy in the British Museum.

As there is considerable obscurity in the private history of the brothers Valdés, it is difficult to ascertain precisely their several professions. Bayle¹ says Juan was a gentleman of Catalonia, educated for the law, and employed by Charles V. in several diplomatic missions; that he was knighted for his services and made royal secretary. Both brothers were officially employed; Alfonso was Latin secretary under the Chancellor, Juan under the Viceroy of Naples; thus both were royal secretaries. M'Crie says Juan was a knight, and Alfonso a priest, but there does not seem to be any direct proof that they were either of them priests.

It is difficult to understand the grounds on which Sandius has numbered Valdés among the Anti-Trinitarians, except it were to swell the list; there is nothing in his works to support their opinions. On the contrary, while he fully confesses his belief in the Father and the Son, he lays particular stress on the operations of the Holy Spirit. The heterodoxy of his disciple Ochino, nearly thirty years after the death of Valdés, cannot impugn the purity of his master's doctrine.

¹ For further information regarding Valdés, the reader may consult M'Crie's *Reformation in Italy and Spain*, Bayle's *Biographical Dictionary*, Gerdes' *Italiae Reformatae*, and Melchioro Adamo, *Vitæ Theologorum Exterorum*.

CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL HISTORY.—CARDINAL CONTARINI.

1536—1542.

CHARLES V. LEAVES NAPLES FOR ROME—PUBLICLY DEFTES FRANCIS I. TO SINGLE COMBAT—VISITS SIENA AND FLORENCE—ATTACKS PROVENCE—ARMY SUFFERS FROM WANT AND SICKNESS—RETREAT—ALESSANDRO, DUKE OF FLORENCE, MURDERED—ELECTION OF COSMO I.—PAUL III. AT NICE—MEETING BETWEEN CHARLES AND FRANCIS—TRUCE OF TEN YEARS—HENRY VIII.—HIS MANIFESTO—EXCOMMUNICATED—INTOLERANT EDICT—PACIFICATION OF NUREMBERG—CHARLES V. AND PAUL III. MEET AT LUCCA—UNSUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION TO ALGIERE—CARDINAL CONTARINI, A VENETIAN SENATOR, AMBASSADOR TO CHARLES V.—UNEXPECTEDLY ELECTED CARDINAL—GOES TO ROME—HIS FRANK AND DISINTERESTED CHARACTER—REFORM OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH—GOES TO NICE WITH THE POPE—QUEEN OF NAVARRE—DIET OF RATISBON IN 1541—BOOK OF CONCORD—APPROACH TO AGREEMENT ON JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH—PAPAL JEALOUSY OF CONTARINI'S CONCESSIONS—ACCOMPANIES THE EMPEROR TO MILAN—MEETS THE POPE AT LUCCA—IS APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF BOLOGNA—HIS LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH—STUDIES AND CHARACTER.

AFTER a stay of five months Charles left Naples for Rome, where great preparations had been made to receive him. Antiquarians grieved to see a part of the ruins of the ancient Temple of Peace, built by Vespasian at the close of the Jewish war, demolished for his accommodation, and the Romans considered it as a bad omen.¹

A train of cardinals and prelates, in dresses even more splendid than those of the nobles at Naples, met Charles at the St. Sebastian Gate. The military costume of the generals and soldiers formed a striking contrast to the long robes of the priests. The Marchese del Vasto and his 4000 foot, the tall unbending form of the Duke of Alva with his escort of 5000 men-at-arms,

¹ Du Bellai.

were followed by the Pope's gentlemen and the Roman Senate. The Emperor was dressed in black velvet, with a Burgundy hat and feather, and wore on his breast the order of the Golden Fleece. He entered Rome between two cardinals, under a canopy of gold brocade carried by Roman gentlemen. The archbishops, bishops, and clergy joined the magnificent procession, and two hundred Italian soldiers brought up the rear led by De Lannoi, Prince of Sulmona.

As they passed the castle of St. Angelo the cannon began to roar with such tremendous noise that when they arrived at the door of St. Peter's church, where the Pope seated on a raised platform was waiting to receive the Emperor, his address could not be heard. The Emperor ascended the steps of St. Peter, from whence the crowd could see him kiss the Pope's foot, and then passed into the church of St. Peter.

On the same day, the 6th of April 1536, the Emperor went to visit the Pope. Their meeting was private, and their conversation is said to have lasted seven hours. Paul was much more amenable than Clement had been. He declared his willingness to call a general Council, thought seriously of reforming some of the crying abuses of the Church, and shewed so much inclination to grant the Emperor's requests, that he secured splendid pensions for his son and nephews, one of whom was already captain-general of the pontifical troops.

Secretly vexed at the renewal of the war, Charles resolved to secure the Pope as an ally. In order to dazzle the Roman court by an assumption of valour, he threw down the gauntlet to Francis in open consistory, thus acting a vaunting part which had too much of the braggadocio in it to be worthy of a great monarch. In presence of the French ambassador he dared his master to single combat. In an eloquent speech in the Spanish language he enumerated his grievances against Francis, not the least of which was his recent occupation of Turin which obliged the Duke of Savoy to send his family to Milan. But when Francis subsequently sent the cardinal of Lorraine to learn his intentions about the duchy of Milan, he politically softened his tone to save time, and to prevent the French king from advancing into Lombardy till he was prepared to receive him.

The first night of Charles's arrival he slept in the palace

of the Vatican, in the same room which Charles VIII. of France had occupied when he made his rapidly victorious course through Italy to the conquest of the kingdom of Naples.

The Emperor diligently performed all the ceremonies of the so-called Holy week. He washed the feet of twelve poor men, visited all the churches, heard mass with all the insignia of authority carried before him, in the imperial robes of his ancestors. The Margrave of Brandenburg bore the sceptre, Pier Luigi Farnese the globe, Ascanio Colonna took off and put on the crown at the proper moment, and the Marchese del Vasto removed the cap worn under the crown when the service required the Emperor to be uncovered.

When these ceremonies were over, Charles walked privately and incognito about the city to visit its antiquities. He went unaccompanied to see the Lady Giovanna of Aragon, Duchess of Tagliacozzo, the wife of Ascanio Colonna, and paid also a visit to another lady who deserved the most respectful attention, the illustrious Vittoria Colonna, widow of the valiant General Ferrante Francesco Davalos.¹ Ten years before, the body of her lamented husband, who received his death wound at the battle of Pavia, was brought from Milan, and was buried with great military pomp in the church of S. Domenico at Naples. It must have been with very mixed and painful feelings that the faithful Vittoria saw before her the sovereign for whom her husband had lavished his life-blood. Her talents as a poetess, her beauty and rank, as well as her devotedness to the memory of her husband in an inconstant and degenerate age, made her worthy of the respect of a monarch, who knew how to appreciate the services of his captains, and who was always a protector of the Colonnas, to whose family he was under deep obligations.

From Rome Charles pursued his way to Siena, at that time a fief of the Imperial crown.² Guazzo, an old chronicler and eye-witness, gives a minute and graphic account of the Emperor's entrance into the town and the honours paid to him. His escort consisted of two hundred and sixty-eight horse,

¹ He was first cousin to the Marchese del Vasto; both were descended from an ancient Spanish family. Their grandfather came over with Ferdinand, the first Spanish king of Naples.

² As there is no mention of this royal visit in any of Paleario's letters, he was probably himself present at this joyous scene.

one hundred of whom were Burgundians, armed according to the custom of their country; the rest were the Emperor's nobles and retainers.

He was met outside the gate by four principal persons¹ of the city, who presented him with corn, wine, meat, sweetmeats, and eatables of all kinds. The Duke of Amalfi, his vicegerent, was accompanied by fifty youths of the principal families of Siena. Within the gates stood all the magistrates in togas of crimson velvet, also the Balià² in vests of black velvet with mantles of a brilliant rose colour.

The whole population turned out to see their liege lord, all arrayed in velvet, damask, silk and satin. The magistrates carried before him four large banners. One, the flag of the people, was borne by their Captain; another, borne by the gentlemen, had *Libertà* on it in gigantic letters of gold; and a third, an eagle of enormous size, floated among the doctors and learned men, by whom it was carried; on the fourth was painted a *Madonna Assunta*, borne by the knights of Rhodes. These banners were followed by twenty-five young men of the richest and noblest families of Siena, dressed in vests of black damask, rose-coloured stockings, and jackets of crimson satin. Their black velvet caps were edged with gold; round their necks they wore gold chains of great value. These youths held a superb canopy of cloth of gold richly fringed; on the top there was an eagle embroidered in gold, and eight golden knobs hung at the four corners. But the prettiest sight of all was the front row, composed of a hundred children about ten years of age, all dressed alike in white damask silk, with garlands of olive leaves on their heads, and branches of olive in their hands. They were arranged in a line, two and two together, waiting the Emperor's arrival. As soon as he was in sight the children shouted '*Imperio, Imperio! Carlo, Carlo!*' and ran forward to kiss his feet. Charles immediately checked his horse and looked affectionately at the little creatures. One little boy, son of a noble named Bartomoleo Carli, a very beautiful child, not being tall enough to reach the Emperor's foot, embraced and kissed the fore foot of the horse. This

¹ Alessandro Piccolomini, Carlo Massaino, Conte Buoninsegni, and Bartolomeo Griffoli. See GUARZO, *Raglunglio Storico*.

² See Appendix E. of CHAP. II.

caused much merriment, in which Charles joined, and desiring the child to be lifted up, took him on his saddle bow, which so delighted the little fellow that he threw his arms round the Emperor's neck and kissed him heartily. There can be little doubt that Charles received more pleasure from this unsophisticated act of affection than from all the pomp of the gorgeous procession.

At the gate stood a body of clergy with their crosses. They accompanied him through the city to the Cathedral.¹ The houses were all adorned with tapestry, flowers, and branches of trees, and the windows and balconies filled with elegantly dressed and beautiful women. The city of Siena was munificently bountiful in presents of all sorts of provisions, amounting in value to 1200 crowns.

Charles rode about the town dressed with his usual simplicity; he expressed himself much pleased with his reception, and said the women were much handsomer than he expected, though he had heard much of their beauty.

On the 25th of April the Emperor left Siena for Florence, where magnificent preparations were made by Duke Alessandro to receive him. The utmost skill of the Florentines, who excel in these matters, was called forth to welcome the Sovereign of Italy and the conqueror of the Turks. Triumphal arches and allegorical designs abounded. One more significant than the rest was placed at the gate of St. Pietro Cattolini. It consisted of two columns of wood, twenty yards high, connected by a transverse band which crossed the gate and encircled the two columns. On this band was inscribed *PLUS ULTRA*.²

Charles staid at Florence only a few days. On the 4th of May he was again in motion. Could he but have known it, this was the happiest period of his life. All his enterprises had prospered, and as yet he had received no check to damp his self-confidence. Like other great men he believed in his good fortune, and that success would crown all his undertakings. This blind trust in an unknown future led him to conceive the hazardous plan of an attack on the south of France, in order to draw off the French troops from Lombardy. The death of Francis Sforza had reopened the war between the rival monarchs.

¹ One of the most beautiful edifices in Italy.

² Guazzo, *Raguglio Storico*.

Charles was determined not to give up the Duchy of Milan to the Duke of Orleans, who claimed it both as his inheritance and promised possession; but to gain time, knowing that it would not be accepted, he offered to give it up to the Duke of Angoulême, the third son of the French king. Francis was determined to fight for this fair possession, and they continued to lavish blood and treasure in unsuccessful warfare. Charles advanced into the enemy's country, and sent a large body of troops under his veteran general, Antonio da Leva, into Provence. But instead of being welcomed, as they expected, the troops found the country altogether hostile.

Francis, by Montmorenci's¹ advice, gave orders that the whole province should be laid waste, in order to deprive the enemy of all shelter or subsistence. This plan of defence was thoroughly successful; want and sickness destroyed a large portion of the invading army, and the approach of Francis at the head of 40,000 men warned them to retire. Loiterers were assailed by the peasantry, who eagerly attacked the retiring foe. Antonio da Leva, already worn out with age and infirmity, died of grief at Marseilles, lamenting the failure of an enterprise which he had planned and superintended. The Marchese del Vasto was appointed Captain-general of the forces, and the Emperor in melancholy mood moved along the sea-coast to Genoa. There, with his laurels somewhat tarnished, he embarked for Spain on the 18th of November 1536.²

The joy of Francis at seeing his enemy depart was clouded by a severe domestic misfortune, for which he was totally

¹ Anne, Duc de Montmorenci, was high constable in France during the reigns of Francis I. and his sons, Henry, Francis, and Charles. He was a man of considerable talent and of unimpeachable integrity. He had received the baton of Marshal in 1524, when he went to Italy with Francis, at the head of the brilliant army which marched to the gates of Milan and entered victorious. He was posted in the vicinity of Pavia at the battle in 1526. At the sound of the cannon he hastened to join the main army; but victory having already declared itself for the Imperialists, he was surrounded and taken prisoner. When the Emperor's army entered Provence, Montmorenci commanded a large body of troops near Avignon. The harsh and unscrupulous Bonneval was the chief executor of the orders to devastate the country, and to bring into the towns all the corn, wine, cattle, provisions, and fodder. Whole villages were burned to the ground, and the miserable inhabitants received as much damage from their lawful Sovereign as could have been inflicted by a hostile army. They were often obliged to buy back their own provisions, which had been seized by their rapacious defenders.—Lacretelle, *Hist. de France*, vol. vi. p. 386.

² Bradford, *Itinerary of the Emperor Charles V.* 1850.

unprepared. The dauphin, his eldest and favourite son, who had joined the camp at Valence, was seized with a severe illness which terminated fatally in four days. The suddenness of the event caused suspicions of poison; Sebastian Montécuculli, an Italian count, was arrested and tortured; he confessed that he had put arsenic in the young prince's drink, at the instigation of Antonio da Leva and Ferrante Gonzaga, Spanish generals; but this perhaps is a proof of his innocence, as it is pretty certain neither of the persons named were likely to commit such a crime; it was only to relieve himself from intense agony that he made this confession. He was however condemned to the horrible death of being tied to four horses, and torn to pieces.

In the year 1537 Piedmont had to bear the whole brunt of the war which had Milan for its object. Charles could afford the Duke of Savoy, his ally, but very small and inefficient assistance. The most inconsiderable towns were taken first by one party and then by the other, so that the wretched inhabitants were exposed to the military excesses of both armies.

Francis, in his mad ambition to possess the Duchy of Milan, went so far as to invite the Sultan's assistance in making a descent on the southern coast of Italy. This forced the allies to conclude a short truce, that they might have time to strengthen themselves by a league offensive and defensive against the Turks. Ferdinand king of the Romans, trembling for the unprotected state of Hungary, willingly consented to join the Emperor, the Pope, and the Venetians in a compact to provide funds for equipping a powerful fleet to protect the shores of the Mediterranean.

Scarcely had Charles arrived in Spain when tidings arrived of a fearful tragedy at Florence. Margaret, the betrothed bride of Alessandro, was conducted from Naples to Florence, in June 1536, by Maria, Marchesa di Villafranca, the wife of the viceroy. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp and festal rejoicings. It so happened that an eclipse of the sun took place in the midst of the wedding banquet, and cast a shade over the splendours of the feast. The Florentines, ever attentive to the signs of the heavens, looked on it as a bad omen, and foreboded evil to the bridal couple.

His marriage made no change in the habits of the dissolute

Duke; and Margaret was too young to have any influence. He looked on her as a seal to his power and a crown to his ambition, and continued his mad career as before. But the triumph of the wicked is short: "though hand join in hand," says the wisest of men, "he shall not go unpunished."

Alessandro's unbridled licentiousness was soon to be checked from a quarter he least expected. Lorenzino, a descendant of Lorenzo, brother of Cosimo *Pater patriæ*, the friend and companion of his excesses, was an adept in dissimulation. Foremost among his courtiers, he won his confidence, served him as a spy, and lured him to destruction. Projects of vague ambition haunted Lorenzino's guilty breast, and he had long nourished the cowardly idea of putting Alessandro to death. In their nightly courses through the town he was often in his power. At length circumstances favoured his evil designs. A scheme of guilty pleasure one winter night brought Alessandro to Lorenzino's house. Dressed in a rich robe of Neapolitan silk lined with fur, he put on a pair of perfumed gloves, and issuing by a private door forbade his servants to follow him. On arriving at Lorenzino's house he found a good fire burning on the hearth. Being fatigued with his exploits he took off his fur robe, unbuckled his sword, and threw himself on the bed. Lorenzino twisted the sword-knot so tightly that it could not be easily unsheathed, placed it under the pillow, and left the room to summon, not music to entrance the senses, nor beauty to step a graceful measure, but a hired assassin to strike the fatal blow. On his return he opened the door gently, saying, "Are you asleep, sir?" then approaching with stealthy pace stabbed him with his sword. The Duke, on being thus attacked, seized a stool to defend himself; but Scoroncolo, the vile assistant in this murderous assault, cut him across the face, while Lorenzino threw him back on the bed, and to prevent his cries being heard thrust his hand into his mouth. Alessandro closed upon it with his teeth, and bit him with such violence that the pain made him fall over his victim. Scoroncolo then drew a knife from his pocket and cut the Duke's throat, and he fell to the floor bathed in blood. As soon as they saw he was dead they replaced the body on the bed,¹ locked the door, and made their

¹ Segni says that they, Lorenzino and Scoroncolo, fixed a paper on Alessandro's head with this inscription, "*Vincit amor Patriæ laudumque immensa cupido.*"

escape¹ to Venice. It was not till the following day, the 7th of January, 1537, that the young widow knew the loss she had sustained—of rank and fortune.²

Such was the miserable and ignominious death of a prince endowed with everything to make life happy, had he but known how to use the gifts bestowed on him. By setting at defiance all virtuous principles of action, and tyrannically trampling on the rights of his subjects, he was brought by his own excesses to this untimely end.

Once again the hopes of the Florentines were awakened to the attainment of national liberty, and again doomed to disappointment. Those in power were all friends of the Medici family. The chiefs of the popular party were living in exile. Bertoldo Corsini, who had charge of the fortress wall, though a favourite of the late Duke, expressed himself favourable to a free government. Francesco Vettori professed himself willing to aid their designs; but, on consulting Francesco Guicciardini, he represented the great danger of a rising of the people, and they decided on assembling the Council of the forty-eight in the palace of the Medici. These two supporters of the state were joined by two others, Roberto Accacioli and Matteo Strozzi, who, dreading the arrival of the exiles, decided on choosing a Medici to be their chief. There was not much room for selection. Between Giulio, a doubtful child of the late Duke, and Cosimo, son of Giovanni de' Medici and his wife Maria Salviati, it was not difficult to decide. The latter was a full-grown youth of eighteen years of age, on the point of being married to a daughter of Guicciardini. Girolamo degli Albizzi was despatched to his mother Maria to know if she would consent to her son being at the head of the government. We may readily believe this was not difficult to obtain. The unconscious youth, when summoned to the Council, was amusing himself with the chase at a villa called Trebbia. He had heard of the death of the Duke and was preparing to go to Florence, when the messenger arrived to invite him there. His friends sat up all night arranging their secret plan of making him head of the republic. Having first drawn over Cardinal Cibo, the temporary governor, their

¹ The greater part of the above narrative is taken from Varohi, *Storia Fiorentina*.

² She retired with Cardinal Cibo into the fortress, taking with her as many jewels as she could conveniently carry.

party was further strengthened by the adherence of Gino Capponi, a man of mild and benevolent disposition, very different from his enterprising brother Niccolò. Had he been alive he would have stood forward, as his family had always done, in favour of liberty. By the time the Council met in the morning, Guicciardini¹ had arranged in his own mind how it was best to proceed. He was afraid, if they did not settle some form of government quickly, they might have the Imperial troops on them, as 2000 Spanish infantry had just landed at Genoa. This he set forth as a reason for choosing Cosimo,² a young man of talent and noble birth, likely to be agreeable to the Emperor. Domenico Canigiani, who was not in the secret, took the opposite side, and Palla Rucellai made a long speech against the Medici and against absolute government. What he said found ready acquiescence in the hearts of many, but none had courage to speak out. Francesco Vettori then rose, and said in an angry tone, "Palla, you have lately been ill and have recently confessed, so you do not fear death; but I, who hear the noise of arms in the street and listen to the cries of *Palla, Palla, Cosimo, Cosimo, Medici, Medici*, am not disposed to lose my life with all my sins on my head. Therefore, Guicciardini, let us despatch this business and read the articles of the reform." Guicciardini hesitated, and wished to insert some limitations to Cosimo's power. Francesco said, "I am surprised

¹ Francesco Guicciardini, born 1494. He was of a noble and ancient Florentine family, which still exists; one member of it has recently shewn his true nobility of mind in the best sense by preferring exile to acting against his conscience. He was more fitted for the management of public affairs than for literary pursuits, and filled many public offices and important missions. In 1521 he was Governor of Parma; in 1523 Governor of Romagna; and in 1534 of Bologna. A favourer of the Medici, at the death of Clement VII. he returned to Florence. After the murder of Alessandro, finding himself slighted by Cosimo the reigning prince, he retired to his villa at Arcetri, and occupied himself in writing a history of Italy. It was not published till 1561, when the first sixteen books appeared, and three years after the last four. The best edition is that of Venice, in 1738. The original MS. is in the Magliabechian library at Florence. He is accused by some of too much severity on those to whom he was indebted, and by others, with more truth, of having overlooked the true use of history, by not pointing the moral to the tale, but recording with equal calmness good and evil, without shewing abhorrence of vice or admiration for virtue.—Tiraboschi, vol. vii. p. 249.

² Cosimo was the son of Giovanni de' Medici. His mother Maria was granddaughter of Lorenzo the Magnificent, through her mother Lucrezia who married Jacopo Salviati.

that you, who have always been considered prudent, should think of such trifles when electing a prince. If you put into his power the guard, the arms, and the fortresses, of what use is any restriction? For my part I sincerely wish he may be a good prince; but I choose him with a firm determination to serve and support him, even if he proves a bad one, and does not observe any of the things here written." The articles were then read, and the election was carried by a large majority of white beans. He was to be called Lord, and not Duke, and was not to open letters of state nor do anything without the consent of the Council. An income of 12,000 crowns a-year was allotted him.¹ These preliminaries arranged, Cosimo entered the Council chamber and was saluted as their chief by the Senate, and also by Alessandro Vitelli, captain of the five hundred soldiers who mounted guard in the street, crying, *Palle, Palle*. This Vitelli was a military adventurer, who was ever ready to fight for the highest bidder, and to seize any opportunity of plundering for his own private benefit. On this occasion he went with greedy eagerness to sack Cosimo's house, saying, he had acquired a palace and a state in exchange for his private property. He did the same to the house of Lorenzo, which was near, and pulled down the whole of one side of the house to lay open the room in which Alessandro was murdered. In the villa property of great value was found amounting to 10,000 crowns. He got possession of the fortress, to which the Duchess Margaret and Cardinal Cibo had retreated, by stratagem. Fear of the Emperor's displeasure alone prevented Cosimo and his counsellors from putting Vitelli to a violent and sudden death.

The election of Cosimo as Lord of Florence was by no means pleasing to the Florentines in general, though they had allowed themselves to be overawed by the Medici party. Guicciardini, one of the principal agents of his advancement, soon experienced the ingratitude so often bestowed on those who raise others to power. Cosimo refused to fulfil his matrimonial engagement to Guicciardini's daughter, slighted his counsels, and drew closer to the partisans of the Emperor.²

¹ Varchi relates that, when the sum was mentioned, Guicciardini, who was rather avaricious, raised his hands and eyes, and exclaimed, "*In dodici mila fiorini d'oro è un bello spendere.*"—Varchi, *Storia d'Italia*.

² Segni, *Storia Fiorentina*, vol. ii. pp. 496, 508; Botta, *Storia d'Italia*, vol. i. pp. 116, 126.

In 1538, Paul III., urged by his private interests, proposed a meeting at Nice between Charles and Francis, with the view of bringing about a permanent peace. He offered his good offices as arbitrator, and was even willing to undertake this long journey with the hope of accomplishing his purpose; but he was much disappointed, on arriving at Nice, that he could neither be received within the walls nor persuade the rival monarchs to meet in his presence. He was therefore obliged to treat with each separately. The Emperor paid him the first visit; they conversed together under a canopy for more than an hour, and a truce for ten years was finally agreed on between the two monarchs. During this period each party was to keep what he had taken by force of arms; a most disadvantageous arrangement for the Duke of Savoy, whose dominions were divided between the contending parties. Though Charles would not meet Francis in the Pope's presence, he sent word to the French king that he would see him as soon as Paul was gone. It appears that the motives of the Pope were distrustful, and his ambition feared: the only fruit he reaped from so long and fatiguing a journey at his advanced age, was the promise that the widowed Duchess of Florence should be given in marriage to his grandson Ottavio, with the town of Novara for her dower, and a distant hope of the Duchy of Milan.

When Paul set sail for Rome, Charles prepared to return to Spain, but contrary winds drove him back, and favoured his wish to see Francis and his sister Eleanor. On his despatching a messenger to propose a meeting at Aigues Mortes, Francis, with the fearless chivalry of his character, immediately went in a boat to the Emperor's galley, exclaiming, "Here I am, my brother, a second time your prisoner." Charles, pleased with his frankness, cordially embraced him, and, to be equal in confidence, landed and put himself wholly in the French king's power. They conversed freely on the points at issue, using the courtesy habitual to their station; all bitterness and hatred subsided, and they parted good friends, each to their several kingdoms.

Margaret, the Emperor's daughter, went to Rome at the end of this year, 1538, to marry Ottavio Farnese, a boy in years. She was much dissatisfied with a connection so inferior to her former position, and observed that the meanest estate in Duke

Alessandro's dominions was of more value than the whole property of her second husband. By an act of injustice, common in the Papal States, Ottavio was made Duke of Camerino, at the expense of the Varani family, to whom it lawfully belonged.¹

With the view of keeping up the expectations of Europe, it was intimated that a Council would be held at Vicenza in May 1538. This however had little effect on those who had already embraced the principles of the Reformation. Henry VIII. published a manifesto against this Council, and sent it to the Emperor and to the King of France. He forbade his subjects to appear in this assembly; for, however beneficial a meeting of Christians might be when they could freely express their opinions, he felt persuaded no free discussion could be expected under Papal influence.

This daring opposition of the king of England roused the Pope's indignation. A hope of winning him back to the Church had alone induced him to exercise some degree of patience. His anger was further kindled to the utmost by the execution of Fisher, bishop of Rochester. The Pope had hoped to save him by sending a cardinal's hat to him while in prison. But Henry had resolved to keep no measures with Rome, and widened the breach still more by the trial and condemnation of the famous Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. He had been canonized in 1171, by Alexander III., for having lost his life in defence of the power of the Church. No sooner was the sentence passed than executed. The bones of the saint, which had been worshipped for so many years, were exhumed, and publicly burned by the common hangman, and the ashes scattered to the winds. This was considered an outrageous affront to ecclesiastical authority; but the concluding act of the drama was still more crushing, and it fully displayed the motives by which Henry was actuated. He took possession of all the treasure, ornaments and revenues of the church dedicated to Thomas à Becket, which had so long brought gain to its clerical patrons. This filled up the measure of his guilt, and the bull of excommunication which had been prepared three years before was now fulminated against the rebel monarch. It condemned him to lose his throne and estates, forbade all nations to trade with or have any intercourse with him, deprived his adherents of their property, licensed every one

¹ See Contarini, p. 279.

to make war against him and take possession of his territories. But however threatening the language, and loud the call for vengeance on the royal apostate, this celebrated bull remained a dead letter, and was so little regarded by Europe in general, that both Charles and Francis shortly after entered into a league of strict amity with the British monarch.

But notwithstanding Henry's rebellion against the authority of the Pope, and his determination to be master in his own dominions, he was not sufficiently enlightened to discover the doctrinal errors of the Church of Rome, and he evinced his ignorance of true religion by publishing an edict which commanded all England to believe in the real presence, decreed the cup to be unnecessary to the laity, the marriage of the priests illegal, monastic vows binding, confession necessary, and that every transgression of this law be severely punished. The Pope, notwithstanding his displeasure against Henry, so highly approved of this edict that he proposed it as an example to the Emperor.

While the Pontiff was wasting words on a Sovereign who was receding from his influence, the Protestants were strengthening themselves in Germany by mutual union, and enjoying that measure of liberty which Charles had been obliged to grant. A conference was held at Nuremberg on the 1st of August 1532, at which, in presence of persons sent by Charles and Ferdinand, religious subjects were calmly discussed. It was ruled that the opinion of the majority should decide the questions brought before them, and a report be presented to Charles and the heads of the Empire. No envoy from the Pope was admitted; this was so displeasing to Paul, that he sent a nuncio to Spain to complain of the liberty allowed to the Lutherans, and insinuated that John Vega, archbishop of Lunden, had been bribed to violate his oath of fidelity to the Church. He warned the Emperor that liberty of conscience in religion would introduce such licence among his subjects, that in order to be independent of his authority they would all become Lutherans. These "blind leaders of the blind" had no conception of the willing and intelligent obedience of an enlightened people, when free to worship God according to their conscience. What a different spectacle does a nation present, attached to its sovereign as the head of a legitimate authority, appointed to maintain order

and to repress vice, compared with countries ruled by treachery and force. England, though devoted to destruction, has for more than three centuries been gradually improving her civil institutions, and establishing her rights on so broad and stable a basis, that she has stood firm when surrounded by the waves of revolution. Other nations, who still lie prostrate at the feet of Rome, are crippled in all moral and intellectual energy, kept down by bayonets and stultified by priestly superstition.

We do not here enter into the motives of Henry VIII., as they were sufficiently evident; we allude only to the effect which liberty of conscience and true religion has in raising and ennobling the character of a nation, and the contrary effects of an opposite system.

In the year 1541 a Diet was held at Ratisbon with the view of reconciling the religious differences between the Protestants and the Catholics. This, the nearest approach to union which had yet taken place, proved unavailing in its results, owing to the interference of Rome.¹ Charles, while engaged in war, and pressed by the incursions of the Turks, shewed every disposition to yield to the Protestants; but as all his concessions were disapproved by the Pope, he was no sooner free to follow his own policy than by his severity he drove his subjects to form a Protestant league in their own defence.

At the close of the Diet of Ratisbon, Charles prepared for his long projected expedition to Algiers. His former success on the coast of Africa encouraged him to hope for the total destruction of the Turkish power.

As he was to pass through Italy, a meeting was arranged between him and the Pope at Lucca. Paul came in pontifical state, but Charles, though full of ambitious projects, despised the pomp of circumstance; he appeared in the usual plain dress he wore at diets and public audiences.²

While the Pope and the Emperor were conferring together on the assembling of a general Council and other matters of importance, an envoy from Francis arrived, peremptorily demanding his two messengers Rincone and Fregoso. Confiding

¹ See Contarini, p. 270.

² "Portava indosso una cappa di panno nero accotonato, un saio simile senz' alcun fornimento, ed in capo un capelluccio di feltro, e stivali in gamba. Col quale abito vestito rendeva ragione, udiva l'ambascerie."—Segni, *Storie Fiorentine*, vol. ii. p. 598.

in the truce between Charles and Francis they had embarked on the Po instead of going by Venice. At the mouth of the Ticino they were taken and slain, but the perpetrators of this cruel murder missed their object. The despatches had been sent on before with Rincone's secretary in another boat. Charles and the Pope denied all knowledge of this bloody deed; but Francis indignantly declared the truce broken and prepared to renew the war.¹

This unexpected complication of affairs did not however deter Charles from his African expedition. In vain the Pope and Andrew Doria urged the lateness of the season; the Emperor trusted to his good fortune, and after a short stay of three days at Lucca he set sail for Spezia on the 18th of September 1541. At Majorca he took in a considerable body of troops, the larger number of whom were doomed never to see Europe again. It was the season of the Equinoctial gales, when the Mediterranean sea is exposed to sudden and violent storms. A terrible gale arose which destroyed one hundred and thirty ships. A few ran ashore, but the crew were murdered by the Moors. The remainder were left before Algiers without food either for man or horse. The wind continued to blow furiously, and the rain descended in torrents. Charles had landed and encamped his troops near Algiers, in some hollow ground which served as an entrenchment. He was obliged to raise the camp and embark his troops. It was not without considerable difficulty that Charles himself was saved. He had been obliged to remain twenty-five days in a small African port; here he had ample time to deplore his heavy losses in men and treasure, and vowed he never would trust to his good fortune again.

On his return new troubles awaited him. Francis had been scarcely restrained from declaring war during his absence; but, on hearing of the unfortunate issue of the African enterprise, he assembled a powerful army, and early in the spring of 1542 made a simultaneous attack in four different quarters. He still retained Piedmont, and strongly fortified Turin and Pinerolo. The want of money alone crippled his exertions. The poor

¹ Rincone was a subject of the Emperor, but a rebel; he was on his way to Constantinople to arrange a treaty between Francis and Solyman. Fregoso was also a subject of the Empire; thus their mission was high treason against their sovereign.—Muratori, *Annali*, vol. x. p. 40.

Duke of Savoy could only look on and bemoan the occupation of his country by two such powerful Sovereigns. Francis, to his eternal disgrace, renewed his treaty with Solyman Emperor of the Turks, who engaged to lead 200,000 men to the conquest of Hungary, while Barbarossa was to join the French in the Mediterranean with a powerful naval force.¹

The court of Rome, and Italy in general, suffered a severe loss in the year 1542 by the death of Cardinal Contarini. Ever since the accession of Paul III. he had been one of the most enlightened supporters of the Government. He was one among the learned men whom Paul III. made Cardinals for their ability and integrity. As his life presents a model of virtue by no means common in the sixteenth century, we have pleasure in giving some account of this Venetian statesman.

CARDINAL CONTARINI, BORN 1483, DIED 1542.

Gaspar Contarini was a native of Venice, the capital of that flourishing republic which so long maintained its independence; whose merchant princes ruled over the sea, and extended their commerce to the most distant parts of the world. He came into the world at a period when arts and literature were rising to their highest glory. His father Luigi was a successful merchant, and wished his son to follow his own occupation; but, discerning his ardent love of study, he would not oppose his strong inclination for a literary life, and placed him under the tuition of Marcantonio Sabellico² and Giorgio Valla³ at Venice.

¹ Italy was visited this year by a calamity almost as disastrous as war; large numbers of locusts descended in myriads on the plains of Lombardy; they were nearly three inches in length, and flew so thick together that when they were in motion the light of the sun was darkened. Wherever they alighted they made as much devastation as an army, consuming every thing green.—Muratori, *Annali*, vol. x. p. 47.

² Marcantonio Sabellico, born 1436, died 1506, was Professor at Venice when the plague broke out in 1485, when he retired to Verona, where he wrote the *History of Venice*, in twenty-two books. His various works, consisting of comments on ancient authors, moral, philosophical, and historical essays, fill four folio volumes, besides others in MS.—Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* vol. vi. p. 50.

³ Giorgio Valla, like his cousin the celebrated Lorenzo Valla, was a man of great attainments. His various acquisitions in literature and science made him looked upon as an encyclopaedia of knowledge. He lectured at Paris, Milan, and Venice, on the Greek and Roman Classics. He was imprisoned at Venice for some unknown offence given to the ruling powers. A sudden illness carried him off at the very time his pupils were expecting him to deliver his lectures at Milan.—*Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 302.

At eighteen years of age he was sent to Padua to study Greek under Marco Musurus,¹ and the Aristotelian philosophy under Pietro Pomponazzo.² Many of his fellow-students, with whom he formed lasting friendships, afterwards distinguished themselves. Among these were Andrea Navagero,³ who filled high offices in the Venetian state, and was employed by the Republic to travel throughout Europe; and Fracastoro,⁴ the amiable and learned physician, who had sufficient character and originality to rise above the material philosophy of the times, and who turned his attention to the useful sciences.

Such were the friends and companions of Contarini, with whom he kept up constant intercourse, till he was sent ambassador to Charles V. in 1521. These diplomatic missions generally lasted three years, but Contarini made himself so acceptable to Charles that his embassy was extended to four years. During this period he accompanied the Emperor from Worms to the siege of Tournay, from thence to England, and finally to Spain, where he was held in high estimation, not only as a polished gentleman, but as a distinguished philosopher, theologian, and mathematician; in the latter capacity he solved a difficulty which puzzled all Spain. The *Vittoria*, one of the five ships commanded by Fernando Magaglian, returned

¹ Marco Musurus was a native of Crete; he surpassed his master Lasari in the knowledge of Greek and Latin literature. From 1503 to 1509 he was Professor of Greek at Padua, with the moderate stipend of 140 ducats a-year. Erasmus, who was then at Padua, celebrates his diligence in giving lectures almost every day. In the year 1517 Leo X. invited him to Rome, and gave him the Archbishopric of Malvasia. He died the same year at an early age.—*Tiraboschi*, vol. vi. p. 394.

² See CHAP. V. Appendix A.

³ Andrea Navagero was of an ancient Venetian family, an eloquent orator, and devoted to literature. His letters, which give an account of his travels, are still extant, and prove his accurate and extended observation. He was gifted with so ready a memory, that he could repeat the whole of the books of Virgil. He died at Blois in 1529, while ambassador to the court of France.—*Ibid.* p. 217.

⁴ Girolamo Fracastoro, born 1483, died 1553. A poet, philosopher, and mathematician, he occupied himself with the whole range of science and learning. He has written on astronomy and natural history, on geography and medical science, with so much talent and eloquence that it is difficult to say whether he excels most in originality of thought or in beauty of style. He passed some years of his life at Pordenone, where the famous Venetian general, Bartolomeo Alviani, had opened an academy; he afterwards retired to the neighbourhood of Verona, and spent the close of his life in studious retirement, at his delightful villa at Incaffi. He was appointed physician to the Council of Trent; it was by his advice that this assembly removed to Bologna.—*Ibid.* p. 264.

by the East, laden with cloves and spice from the Molucca islands, which they had reached sailing west, and thus made the tour of the globe, a feat never before accomplished. Out of two hundred and thirty-seven sailors, eighteen only returned. Having kept an exact account of each day during the voyage, they were surprised, on arriving at Seville in 1522, to find themselves a day behind in their reckoning; they arrived on Sunday the 7th of September as they thought, but it was the 8th by the moon. This was so much talked of that at length it came to the Emperor's ears; it was discussed in the schools and among the learned, but no satisfactory explanation was offered, till Contarini said that in calculating each day by twenty-four hours during their sail round the world they would necessarily be a day behind at their return.

The period of his embassy having exceeded the allotted time, the Venetians, desirous of sending an envoy expressly for the purpose of congratulating Charles on his election as Emperor, sent Lorenzo de' Priuli and Andrea Navagero on this mission; the latter was intended to replace Contarini at the Imperial court. On leaving Madrid he obtained leave to visit Francis I. then a prisoner in Spain; on his return to Venice he gave, according to custom, a full account of his embassy in writing.

After the sack of Rome in 1527, and the escape of the Pope, the Venetian republic judged it respectful to send an embassy to Clement; the prudence and good sense of Contarini induced the senate to choose him as a person fitted for this mission. The ravages of war and the desolation of the plague had so overrun the whole country, that the journey was not one of pleasure or convenience. The Pope, when pressed by the Emperor's army for an enormous ransom, had made a demand on the senate for 100,000 ducats of gold, in the form of a tax upon salt in the province of Cervia. Contarini was instructed to remind the Pope of the vast sums which had been already paid to procure him his liberty, and to entreat him to diminish this burthensome tax. Clement had retired from Orvieto to Viterbo, and Contarini accompanied him to Rome, and afterwards to Bologna where he went to meet the Emperor. Charles, who highly esteemed Contarini, distinguished him by several marks of favour, and through his good offices a peace was concluded with

Venice on very advantageous terms for the republic. The senate testified their satisfaction by appointing him to the office of one of the chief magistrates of the city; an honour granted only to experienced and meritorious citizens.

Paul III., at his accession in 1534, made the commendable resolution to exalt none to the dignity of Cardinal but men of ability and integrity; within a year he made seven Cardinals, and Gaspar Contarini was one. This was an honour totally unsolicited and unexpected by him, but Paul had conceived a high opinion of his talents and excellence during the pontificate of Clement VII.

The courier who was despatched to Venice with the news of his elevation, arrived on Sunday after dinner while the great Council was sitting, in the month of May 1535. Contarini was the youngest of the six counsellors who composed the Council of the Doge. On this account he was president of the Chapel where they drew by ballot the names of those who were to be elected to some public office. The Pope's messenger wished to present his letters in person and announce the news, but he was not allowed to enter the council chamber, so he gave the packet to Rannusio the secretary, and told him the distinction conferred on a member of the Council. With the papers in his hand he went up to the Councillors' bench, and as he approached Contarini he said, "the courier who brought this announces that you are a Cardinal." Contarini in astonishment exclaimed in an agitated tone, "How, a Cardinal! I am a Councillor of Venice." Meanwhile the letters were opened and the news confirmed. The report soon spread of his new dignity. His colleagues crowded round to congratulate him. Luigi Mocenigo, one of the members who was rather inimical to ecclesiastical government, being afflicted with the gout and unable to move, raised his voice so that he might be heard by all, and said, "These priests have robbed the city of the best gentleman it has to boast of;" upon which the grand Council rose and congratulated Contarini most heartily. His friends accompanied him in his gondola, and the other gondolas all followed in his train, till he reached his own house. He immediately retired to collect his thoughts and to advise with his friends, and chiefly with Matteo Dandolo, his brother-in-law, for whom he had always felt a brother's affection. His

first impression was a doubt whether or not to accept this new dignity, but the opinion of his friends and the hope of being useful in promoting reforms in the Church prevailed, and overcame his irresolution.

Next day the Doge and all the members of the Council went in form to pay him a visit, though there had not been time for him to appear in a Cardinal's dress. The scarlet *beretta* cap arrived in a few days; he received the tonsure, and accompanied by a numerous and distinguished suite of gentlemen, his relations, went properly robed as a Cardinal to pay a ceremonious visit to the Doge and the Senate. There were great rejoicings in the city, the new Pope was highly applauded, and hopes were entertained, from this impartial selection of excellence, that he really had the best interests of the Church at heart, and that his reign would be marked by real and important reform. But the corruptions of the Church of Rome are beyond the reach of individual reformation; they are woven into the system and are the supports of the Papal See. In vain the best intentioned men have begun their reign with improvements. A purely clerical government is incompatible with the interests of mankind, and is too truly convicted of weakness and cruelty. Each generation has been soothed with delusive hopes of progress in ecclesiastical administration, and at Contarini's election the greatest elation prevailed. Reginald Pole, who was at Venice at the time, observed, that he had read and heard of virtue being honoured for its own sake, but he had never before seen it so singularly exemplified as in this instance, when the Pope had selected a gentleman unknown to him, at the moment when he stood so high in the estimation of his country, that if they had been called to name their choice, their selection would have fallen on the very man whom Paul III. had so signally honoured.

His two brothers, Antonio and Federigo, who were merchants, though suffering from recent losses at sea by shipwreck and the piracy of the Turks, evinced their affection and munificence by arranging his establishment on a footing suitable to his high dignity. All being prepared, Contarini set out for Rome. He took Perugia in his way in order to meet the Pope, who received him in a public consistory and himself presented him with the Cardinal's hat. But in the midst of these gratifying tokens

of favour a messenger of sorrow arrived; his brother Federigo, whom he had left in good health, had been seized with a fever, which in a very few days proved fatal. A loss of one of their number in so united a family was a painful stroke, and though the Cardinal bore up with christian resignation, he found it a hard task to write a letter of consolation to his remaining brother at Venice.

Soon after he set out for Rome, accompanied by Dandolo. The Pope settled a pension on him of 200 crowns a month, and the most sanguine expectations were entertained from his well-known wisdom and integrity of character. Having been brought up among a comparatively free people, and being naturally of a frank and candid nature, he had been early accustomed to the wholesome practice of speaking his opinion undisguisedly. He carried this habit with him to Rome, and freely remarked on existing abuses. Those who were enemies to all reform began to whisper that Cardinal Contarini was come from the Senate of Venice to reform the College of Cardinals; but this gave him little concern, and he still continued to press the Pope to correct some of the more serious and glaring evils. Having spent many years of his life abroad at foreign courts, his experience had great weight with Paul, who at the beginning of his reign was full of good intentions. Desiring to increase the number of Cardinals who would join in his views of improvement, he directed Contarini to name the persons he thought most fitted to execute his wishes, and he mentioned Carafa, bishop of Chieti, Federigo Fregoso bishop of Gubbio, Sadoletto bishop of Carpentras, Matteo Giberti bishop of Verona, Reginald Pole, at that time residing at Padua, and Gregorio Cortese, a Benedictine monk, Tomaso Badia, master of the palace, and Alexander archbishop of Brindisi. Briefs were issued to those who were absent commanding them to repair to Rome. On their arrival the Pope summoned them all to his presence, and expressed in courteous and flattering terms his high opinion of their principles and judgment. He requested them to note in writing what reforms they thought needful in the church, solemnly warning them to use their utmost diligence in this matter, for if they failed in conscientiously executing this commission, they would be called to account for their negligence before the great tribunal of Jesus Christ. He concluded this address by making

them swear they would speak to no one on the subject, and dismissed them to their duty.

These ecclesiastics met regularly in Contarini's rooms to consult together how they could best fulfil the Pope's commission and draw up articles of reformation. Caracciolo says the chief object was to do something which would silence the clamour of the heretics.¹

The reforms considered necessary by these ecclesiastics were classed under twenty-eight heads,² entitled, *Consilium de emendanda Ecclesia*. Each gave his opinion on every separate article: Carafa, as the oldest and most experienced, took a very active part. He said it would be an offence against God if they neglected making some reforms, and that as it was a christian rule never to do evil to produce good, so neither ought you to abstain from good lest evil should arise. But after considerable discussion reform was put off to a more convenient season. The greater number were altogether new to ecclesiastical affairs; some were well versed in canon law, all were disposed to maintain the power of the Church, but none of them were prepared to examine the foundations of the Christian religion, or to bow to its supreme and divine authority: it does not appear that the Scriptures were even opened by these rulers. True, they were only rulers of the Church of Rome, it is not therefore surprising that Christ as head of the Christian Church should be overlooked. Collation of benefices, pensions, dispensations, regulation of convents, confession, indulgences, and commutations, wills and inheritances, were the chief subjects discussed. One article referred to the residence of bishops and curates, another to public discussions and printed books, among which the Colloquies of Erasmus were mentioned, but not a thought seems to have been given to doctrine or even to practice. It was two years before they had completed their survey of reforms. Canonists highly approved of the result of their labours, and it was printed at Rome.³ Before the authorized report appeared its substance had already been dif-

¹ "Per serrar la bocca agl' heretici i quali non facevano altro in voce et in scritto che dir male della corte di Roma."—Caracciolo, *Vita di Paolo IV.* MS. British Museum.

² See Appendix A.

³ By Antonio Blado, Stampatore Camerale.—Caracciolo.

fused throughout Germany,¹ and gave such universal dissatisfaction that it increased the desire for a general Council. The non-success of this attempt at reform must not be laid wholly on the men, but rather on the system by which they were trammelled. Some of them were persons who feared God, and who would fain have served the cause of religion, provided it led them to nothing contrary to the decrees of the Church.

Satisfied with this public demonstration in favour of reform, Paul III., a gentleman and a scholar, cooled in his desire for ecclesiastical improvement. The first impulse given by his new position faded into quietude, and he listened with willing conviction to the arguments of those who persuaded him that these very abuses which he proposed to correct were essential parts of the papal system, and could not be removed without endangering the whole policy of the Roman court.

Contarini, however, was not among the number of these false counsellors; he continually endeavoured to impress the Pope with the conviction, that it was not so important to make new laws as to enforce the good ones already enacted, and rather to endeavour to make living books, written on fleshly tables of the heart, who would execute just decrees. To choose men who feared God as cardinals and prelates would, he said, be a virtual reform of the Church, as such men could only desire what was good and holy. The Pope continued to treat Contarini with the highest consideration, and often made use of him in important negociations. When consulted, he evinced both judgment and penetration in his selection of persons fitted for the dignity of Cardinal; he thought only of the good of the Church at large, and was quite above any feeling of envy or jealousy. When the name of Gregorio Cortese² was mentioned, the Pope begged to have Contarini's conscientious opinion of his character. "Holy Father," replied he, "so highly do I esteem him, that if it were for the service of the Holy See, I would take my own cardinal's hat from my head and place it on his, believing him to be far more worthy of this dignity than myself."

When Paul III. went to Nice in 1538, to meet Charles and

¹ Cardinal Schomberg sent a copy to Germany; it was supposed this was done at the Pope's suggestion, in order to raise the hopes of the Protestants. It was quickly printed, circulated, and commented upon in German and Latin.

² See Appendix B.

Francis, Contarini accompanied him. The French court was exceedingly brilliant, from the wit and beauty of the ladies, Queen Eleanor, Catherine the young Dauphiness,¹ Margaret² Queen of Navarre, and Margaret³ the daughter of Francis I. They received Contarini most graciously, and the Queen of Navarre distinguished him by peculiar marks of favour. She had always been favourable to the reformed opinions, and had heard of the moderate views which Contarini entertained on this subject with great approbation. As he entered the room, she went to the door of her apartment to welcome him; when the Cardinal was going to make his obeisance and kiss her hand, as a sign of respect, she drew back, saying in the Bearnese language, *Nenni, nenni*, threw her arms round his neck, and kissed his cheek with the affection of a sister. As Margaret was considered one of the most beautiful women of her time, and the Cardinal a very modest man, not accustomed to the caresses of ladies, this mark of attention brought the colour to his cheek, though he knew it was only a flattering courtesy sanctioned by French manners.

The Pope and the Emperor went as far as Genoa together, and subsequently Contarini met the Emperor at Venice, where he held a long conversation with him, in which Charles confidentially unfolded his plan of attacking the Turks.

On the return of Contarini to Rome the Pope again consulted him about filling a vacant place of cardinal. Bembo was mentioned, and immediately elected, notwithstanding some opposition.⁴ After the revolt of Ghent in 1539, Charles passed through France,⁵ on his way to Flanders, and afterwards to Germany. Being very desirous of bringing the Germans to some common understanding on religion, he proposed a colloquy between the

¹ The Dauphin François died suddenly of pleurisy at Tournon, in 1536, and Catherine de' Medici, Duchess of Orleans, became Dauphiness.

² See Appendix C.

³ She afterwards married Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy. It was said that in this accidental meeting at Nice she formed a romantic attachment to him, which made her refuse every other offer, till peace sealed their union.

⁴ See CHAP. III. p. 114.

⁵ The confidence of the Emperor in the honour of Francis I. excited so much surprise that the court fool Triboulet, when he saw the Emperor arrive, wrote his name in a book which he called the *Journal des Fous*. When the King knew this he said, "What will you do if I let him pass?" He replied, "*J'effacerai son nom et je mettrai le vôtre à sa place.*"—Lacretelle, *Hist. de France*, vol. vi. p. 411.

Protestants and Catholics at Worms: the papal party opposed this, particularly Cardinal Farnese and Marcello Cervini; but Charles and Ferdinand, in spite of the legate, resolved to try their plan of conciliation, and the Cardinal set out for Paris.

Ferdinand convoked a Diet at Hagenau, but no result was obtained. The Catholics clamoured for the temporalities of the Church; the Protestants declared the first thing to be done was to settle doctrines, as the Church had degenerated from Christian principles. Ferdinand then proposed that an equal number of learned men should be chosen on each side, and that the Pope be at liberty to send his nuncio to preside at a conference at Worms in October 1540, where, under the Emperor's sanction, an amicable and equal conference should be held. This conference opened with such happy prospects that the Catholics could not rest till they had broken it up. Philip Melancthon spoke for the Protestants, and Eckius for the Catholics, the subject was original sin, a point on which they were very likely to agree; but after they had spoken three days, the papal influence exercised over the Emperor at Hagenau was again at work at Worms, and by his authority this colloquy also was broken up.

In 1541 the Emperor, still unwilling to give up the idea of an union between the Protestants and Catholics, convoked a Diet at Ratisbon. Thinking that, if some person of acknowledged authority and learning were present, the disputants would be brought more easily to a conclusion, he entreated the Pope to send Contarini. Paul III. willingly assented. Contarini was at this time fifty-eight years of age, by no means in robust health, and scarcely able to set out on so long and fatiguing a journey in the month of January. His instructions were to watch all the proceedings of the Diet, to interrupt their discussions the moment anything was proposed derogatory to the authority of the Pope, and to refer everything to a general Council. In case the Emperor should be induced to grant anything to the Protestants to the disadvantage of the Romish Church, he was to oppose it in the name of the Holy See, declare such concessions null and void, and then retire from the Diet, but not to leave the Emperor's court.¹

¹ Sarpi, *Concilio de Trento*, p. 89. See Appendix D.

On his arrival at Ratisbon in March, all the bishops and clergy, accompanied by the gentry, went out in a body to meet him. Next day he paid a visit to Charles, who received him at the head of the stairs with the affection of a father. The Diet had not yet met, but some members had arrived at Ratisbon, such as the Cardinal Moguntino of the house of Brandenburg, an ecclesiastical elector; the Margrave Johannes of Brandenburg, his nephew; Lewis and William, Dukes of Bavaria, and Duke Ernest of Brunswick. Contarini was much esteemed by all these Catholic princes. In a short time Ferdinand king of the Romans arrived, and shewed the legate striking marks of favour; he even went one day to his house to pay him a private visit, and conversed with him in the most familiar and friendly manner. On Easter Day, when the Emperor was present in the Cathedral, there was some difficulty in settling the terms of precedency between the legate and the electors. On these occasions the princes of the Empire have a right to sit next to the Emperor, and they do not willingly concede this privilege to any one. By the Emperor's command two chairs were placed in the choir of the church opposite each other. His majesty and the electors sat near the one on the right hand, the legate and the ecclesiastical princes were placed on the left. The same in approaching the altar. The Emperor went forward first. On his return the electors began to move and walked up the choir one after the other; when they reached the seats of the Emperor and the legate they bowed to the Sovereign and then to the legate. Cardinal Moguntino, who was the first, made a sign for the legate to advance; he, as previously agreed, made another sign for them to proceed. But the electors did not move till the Emperor then sent word to the legate to go first. Thus was this important case of precedency settled without infringing on the rights of the electors.

The wisdom and moderation displayed by Contarini so endeared him to the Emperor,¹ that he consulted him on all occasions, not only in public matters, but also in his own private affairs. He took great pleasure in conversing with him about

¹ Charles was an admirable judge of human character, and knew both how to choose and to preserve his friends and counsellors. He suffered much from constitutional melancholy, and, like many persons of penetration and foresight, was subject to fits of depression. See *Relazione di Gasparo Contarini*. Alberi, vol. ii. p. 60.

his favourite study of cosmography, that he might understand the positions of the various kingdoms under his dominion. He found Contarini so well informed on these points that he frequently held him in conversation for two hours at a time; and such was the confidence reposed in him by Charles, that his favourite, Don Luys d' Avila, often applied to Contarini for information on certain points.

The Diet of Ratisbon was opened in due form on the 5th April 1541.

Though Charles had suspended the Diet at Hagenau, and the Colloquy at Worms, in deference to the representations of the Pope, he presided at the Diet held at Ratisbon in 1541, and encouraged a conference between the adverse parties by himself naming the speakers on either side. Nothing could be more suitable or encouraging than the language of the Emperor on this occasion. He exhorted them to lay aside all prejudice, and think only of the glory of God.

During the eleven years which had elapsed since the publication of the Confession of Augsburg, the Scriptures had been diligently studied by those who did not admit their single and supreme authority in matters of faith. Both parties came to the conference with a sincere desire to yield as much as they conscientiously could. Never were circumstances so favourable for agreement. Men of integrity on both sides were sincerely desirous of concord: the peace of Europe and the integrity of the Empire seemed to hang on their decision. Contarini, the Pope's legate, was endowed with a clear head and an enlightened judgment; and had the Pope entertained any real zeal for the interests of true religion, the Church might easily have been brought back to the simplicity of primitive Christianity. But this unhappily was not the case; his object was not the glory of God, but the maintenance and extension of his own supremacy. This was the great bar to all concession; the rulers of the Church were intelligent enough to comprehend that the promulgation of the great doctrines of the Scriptures would sap the power of the Church to its foundation, and crumble into dust the whole fabric of papal inventions. Bent on preserving the papal power intact, the most active members of the Consistory, Carafa and Aleander, strenuously opposed all reformation, or consideration of doctrine, as an invasion of the pontiff's prerogative.

The persons chosen as speakers to discuss the disputed points were Eckius,¹ Gropper,² and Pflug³ for the Roman Catholics; and Melancthon,⁴ Bucer,⁵ and Pistorius⁶ for the Protestants. Frederick⁷ Count Palatine and Granvelle presided; several princes were present, and the whole was conducted with great solemnity and decorum.

As soon as all were assembled Granvelle produced a book which, he said, had been transmitted to the Emperor by some pious and learned men to promote concord. His Majesty begged it might be read and examined, as it treated of the subjects they were about to discuss. This book contained twenty-two articles, on some of which they were not likely to agree; such as, 'the power of the Church,' 'the Sacraments,' 'penance,' 'celibacy;' but there was a good deal of unanimity on some important points, such as, 'justification,' 'faith,' 'works,' and 'baptism.'⁸

The bishops refused the Book of Concord, and rejected the whole Colloquy: but the electors and princes not being of the same opinion, the Emperor resolved to examine, with the legate, the points of union, and endeavour to persuade the Protestants to receive this Book of Concord. The legate gave his answer in writing, but he was so hampered by his instructions that he

¹ Eckius was a violent popish divine and zealous disputant; he took an active part against the Protestants in 1530 when they presented their Confession of Faith, and advised reducing them by force of arms. He published a book entitled *A Catalogus of Heretics*, in which he inserted the names of all who were favourable to the Reformation.

² Gropper, a Canon of Cologne, and Professor of Canon-law; the Book of Concord was ascribed to him. He was a man of moderate opinions; he compiled the reforms of Herman, archbishop of Cologne, and published them under his sanction. He was afterwards made Provost of Bonn, and assisted in drawing up the Interim.

³ Julius Pflug, Dean of the Bishop of Misnia, and afterwards Bishop of Naumburg. He was like Gropper, a moderate man. At the Diet of Ratisbon, in 1541, Eckius disapproved so loudly of his colleagues and the Book of Concord, that Gropper and Pflug published an apology for themselves.—Pallavicino, *Concilio di Trento*, tom. ii. 269.

⁴ See Appendix E.

⁵ See Appendix F.

⁶ Pistorius, pastor of Nidda. Seckendorf says he was both pious and firm, and that he concurred in opinion with Melancthon.—Seck. iii. pp. 366, 360.

⁷ He had been brought up at the court of the Emperor, and married his niece, Dorothea, daughter of the king of Denmark.—Pallavicino, *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, tom. ii. p. 259.

⁸ Pallavicino, *Conc. di Trento*, tom. ii. p. 26.

expressed himself ambiguously; and the chief burthen of his discourse was the duty of referring everything to the Pope. To the Emperor's request for the reformation of the bishops he assented, and assembled them all in his palace, where he delivered a strong exhortation on avoiding luxury, maintaining decorum in their families, and performing their duties with diligence and earnestness.

As to all matters of faith, these, he said, were the peculiar province of the Pope; an integral part of his inheritance secured to him as head of the Church by our Lord, when he said, "I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not." This argument, in the face of such strikingly contradictory facts, had not much weight with the Protestants. On one important point, justification by faith,¹ there was a large number on both sides of one mind: had they been truly frank and clear on this point it would have gone far to do away with penances and purgatory; but they quibbled about the words 'faith alone,' and by adding human merits, they in great measure destroyed the infinite and priceless value of Christ's sacrifice on the cross; for if we can save ourselves in part by certain works and prayers, we can

¹ Sarpi, *Concilio Tridentino*.

² While Contarini was at Ratisbon he wrote a tract, in the form of a letter, on Justification. Though treated in a dry scholastic manner, and encumbered with endless definitions, which rather puzzle than enlighten the reader, yet he comes to the conclusion, that amid the various meanings of the words—just, justified, and justification—justification by faith in Christ is the only stable refuge we can rest on. See Appendix G.—The extreme deadness of the Prelate's clergy to all spiritual application of divine truth, and their complete ignorance of the Scriptures, is graphically pointed out by Ochino, the reformed friar, in the following passage: "Io mi ricordo, che trovandomi in Roma, il Cardinale Contareno da Spira haveva scritto al Papa, e a certi Cardinali, come infra loro catholici havevono accettato lo articolo della giustificatione per Christo, ma non già confessato alli Protestanti, e che desiderava sapere, se lor pareva che pubblicamente lo accettassero. Hora il Cardinale Fregoso, il quale era all' hora in Roma, mi disse, domane si fara concistorio, e si proporra lo articolo della giustificatione per Christo, saremo da cinquanta Cardinali, delli quali al manco trenta non sapranno, che cosa sia questa giustificatione, e degli altri venti la maggior parte la impugneranno, e se qualcuno la vorra difendere, sara tenuto heretico. Si che si può vedere, che cosa è la nostra chiesa, poi che nel supremo tribunale, dalli primi capi, si ha propor per cosa dubbia il primo, e principale articolo della fede, e di piu sara rifiutato."—*Risposta*, di Messer Bernardino Ochino, *alle false columnie e impie biastemmie*, di frate Ambrosio Catharino, p. 33. 1546. There is a copy of this very rare book in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge; O. n. 21, of the Rev. M. Cowie's Catalogue of MSS. and scarce books. I am indebted to the politeness of the Rev. Churchill Babington for a sight of this tract.

do so wholly by a greater measure of prayers or works. The single-minded elector¹ was so afraid of the slightest qualification of the scriptural doctrine of justification by faith, that he said, the caresses of Ratisbon were more to be feared than the severity of Augsburg.

The Emperor, who was on the point of leaving Germany, was exceedingly anxious to tranquillise his subjects on the subject of religion. Notwithstanding therefore the opposition of the legate, he dismissed the Diet with the promise of a national assembly, in case a general Council was not convoked within the space of eighteen months. He left the Protestants in the enjoyment of a certain degree of freedom of opinion, but enjoined them not to adopt any mere novelties, and forbade them to make converts; the bishops he commanded to reform their churches, and both parties to live in unity together.

The Protestants, who had thrown off the authority of the Pope in matters of faith, declared that national Councils were the proper channels for determining the belief of a nation; that Christian doctrine ought to be decided by the word of God, for Christ alone was the Head of the Church. Paul and Cephas, they said, were only ministers under his authority. The difficulties which Rome had thrown in the way of a legitimate Council for so many years convinced them that no good was to be expected from an assembly convened under its auspices.²

Beccadelli says that the conference was held at the house of the Landgrave of Hesse, as in the absence of the Elector of Saxony he was looked on as the head of the Lutheran party. So great were the hopes entertained by more moderate reformers of a satisfactory conclusion, that both Melancthon and Bucer were in some danger of allowing vague explanations of vital doctrines to be received. The Elector of Saxony was most watchfully anxious lest they should be drawn into any compromise of truth. At first he was displeased with Melancthon for deviating from the language of the Confession of Augsburg, but he afterwards expressed his satisfaction at the general tenor of his arguments. Bucer was even more ambiguous in his

¹ John Frederick, who succeeded his father, John the Constant, in August 1532.

² For fuller particulars of this Diet consult Sleidan, *Comment.*, the basis of the histories of Pallavicino and Sarpi; also Goldasti, *Acta Conventus Ratisbonensis*, and *Acti Concistoriali*.

definitions, and disposed to make greater sacrifices for the sake of peace. He went to visit the legate, and said to him, "Most reverend sir, the fault on both sides is that while we each obstinately defend ourselves, we do not correct real abuses; but God grant that truth may be made manifest, and that we may come to terms of union."¹ The Landgrave was so overjoyed at the prospect of peace, that though before he would not even bow to the legate, he now went to visit him and entertained him with music.

But while all seemed to be tending to concord, and the disputants had come to an agreement on some of the most difficult subjects, such as justification by faith, there was a secret spirit at work which destroyed all this fair promise. The Pope was, regularly informed, from day to day,² of all that passed; no assent to any point could be given without his consent. At a distance from the assembly, even if he had been disposed to yield, he could not be moved by the zeal of the speakers or convinced by the cogency of their arguments. Cold and calculating advisers possessed his confidence, men who overlooked all considerations of piety and peace, and entrenched themselves within their strongest point of refuge, the power of the Church. Whatever could in any degree militate against this absolute and paramount authority was rejected, even though written with the pen of divine inspiration.³

While the Protestants were holding up the legate as a bright example of every Christian virtue, and confessing him to be worthy of the highest honour, the enemies of truth were making

¹ Bucer subsequently printed a little book against the termination of the Colloquy, which began with these words, "You will perhaps wonder, Reader, to find me writing against Contarini, a man in every respect so excellent and distinguished for learning and purity of life."—Beccadelli, *Vita del Card. Contarini*.

² See Appendix H.

³ Pallavicino expresses his surprise at the poverty of the Reformers, and thus renders a splendid testimony to the disinterested character of their supporters, though he hints that it was not voluntary, like that of the Apostles or the mendicant orders. "Nel rimanente parrà materia di stupore, che quegli oracoli di tante provincie, venerati come nuovi ambasciadori del cielo, vivessero in tal meschinità (e non volontaria, come già gli apostoli, ed ora gli ordini mendicanti) che Buero inchinosi a porger supplicazione al Legato per qualche sovvenimento a titolo di limosina. Al che il Legato non condiscese, sapendo che 'l papa, per le ragione già menzionate, ricusava di tirare i pervertit i con l' esca della pecunia."—Pallavicino, *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, tom. ii. p. 263.

this very popularity a handle for the subversion of the whole conference. The legate, they whispered, was more than half Protestant, since the ministers themselves were loud in his praise. They have won him over entirely, said they, for Jean Sturm,¹ minister of Strasburg, declared that if the Pope had five or six such counsellors as Contarini it would be easy to obey his decrees.

His liberal and generous spirit made him valued by both rich and poor; yet he experienced something of the woe denounced upon those whom all men speak well of. Reports reached him of the malicious interpretation put on his conciliatory spirit at Rome; at first he was disposed to look on them only as the witticisms of Pasquin, but he was grieved that such calumnies should disturb the hopes of the Colloquy. As agent of the Pope he could not advance a step, and was even obliged in his own defence to write a full declaration of his opinions, and to make known his determination to refer all decisions to a general Council. His exhortation to the bishops was communicated in writing to the Emperor, and subsequently to the Diet.

After sitting three months the assembly broke up at the end of July, without coming to any satisfactory conclusion, partly on account of the threatened incursions of the Turks, but chiefly because the Pope would not consent to any concession. Thus ended the most serious attempt at union between the Protestants and the Catholics. Ever since that time they have stood distinctly apart; the more clearly each party understood the opinions of the other, the less hope there has been of amalgamation. Nor ought this to be matter of surprise; though nominally the Founder of their religion is the same, their authority is different. Protestants receive the Holy Scriptures as their only obligatory rule of faith and practice, and believe them to be inspired by God. The authority of the Church is minor and secondary, and only submitted to for the sake of order, when its laws and regulations are based on Holy Writ. The Catholics, on the contrary, confound in a strange medley tradition, Scripture, papal decrees and Councils, and call this the authority of the Church. The topstone of this singular edifice is the Pope's supremacy. The dictates of such composite

¹ See Appendix I.

power are so blinding to the conscience, that even the Gospel itself is only received when sanctioned by the Church.

It was finally resolved that these articles, on which both parties were agreed, should be received as Christian doctrine without further discussion,¹ till the meeting of a general Council, or if that did not take place, till a Diet was convoked to decide all points of controversy. The electors pressed for a national Council as the surest way of knowing the public mind and of preparing remedies for ecclesiastical abuses. The Protestant party were of the same opinion; but added that they could not receive some of the articles laid before the Colloquy; that the evils lay deeper than was supposed; some doctrines were absolutely contrary to the truth, and others needed much correction.²

Charles, having in some degree pacified Germany, proceeded to execute a bold enterprise he had long meditated against the Turks; it had only been delayed on account of the insurrection at Ghent. Proud of his former success on the coast of Africa, he determined to lead in person a still more formidable armament and a powerful fleet to attack the Turks on their own shores. He had hoped to have left his German subjects more satisfied about religion, but was only able to convince them of his good intentions, and of his willingness to summon a national Council. "The Catholic states granted him 80,000 florins a month for three months, and on the same day the Protestants offered him a contribution of double that amount if liberty of conscience were secured to them, and promised to stand by him at the peril of their lives."³

Cardinal Contarini accompanied him as far as Trent, and

¹ In Roma nondimeno le concordate parole nell' articolo della giustificazione, per la dubbietà loro non contentarono: onde il papa se ricordare al Legato, che nè a publico nè a privato nome approvasse mai proposizione, la qual non avesse non pur il senso espressamente cattolico, ma eziandio le parole esenti da pericolo d' ambiguità: riducendogli alla considerazione, che quantunque egli non potesse diffinire, e che intorno al colloquio avesse dichiarato, doversi fare senza veruna considerazione, finchè non vi concorresse il comprovamento del papa; contuttociò se i protestanti avesser potuto con apparenza allegare la opinione del Legato in favore d' alcuna delle loro dottrine, avrebbe ciò partorito grandissimo scandalo nella Chiesa, carico a lui ed al papa, ed ombra alla verità.—Pallavicino, *Concilio di Trento*, p. 262.

² Paolo Sarpi, *Concil. Tridentino*, an. 1541.

³ Vandenesse, private *Itinerary*, published by the Rev. W. Bradford, p. 521. 1850.

then retired to his church at Cividale, till he was summoned to follow the Emperor to Milan. At Brescia, Contarini met an old friend, who thus accosted him, "What are all these exorbitant concessions which we hear you have made to the Lutherans?" "That," replied he, "is only an invention of Pasquin's, and is not worthy of a reply. So far from accepting any doubtful articles of faith, I would not receive even the Gospel of St. John without the authority of the Church!" A painful confession of blind confidence in human authority; for if the Pope's authority sanctifies the gospel, then is it higher than St. John who wrote, and He who inspired his pen.

Contarini's friend, seeing he made so light of these reports, anxious to put him on his guard, assured him they did not proceed from Pasquin, for he had seen them in the handwriting of an eminent Cardinal,¹ whom he named; upon which he indignantly exclaimed, "Is this then the reward of my exertions?" Immediately on his arrival in Milan he wrote to the Pope, complaining of the injustice done him by these calumnious reports, and beseeching him to suspend his judgment till his arrival, when he would explain all to his satisfaction.

Charles arrived at Milan on the 22nd of August, where he was received with the utmost pomp and festivity. The whole population ran out to see him. Their curiosity was somewhat disappointed at seeing the Emperor dressed with his usual simplicity, in black, with a shabby felt hat adorned only with a single feather. "They expected," says Giovin, "to see so great a man as an Emperor dressed in gold brocade, with a crown of precious stones on his head."² His large melancholy eyes looked grave; a presentiment, as some afterwards thought, of the defeat sustained the day before at Buda.³ The Marchese del Vasto met him on foot at the gates, accompanied by two hundred noblemen and a large body of cavalry. A great number of the nobles, vassals of the Duchy of Milan, clad in crimson silk and cloth of gold, joined the procession to welcome their liege lord, followed by the counsellors in violet-coloured satin. Charles rode under a canopy of state, accompanied by the legate, who kept behind at a short distance till Charles ordered one of his gentlemen to lead the Cardinal's mule on

¹ Carafa, in all probability.

² Paolo Giovin, vol. ii. p. 608.

³ Beccadelli, *Vita del Card. Contarini*.

a line with his horse, and kept conversing with him as they rode, till they reached the castle. It so happened that just as the Emperor entered the town, Maria of Aragon, the beautiful and accomplished wife of the Marchese del Vasto, governor of Milan, gave birth to a son. To commemorate so joyful an event the child was called Charles, and baptised by Cardinal Contarini in the Cathedral. The Emperor himself held the infant at the font.¹ On their return they were received by the dowager Marchioness and the ladies of Milan, and sat down to a sumptuous banquet.

The next day the Emperor set out for Genoa, and Contarini for Lucca, as he was anxious to have a private interview with the Pope; he was most graciously received and found no signs of dissatisfaction. Meanwhile the Emperor embarked at Genoa with seventeen galleys on his way to Lucca, and arrived on the 12th of September at Via Reggio, where a triumphal arch was erected in the sea, and four hundred horses prepared for his journey to Lucca. At the gates Contarini and all the Cardinals were assembled to accompany the Emperor to the Cathedral, where the Pope in his pontifical robes waited his arrival. After dinner, Margaret² Duchess of Parma arrived to see her father.

Next day the Emperor visited the Pope, and remained three hours in conversation with him. Charles did ample justice to the excellence and ability of Contarini, and complained of his being undeservedly maligned. The Pope replied that he knew well the merit of the Cardinal, and that he would take an early opportunity of proving the high opinion he entertained of his services. The Pope returned the Emperor's visit in a litter, and staid five hours;³ next day the Emperor took leave in an audience of ceremony, at which Contarini and all the Cardinals were present.⁴

After the Emperor's departure the Pope told Contarini how handsomely his Majesty had spoken of him, advised him to despise the rumour of idle tongues, and assured him he would soon bestow on him substantial proofs of favour. He kept

¹ *Itinerary*, p. 525.

² Widow of the murdered Alessandro de' Medici, married to Ottavio Farnese, son of Pier Luigi and grandson of Paul III.

³ See *Itinerary*, p. 527.

⁴ Borghese, St. Giacomo, Gambara, Farnese, Santa Croce, Santa Fiore, and Sambello.

his word, for two months afterwards he gave him the Legation of Bologna, one of the richest governments in the pontifical states.

His arrival there in March 1542 gave great joy to the inhabitants, for they knew he would act more as a father than as a master, and rule with firmness and moderation. Nor were their expectations disappointed, for he exercised both justice and clemency; was patient in hearing disputes, and exerted his influence to prevent lawsuits with such happy success, that this branch of the treasury was so empty that the law officers feared they would die of hunger. Contarini replied he was delighted to hear of this deficiency, that he would rather sell his plate, and even his mule, than profit by the contentions of his neighbours. Once a week he gave public audience in a large hall where everybody was at liberty to present themselves, and if they had received any wrong or injustice they were at liberty to state their complaints and grievances.¹

While thus happily employed in carrying out the ideas of just and equal government which he had learned at Venice, he was commissioned by Paul III. to go on a diplomatic mission to the Emperor. Desirous of mediating between Charles and Francis, he resolved to send a legate to both princes with proposals of peace. Contarini being held in high estimation by Charles he was selected to go to Spain, and Cardinal Sadoletto was sent to France. Though Contarini's age and the delicacy of his health might well have excused him from accepting this mission, he did not decline, but waited only till the excessive heats were over.

Meanwhile he retired to a monastery called Santa Maria del Monte, seated on a high hill a short distance from Bologna, to enjoy the society of a favourite nephew, the son of his brother Antonio, who had recently become a monk. The heat was unusually great that year in the month of August, but the convent had a terrace to the north which commanded a fine view of Bologna and its richly cultivated plain. This terrace was sheltered from the sun and exposed to cool refreshing breezes. Here the Cardinal, when overcome by the heat, de-

¹ Contrast this with the progress of Pius IX. through his states in 1857, when successful efforts were made to prevent him from listening to the just complaints of his people.

lighted to walk and cool himself. One evening he staid out rather too late, and took a chill which brought on inflammation of the chest. This was followed by fever of a very virulent nature.

The account given by his secretary Lodovico Beccadelli¹ of his last illness is highly interesting. It does not indeed present such touching traits of joyful hope as are sometimes seen in the last moments of a spiritual Christian, when death seems swallowed up in victory over the last enemy; but we find the Cardinal calmly expecting his dismissal from a world in which he had played no inconsiderable part. His heart was full of gratitude to God for the benefits bestowed on him, and his faith on his Saviour firm, though he attached more importance than was desirable to the ceremonies of the Church.

His complaint was a tertian fever. Three days before he died he told his secretary that the malady was greater within than appeared externally. "These illnesses," said he, "are very dangerous; if the system could bear it five or six days longer there might be hope of amendment, but I fear that nature will sink, for my pulse is very feeble."² Beccadelli replied, "I beseech you, my lord, to think only of getting well; leave the care of your malady to your physicians. God will, I hope, aid you so that you may be able to set out on your journey to the Emperor." He replied, "I must prepare to present myself before another and a greater Emperor, as you will soon see. Do not think that I am grieved to die, for I know my deep obligations to the blessed God for the benefits he has bestowed on me. I was born in one of the first cities in the world, in a republic by no means the least among the nations; and I have received distinguished honours both in and out of my country. I have studied and endeavoured to practise what I have learned. I am fifty-nine years old, an age which all men do not reach; so that I may say with the prophet, 'Blessed be thy name, O Lord, for thou hast not dealt so with all people.' The only thing I regret is, the not being able to remunerate my poor servants as I could wish, but God and the Pope will supply my deficiencies in this respect." He then desired he might be read to as long as he had his senses, and we griéve

¹ See Appendix J.

² See *Vita del Cardinale Gaspar Contarini*, scritta da Mons. Lod. Beccadelli; *Epistolarum Reg. Poló*, vol. iii. Brixia, 1745.

to say mentioned the full absolution which he had received as a papal passport to the gates of heaven. This, alas! was read to him as a part of his preparation for appearing before his Maker. The disease gained ground fast. Six hours before his death he lost his speech but retained his senses, and his faith in Christ was firm to the last; for Beccadelli says, "When in the agony of death I encouraged him to confide in a glorified Saviour who was our sure anchor in all tempests; he took my finger in his hand, and held it as firmly as if in health, then fixing his eyes on me pressed it in token of the reality of his faith." He was buried next day, with the honours due to his rank, in the monastery of St. Proculo, with the intention of subsequently removing his body to the tomb of his ancestors at Venice. A funeral oration was delivered by Romulo Amaseo, the celebrated professor of eloquence.¹

Contarini was universally and deeply regretted; from the Pope to the peasant, all felt they had lost a noble and disinterested character, adorned with learning and erudition. Lodovico Boccadiferro, one of the first philosophers of the university of Bologna, said of him, "I have known many learned men in my day, but never met with one of more profound learning or of more solid judgment than Contarini. I felt myself quite a learner when conversing with him; if I met with any difficult or obscure passage, he solved my doubts at once."

In person he was tall and well made; his countenance had a benign and refined expression, his complexion was fair and transparent. His chief and favourite studies were philosophy, theology, and mathematics. He was a great reader of Aristotle, and followed the expositions of Averroes. In his youth he read the Greek commentators upon Aristotle, and was well acquainted with Arabic. The extensive commerce of the Venetians and their communications with the Turks made this a necessary branch of knowledge. He pursued great order and system in his studies, so that he knew all the several parts of Aristotle's doctrine from beginning to end, and remembered his definitions as clearly as if he had written the books himself; alleging that, in order thoroughly to understand the opinions of others, we must enquire the reasons why they came to such and such conclusions.

¹ So great was his popularity, and such crowds flocked to hear him lecture, that his scholars frequently fought their way into the lecture-room.

So perfectly did he master the Aristotelian philosophy, that it was said if the books were lost Contarini could republish them from memory in the very words of the author. When asked how he contrived to remember Aristotle's reasoning so well, he said he had studied his works regularly for seven years, not omitting a single day; that he did not devote more than three or four hours to actual study, but recapitulated what he had learned the day before, and never went a step forward till he could repeat by heart what he had before acquired. This no doubt was an excellent mental exercise, strengthened his memory, and taught him to reason justly and to avoid sophistry. He often quoted a saying of his master Pomponazzo, "All subtlety is false." He was both patient and temperate in argument, and more disposed to seize the good than the weak points of his opponent; of an easy, frank, communicative nature, he delighted to impart knowledge, saying it was given for that purpose, and his definitions were so lucid as to be easily understood.

Augustine, Basil, and Chrysostom were his favourites among the Fathers, and he read Thomas Aquinas a good deal. He patronized the poor modern Greeks from respect to the ancient race, to whom he thought the world was much indebted on account of their erudition. His mind was of too large a grasp to be a close verbal critic, being more occupied about things than words, yet he was well versed in classical literature both poetry and prose. Before he put pen to paper he arranged the whole matter in his own mind, and then began to write with such celerity that in two hours he would fill five or six sheets of paper; but his writing, it must be owned, was not very legible. While occupied in composition he concentrated all his powers both of body and mind on the subject before him, and worked with such energy that he injured his health, for he neglected both food and sleep, and so great was his pre-occupation of mind that he even lost his cheerfulness. He disliked the task of revising his work, and gladly left that to others.

During the long hot days of summer he liked being read to, and chose Homer or Virgil or some historical work. In winter at night, after his first sleep, he called his man to read to him some homily or religious book till he fell asleep again.

Upright and straightforward in all his dealings he detested and speedily discerned every species of falsity; his penetration was blinded only on the subject of the Roman Catholic Church. He was also a great enemy to flattery, which made him highly esteemed by Charles V. Persons accustomed to the fulsome adulation prevalent at that time accused him of pride and ambition in not condescending to flatter others; this was frequently commented on in the Pope's presence, when he ventured to give his opinion in opposition to that of his Holiness. A striking instance of his boldness and love of justice is recorded by his biographer. It was proposed in full consistory to make the Duchy of Camerino a papal fief, to be given to Ottavio Farnese, the Pope's grandson, as an apanage on his marriage with Margaret the widowed Duchess of Florence. Contarini alone dared to raise his voice in favour of the Varani family, who had been unjustly deprived of their patrimony. It was more for the honour of the Apostolic See, he said, to bestow it on the rightful owners than to hold it in possession. Few in those days would have made so unpopular a speech in presence of the Pope, but his courageous and disinterested love of justice was much commended. The unfortunate heir to the Duchy of Camerino, Orazio Varani, was so delighted that he went to visit and thank Contarini, and entreat his continued interest in his behalf; but the Cardinal with his usual good sense replied, he had spoken to discharge his conscience, but must leave the rest in the hands of the Pope; unless called on, he could not again refer to the subject.

He was a kind patron to poor scholars; the humbler the condition of his guests the more favour he shewed them, appearing more honoured by their company than by that of those who were richly attired. He delighted in exercising hospitality, and used to say that the houses of Cardinals ought to be the inns of strangers of every nation, in order that they might quickly expedite their affairs, and Rome thus shew herself indeed the mistress of the world. With a high sense of the dignity of his office he was also deeply sensible of its obligations; and though he never had as much time as he wished for study, yet he always allowed himself to be interrupted if any one had business with him. When it was suggested that other Cardinals did not receive any one till the hour of prayer, he quickly replied,

"God has not called me to this station for my own convenience, but for the service of others. I am not here for myself, but for those who have need of me; poor men's time is valuable, and they cannot afford to be kept waiting."

Though by nature prone to anger, he kept this inclination under perfect command. Occasionally virtuous indignation would betray him into a hasty reply. Once, when Paul was thinking of conferring the dignity of Cardinal on some persons not worthy of it, he spoke his opinion very freely, though with his usual modesty; the Pope, irritated at being thwarted, said, with an utter want of discrimination as to the character of the person he addressed, "We also have been a Cardinal and know how the land lies, and what innate jealousy exists in the breasts of Cardinals at the elevation of others." Contarini, feeling himself quite above such paltry motives, replied with the natural dignity of conscious rectitude, "Holy father, I beseech you, do me not so much wrong as to entertain such an opinion; you know what excellent persons I have recommended to you for this high office, and, to say the truth, for my own part I do not consider the Cardinal's hat as my highest honour." On his return home, reflecting on what he had said, he regretted having spoken so freely; it savoured, he thought, of boasting; but we cannot help admiring the independent character of the man who felt thus. He used often to say, that the rank of a prelate had more weight than glory in it; the higher the station the greater the responsibility, and on that account he made great allowance for the Popes.

His strict love of justice and regularity in paying his debts was universally admired. One day he happened to hear his steward tell the saddler to return another day to be paid; the Cardinal desired him to pay the poor man immediately, and if he had no money to take a silver plate or two from the sideboard, rather than allow the saddler to wait for his money. He was too liberally disposed to have his purse well replenished, and never had much money to spare. His secretary says his purse was always open to him, and that when he was placed at the head of the legation of Bologna he immediately fixed his emolument at thirty crowns a month, which Beccadelli himself thought too much.

His religious feelings were sincere; he sought more to edify

than to dispute. At heart a devout and pious man, the purity and uprightness of his life shewed the reality of his convictions; but they were limited and cramped by his subservience to papal authority.

At different periods of his life he occupied himself in the composition of various works. When about thirty-three years of age he wrote against his former master, Pomponazzo, of Mantua, who had published a book in which he declared that Aristotle did not believe in the immortality of the soul.¹ Contarini wrote also on metaphysics and the doctrines of Aristotle, on the Venetian Republic, and the duties of magistrates. He composed a history of the most remarkable Councils, setting forth the order in which they were convoked, and the subjects of which they treated; and he was one of that learned body who drew up a summary of the reforms necessary in the Roman Church; which, from the bigotry of some, and the indifference of others, and above all, the fear of touching the Pope's supremacy, were never put into execution. His treatise on the duties of a bishop proves how highly he ranked the office, and how seriously he regarded its spiritual obligations. With the view of being prepared for discussion at the assembling of a General Council, he collected the substance of all the arguments used in favour of the Sacraments according to the sense of the Roman Catholic Church. A careful perusal of the New Testament would have saved him this trouble, and shewn how little of the Roman ritual is of divine authority. Dupin says it is rather a popular address than a theological treatise, as controversial points are passed over. He was not altogether ignorant of Scripture; on the contrary, he wrote some comments on the Epistles of St. Paul, and was employed in the study of them, when death arrested his progress. It is impossible to say what impressions he received at the Diet of Ratisbon, where divine truth was freely handled. As the Pope's agent he was compelled to restrain all open avowal; it is the successful policy of the Roman Catholic Church to blind the understandings of the most intelligent.

When the reformed opinions became so general that even Morone, bishop of Modena, was under some suspicion, his diocese being said to be infected with heresy, Contarini, as a man

¹ See CHAP. V. Appendix A.

of moderate opinions, was invited by his friend Morone to draw up a confession of faith in such general terms that it might be generally signed.

Notwithstanding his various journies and diplomatic occupations, his systematic habit of occupying every moment of time enabled him to accomplish a great deal. He wrote some remarkable letters, which are in print, on 'Free Will,' 'Justification,' and 'Predestination'; also some Comments on the Psalms, for his sister Seraphina, a nun at Murano, and some useful instructions for his church at Cividale. Dupin¹ says that, in his controversial works, his method was, first to state the doctrine of the Church, and then prove how far it was in conformity with Scripture. In speaking of predestination he does not hesitate to say he disapproves of some of Augustine's opinions, and thinks men are condemned more for their actual transgressions and resistance of divine grace, than for original sin. He grants that God's mercy must be predestinated, as He knows all things; but highly and justly disapproved of what we call Antinomian opinions, that is, when a person says, 'If I am of the number of the elect I shall be saved, if of the number of the reprobate I shall be condemned;' and remarks that the same reasoning would apply to all future events. God foreordains and proportions the end to the means: we are to work and leave the fruit and the blessing to him, not trusting to our works, but to his mercy to render them efficacious. At the end of his Treatise he censures the assertion that the sins of the elect are agreeable to God, no such proposition being found in Scripture. Sin in any form can never be agreeable to him who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity; but it is true in another sense, that the elect are pleasing in his sight, notwithstanding their sinfulness, because he looks on him who has paid their ransom and rescued them from bondage.

We perceive that Contarini had made great advances toward Scripture doctrine; he had already, without knowing it, passed the bounds of the Roman Catholic creed, but his philosophic and scholastic education restrained him within the limits of authority. To the Church he submitted every doubt which crossed his mind. It is certain that he saw and deplored the

¹ Addressed to Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara. Roma, 1536.

² *Hist. Ecclesiastique.*

corruption of the times, and was favourable to the views of many whose heresy was not discovered till they fled for fear of persecution.¹ Whatever were his opinions as to doctrine, he had too much of the spirit of Christianity to approve of harsh measures; he knew that it is beyond the reach of human power to coerce sincere convictions, and that authority can do no more than insist on an outward conformity to religious observances. In common with many Christian and moderate men of that period, he considered persuasion and argument as the only lawful arms for the Christian combatant. But, as we shall soon have cause to deplore, these were not the sentiments of those in power. The more Gospel truth spread throughout Italy the fiercer grew their zeal, and measures of increasing rigour were adopted to put out the light of divine truth. In persecuting believers in Christ for the neglect of unprofitable ceremonies, they imitated the conduct of the Jews, who, deluded by a vain observance of the letter, altogether overlooked the spirit of the divine law.²

¹ Allusion is here particularly made to Ochino, the Capuchin monk and celebrated preacher; his interview with the dying Cardinal is recorded in the life of Ochino in a subsequent chapter.

² The greater part of the above account of Contarini is taken from an Italian life of Contarini, written by Lodovico Beccadelli, who was his secretary for many years. See *Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli*, vol. iii. Brixia, 1746. Lodovico Beccadelli, or Beccatelli, for his name is spelt both ways, was a man of talent and good literary taste. Though descended from a noble Bolognese family, his fortune was not sufficient for independence. He was successively secretary to three cardinals, Contarini, Bembo, and Pole. He survived them all, and commemorated their friendship by writing their lives. These biographies however did not see the light during the lifetime of the author. His *Life of Petrarch* was published at Padua. He possessed the originals left him by Bembo, from which *Le Cose Volgari di M. Francesco Petrarca* were published by Aldo Romano, in Vinegia, 1501. The MS. is now in the Vatican Library. At the close of his life he was made Archbishop of Ragusa. His secretary, Antonio Gigante, of Foesombrone, has written his life.—Tiraboschi, tom. vii. p. 324, and Fontanini, *Eloq. Ital.*, with notes by Zeno, vol. ii. pp. 6, 127.

CHAPTER VIII.

PALEARIO UNDER PERSECUTION FOR HERESY.

1537—1542.

CRITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES—QUARREL WITH A PREACHING FRIAR—LETTER TO THE POPE'S MAJORDOMO—ACCOUNT OF HIS ADVERSARY—THEIR RECONCILIATION—HIS MACHINATIONS—PALEARIO PROTECTED BY BICCI AND CAMPANO OF FLORENCE—REDOUBLED ZEAL OF HIS ADVERSARY—PALEARIO'S THEOLOGICAL WRITINGS—GOES TO ROME—FAUSTO BELLANTI—HIS FRIENDSHIP—FEMALE GOSSIP—GRANVELLE AND SFONDRA TO SENT BY CHARLES V. TO REORGANISE SIENA—CURIOUS ALLEGORICAL PAINTINGS IN THE TOWN-HALL—ALARMING LETTER FROM BELLANTI—CONSPIRACY AGAINST PALEARIO—HIS ANXIETY—CONFIDENCE IN CHRIST—BIGOTED MULTITUDE—KINDNESS OF MAFFEI—OVERWHELMING FEARS OF PALEARIO'S WIFE—PALEARIO COMMITS HIS CHILDREN TO BELLANTI'S CARE—SUMMONS PTERIGI GALLO TO TUSCANY—ENTERTAINS HOPE FROM SADOLETO—RETURNS SECRETLY TO COLLE—LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF SIENA—INTERVIEWS WITH HIM IN PRESENCE OF THE LEGATE—ELOQUENT ORATION BY PALEARIO IN HIS OWN DEFENCE—MALICE OF HIS ENEMIES—ACCUSSION OF HERESY—APPEAL TO CHRIST—RIDICULE OF THE MONKS—ACCOUNT OF THE TWELVE CONSPIRATORS—THEIR VIOLENCE—VISIT THE ARCHBISHOP—PALEARIO ACCUSED OF WRITING 'ON THE BENEFIT OF CHRIST'S DEATH'—APPEALS TO HIS FRIENDS, TO HIS SCHOLARS—CAUSES OF THIS PERSECUTION—HIS LEANING TOWARDS THE GERMANS—PRAISE OF OCHINO—THE BOOK 'ON THE DEATH OF CHRIST'—NATURE OF THE WORK—PROOFS THAT PALEARIO WAS THE AUTHOR—COLLATERAL EVIDENCE—OPINIONS OF LEARNED MEN NEARLY UNANIMOUS—LETTER TO SWISS AND GERMAN REFORMERS.

We are now approaching a very critical period of Paleario's history; one in which we find him struggling for life itself against the rancour of his enemies. The defence of Bellanti, and his bold exposure of the designs of wicked men, had never been entirely forgotten; but he had more recently committed a still more unpardonable crime, in accusing some monks in open court of having abused the privilege of their office. When admitted to the chamber of an aged lady, the grandmother¹

¹ The mother of Antonio Bellanti, Ugurgeria, a very superior woman, held up as an example to matrons for virtue, religion, and purity of life. She is mentioned

of the young Bellanti, they had contrived to abstract a considerable sum of money either by fraud or robbery. The bags were found empty, but they swore with the crucifix in their hand,¹ that they knew nothing of the matter; they were monks, beings of a privileged order, and there was no redress. Antonio Bellanti, whom Paleario defended, was dead; he had left his sons Fausto and Evander under the guardianship of his faithful friend and advocate, and he conceived it to be his duty both as a lawyer and a guardian to bring these monkish peculators to account. But there were other and more distant causes for the persecution raised against him. These lay chiefly in the nature of his theological studies, and that spirit of earnest, intellectual, religious inquiry which formed a distinctive feature of his character.

After the completion of his poem on the Immortality of the Soul, and during the early years of his marriage, he divided his time between the city of Colle and the retirement of his villa at Ceciniano, ardently devoting himself to philosophical researches and theological studies. When the schools broke up for the long vacation, he gladly sought the retirement of the country. He had private pupils, most probably at Colle; some authors think he taught publicly at Siena, but this appears to be an erroneous conjecture.² He also occasionally practised his profession as a lawyer; of this we find traces in the archives of Siena. It was probably during his seclusion at Ceciniano that he pursued his theological studies, and it must have been about this time that he wrote his *Trattato utilissimo del Beneficio di Gesù Christo verso i Christiani*. As it appeared anonymously the authorship was assigned to several eminent persons of the day—Cardinal Pole, Valdés, Ochino, Morone. The real author should now however no longer be considered doubtful. While engaged in these absorbing pursuits, his mind was disturbed by a disagreeable occurrence. He was unhappily drawn into a discussion with an ignorant and vainglorious monk, who went to preach at Colle. This ended in a quarrel, which

in the oration in favour of Bellanti, as being in her seventieth year when the invaders of Bellanti's house frightened her by threats into paying them a sum of money.
—Palearii Opera, Orat. pro A. Bellanti, pp. 49, 51.

¹ Palearii Opera, lib. iii. ep. 5.

² See LAZZARI, *Miscellaneousorum*, tom. ii.

exposed him to the unrestrained fury of his adversary, who denounced him as a heretic from the pulpit. The frank fearlessness of Paleario's character indisposed him to conceal his sentiments; he never shrank from declaring what he believed to be truth, and found it impossible to refrain from expressing that virtuous indignation which is kindled in every noble mind at the sight of hypocrisy and injustice.¹ Instead of preaching the words of peace and salvation according to the title of his office, he wantonly scattered the firebrands of enmity and intrigue. Such was, at that time, the power and influence of the monkish tribe, that Paleario felt himself compelled to seek for protection at Florence. He wrote also a letter² of exculpation to the Pope's maggiordomo or master of the sacred palace.³ This letter being strikingly illustrative of Paleario's history, we give nearly the whole of it. After some compliments paid to the well-known probity of Tommaso, he appeals to his friends the Cardinals Bembo, Sadoletto, Pole, Cervini, and Filonardi, as persons who had known him from youth and were well acquainted with the nature of his studies, and states that, fearing false reports may have been conveyed by his adversary, he sends a brief narrative of facts.

"A few years ago, the inhabitants of Colle having loaded me with honours, I bought the villa of Aula Cecina in the territory of Volterra, Ceciniano being within its limits. Two philosophers came to visit me; men of great learning and profoundly versed in that science of which the principal scope is the investigation of nature. I gave them a very friendly reception; after dinner the conversation turned on some points which Aristotle has treated in a most obscure manner. The next day, attracted I suppose by the

¹ The only severe expressions which dropped from the lips of our Lord were against hypocrites, pretenders to sanctity in outward demeanour; he called them "generation of vipers," possessing that snakelike love of evil which insidiously attacks its prey under the fairest and most graceful appearance.

² This letter to Tommaso was written at a later period, but, as it recounts the origin of his troubles, it comes in best here.

³ Lazzari says the Maggiordomo, or Master of the Sacred Palace, was Tommaso Manrique, and that he succeeded Daniel of Crema; but for this observation we should have been inclined to think Tommaso Badia, a Modenese and Dominican friar, was the person addressed. He filled this office under Clement VII. in 1535, and made himself remarkable by publicly condemning the *Commentary on the Epistles to the Romans*, by his townsman Sadoletto, bishop of Carpentras.—Lazzari, *Miscellaneous*, tom. ii.

similarity of our studies and the powerful ties of friendship, they returned after dinner to see me, and begged that I would explain more fully to them some points in my poem on the Immortality of the Soul.

"In complying with their request I was obliged to bring in many things relating to theology, a science in which I have always taken the greatest delight. Finding myself engaged in a discussion with men highly gifted and of great talent, one of whom lectures publicly on Dialectics, and the other devotes his time to the study of the Peripatetic philosophy, I treated with considerable care the arguments arising out of the subject.

"About this time there came to the city [Colle] to preach, a man of a bold and subtle nature. To excite expectation, he began by boasting that he was writing against Tommaso Vio of Gaeta, as he had discovered a great many errors in his books; but not finding much credence given to his assertions, he announced that he was going to publish a work against the opinions of the Germans. Attracted by these reports, and knowing that seeing a man's countenance is a great help towards forming an opinion of his character, I accosted him politely; but on interrogating him, I soon learned the depth of his Peripatetic philosophy. I found him altogether ignorant of this science, though eager for wordy disputes about new things; he knew nothing of Greek and Latin, and was but little versed in the Italian language, which is both witty and elegant. I enquired among his friends what he had written against the Germans. A facetious man then exclaimed, there was a robber in the town, that he had made a bad compilation from Eckius, Rochester, Marcello, and Lancellotto; and amongst these plagiarisms I discovered the disagreeable fact that the excellence of these books had been by his means greatly obscured and sprinkled with barbarisms; that he had written in an insufferably barren style, with an unhappy paucity of words, and contaminated by every species of contumely. I laughed at this account, and discontinued to frequent his daily discourses. It was reported to him that I made game of his writings. Do you think this fierce, ambitious, arrogant man could contain himself?

"With a changed countenance and complexion, both body and mind in the greatest agitation, he presented himself early next morning to preach. Complaining of being injured, he wept, entreated, and besought the citizens, and excited the populace against me. Taking advantage of the discussion I had had with the two natural philosophers, he taxed me with infamy, and accused me of a capital crime (heresy), formed a conspiracy with partisans of the same cast, and concocted with them a plan not only for alienating from me the citizens, but for rendering me odious to the excellent Prince¹ of the most flourishing state in Tuscany.

"Finding myself thrown into such difficulties, almost by way of diversion, and being somewhat disconcerted by the boldness of my adversary, who had already passed the bounds of moderation, and also persuaded that silence would not put an end to the injurious language he poured forth against me in public; I, in order to impress this impudent man with some

¹ Cosmo I. Duke of Tuscany.

degree of fear, wrote in two days an apology (or defence), to teach him something of himself, to inculcate on him a dread of being exposed before the learned, and to convince him that his vulgar loquacity would meet with no encouragement. If afterwards he referred the affair, as he threatened, to the head of the state, a young prince, illustrious both for his high position and for his natural talent, I gave him to understand that my alertness had provided against all danger from the falsities of which this man is made up. To this I added, that he had, according to his usual custom, insolently despised an important edict of the Council of Basle, relating to the Holy Virgin, whose name claims both reverence and piety.

"I believe it to be a fact generally acknowledged, that no two things are more closely connected than ignorance and arrogance; on this account he thinks himself at liberty to do whatever he pleases. I thought this part of my apology would not be unacceptable to the citizens, and by this means I hoped to regain those who were alienated from me through his clamour and infusion of suspicion.

"I wrote the apology, as I have said, in two days, and sent it to Piero Vettori,¹ an excellent citizen of Florence, distinguished both for his integrity, the simplicity of his manners, and for his liberal studies.

"When my adversary heard this, and had read the apology, of which I sent him a copy, contrary to all expectation his courage suddenly fell. Meanwhile some excellent persons in the city made great efforts to induce me to be reconciled to him; consequently I went to him with the utmost urbanity; he took my hand, apologised for the insults he had offered me, and threw the blame on hasty movements of anger. I accepted the excuse, and with Christian compassion laid aside all rancour, and cancelled every feeling of aversion and hatred. I threw into the fire the copies of the apology I had resolved to send to some persons, in order that no trace might remain of our enmity; one copy only I retained for myself, another I had sent to Vettori, and the third was in the hands of my adversary.

"Matters being thus arranged, he returned to his friends. I no longer feared or suspected anything, more particularly as for more than two years I had had no communication with him, and had laid aside those great theological questions and returned to the gentler muses.

"While I imagined that all was now at rest, behold I received letters from my friends, informing me that my adversary's fury was again kindling, that he was uttering menaces, circulating dishonourable reports against me, and in his sermons calling me by the vilest names, and promising to publish some letters, in company with a book of his own, which, though written in bad Latin, was full of slander against me; in short, that he meditated every kind of insult, and had also suborned persons to calumniate me at Rome and render me odious to the Dominicans; to injure me having been almost his sole occupation for two years past.

"If those excellent persons, my friends, had not seriously opposed him, I doubt not he would have succeeded, not so much to bring me into danger,

¹ See CHAP. V. pp. 179, 182.

as to acquire for himself, by his acrimonious discussions, a name for learning among the populace.

“If my studies and manner of life even from infancy are inquired into, no reason will be found for injuring me. To give you some idea of this, I send you the oration which I had begun to write, not because it contains anything worthy of praise, but to explain fully the iniquity of those men who leave me no tranquillity for those studies on which I have set my heart.

“What I request of the amiability and excellency of your character is briefly this: if an unjust report is made to you of me, I beg you not only to reprove the impudence of the calumniator, but to repress by the gravity of your character the effrontery of his followers. For example, if any one produces the apology by which this monster hopes to convict me of a capital crime, though there does not appear to me to be anything in it which can offend a good man, except perhaps too much freedom of speech, I beg you to say that this is his own fault, for having in his sermons laid aside all Christian modesty and good feeling, he impiously provoked and petulantly irritated me by using the most wicked names, and pouring forth in public most abominable and false accusations, totally unworthy of my character.

“When I hear that this man’s audacity (which is said to have reached Rome, though I do not believe it) has been checked by you, I will endeavour to write a shorter and more agreeable letter, full of respect and affection. Adieu.¹

This letter is rather long, but it is the only account we have of the beginning of Paleario’s troubles. As his letters are the chief authentic sources of information, it is most desirable to allow him to speak for himself, even at the risk of falling into a little prolixity. The following correspondence with Pietro Francesco Ricci and Francesco Campano, two learned men of influence at Florence, throws still further light on the subject of his annoyance.

AONIO PALEARIO TO FRANCESCO RICCI.

“I render you my warmest thanks for having twice, by your authority and dignity, warded off the wickedness of my bold and furious adversary; for this I shall feel the deepest gratitude to you as long as I live. If I have somewhat retarded expressing myself as I ought on this occasion, impute it to the annoyances which have stupified me. As after a storm the turbid muddy streams do not flow tranquil and clear the moment the sky clears up, so after irritation the mind retains its agitated impressions, and cannot easily lay them aside. Whatever is written in this state becomes dry and barren, for the study of letters requires tranquillity, and a certain vigour of mind. Having for the last few months been deprived of this, do not be astonished at not finding anything in my letters to give you pleasure. You will say perhaps that I take things more seriously than is needful, and that I ought

¹ Palearii Opera, lib. iii. ep. 10.

not to allow myself to be so deeply moved by this foolish and frivolous man ; more especially because you and Campano had promised that in the above cause defenders would not be wanting, who, if this madman took any further measures, would let him feel what ready patronage the cultivators of sound learning find under the excellent Prince¹ of a most flourishing state.

“ Though I feel as sure of this as if I saw it with my own eyes, still I cannot help feeling annoyed at the indignity of needing your protection against a poor miserable creature who has scarcely any knowledge of Greek or Latin letters, and is altogether ignorant of philosophy, and who owes to this very circumstance his advancement. I say this because last year, when I wrote the apology, and in it laid open to the learned the ignorance of this intriguer, the men of his order conferred high offices upon him ; I verily believe in order that he might contend with me from a greater height, and that though nothing in himself, he might derive weight from the dignity of his office. Now that I am obliged to avail myself of the influence of distinguished men to repress his rashness, he will, believe me, rise still higher. Unhappy that I am ! With what a worm have I been contending these two years past. You have by your influence distanced him for the present. I shall try in future to have no more to do with these gentry, and perhaps I shall suppress the theological commentaries in prose, and the orations and the laudatory verses which I have begun to write, until this weapon² be torn from the hands of ignorant and wicked men, who cannot bear this most holy branch of knowledge (theology) to be illustrated by the graces of oratory, and who for their own gain and advantage prefer to leave it buried in obscurity, rather than see it set forth in high places for the benefit and consolation of the souls of men.

“ If it should please God to stimulate kings and chiefs of states who sit at the helm of the Christian Commonwealth, to convoke a numerous assembly of learned men in some given place, who in defence of the truth would not shrink from censuring the bishops, no race of men would become more odious than these brawlers. They have for ages not only darkened human philosophy, but obscured also that divine science by which we live, and whence we draw that light which leads to heaven. On this account I highly respect and venerate you who have been the ready defender of my innocence.

“ I hope that my friends, excellent men and distinguished in those studies in which you have acquired so much applause, will fully appreciate your goodness and kindness on this occasion, and that they may so rejoice in it that you may understand that it has been acceptable to God and man. Adieu. From the city of Colle, 3rd August.”³

It is perhaps risking too much to put the date of the year, but in all probability this letter was written between the years 1539 and 1541.

¹ Cosmo I. Ricci and Campano probably held some office at court. Siena and Colle did not at that time belong to Florence.

² *Donec extorqueatur sica ista de manibus imperitorum hominum.* The Inquisition is here meant, which gave such power to the monks.

³ *Palearii Opera*, lib. iii. ep. 1.

In a letter to Campano, Paleario says that he was more indebted to these two friends than to his own immediate neighbours for support. His fellow-citizens had indeed promised great things, but failed him in the hour of need; and "even his connections, influenced by his being almost a stranger, had abandoned his cause." This must allude to his wife's relations at Colle, as he had none of his own in that part of the country. He here makes a very natural reflection, "that good men ought to be more influenced by similarity of tastes and occupations in forming friendships than by ties of blood, for we often love and sympathise with those we have never seen." He expresses his delight at having "added to the circle of his friends two such men as Ricci and Campano; the one eminent in philosophy, the other distinguished for eloquence;" and says, that if he could but get rid of his anxiety about his debts, he would like nothing better than to spend the rest of his life in that flourishing city where Verino, Vettori, Ricci, and Campano rival each other in proofs of their regard.

Paleario's adversary however was only cowed, not reconciled; he either acted a part to gain time, or on returning to his convent, finding himself supported by numbers, his courage revived to concert new plans of vengeance. Paleario received letters from friends informing him of the new machinations of his enemy; they reported his furious language, portentous threats, and calumnious accusations; said that even in the pulpit he spoke of him in the most injurious terms, and that he was preparing to publish some letters written in bad Latin, and also a book full of accusations against him; that he had bribed persons to give evidence against him at Rome, and had brought him under the suspicions of the Dominicans.

A conspiracy was soon after organized by the monks, who longed to pour on his devoted head the vial of their wrath. The two years of calm had been occupied in collecting proofs of his heresy; his theological studies were in themselves condemnatory. He was intruding into the province of the priesthood, by presuming to examine the doctrines of Scripture. In the Roman Catholic Church man's responsibility before God for his religious belief is entirely ignored; it provides a creed and a ritual, which, whether consonant or not with divine revelation, each member of the Church is bound to adopt. Under this

boasted system of unity and irresponsible power, Christ, the real Founder of the Christian religion, is altogether lost sight of. The purity and simplicity of his doctrine lies buried under a tinsel heap of human traditions and inventions, and thus the distinctive characteristics of the Christian dispensation are entirely overlooked.

Such was the state of Christian theology at this time, that to enter into an examination of its precepts, or to confront them with Holy Writ, was deemed an encroachment on priestly prerogative. What then must have been the indignation of the cowed fraternity (*cucullati*), when a layman dared to give his opinion on religion, to quote the Fathers and the Scriptures, and even ventured to write a book on the way of acceptance with God, free from the glosses of the schools? If there had before been any doubt of his heresy, now the case was clear. The book could be produced in evidence, and would convict the author.

In the letter to Ricci there is an allusion to some "theological commentaries" which Paleario had written, and which he said he might perhaps lay aside. A link is wanting in the chain of dates between these theological works and the book which he was accused of writing; but historical documents prove that Sfondrato and Crasso were sent to Siena in 1542, and Paleario says that in that same year he had written a book on the benefits which mankind derived from the death of Christ.

It appears that the continued machinations of his adversary so disturbed his existence that he had been obliged to suspend his private lessons. In the interval he went on a visit to Rome, probably to interest his friends in his behalf; during his absence he kept up a correspondence with his young friend Fausto Bellanti. These letters trace the rise of the conspiracy against him, shew the high esteem entertained for him by the Bellanti family, and their anxiety for his safety and welfare. We have here a succinct account of the great peril in which Paleario was placed on account of his religious opinions.

The first in the series is written by Fausto Bellanti to Paleario, from his castle of Areola. He tells him he has not been able to study since he left Tuscany, because he has felt the want of his society to spur him on; alludes to his father's great esteem for him, and Paleario's affection in return, and says he is

much annoyed at having incurred his displeasure on account of some idle gossip which had been reported. He implores him, by the remembrance of his father's friendship, not to allow himself to be influenced by the conversation of idlers; reminds him of his promise to return in fifteen or twenty days, and entreats him not to disappoint their expectations.¹

Paleario in his reply regrets that these reports had reached him, but does not know by what channel; thinks that Cecilia was the chatterer who had caused all this disturbance, and tells him that he feels hurt that he should remind him of his father's and brother's friendship, as if it were not sufficient to name his own; begs him to act more as a brother, with less modesty, and to look upon him as a second self.

"Because I am offended by others, is that any reason for my being alienated from you? I know that your excellent mother and your most courteous brother are exceedingly sorry for the impertinence of that foolish woman. We must excuse her; she is of a very frivolous character, and of low illegitimate birth. If her husband had broken her jaw when, according to custom, she was so loud and noisy both in words and gesture, he would have rendered a service to humanity.² If she continues to be troublesome, I beg of you not to prevent the publication of the fables in Italian. I have long desired not so much to revenge myself on certain persons as to cure them.

"With regard to your studies I congratulate you on what you have done. You have made as much progress alone, as others do who are assisted by many learned men. I see that you are proceeding well, if you persevere in this course, in which, considering your age, you greatly distinguish yourself. Oh happy mother who bore you to the state in these calamitous times! As your father and grandfather died for their country, and your great-grandfather also was willing to die, there is no reason why you should not devote yourself to the studies which the love of your country points out, with the hope of rendering aid to the unhappy state which seeks help from you and your coevals: for now that it is deserted by the factious old men it finds no place of repose. If Cæsar had not come to our help at the moment we were perishing, you would have no employment in favour of the state. He has by God's help restored the form of government, but the old blood-suckers have exhausted it both of blood and substance, the treasury is empty, the taxes greatly diminished, and the *λύκαινα* bare. But you will know this from the reports of your friends, and still more from your own observations. Under these circumstances it should be matter of consolation to you that you have companions of your own age, young men of great talent and high courage,

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. iii. ep. 3.

² This passage can only be understood by those who have visited Italy, and heard the loud tones of women in general, but especially of the lower classes.

zealous for the good of the state, and so like yourself that they do not seem to have arrived by chance, but come on purpose.

"I have not yet fixed the time of my return; but I will do what you desire me when I am ready, no number of horses will be too many for me. Adieu. 13th February. Rome."¹

This letter must have been written at the close of the year 1541 or in 1542. Granvelle arrived at Siena on the 28th of November 1541, and Paleario alludes to Cæsar, the Emperor, having come to their help at the moment they were perishing. The book of fables in Italian is one of the works of Paleario which seems utterly lost. From the tone of threat with which he speaks of publishing them, they were probably satires or pasquinades on individuals under feigned names; dangerous weapons with which learned men fought their enemies, the effects of which were dreaded by the most powerful.²

When Charles visited Siena in 1536, he left Piccolomini, the Duke of Amalfi, governor of the city. Though under the protection of the Emperor, it was in the enjoyment of its own municipal laws. But the turbulent inhabitants were continually raising tumults and forming factions. Whenever the popular party could get the upper hand they condemned their opposers to exile. Thus whatever might be the merit or the virtue of a citizen, he was exposed to the risk of banishment at the caprice of the populace.

Paleario wrote after one of these uprisings which had been incited by Lodovico dell' Armi and Giulio Salvi, who, with the sanction of the Pope, were trying to turn the allegiance of Siena to France. The secret of these intrigues being conveyed to the Emperor, he sent his confidential councillor Granvelle³ with full powers to reorganise the government of Siena and to make what changes he thought advisable.³ He was soon joined by Francesco Sfondrato, who was appointed governor of the city, and Amalfi was honourably dismissed. They reduced the Balla and the choice of the magistrates to forty persons, chosen from the most noble, virtuous, and most pacific citizens. These were selected from the four *Monti*, or orders

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. iii. ep. 4.

² The witty and licentious Pietro Aretino had the effrontery to style himself *Flagello de' Principi*.

³ Granvelle's family name was Nicholas Pernet; he was dean of Granvelle, and hence called de Granvelle. See Appendix A.

including the *Novè*, the one most detested by the people. The magistrates were to be chosen annually, and not to be reelected. The city was to name thirty-two and Granvelle eight. A consul and captain of justice, who was to be a stranger and a subject of the Emperor, was appointed instead of the *Otto* of the guard. He was to continue in office for three years, and to be taken from the Council of Milan or Naples; and matters were so arranged that the management of affairs was taken out of the hands of private persons.¹

Fausto Bellanti's next letter, instead of pressing Paleario's return as before, advised him to remain where he was, as a circumstance had occurred which might risk his safety.

"On the 16th of February before daybreak the servants of Placido brought me a letter, by which I learned that a great movement and a most inconceivable conspiracy was forming against you by some wicked men. Both my mother and that excellent woman your wife wished me to write and tell you not to stir, but to stay where you are, till this mystery is solved. We do not know the ground of the accusation, nor the names of the accusers, because Placido's letter said nothing on this point.

"It is rumoured that on account of calumnious reports about your religion, persons of importance have been excited against you. My mother thinks that the monks have conspired against you on account of your hatred of the superstition by means of which they have exhausted the funds of

¹ It was the custom for the Chamberlain at the expiration of the year to have a picture painted in commemoration of his office. Girolamo Tommasi, *Camarlengo di Biccherna*, left an allegorical painting which still hangs in the old Town-hall of Siena. A ship in full sail is seen struggling with the waves, at the prow a figure of Justice holds the scales in one hand and a naked sword in the other; at the poop is to be seen the figure of a man, intended for Granvelle, pointing to the port where stands the city of Siena. Underneath is the following inscription in letters of gold, TEMPORE DISTECTAM QUO IAM GRANDVELA PER UNDAE, CAESARIS ASTREAM REDDIDIT AUSPICIS, 1541. "Under the auspices of Cæsar Granvelle brought Justice securely into port when almost overwhelmed by the waves." The following year the new Chamberlain, Conte del Rondina, improving on the idea of his predecessor, ordered a picture to be painted representing a ship at sea which had struck on a rock, broken its masts, rudder, helm, and oars. Near it another ship is seen with a lofty mast and large spreading sail. It also has its inscription: QUASSATAM HANC SUPERBORUM CAESAREORUM AUXILIO NAUTEM EX NAUFRAGIO AD MAXIMAM SECURITATEM NAUTAE CUM DENUDATA IAM ARBOR TUTIORI VELA INSTAURAVERIT LETANTER, 1542. The point of these allegorical paintings lies in the play on the words. They were intended to signify that Charles V., through his ministers Granvelle and Sfondrato, had quieted the discord of the city; this was figured by *l'albero con i rami sfrondati e di una gran vela coperto*; the *rami sfrondati*, branches without leaves, Sfondrato, and *gran vela*, 'large sail, Granvelle.—Sozzini, *Archivio Storico Italiano, Rivoluzioni di Siena*, vol. ii. p. 23. Botta, *Storia d'Italia*, vol. i. p. 199.

our family. I do not (*ὑπερβολικῶς*) exaggerate, for our grandmother, to whom our grandfather and father had committed our money to take care of it till we came of age, did not leave us a single farthing. We found large bags torn open, in which there had evidently been money concealed.

"We cited the monks (*Lignipodas*),¹ who were every day in our grandmother's room, to justice, and you assisted us in pleading our cause; but we gained nothing, for they swore a wicked oath with their hands on the crucifix, as if their fingers had been made of wood. They know that in doing this we have been guided by your advice, and no wonder they are enraged against you. This is my mother's opinion, and I do not deny that these rogues may have some share in the disturbance, though, on the other hand, I cannot think that these paltry fellows have originated a matter of so much importance. This conspiracy takes its rise in higher quarters.

"There is a set of plague-spotted characters, who grieve over the well-doing of others, esteeming their prosperity as misfortune. They speak in flattering tones with a bright smiling face, salute you courteously, and joke most pleasantly, while at the same time they are trying to injure you. Be much on your guard against these men. Placido suspects that they are the originators of this accusation; I lean to his opinion; his penetration sees very far. I have also a presentiment that those senators whom you displeased in the affair of the salt have not yet forgotten it.

"Egidio, who interests himself greatly in all that concerns your honour and dignity, has found out as far as he can that your cause will come on very soon. If this be the case you have everything to hope, for Sfondrato and F. Crasso will bear witness to your integrity, devotion, and piety; two men of such superior character and weight are worth a hundred thousand others. They are so highly approved by the Senate and by the people of Siena, that their authority and influence can do more than anyone else. Tomorrow, or at latest the day after, I shall go to Siena to consult with my friends and relations. If necessary I will employ an advocate; I will find the money, and be ever ready to defend you even at the risk of my life. Before I return to the castle I will write to you in detail. Meanwhile be as calm as you can, bear with patience this misfortune, and neither grieve too much nor be too greatly annoyed. Adieu."²

To this letter Paleario immediately returned the following answer:

AONIO PALEARIO TO FAUSTO BELLANTI.

"After dinner, while we were sitting by the fire, your packet of letters was put into my hand. After having read them I became somewhat more tranquil, but I do not feel quite reassured; not that I think those excellent men Sfondrato and Crasso will fail me, but with all their good will they cannot promise more than that which you know. I wish you to be fully

¹ So called because they wear sabots or wooden shoes.

² Palearii *Opera*, lib. iii. cp. 5.

acquainted with the ignorance of these men with whom I have to do. While the letter of L. Aulæte about the *Ilicinenses* was being read in the Senate, Cotta and Belida were trying to divert the attention of the Senators; consequently a very severe sentence was passed on these citizens, great efforts having been made for that purpose. Belida added many things against me. You ask what they were? Monstrous things! Cotta asserted that, if I continued to live, there would not remain a vestige of religion in the state, because, when one day I was asked what was the chief thing given by God to mankind in which they could place their salvation, I replied, Christ. What the second? Christ. And the third? Christ. See then on what times we are fallen. No one was found even in so good a cause to rise on my behalf. Francesconio was present, but he would not incur their bitter hatred.

"Your uncle was absent, but had he been there I should not have hoped much from him. I cannot tell you how completely I have been deserted by him in my distress; by a serious remonstrance he might have either retarded or repressed the violence of my adversaries. He could have appealed to, and entreated the archbishop his near neighbour, with whom he was very intimate. But he did nothing of the kind, nor even proffered me his assistance, which a friend even if displeased might have offered. While your father lived I could count on him, now he avoids my society; he is either spoiled by the increase of his patrimony, for we are all more humane in poverty, or perhaps he is alienated by Cecilia, whose words are for him the dictates of an oracle (*λόγιον πυθόχρηστον*).

"The conspirators flock in crowds, and the more bitterly a person speaks of me, the more religion he is thought to have. If what Placido says in his letter is true, the whole matter is referred to Arcesilao. What good do you think can arise from him, who has never been my friend, though I do not know for what reason? It is a pity the affair was referred to the Senate, if it be not a worse thing that they can act without law, justice, or right.

"But however miserable my condition may be, Christ will ever be to me the only object of holy hope and veneration. If we can succeed in being allowed to confront the witnesses, we shall gain the victory. These men, made up of falsehood, will never stand the fire of my countenance. You will perhaps think I speak with too much confidence. If they appear, I will make them repeat their testimony without giving them time for preparation. It is wonderful how easily liars forget; but be assured they will never come forward, but act throughout with deep cunning, and so produce hatred and the circulation of false reports; in order that the women, the boys, and the servants, if opportunity offers, may throw themselves upon me, and tear out my eyes with their nails.

"I wish you were at Siena; if it so happens that you are still not there, the messengers might be ready, and you would go and see Placido. But wherever you are, write me a full account of all that is or has been doing, and what you think will be done. If meanwhile I should come to any decision, I will let you know. Farewell."¹

¹ *Palearii Opera*, lib. iii. ep. 6.

The above letter shews the alarming nature of the dangers to which Paleario was exposed. The cry of heresy was something like sounding the alarm of a mad dog being abroad; the whole population were ready to take part in his destruction; and yet he had only exalted Christ the author and finisher of our salvation, and held him up as worthy of the most profound confidence and most devoted attachment of sinners. He had written a book shewing forth the great benefits which Christ had procured for mankind by his death; and in his conversations with his friends he continually dwelt on the benignity of the Saviour's mission and character, his readiness to receive and to save those who come unto him by faith, and trust to his expiation as the great means of acceptance with God.

The Roman Catholic Church, while professing itself to be Christian and calling itself Catholic, did not blush to stand forth as the great enemy of Christian doctrine. When Christ was exalted, the Church, which assumed to rule with paramount authority, felt its rights invaded, and was ready to condemn to death as a noxious weed any living member of his spiritual body.

Separated from his family and friends, Paleario was exposed to the most agonizing anxiety, yet his confidence in Christ was firm and unwavering. He felt that it was impossible to say what would be the result of this powerful conspiracy against him. Paul III., incited by Cardinal Carafa, had recently given the Inquisition new powers to put all heretics to death. Under these circumstances Paleario expresses his feelings in the most sensitive manner, in a letter to his friend.

ACIONIO PALEARIO TO FAUSTO BELLANTI.

"I cannot express to you how deeply I feel the separation from all that is dear to me, or how unwillingly I remain at a distance from you, who, by sharing my distress, would administer consolation and advise me what line of conduct it would be best to follow, especially on account of the number of the conspirators, which makes me feel I am no longer safe in Tuscany. Our friend Maffei does all he can to divert my mind from these anxieties, and to help me to bear the painful impressions which such unworthy proceedings have produced. In this city nothing gives me pleasure except his society and that of Cincio, though I am as comfortable here as at Ceciniano or Areola. This excellent man leaves nothing undone which can contribute to my consolation or assistance. Knowing that from my earliest youth I have

devoted myself to those studies which have brought him no small glory, he reads to me an historical account, illustrated with notes, of his collection of ancient coins. It is composed in a style so pure and classic, and is so full of harmonious periods, that it delights me much, and we frequently prolong our reading till the night is far advanced. I also profit greatly by his generosity, for he wishes me to consider all that he has as mine. He gives me coins, offers money, books, and everything with the greatest generosity. I tell you this, because in the letter brought by Pasalio you say, 'If you tire of your Roman friends, come, I entreat you, to us.' Be assured that this excellent man Maffei, in the increase of his prosperity, has not forgotten his early friendships. That saying of Lampridio has been fully verified to me: True nobility of mind has that in common with the divine nature, that it neither grows proud nor is blinded by prosperity. He retains me here by his constant attentions, and tells me how grieved he should be if I left him.

"The Hernici also expect me, but the distance is great and the road not very secure, for the forest of Algidio is infested with banditti, and Valmontone is said to be quite beset by them. The Colonna¹ have taken arms: I will do nothing rash, not so much on my own account as because you have laid your commands on me.

"Take care not to mention any of these things to my wife, lest her fears should be increased. She is already sufficiently anxious about me, for I hear that she is the most miserable of women. I must tell you that, to my great grief, she cannot bear our unhappy lot with any strength of mind, and passes whole days in tears, absorbed in sorrow. She is continually thinking of what may happen, as is natural to a faithful wife and prudent woman. God has hitherto protected me from evil. Console her in my name: if she is gone to Colle and you go to the castle of Maetiano, entreat your mother to go to her; if there is no brighter hope, let her invent something to distract the poor thing from her misery.

"I do not exactly understand what you write about Arcesilao. I send

¹ In 1541 Ascanio Colonna, having refused to make use of salt from Rome in his dominions, was exposed to such violent aggressive attacks from the Pope's agents that he openly rebelled, armed and provisioned his castles, and from thence made continual sallies and predatory incursions, even as far as the walls of Rome. Paul III. collected a large body of troops commanded by Pier Luigi Farnese, Duke of Castro, and sent them to attack the Colonna fortresses, especially Palliano. Monsignor Giovanni Giudiccioni, bishop of Fossombruno, was appointed commissary-general in this domestic war. He dates his first letter 23rd of March, 1541, from the camp at Mola di Valmontone. In vain the Emperor, at that time at Ratisbon, tried to prevent the Pope attacking Ascanio, by proposing that Colonna should pay the duty on salt, and send his eldest son to Rome as an hostage. The Pope would be content with nothing less than Ascanio's personal appearance, and the deliverance of two of his estates into the Pope's hands. Rather than comply with these hard conditions Ascanio resolved to fight it out, but by the end of May every castle had been taken, and he himself a fugitive.—See *Lettere Inedite*, di Giovanni Giudiccioni, pp. 174—257.

you a copy of the letter by which the inhabitants of Volterra have been annoyed. Will he desist from his purpose? I do not think so. If he is a friend, why then are his servants sent to Florence? Why revive past enmities? This man is quite resolved to ruin me in every possible way. But I now despise human machinations, and am strong in spirit. If any misfortune befall me, I recommend my children to your care; receive and protect them as if they were your own. If my life were to be prolonged, dear Fausto, you would have had to render me many services; render them instead to the children of him who, in defending your substance, and the reputation and life of your father, did not shrink from drawing on himself the enmity of powerful men, and who, to serve you when infants, abandoned both country and friends, and changed his abode. I commend to you my children, O Fausto! and remember what I say, you are not only to imitate, but to surpass me. When a few days before his death your father left Padua, he commended you and your brothers to my care. His words are so deeply fixed on my memory, that they have never been effaced. Such an impression did they make on me, that death itself would not, I believe, extinguish the remembrance of that most dear friend's recommendation. 7th March. Rome. Farewell."¹

We have here unveiled before us the exquisite tenderness of Paleario's character, and we see how his heart was wrung by the sufferings of his wife and his anxiety about his children. When he tells his young friend Fausto Bellanti, not only to imitate but to surpass him, he means that his father Antonio Bellanti had commended him and his brothers when children to his care, and he had accepted the office and fulfilled the obligation. Now Fausto was to surpass him, if opportunity offered, in these acts of friendship, and be a father to his children.

The following letter to his countryman and dependant affords a glimmering of hope, occasioned by the prospect of having a powerful and sincere friend in Cardinal Sadoletto. The cardinal's passage through Siena in 1542 to France, on a conciliatory mission from Paul III. between Francis I. and Charles V., afforded him an opportunity of speaking with Bandini, the archbishop of Siena. Paleario in consequence resolved to go immediately to Siena, as if he came from Colle, and thus conceal his absence. We have no account who Pterigi Gallo was, but he devoted himself heart and soul to the interests of his master. He transacted his business, assisted him in difficulty, and was admitted to the familiarity and intimacy of a friend, while he performed the office of a dependant; he reappears on several occasions throughout the life of Paleario, who always writes to

¹ Palearii Opera, lib. iii. ep. 7.

him in the tone of confidence and command. Here we find him summoned to assist Paleario on this momentous occasion, both with his services and advice.

AONIO PALEARIO TO PTERIGI GALLO.

"How much I wish, in my present alarming and harassing circumstances, you were in Tuscany.

"Certain *Joannelli*, the dregs of the populace in Siena, have brought an accusation against me. May God help me, for they are greater enemies of Christ than the Parthians. I might avoid the danger, but do not choose to do so, that I may not appear to be in the wrong. Innocent as I am, I do not fear the result, nor am I so fond of life as to seek to preserve it contaminated by a note of infamy. I am in great hopes of putting an end to their envious dealings, if I can but be allowed to speak in reply to those evil-intentioned witnesses. The archbishop, Francesco Bandini, will be my judge; he is the brother of my friend Mario, and though once very friendly towards me on account of our studies, is now, through these furious men, greatly alienated. They, as I learn from a letter I received to-day from Tuscany, are not aware that I am in Rome; this is fortunate.

"Sadoleto, a man as learned as he is holy, not only well acquainted with the object and scope of my studies but also with my opinions, is setting out on a mission as legate to France. It is of the greatest importance to me that I should go to meet him at Siena, as if I came from Colle. This same letter tells me that my old enemies are working at Florence, so that I am obliged to run many risks at once, and fear lest I should not be able to overcome them all. It is just at this moment that I need your activity and fidelity. As soon as you have read this, make haste, get ready, mount on horseback, fly. Let your affection for me spur you on to hurry so that you may be with me even before it seems possible."¹

This first letter to Pterigi was followed by another, which Paleario appears to have written from Viterbo on his way to Siena. He had been obliged to leave Rome before the arrival of Pterigi, as he tells him he (Pterigi) would enter the Celimontana² gate, as Fabio the courier entered by the Flaminian gate.³ This Fabio, whose loud snoring prevented Paleario from sleeping, must have been a very indefatigable man; we find him in 1530 carrying letters to Perugia, and taking Paleario for his travelling companion; now again in 1542 he is sent with letters to France. This letter gives a curiously graphic account of the manners of those days, and the humble way in which

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. iii. ep. 8.

² Near Monte Celio in the old maps of Rome, probably the same now called the Porta S. Giovanni.

³ Close to the modern Porta del Popolo.

learned men travelled. Here we have a landed proprietor, who is a learned man and a poet, intimate with two or three Cardinals, resting in so humble an inn, that he is obliged to share the bedroom of the courier or letter-carrier. His unexpected arrival on his way to Rome afforded Paleario the opportunity of sending the following letter:

AONIO PALEARIO TO PTERIGI GALLO.

"I was sitting comfortably towards evening in an inn at Viterbo when the courier Fabio arrived from France; he is to set out tomorrow for Rome, so I thought it advisable to send you a letter by him. After supper we retired to rest in the same room, but he snored so loudly that I could not sleep. I therefore occupied myself in reading with the closest attention the letters I had received the day before from Tuscany; by which I perceived that my enemies are trying to implicate me in a new trial while I am busy with the first so that I may never get free. After much reflection, I deemed it more prudent to warn the enemy, before they move, that we are aware of their tactics.

"I have written a very long letter to Tommaso, master of the Sacred Palace, I send it to you in this packet.

"When you enter Rome by the Celimontana gate, Fabio will enter it at the Flaminian gate. I entreat you not to delay carrying the packet to Bembo; you have often spoken to him at Padua—what is it you fear? Bembo has had an increase of fortune, but his amiability is not diminished. All will be well if your courage, fidelity, and solicitude does not fail you. Remember how often in my presence you have begged God that some opportunity might offer for you to prove to me your fidelity and diligence. I was never at any time in such need of your exertions as now. The Filonardi are at Rome; their zeal in defending both my honour and safety is both exemplary and remarkable. Go every day to see them. Go also to Cincio, who is most sincerely attached to me. As to the others with whom you are not acquainted, it is rather difficult for you to go to them, chiefly on account of your maidenly bashfulness, against which I should have a good deal to say if my light were not going out."¹

There is yet another letter to Pterigi, by which it appears that Paleario, afraid to shew himself publicly in Siena, had gone privately before dawn across the country to see his family.

AONIO PALEARIO TO PTERIGI GALLO.

"I arrived on the evening of the 13th instant at Bellanti's suburban villa. I did not go into Siena because I thought it not safe to encounter the snares of which it is full. This morning before dawn, in order not to be seen, I took the road through the valley of Marciana, and hoped to arrive at Colle the same day. At Clivo I met the muleteers of your friend Furio, to whom

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. iii. ep. 9.

I give this letter. Tell our friend that I was unwilling to mention my adversary by name, because I was not sure whether all that had been told me was true. If he in consequence of our reconciliation does not mean to injure me, I should esteem it my duty not only to abstain from injuring, but not even to offend him. In fact, injuring and offending are much the same thing. Whoever molests us is our adversary. Go every day to see Bembo. That prudent and penetrating man will understand that you are at Rome on my account; there will be nothing to prevent your returning soon to us. The Filonardi are sufficiently awake of themselves; they will not give you much trouble. Rather try to find out the day on which Sadoleto leaves Rome. In his presence I shall feel a wonderful readiness to fight with the accusers and the lying witnesses; we shall get on. But perhaps he is already set out; for I hear that preparations have been made for him at Siena. I am anxiously looking for his arrival."¹

We must now imagine that Sadoleto has passed through Siena, that Paleario visited him, and has received that protection and encouragement from the Cardinal, which his mild character and high literary reputation enabled him to bestow. We can but conjecture how far he used his influence with the archbishop in favour of the accused. The following letter, written to Bandini after Sadoleto's departure, is the only light we have on the subject. It is an eloquent appeal to his justice. The cause, it seems, was still pending, and though Paleario regrets that it had been called before the Senate, yet in an accusation of heresy much depended on the archbishop.

ANTONIO PALEARIO TO FRANCESCO BANDINI, ARCHBISHOP OF SIENA.

"Though I had determined within myself not to write to a man of your prudence, gravity of character, and exalted position till the close of the suit got up against me, lest my first letter to you should contain anything annoying or unpleasant,—for sometimes when a first painful impression is made it is never afterwards effaced; on this account I purposely delayed writing till I should have to render thanks to you as the upright vindicator of truth and the kind patron of my innocence.

"The wickedness however of my adversaries, who have made use of a shadow of piety without having the substance, has altered my resolution. I do not think they have learned from Christ to hold me up to the obloquy of the public, to be led by their own envy and hatred, and by their intrigues and calumnies to excite the multitude against me. For six whole months they have been employed solely in gathering materials for the iniquitous accusation, seeking the testimony of persons of importance, and collecting as many witnesses as possible, partly from the people, who were so ignorant of the matter about which they were to bear witness, that if any one else

¹ Palearii Opera, lib. iii. ep. 11.

were to interrogate them they would answer in the most contradictory manner. Part of the witnesses were taken from the nobility, moved by anger, inflamed by party-spirit, and not suitable as witnesses, because they never had either acquaintance or conversation with me, nor had they ever read any of my writings. Though in these writings there is nothing to offend any pious man, nevertheless the adversaries have moved heaven and earth to find in them subjects of suspicion. Who does not understand that all this is done to brand me with a mark of infamy? No one was ever so holy as to be secure against the suborners of false witnesses and the malicious diligence of accusers. I say nothing of Socrates, Scipio, Rutilius, Metellus, for in them there might be something to blame. Was not Christ himself, the holiest, best, and most innocent of beings, treated in like manner? Nothing is more easy than to draw from ignorant and envious persons expressions upon different subjects which sophists might condemn. Words are often reported different from the way in which they were spoken, and are understood in quite another sense from that intended by the speaker. Which way is a good man to turn? To whom can he appeal or apply, if not only his words, but even his secret opinions are interpreted by emissaries and objectors? Reports circulate, and each adds his own version; many are excited by what they hear, and fancy they are testifying to truth and religion. If the accused has any support, they contrive to overthrow this also. Oh heavens! has anything been left untried to alienate from me Francesco Sfondrato, that distinguished and illustrious man, the father of your country; and Francesco Crasso, Prætor, the powerful head of justice and the upholder of equity. What more? Have they not almost deprived me of your favour? you, a man of so much gravity and constancy, and my great friend, whose image is ever present to me when I think of fidelity and attachment to friends. If you deprive a man of the esteem due to probity which so admirably joins mind to mind, the ties of friendship are broken. For this reason, to deprive me of the support of my friends, they have in a thousand ways undermined the esteem I enjoy, small though it be. Not to speak of old injuries, what shall I say of the more recent, or of the reports which are spread throughout the city?

“A few days ago, that most holy man Sadoletto, passing through Tuscany as legate, paid you a visit. I came to salute him. He warmly recommended me to you, and bore witness to the nature of my studies and to his regard for me. You appeared to be prejudiced against me, his recommendation was coldly received, and those things which my miserable and malevolent adversaries had accused me of months ago were greatly exaggerated. Though somewhat agitated by this, I answered with modesty and politeness, and threw the blame on those who had reported the matter to you in an unfair light.

“I had hardly reached the church of the Virgin, when I was told that my adversaries were busily discoursing about me in the public square, some saying that I had been silent from shame, that when accused I could not utter a word; others that I had been severely reprovèd by Sadoletto for my answers. Both these assertions were utterly false. I answered what I thought suitable at the moment. Was it not my duty to respect your dignity and high rank?

Could I presume in the presence of the legate to remonstrate with a holy and dignified archbishop, whom I have always venerated and respected? This be far from me. I do not repent of this moderation, nor shall I ever regret it. The accusers were not present, the witnesses were concealed: if they had shewn themselves they might perhaps have heard more than would have pleased them.

"To this I may add that the very day I arrived at Siena, Ambrogio Spannochi came immediately to me; he took me by the hand, and before accosting me as usual, said, 'Oh my dear Aonio, I heartily congratulate you. Envy will not now gain the day. You have a most excellent person as your defender.' After being seated, he related to me that four of the noblest of the senators had been sent to you, as if by the senate, to enquire about my studies and manner of life and that in this conjuncture your answer was so liberal and friendly, that he was certain nothing would be wanting on your part that I might come out of the trial in triumph. On this account, when I went at six o'clock to salute Sadoletto, I went also to make a visit to you, being ever grateful and mindful of benefits received. I do not desire to return evil for good, but good for evil, and think it a christian duty to lay aside all rancour and ill will, on the slightest sign of kindness either of word or look.

"My adversaries have not learned to do this, but add injury to injury, and hate to hate. Hence, because I was called the friend of Sadoletto, their false comments on the remonstrance received. Is it not an honourable thing for him to testify in my behalf, that at Rome I had spoken to him about those which are now called in question, and said that my opinions did not differ from those which had always been considered the soundest? Even supposing there had been some reproof on his part, could anything be more gentle or courteous than his admonition? He who from his dignity and authority could command, only entreated me not to be studious of new things. I answered that I was by no means desirous of novelty, for I thought there was nothing in the world more ancient than truth.

"When he was about to leave, he addressed me in your presence and repeated the same thing. I promised that my principles should always be such as a good man could approve. Was this a thundering remonstrance to put me to shame? I confess that the address of Sadoletto made such an impression on me that I shall try as much as possible not only to avoid any violation of duty with regard to things injurious to piety, but also to escape all suspicion. As to my adversaries saying that he whom I esteem more highly than any man, was angry, sharp, and contumelious with me, they follow their usual custom of telling lies.

"I have dwelt on this matter more perhaps than is suitable, for I have long desired that the frivolity, impudence, and arrogance of those engaged in this affair might be fully known, and also how, notwithstanding your high dignity, they speak of you. There exist letters of theirs which say that they were urged on to accuse me by your earnest entreaties; that it was by your advice that the conspiracy was formed, and that my enemies were roused by the letters you wrote to Florence and Volterra. I do not mention this because I doubt your sincerity or the integrity and uprightness of the

Bandini family, but that you may know that these false and unprincipled men, to relieve themselves from the odious name of accusers, considered ungenerous and base by all nations of the earth, throw the blame on an archbishop of high rank and distinction. I verily believe these wretches are now sorry and ashamed of having raised such a storm against me who do not acknowledge anything to be holy or right either in my words or writings, except it be approved by the *ἐκκλησία καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολική*, *catholic and apostolic Church*. This sentence, full of heart, energy, and piety, I depose as a sure testimony before you as a most holy man, and as the most religious and best sanctuary I know of; from whence, if occasion require, I can recover it at pleasure to overcome the wickedness and humble the audacity of my enemies. Farewell. From the city of Colle."¹

We may form some idea of the republican licence at Siena, by the account given in the oration for Bellanti. Paleario was obnoxious to many from the simple fact of his not being a native. He was also a subject of jealousy on account of his learning and superior attainments; when to this was added the charge of heresy, the cry of that savage yell which unchained the blood-hounds from their leash, and let loose on their victim all the lowest and bitterest passions of humanity, what had he not to fear? His life was in their opinion already forfeited. The law condemned all heretics to the flames; "Away with him!" shouted the multitude. In the same spirit another crowd once cried "Crucify him." They rushed to the High Priest, but the archbishop was not a Pontius Pilate; he did not condemn the innocent blood. Paleario had powerful friends; the cause was referred to the Senate, a change took place in the government, and he was absolved. We have no details of the facts, except what are contained in his own letters and oration. Notwithstanding the most diligent search in the archives of Siena, no trace of the trial has been found. His oration in defence of himself is printed among his works, but it is doubtful whether it was actually recited. It is more probable that, either through the favour of the archbishop or the government, the accusation was quashed. The date of the oration is clear. It was written immediately after Ochino's flight, which took place in August 1542. Nearly thirty years after, this very speech was brought forward against him as a proof of his heretical opinions.

Let us now hear him speak for himself, with all the pathos and earnestness of a man fighting for his life.

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. iii. ep. 12.

ORATION OF PALEARIO IN HIS OWN DEFENCE
TO THE CONSCRIPT FATHERS OF THE REPUBLIC OF SIENA.

“When in years past, Conscript Fathers, my enemies (notwithstanding my innocent and blameless life even from infancy) circulated reports against me, I did not suffer myself to be greatly moved by them; because in those miserable and wretched times, when human and divine rights were utterly confounded, and good men were left in obscurity and neglect, I deemed myself happy to be despised by those in whose approbation I could take no pleasure without ignominy. Under these circumstances I consoled myself in my unhappiness with the thought that I only shared the common lot, and that perhaps the fact of my suffering from the same evils which so unworthily oppressed them, might in some sort comfort my friends. Now however that by the blessing of God and the compassion of the Emperor Charles V.¹ the Republic has not only recovered its former order and government, but through the excellent C. Francesco Sfondrato its very life and substance; now that the courageous Francesco Crasso, governor of the city, is prepared to defend the good, ought not I, O Senators, to take courage, and feel my hopes revive, more especially as they are both well versed in those studies to which I have always been devoted and taken delight in?

“Whilst you, C. Francesco Sfondrato,² fill with so much dignity the highest office of the state, and you, Francesco Crasso,³ have been sent from Milan to administer justice here, ought not I, the applauder and imitator of your studies, oppressed by so many injuries, now to raise my head? Shall I not be strong and full of confidence, and come to close quarters with my most iniquitous enemies, and make as it were a sally against them? I will not heap rude epithets on them as they have done on me; but will bring them to the presence of illustrious men, capable of overawing malevolent and envious minds, who easily know those in the city who are given to evil speaking and unrestrained in lying. For methinks it must be a severe punishment to my adversaries to be seen by you in their true colours. Should my discourse produce this effect I shall esteem myself to have attained no small glory; and if, in addition, I could brand on their brows that mark of infamy which they have so long deserved, nothing would be wanting to my satisfaction—*nil est quin beatissimam mihi vitam esse putem*. As in your city, Conscript Fathers, there is no hope of perpetrating

¹ See Appendix B.

² Francesco Sfondrato was a native of Cremona. He was of a distinguished Lombard family; his mother was celebrated for her great beauty. Sfondrato, by order of Charles V., went to Denmark to negotiate a marriage between Dorothea, daughter of King Christian, and Francesco Sforza the last Duke of Milan. After the death of his wife, Anna Visconti, Sfondrato was sent in 1541 to Siena, with full powers to recognise the government there. He subsequently entered the Church, was made cardinal and apostolic referendary, and successively bishop of Verona, archbishop of Amalfi, governor of Perugia, and legate in England. He died at Cremona in 1550, aged 56. He left some diplomatic writings, both in MS. and print.—Argel, *Scriptor. Mediol.* tom. ii. p. 2361.

³ Francesco Crasso or Grasso, a Milanese, a member of the Council at Milan, was sent to Siena in 1541 to fill the office of *Capitano di Giustizia*.—See Sozzini, *Revoluzioni di Siena*, p. 23. Appendix C.

and hiding acts of criminality, neither can injurious language be permitted. If I have borne so patiently these daily insults, on this very account I hope to find favour in your sight in consideration of my respect for your dignity and equity. Now that impudent and furious men with their unbridled audacity are come to such a pass as to lay before you calumnious accusations, in order to create an evil opinion of me in the city, and alienate from me those whose virtue, office, and dignity I so greatly revere, how can I, O Conscript Fathers, any longer contain myself? For heaven's sake allow me to break this daily silence, let me be permitted to speak here freely and boldly, and be allowed at last to confound these wicked men, who, without having received from me any private injury, have most unworthily attacked my substance, reputation, and life. If great generals, however desirous of stifling discord in the camp, not only allow two soldiers who are always quarrelling to fight, but fix the place of combat, from whence they themselves and the soldiers may look on and decide which of the two combatants is the most valiant; do not, I beseech you, think it beneath your dignity, who sit here as rulers of the city, to assist as spectators and judges of our conflict. As the soldier is not worthy of praise who assaults the enemy insidiously or when loaded with baggage, but only acquires true glory when in the camp and in presence of his general and the whole army, he checks the advance of the enemy, and cuts him down while proudly approaching with vain exultation, so these calumniators should find no favour with you; but rather, Conscript Fathers, let him be accepted who cites these impudent men to appear in this place.

“There are in this town robbers, rapacious men, assassins, fencers, seducers; and adulterers, against whom there are six hundred state laws which condemn them to punishment by prison, flogging, exile, and death: but against evil slanderers you have not yet made any law; there does not exist a single decree which defends good men from their insults. It behoves you therefore to imitate those wise ancients, who, to keep in check the malignity of such people, repress their audacity, and lessen their ill-nature, allowed an incredible liberty of speech to such as wished to speak in their own defence. If they answered the passionate perversity of these men with long and serious speeches, it did no harm to their cause; on the contrary it was rather advantageous, partly because their weighty and serious arguments were adorned with the graces and ornaments of diction, and partly because nothing frightens these impudent impostors more than to know that they may be one day called to account for their character, habits, and manner of life. If they were proved guilty by the orators they were punished by the law *Memmia*, that they might learn what it was to torment good men. Of this I will speak at the end of my discourse, if the patience with which you have hitherto heard me still holds out.¹

“I doubt not, O Conscript Fathers, that the cause of Ottone's enmity will appear very slight to you. I almost fear lest you should think I am inventing, and falsely accusing him; more especially as he has the reputation of being religious. As you behold, O Senators, his purple robe, and the air and bearing of his person, and discern in his countenance an excess of pride, observe also, I entreat you, the vanity

¹ See CHAP. III. pp. 105, 106, for a part of the Oration omitted here.

of his mind, his arrogance, ostentation, and ferocity. Never was there anything like his haughty, boasting, and overbearing manner. If he were asked, Who among the Senators is most distinguished for wisdom? may I die (if he spoke out his real sentiments) if he would not say, One only—Ottone. To the question, Who among the Senators stands highest in rank and honour? he would reply—Melio. To the third question, Who is the most worthy to reign over the state? the answer would be—Cotta.

“No wonder then, when I boldly and freely defended an innocent man, he considered the little heed I took of his excellences and dignity as a crime almost equal to high treason. On this account, last year, when the young men were anxious to recommence their studies in literature, which had been for some time suspended, they entreated the magistrates of the Eight (*Octoviri*), directors of the College, to appoint me as Professor of Eloquence. What do you think? When this came to the knowledge of Ottone, it roused his inveterate and implacable hatred against me. Is it likely, O Senators, that he would let slip so good an opportunity for doing mischief, when he allows no occasion to pass, however slight, of gratifying his enmity? He has been, as you know, from a child infected with party-spirit; though opposed to literature he is clever and sagacious in business. His heart is not directed to that kind of religion which consists in a true and devout worship of God, but to a superstitious reverence adapted to deceive mankind. Those who are enrolled among the Equestrian orders take a high rank, higher still if their mantles are marked with the sign of the cross, when it is red they take precedence of all other orders. Oh the incredible imbecility and insanity of man, how deeply rooted is folly! I blush to be born in these times, when it is not piety of heart, integrity, blameless innocence, the desire to serve others, devotion towards God, adoring him with a pure heart and voice, which makes us devout, but a gold chain or some mark or sign on the cloak, while the heart, a prey to vice, revolts from sincere devotion, and the whole life is in opposition to true religion.

“You, O Cotta, think yourself perhaps a Christian because you wear on your scarlet cloak the sign of Christ crucified, while at the same time you oppress and destroy with cruel calumnies the innocent living image of Christ. Whosoever persecutes with wicked intent is far from the religion of Christ. Do you think your conspiring against me, who have never done you the smallest injury, can be pleasing in his sight? “When you threw out against me the poisoned darts of false accusations, envied my position, and circumvented me in every possible manner, did you learn this, think you, from Christ? When you went daily to the palace of the Eight to propagate lies against me, you thought perhaps it was equal to going to Jerusalem or to the Virgin.¹ When you bare false witness against me, were you actuated by religion? Why not? Did it not occur to you that Christ, the most innocent of beings, was attacked by similar devices? Oh wonderful piety! most admirable religion! If this is the worship you pay to Christ, no wonder that to commemorate his death you crucify the innocent. The will indeed would not be wanting, if it were lawful to accomplish what

¹ Pilgrimages to the Virgin's house at Loreto were considered meritorious.

your violence, pride, and anger suggests; for, indeed, as far as you have yet gone you have spared neither boldness nor intrigue.

“To avoid prolixity, I will say nothing of your boyhood, nor will I speak of your youth, for everyone knows how eager you were for novelties; scenes of horror I pass over in silence, and how when arrived at man’s estate, without becoming wiser, you gave the rein to your passions; nor will I relate how, when Antonio¹ was in trouble about the affair of the salt, and everyone was moved with compassion for him, you alone oppressed the unhappy man with another unjust accusation. I pass over all these things, and return to this one. Are you not ashamed at your age to bear false testimony against me? You repaired to the Eight (*Octoviri*) and entreated them not to confer the Professorship on me, because, to use your own words, I was a heretic. This appellation, a new term derived from the Greek, I reject; I do not speak to you alone, you barbarous and vulgar man, but I speak also to those of refined and religious ears. You added most impudently that I had adopted the opinions of the Germans, and offered to bring ample proofs of your assertion.

“Those who were unaware of this man’s hatred of me took these words, not as an accusation, this not being the proper place, but received them as evidence. The Eight assembled in the morning to consult about the Professorship. Scipione Gabrielle, formerly my great friend, but now alienated by the arts of this wicked man, made a speech not much to my advantage. He all but pronounced the name of Ottone, clearly hinting at him, when he said Cotta wished very much to be chosen. It was not enough for Ottone to injure me, he wished also that I should know that he himself was a candidate. For what purpose? Observe his haughty spirit. He wanted me to throw myself at his feet, and that when I met him in the Forum I might tremble and keep silence, and say to myself, This is the man who was so terrible for Bellanti and me, and to whom the Council of the Eight pay reverence.

“How I wish, O Cotta, that you knew my character as well as I know yours. I am accustomed to love, applaud, and admire the eloquence, erudition, and wisdom of the Senate; but I have always so utterly detested arrogance, ostentation, and frivolity, that I never could consort with persons who were even moderately tainted with these defects. Do you, who are full of these without possessing one counterbalancing virtue, expect to be revered and respected by me? I am of opinion that grave upright men, observers of truth, should be looked on as almost divine; but I also think that persons of mendacious, impudent, light characters scarcely deserve to be called men. You asserted in the most positive manner that I was infected with heresy. Tell me, I entreat you, O Apollo of Delphi, how many years have passed since Bellanti’s cause? Why? Do not ask. How many years? Ten. What then? In the affair of the salt and the castles, was there any mention of religion? Do you smile? No, indeed there was not. During these past ten years have I ever, from that day to this, exchanged a word with you? In reply you say that it does not become a Senator to allude to any private conversation in a public affair.

¹ Antonio Bellanti, whom Paleario defended. See CHAP. III. p. 103.

I know indeed that you great men do not like to be entangled in private discourse. Have you by chance read anything I have written? What do I care about your writings? What do you imagine I can have to do with them? I do not think them worthy of the slightest attention. But you ought at least to pay some regard to the light of truth, to the holy testimony of God himself.¹ You have accused a man, with whom you have never spoken, of a thing which cannot be ascertained without much discussion, many conversations, and the most positive asseverations. Nothing is more difficult than to form a judgment, when you are not examining words, but the secret opinions of the mind. If words themselves may be taken sometimes in a good and sometimes in a bad sense, and are consequently difficult of interpretation, what must it be with the sentiments of the mind, the most difficult of all things, in the opinion of wise men, fully to ascertain? You can hear the words, or if written you may see them, but you can neither see nor hear the mind. In theology, more than in any other branch of knowledge, we do not attend so much to the sense of a word as to the scope of the writer and his intention in using it. We understand divine things better with the mind than we can express them in words. The fathers who wrote on these subjects did not so much study a choice of words, as to communicate the meditation of their immortal minds. Thus it is most difficult to pronounce judgment on points of theology. Because you have read some Tuscan fables and indifferent poems, you imagine yourself experienced in philosophy. If this were not the case you would not venture to pass sentence on the most difficult part of philosophy. This is not a common art or science in which the hand may have its part, as painting or gardening. In these if a man is not practised it is soon discovered. But theology on the contrary is obscure, slippery, and dangerous to handle, even for those who have devoted many years to the study of it. You said I had adopted the opinions of the Germans. Good heavens! what a vulgar way of speaking. Do you think the Germans are tied up in a bundle, and that they are all bad? Do not you know, to say nothing of others, that among them we find the Emperor and the august Ferdinand born of German parents? By confounding my case with the obloquy of the German cause, do you not perceive, miserable wretch, what confusion you fall into, and against whom you raise your impudent brow? If you intend to say that I am of the same mind as the German theologians, that also is a difficult question. There are indeed in Germany many great theologians, nor is there any other nation in which opinions are so various or so much diffused. Thus, in saying that I agree with the Germans, you in reality say nothing. Your malignant speeches, however full of absurdity, have notwithstanding a sting, and coming from you are full of poison.

“Do you call *Oecolampadius*, *Erasmus*, *Melancthon*, *Luther*, *Pomeranus*, *Bucer*, and others who have been suspected, Germans? Verily I do not think any of our theologians are so stupid as not to understand and to acknowledge that in their writings there are many things highly worthy of praise; written with gravity, accuracy, and truth; copied partly from the early fathers, who have left us salutary

¹ This alludes to the doctrines of the book he was accused of writing.

precepts, and partly from Greek and Latin commentators, who, though not to be compared with those great men, are nevertheless worthy of attention. As regards commentators, whoever accuses the Germans accuses also Origen, Chrysostom, Cyril, Irenæus, Hilary, Augustine, and Jerome. If I have taken them for examples worthy of imitation, why cavil because I agree with the Germans? If they are followers of holy men, why may I not follow them? I am surprised to see you always so unwise. What is there in them to suspect? In those points which have not an authoritative basis, and which rest only on their own opinions, I neither follow the Germans, nor praise those who do. Whether they be French or Italian, they ought not to be tolerated. Well! do you now understand? Or do you wish me to descend to the folly of some, who oppose everything the Germans say whether good or bad, in order to please those from whom they expect large rewards?¹

"I call my slender means, Conscript Fathers, golden poverty, and in it I truly rejoice. On no account would I exchange it for the splendour and magnificence of these men. My patrimony is small, but in the secret recesses of my soul, conscience is pure, clear, and bright; the furies do not agitate it by day, nor alarm it with burning torches at night.

"Let them be crowned with diadems and clothed in purple, and sit enthroned in chairs with carpets spread under their feet. I with my three-legged stool will retire into my library, and feel content with a woollen robe to protect me from the cold, a handkerchief to wipe my brow, and a couch on which to repose.

"Thou, O adorable Christ! the author, preserver, and liberal dispenser of thine own gifts, hast granted me to despise these things, and sufficient firmness of mind to speak not according to my own sense or will, but according to truth. Do thou please grant me piety, modesty, and temperance, and to add also those things which I know to be agreeable to thee and to thy followers.

"I have no friendship either with the Spaniards, the French, or the Germans. The truth I believe to be the same for all. Do you praise, says Otto, all the acts of the Germans? This is a question in your own style; it shall however be answered. I approve some things and disapprove others. To say nothing of other points, I praise the Germans for having in our own times adorned Latin literature with many things formerly buried in barbarism, and with not a few which were once enveloped in miserable obscurity of language. They have thrown light on many dark and thorny points, and I think we ought to be obliged to the Germans for their diligence in this respect. The study of divinity lay hid in the cells of idle men, who pretending to retire to the woods for the purpose of study, snored there so loudly that we heard them in the villages and towns. To them (the Germans) we owe the revival of Chaldee and Greek learning and the restoration of Latin libraries, through the wonderful invention of printing, and the

¹ In order fully to understand the scope of Paleario's defence, and palliate its apparent rashness, we must recollect that Italy was at this time divided between the two powerful factions of Guelf and Ghibeline. Siena was under the protection of the Emperor, and this oration was intended for the ears of the two newly arrived Commissioners, Sfondrato and Crasso; consequently Paleario, in praising the Germans, hoped to ensure the good will of the Imperial party.

assignment of honorable stipends to theologians. What can be clearer, more glorious, or more worthy of being handed down with honour to posterity? All this was done when civil wars, popular convulsions and seditions, with many other evils, extensively prevailed; events which, from the charity and fraternal love I bear to Christians in general, have inflicted both on myself and others the deepest grief. Who is there that does not praise the one and disapprove the other? Such must ever be the sentiments of good men; I doubt not, Conscript Fathers, that you, the luminaries of Tuscany, are also of the same mind. You now see, Ottone, I hope, how unjustly you have spoken of me; but I cannot flatter myself that you know the guilt with which you are stained, a guilt almost past atonement. Send forth then from their dens those horrible wild beasts against me, unloose their chains, and not only relieve them from all the duties of humanity, but with your own voice excite and spur them on. The fiercest attacks of wild beasts¹ cannot be compared to the violence of these monsters. The priests of Mars, Cybele, and the Druids, however various and frightful their hoods and the rest of their dress, are alike horrible and dreadful for the activity and cruelty of their character. Good heavens! with what clamour, with what vociferations have they assailed me. For some time past I have seen how true certain things are which have reached my ears by various channels. Now however, O Conscript Fathers, I can guarantee the veracity of the following facts.

“When they began to concoct mischief against me, they met late at night in the subterranean church of St. Sebastian, where superstition had attracted a great number of those persons called *Joannelli*.² Three hundred of them, incited by the entreaties of Ottone, swore on the stone altar that they would not light the lamps in honour of the Saints till they had effected my ruin. In this holy place Deciano Legulejo distributed confectionery and sweet wine. In this conspiracy, O Ottone Melio, if it be true that this was the beginning, what office did your tongue perform. How inflated was your language, how exaggerated your arguments, when, intoxicated by wine and spurred on by hatred, you overstepped the limits of discretion. I cannot positively affirm that this was the exact spot where the conspirators met, for some say they assembled in the convent of the Franciscans; but of this I am morally certain, that you, Cotta, are the author, and that the conspirators met early in the morning under your auspices, when, as I afterwards heard, twelve individuals were chosen from the three hundred as accusers and witnesses. Those selected from the first class were priests of little note, but arrogant, ignorant, and loquacious men, Sp. Bavio, M. Piero, Rapido Volaterno; from the second the Capuchins were chosen, Girolamo Ciano, Andrea Pansa, Gregorio Primpilo. The third class, by far the most numerous, furnished an Ottone Melio Cotta, L. Aulæte, C. Cirsa, Alessio Lucrina, Balbo Rufo Negocioso, and Giano Thita Belida.³ These persons went in a body in the afternoon to the Archbishop, who lived in the outskirts of the town. They

¹ An allusion to the fights with wild beasts in the Roman arena, to which Paleario compares the attacks of the friars.

² Probably a religious order so named.

³ A key to these names is found in the library of Siena. We give it in the Appendix D, without being able to guarantee its accuracy.

made so much noise on the way, that the women ran to the windows to see if any body was being led to execution. They were quarrelling among themselves; some were of opinion that as soon as the witnesses had been heard I should immediately be burned, without being allowed to speak in my defence; others thought the punishment ought not to be inflicted without hearing what I had to say. Then M. Piero went about canvassing, taking off his hat, pressing the hand of one and another, and impressing on the Professors of Divinity, Primpilo, Ciano, and Pansa, that it was not consistent with their dignity as divines to allow a man to live who was accused of heresy, and reminding them of an existing law, by which whoever was accused of heresy is to be cast into the fire.

“The Archbishop, who had retired to his villa to take a little repose, roused by the clamour, called a servant, and desired him to let in those noisy persons. Alessio, a most ridiculous man, having supped once with the Archbishop, looked round him with a confident air, and was the first to speak. His discourse contained nothing but slanderous and calumnious accusations, set forth with so much malice that the Archbishop, a wise and serious man, could not be restrained by the ties of friendship from telling him it seemed a collection of trifles. This bold bad man answered, that could not be a trifling accusation which was signed by three hundred persons. The Archbishop replied, ‘Alessio, there are here six hundred persons who accuse you of being a very sharp usurer, and confirm their assertion by oaths. I however have paid no attention to their accusation. Have I done right or wrong?’ The impostor grew confused, as if conscious of his fault, for he knew the Archbishop was no liar, and he felt that to deny would be useless, to confess disagreeable. While this wild animal was struck with astonishment, the others cast themselves at the feet of the Archbishop, entreating him in the name of religion to allow them to act according to law. This being granted; they bore witness against me. Some of them spoke most disingenuously and discourteously.

“I could not but be surprised, O Conscript Fathers, to see C. Cirsa, the son of an excellent citizen, a youth of great promise, descended from a family distinguished for the rank it holds in the state, following persons of such rash, light, and ordinary character, and of very moderate abilities. I fear to open the wounds of his unhappy father, who thinks his son only deceived and misled. What shall I say of his accomplished brother? What of all the friends of his family, who grieve over him night and day as for one who has lost his senses? What has possessed you, O Cirsa, to make you lay aside all attention to dress and cleanliness, to exterior appearance, and to that air and manner which mark a free man? What has deprived you of the discernment of a superior mind and the sentiments of a candid and ingenuous spirit? Of your insanity no stronger proof can be adduced than your evidence against me. Reflect within yourself, if you can, and remember you have to give an account of all you have ever said or done; this perhaps may open the way to repentance. From you, who hoped to obtain glory by accusing me who have never injured you, do I require probity; from him, who has taken pains to calumniate me, do I look for true religious feeling; and from one who for more than a year has consorted with these foolish men, running hither and thither, I expect constancy of purpose and sound judgment. By what name

shall I call your behaviour, when, in unison with Primpilo and Piero, you solicited with so much earnestness a letter from the Archbishop to stimulate my enemies? Wherefore send for information to Volterra and Florence by the public courier? Why that letter so full of envy in the name of the Archbishop? To speak frankly, I can fathom not your stupidity, but your malevolent character; nothing escapes me. You have wrapped yourself in a veil of dulness and assumed simplicity, but in the recesses of your heart stand watching fraud and deceit. As all the best things relating both to God and man are effected by the wisdom and integrity of a good man, so both divine and human rights are disturbed by the madness and perversity of the bad. If there is not on earth a more pernicious monster than a foolish and dishonest man, I am of opinion there is no one in the state worse than you, who at so early an age mock at religion and conspire clandestinely against the life of an innocent man. The Athenians condemned to death a youth who had scooped out the eyes of quails, fearing that if he grew up he would be dangerous to many. What opinion do you think can wise men have of you, who, though but just past the age of childhood, no sooner have the power than you declare war against sound learning? in whom ignorance generates idleness, idleness wickedness, wickedness audacity, and audacity fury; these induce so eager a desire to injure, that not only do you offend everyone, but fancy it to be an act of piety to do so. Thus have you been taught by L. Aulæte, who, notwithstanding his melancholy face and humble voice, is so inflamed with an ardent desire of doing mischief, that he is ever ready for litigation, and does not quit the doors of the Court, maintaining meanwhile a reputation for sanctity. Others followed his example, who, from their slothfulness, stupidity, and torpor, could only be bad poets, worse orators, and most inane philosophers. These having occupied their whole lives in literature were reduced almost to desperation, and mixed themselves with this rude multitude from whom they obtained applause. Choice praise indeed! For having joined Aulæte in condemning the science of civil law, the art of medicine, and all liberal studies, giving it to be understood that they are guided by their good judgment, when on the contrary they are obliged to conceal their own ignominy and stupidity. Like the merchants, who, when they are unfortunate in their commercial affairs and cannot fulfil their engagements, borrow money at high rates of interest to pay their debts, put on the cloak of religion, and wear the Capuchin hood. None are so unjust as this class of persons, who, like Æsop's fox, are eager to deprive others of all those graces which they themselves have not been able to attain.

“Now-a-days all are rushing to the bookseller's, and piles of books are sold by auction. What is the meaning of this, Conscript Fathers? The study of the liberal arts is deserted, the youths wanton in idleness, and the young men wander about the public squares. By whose counsel and device? Enquire, Conscript Fathers, enquire. Alessio Lucrina boasts of being an enemy to all poetry, an impudent and ignorant man, who believes every man to be a poet who can write bad verses. This impostor deceives the youth with Bernia's arguments, an insane and vulgar man, pointing out the unworthy deaths to which great poets have been exposed; as though nearly all the principal orators had

shared the fate of Sardanapalus, as if the deaths of Emperors were not notorious. But as this bold inept man calls himself a theologian, I will ask him, how did those holy men die who were witnesses for Christ? How did Christ himself die, the best and holiest who ever walked the earth? I smile, when I think how assiduously he has followed his master, who in the course of so many years has taught him nothing. On the other hand, instead of smiling I feel more inclined to be angry than to laugh, when he professes to be a follower of Socratic philosophy. From whom he has learnt the trade of usurer I do not know. I cannot sufficiently express my astonishment that he has so suddenly become the friend of Giano Belida, who, for having written eight verses in Italian, claims to be called a poet. Of Balbo and Spurio I shall say little. I have often seen the one in chains for being out of his mind; of the other I might relate how he provided for his own necessities by the sacrifice of family honour. What shall I say of Pansa and Ciano? rapacious creatures, who having been cited in court by me last year for appropriating money, have thus taken their revenge. Innocence may be attacked, but cannot be convicted of crime; there is nothing which can defend or excuse robbery. It is infamous that two such monsters of hypocrisy should be wandering about at will, to exhaust families and rob with impunity. My having denounced these men by name has made all the other Capuchins my enemies. They are like the swine, if you attack one the rest all come upon you.

"I wish you to see, O Senators, that these things are facts, and not inventions. I have here the accusation, the list of witnesses, the names of those who signed. From these we find the accusation was not in support of religion, but religion was called in as a pretext for the accusation. Thus you may understand the light character of the accusers, the want of integrity in the witnesses, and the impudence of those who signed. In this same *libellus* I have included all that has been said or argued by me, that everyone may understand that each point has been carefully answered. I would willingly have spoken of these things before the Senate, did I not know them to be inconsistent with forensic pleading, and that they required a new mode of address, for theologians speak almost another kind of language.

"In it (the book) I spoke of that order and series of things which has its origin from eternity, of the kingdom prepared and established by God before the foundation of the world, of which Christ is the only head, author, and governor; of the abrogated law, and of the heavy yoke of bondage: I said as much on this point as these wretched times would permit, not indeed all I would have wished to say, for to enter fully on this subject there is no place exempt from peril. There are hard, sour men, by whom not even God the Father of our salvation, Christ the King of all people and nations, can be praised.

"*It was made a subject of accusation against me, that in this same year I had written in Italian on the great benefits which mankind had derived from his death.*¹ Is it possible to imagine anything more unworthy? I said that from Him, in whom the Deity resides, and who so lovingly shed his blood for our salvation, all may expect tranquillity and peace

¹ *Cujus ex morte quanta commoda allata sint humano generi, cum hoc ipso anno Thusec scripserim, objectum fuit in accusatione.*—Aonii Palearii *Opera, Oratio pro seipso*, p. 91. Ed. Amstel. 1696.

and that we need not doubt of the good-will of heaven. I affirmed, on the authority of most ancient and certain documents, that the final term of evil was arrived, and that all guilt was wiped away from those who turn their hearts to Christ crucified with full faith in him, trust in his promises, and confidently rest on one who cannot deceive.¹ This doctrine appeared so bitter, detestable, and execrable to these twelve, I will not call them men, but inhuman beasts, that they judged the writer worthy of being thrown into the fire, which punishment, if I am called to undergo on account of the testimony deposed, for I consider it rather as a testimony than as a book, no one, Conscript Fathers, will rejoice more than I shall. These are not times for a Christian to die in his bed; it is a small matter to be accused, dragged to prison, beaten with rods, hung with ropes, and sewn up in sacks, but we ought even to be roasted in the fire, if by such punishments truth may be brought to light.

“If the intimation of a Council had not infused new hopes into the hearts of good men that the Pope, the Emperor, and the Princes are about to undertake with one accord a happy and salutary change, we should despair of coming to the end of these perturbations, or of ever seeing this poignard, now drawn against writers, torn from the hands of those who for the slightest cause have learned how to wound most cruelly. They have even attacked that venerable and upright man, my friend Sadoletto; the sun never shone on a more unworthy deed.

“By means of these rude, ignorant men, Bernardino Ochino has been lately accused, a man whose hard and abstemious life was worthy of the highest admiration: he, seeing you were not disposed to exert yourselves in his defence or protection, has thought it wisest to fly. At this moment your fellow-citizen, I say it with the keenest sorrow, is driven from Italy, and become a solitary wanderer in countries far

¹ “Adunque havendo noi accettato la gratia dello Evangelio, per la qual l'humano e ricevuto da Dio per figliuolo, non debbiamo dubitare della gratia, e benevolenza di Dio, e conoscendo che le parole di Dio, e la imitatione della vita di Christo ci diletta, debbiamo tenere per fermo, che siamo figliuoli di Dio, e tempio dello spirito santo, perchè queste cose non si possono fare per opera della prudentia humana, ma sono doni dello spirito santo; il quale habita in noi per la fede, e è come un sigillo che autentica e sigilla nei nostri cuori quelle promesse divine, la certezza delle quale, innanzi ci ha impresse nelle menti, e a stabilirle e confirmarle ci è dato da Dio in vece d'arra. *Beneficio di Gesù Christo*, p. 68. Ed. Cambridge, 1855.

“Per le cose dette si può intendere chiaramente che 'l pio christiano non ha da dubitare della remissione de suoi peccati, ne della gratia di Dio, nondimeno per piu sodisfatione del lettore voglio sotto scrivere alcune autorita de dottori santi, liquali confermano questa verita, &c.” See p. 66 of *Beneficio*.

“Having then accepted the grace of the Gospel, through which man is received by God as a son, we ought not to doubt of the favour and good-will of God; and knowing that the words of God and the imitation of the life of Christ is our delight, we ought to believe firmly that we are the children of God, and the temple of the Holy Spirit: for these things are not the work of human prudence, but they are gifts of the Holy Spirit, which by faith dwells in us, and serves as a seal which confirms and seals in our hearts these divine promises, the certainty of which he has before impressed on our hearts.”

“From what has been said above, we may clearly understand that the pious Christian has no need to doubt of the remission of his sins, nor of the favour of God; nevertheless, for the fuller satisfaction of the reader, I will here transcribe some passages from holy divines who confirm this truth,” &c.

distant from our Tuscany. What shores, woods, or cities will not feel honoured wherever he sets his foot. What sort of people will they become, think you, where he makes a protracted stay, and they can profit by the society of a man who unites great talent with extreme benevolence? No place is so rugged or so barbarous, none so uncivilized as not to be moved by his eloquence. Perhaps his destiny has carried him (may my wishes be accomplished) to regions torn and disunited by a variety of opinions, in order that those who have departed from the Christian rule may return to the right path, and truth at last find a safe repose. The sympathy of your countenances encourages me to express my grief. I meditate within myself how much eloquence Italy has lost; what rich consolation is the whole country deprived of! In the principal towns he was honoured with the highest applause, immense crowds listened with admiration to his extraordinary and heavenly gifts; this is the man whom exile will reduce to a low and miserable state of life.¹

“I will not distress you any longer, Conscript Fathers, nor augment my own grief, but say only that your Ochino was attacked by the same low and ignorant men who have assaulted me. Let me remind you that, the law *Mommia* being now restored, you may by your sentence vindicate your own citizen, console an innocent guest, and free the city from a numerous band of wicked men, enemies of the republic. It is a happy thing for my innocence, and your good fortune, O Conscript Fathers, that the enemies of good men fall into their own snares and bring evil on their own heads. The desire of inflicting injuries on others has carried them so far, that it is no longer in their power either to retreat or go any farther. What then will be the consequence? they are hampered by the Senatorial decree of Turpilian. We are now at the close of the year, which has been entirely employed by the adversaries in collecting accusations and confronting witnesses. If anyone thinks that the smallest circumstance has been omitted in order to produce a most iniquitous condemnation, he is altogether deceived. Nothing has been wanting, neither eagerness to accuse, nor time to make inquiries; in fact, what with party adherents and pecuniary aids, they have fought so incessantly against me, that my adversaries often said in the streets that a poor forsaken man assailed on all sides could never withstand it.

“What might not Ottone Melio Cotta have done against me with his riches, and L. Aulæte, who is always attacking me with speeches suited to circumstances, what could he not obtain through favour, and what might not the others have accomplished who are rich in friendship and connections? They left neither town nor castle unvisited with the hope of overwhelming me. I call you as witness, C. Francesco Sfondrato, wishing to pay you honour on account of your great virtue and the high rank you hold from Cæsar, and from the Senate and people of Siena. I appeal to you also as witness, O Francesco Crasso, most excellent man of great probity and piety; you can vouch for their going to you in great numbers with the view of depriving me of both my protectors. I am silent as to the Archbishop, who, I understand, has through their influence written a letter, not

¹ Ochino was cited to Rome in the very zenith of his popularity, but preferred becoming an exile to putting himself in the power of the Inquisition. See CHAP. IX.

much to my credit, tending to inflame my enemies against me. I omit the rest; we come to the trial. Seeing that the witnesses travestied every circumstance by their falsities, I entreated this same conservator of the public peace that the witnesses might repeat their depositions in my presence. It was a just request, and not to be disregarded, more especially as it was preferred by a man in my position, and was at last granted by the judge of sacred things. If they refused to appear they might have been forced; they would not present themselves, they were not coerced. What is this but an injury? To whom? I will not say, but I feel that the promise given has not been kept. But even this is a trifle. Volaterna, in producing the accusation about the book on the death of Christ,¹ repeated the evidence. It was found to be false. What followed? Nothing. I for having exalted Christ have been often accused, summoned to justice, expelled, and all but condemned to death. Volaterna suffered no punishment for his wickedness. The accusers though challenged by me would not appear; the witnesses who had deposed contradictory evidence took to flight. For security they remain in Cirsa's castle, but still in your territory. What is this, Conscript Fathers, but an insolent and shameful kind of justice? You have the indictment,² the list of the witnesses, and the signatures. They have recourse to subterfuge, and appeal to the decrees of the state and to the plebeian laws in which nothing is said about accusers. If I however had either said or done anything, they could have proceeded against me according to the Pontifical decrees: why then am I not to be allowed to call them to account according to the laws of the Emperors, under whose protection your city is and always has been? They will not however now escape me if regard is paid to the Senatorial law of Turpilian.

"What does it say?

"*They are punished as calumniators who are convicted of concocting a malicious accusation, collecting evidence, or doing anything whatsoever to bring it into court.*

"What follows?

"*Those who have suborned accusers, or being themselves suborned, have prosecuted without proving the guilt of the accused, and those who have affixed their signatures to the accusation.*

"Here there is no room for subterfuge: go on.

"*He who presents the accusation, instigates it, or puts it in the hands of another.*

"It was calumny which drew up the act of accusation, collected the depositions, and supported the accusation by signatures. The accusers could not prove the guilt of the accused. The Senatorial law threatens the calumniators with the same punishment which would have been awarded to the guilty person if convicted. He is thought worthy of the deepest hatred who rashly undertakes to make an unjust accusation.

"As soon as the accused is acquitted, the law *Rhemia* comes into action as regards the motives of the accuser, and the law *Mommia* concerning the brand to be stamped on the accuser; one of these laws is

¹ *Allato libello de Christi morte repetitum est testimonium a Volaterno, falsum est inventum, quid tum postea?*—Oratio pro seipso, p. 94.

² *Actionis libellum habetis.*—Idem.

scarcely known to lawyers even by name; the other is altogether obsolete, though so eminently necessary for the peace of individuals. In a state which has no *Momian* law, discords and civil wars must prevail. Persons irritated by the injury of a false accusation never know a moment's repose; grief spurs them on, memory is busy, and the heart on fire kindles into hatred. To calm these emotions there is no better remedy than the law *Mommia*, by means of which we may defend and vindicate ourselves, and thus wipe out the disgrace undeservedly heaped upon us. Are you maliciously accused? You may be honourably acquitted. Have you been oppressed by wicked men? You are relieved by the good. Crushed by misery and distress, you may be admitted to the presence of illustrious citizens, and all accusations against you confuted. Complain no more. Lay aside your displeasure, and tranquillise your mind; your accusers will be branded with a mark of infamy which time can never efface.

"Great are the consolations of this nature, O Conscript Fathers, which I anticipate from your equity. This has sustained me in my unhappy circumstances. It is impossible that your wisdom should not take into consideration that the good inhabitants of Colle, who have honoured me with the most flattering public letters, have flocked here in great numbers.

"Do you not read on their brows and in their eyes, and on their whole countenance, an intense desire and ardour to defend their fellow-citizen? I should not indeed have spoken so long in the Senate in my own behalf, if they had not earnestly entreated me to do so. They considered it not only affected the dignity of a single man whom they had received as a citizen, but that it concerned the whole municipality, in consequence of the close brotherhood and friendly intercourse they had maintained with your fathers, with whom they always lived in good will and in the interchange of kind offices without any territorial disputes. Among these now present observe Bernardino Francesconio, a worthy and upright citizen; the learned jurisconsult Girolamo Bandinello, son of Gino, a person of high position and great probity; all the noble family of the Petrucci, the distinguished citizens Tancredi, Placidi, Malevolta; here also are the Tori, Fungari, Silvani, persons who in the calamitous times of your Republic forsook their domestic hearths, and with their wives and children sought refuge in that city and took up their abode there. When abandoned by all around, they were provided with everything by the inhabitants of Colle, who for nearly five hundred years have defended your fathers by arms when they fled to them in the civil wars. There was no other city in Tuscany in which your emigrant citizens liked so well to take refuge, and found in it so sure a retreat. Thus what I would not spontaneously have done I feel obliged to do at the request of my fellow-citizens, in whose name I ask an amicable return for their good offices by granting me your protection.

"There are here two brothers, Fausto and Evander Bellanti, excellent upright young men, whose affectionate looks move me to tears, while they themselves cannot refrain from weeping. They are distressed that, in defending their father and family and in saving their property, I have drawn upon myself a hatred so terrible as to lead me to destruction. More than once have they promised me to shew their

gratitude on some future day, and now they see the time arrived through you to express it; they intercede for me even with tears.

“Why dost thou afflict me by thy compassion, O Bono, thou most virtuous companion, and the guide of my studies. Would that you had never detained me when I wished to leave Tuscany; I should not now be suffering. After having wept the loss of your Carlo, you would not have the pain of seeing my name ill-treated; you would not press the hand first of one and then of another, nor entreat for the poor wretch whom you desired to see living respected and honoured in your country.

“And you too, my wife, why are you come, clothed in deep mourning, accompanied by the most devout and honorable matrons, to throw yourself and your children at the feet of the Senators? Oh my life, my light, my soul! Return home and educate your children; with Christ as their surety they will not want a father. Receive her, my mother-in-law, in your arms, she is beside herself with grief, and stop my tears by removing her from hence.

“Allow me, Sirs, to render a thousand thanks to those excellent persons who have not abandoned me in this extreme conjuncture. For what reason are you here, most estimable Camillo Chigi, and many other distinguished persons, if not to sustain by your courage a friend in danger from his enemies? Why do I see you, Father Egidio, with the Augustine divines, those patterns of holiness, chastity, and modesty, whom I have such good reason to hold in veneration and respect?

“Wherefore do you, young men of eloquence and erudition, come in such crowds to the Senate, if not to accuse those by whom your literary studies have been stopped for more than a year? I know well what reverence and compassion the students entertain for me. They intercede in my behalf, and beseech you for the sake of your children to defend, against the enemies of all sound learning, the character and good name of him under whose instructions they have for seven years¹ studied the liberal sciences.

“I hope also that you will provide for the well-being of the state, and prevent these subterranean meetings at night, where, under pretext of religion, factious men concoct conspiracies.

“This day, O Conscript Fathers, will manifest your opinions.”

It is somewhat doubtful whether this oration was actually delivered before the Senate, or whether Paleario was formally

¹ Lazzari thinks Grevio and Halbauer are mistaken in supposing that Paleario was public Professor of Greek and Latin literature at Siena, because in none of his letters he speaks of filling a public employment of this nature, nor is there in his works any preliminary discourse delivered at Siena, according to custom; though both at Lucca and Milan we find such evidence of his being public teacher. The young men whom he addresses in his oration, and to whom he gave private lessons, probably lived at Colle or in its neighbourhood, and Lazzari counts the seven years which they had studied under his instructions from 1536, when he left Padua, to 1542. If Sfondrato stayed two years at Siena, as Sozzini seems to say, this would make the calculation right, and remove some of the difficulties about the date of the *Beneficio*.—*Archivio Storico Ital.* tom. ii. p. 24; Sozzini, *Rivoluzione di Siena*. See Appendix E.

absolved, but it does not appear that any censure was passed on him; perhaps Sadoletto's influence with the archbishop caused the affair to be dropped.

We have now before us a full account of the accusations brought against Paleario, and his defence.¹ He was charged with leaning to the opinions of the Germans; he denies that he has adopted the sentiments of the Germans in the mass, but openly declares that he sees no reason for not following them when they take their opinions from most ancient documents, the Scriptures, and the Fathers. Impressed with sorrow at the severity which had driven Ochino out of the country at the very moment when all Italy was hanging with rapture on his announcement of the Gospel, Paleario spoke up boldly in his favour. In addition to these two tokens of heresy, he was also accused of writing a book in Italian on the death of Christ. This he does not attempt to deny, but falls back on the matter of the book itself, and proves by the general tendency of its doctrines that there was nothing in it contrary to true religion. The head and front of his offending was, as we have already seen, the study of theology, and his daring to think for himself on religion irrespective of the dictates of the Church, that is to say, of the monks. They were at that time the only teachers of religion. The beneficed clergy did not reside on their livings, the bishops lived at Rome, so that the whole burden of teaching and preaching was left to the monkish orders. It was their interest to keep up the practice of ignorant superstitions among the people, for the sake of the gain it brought them. About this time Cardinal Caraffa, one of the founders of the Theatine order, had worked on the fears of Paul III. to establish a court of Inquisition² for the purpose of judging cases of heresy with greater severity. These new decrees gave fresh power to the monks, and put the decision of life and death into their hands.

Lazzari³ gives as a proof that the work Paleario wrote con-

¹ Oratio III. *Pro se ipso*, p. 73. Ed. Wetsten.

² "Caraffa, andò privatamente e in segreto suggerendo al Papa che per l'honor di Dio, per risarcir l'autorità della Sede Apostolica, per smorzare nell'Italia principalmente il fuoco dell'Eresie e per conservare la fede nei Cattolici, non vi era miglior rimedio, che fondar in Roma un supremo Tribunale del Sant' officio, simil a quel di Spagna, ma di maggiore, et inappellabile autorità."—Caracciolo, *Vita di Paolo IV.* MS.

³ Lazzari, *Miscellaneorum*, 1757. It was found in the several Indexes of

tained much impiety, that it was put in the Index, and confuted by Ambrosio Catarino, who calls it a Lutheran book. If such was the inconclusive reasoning of a Dominican of the eighteenth century, what may we not imagine to have been the extent of monkish despotism in the sixteenth?

We shall now say a few words on the work itself, which is divided into six chapters. The author begins with man's natural wretchedness and lost condition under the law and under condemnation for sin. He goes on to shew how this condition has been remedied by the meritorious sacrifice of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and in a clear, logical, and scriptural manner points out that forgiveness, justification, and salvation depend on Christ alone. Having laid the foundation on Christ, the corner-stone of the Gospel, he proceeds to point out the effects of faith and of the union of the soul with Christ; enters into a disquisition on the manner in which this union takes place, and closes with earnest warnings against distrust of the divine power or leaning on any feeble efforts of our own for salvation. At the same time he shews that all who are truly united to Christ, lead holy lives from love to his name, and in imitation of his example. He distinctly explains that to put on the Lord Jesus is to be clothed with his imitable perfections, to frame our whole life after his most holy pattern, and avoid everything contrary to his divine precepts. This admirable treatise concludes with certain remedies against distrusting the willingness or power of divine wisdom to save those who come unto Him. In the old style he divides his reasoning into several parts. Four remedies are given against distrust: prayer, frequent communion, remembrance of baptism, and a constant sense of God's predestinating or foreordaining power over all things. The whole is suitably supported by Scripture proofs, so as to reassure the most timid and satisfy the most advanced Christian. It not only shews the unity of the truths of the bible linked together in one chain, but to the pious reflecting mind proves that all who reject human authority, and seriously consult the Scriptures with an earnest desire to take them as a guide, find there the same truths, whatever be the clime they inhabit, or the ages of time which separate them from

Paul III., Paul IV., Pio IV., and Pio V., and also in the *Indicium librorum Italice Scriptorum in sin. Ind.* Clement. VIII. 1591.

each other. Truth, immutable truth, still shines with the same lustre on the sacred page as when the Gospel was first promulgated by Christ and his Apostles. For eighteen centuries it has continued to influence the chosen few who have sought the pure light of heaven, undebased by artificial inventions of human origin.

The letter of Paleario to the Swiss reformers and his testimony against the Papacy are both written in the same clear forcible style. He follows the same method of supporting his argument by Scripture proofs as in the *Benefits of the Death of Christ*.¹

There has been some difference of opinion among learned men as to whether Paleario was indeed the author of this precious volume. His name is not attached to it, nor is it found among his printed works. But we must recollect that they are all in Latin, and were for the most part published during his lifetime. It was impossible, in the face of the new Inquisitorial court, to put his name to a religious work. On the other hand, we have seen in several passages of his Oration in his own defence that he avows himself the author of a book on the death of Christ, and explicitly declares that he was prosecuted for it. The accusation, he says, was not on account of religion, but religion was made a pretence for the accusation, and adds, that he had brought the book as a part of his defence.² Further on he says, "My having this same year (1542) written in Italian on the benefit accruing to mankind from the death of Christ was made a subject of accusation against me;"³ and again, "Volaterna, adducing the accusation against me on account of the book on the death of Christ, repeated the testimony: it was found to be false."⁴

We have now to examine⁵ whether the work acknowledged

¹ See Appendix F for the closing passage of the original.

² "à quibus accusatio non pro religione, sed religio pro accusatione suscepta est. Quæ verò à nobis dicta sunt, et disputata, in eodem libello inclusimus."—Palearii *Opera, Oratio pro se ipso*, p. 90. Ed. Wetsten. 1696.

³ "cujus ex morte quanta commoda allata sint humano generi, cum hoc ipso anno Thuscè scripsissem, objectum fuit in accusatione."—*Ibid.* p. 91.

⁴ "allato libello de CHRISTI morte repetitum est testimonium à Volaterno: falsum est inventum."—*Ibid.* p. 94.

⁵ This examination is much facilitated by the reprint of an original copy of 1643, from the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, by the Rev. Churchill Babington.

by Paleario is identical with that *On the Benefit of Christ's death*, which has been handed down to us as written in Italian at the same period. For this purpose we must compare the plan of the treatise sketched by Paleario in his Oration with the book itself. "In this I spoke of the order and system which is of eternal origin; of the kingdom designed and constituted by God before the foundation of the world, of which Christ is the only author, chief, and moderator; of the abrogated law, and heavy yoke of bondage. Of these things I said as much as these miserable times permit; not indeed all I would have wished to say, for to speak fully on these points there is no place exempt from peril."¹

The book entitled *Beneficio di Giesù Christo* begins by recording man's state before he sinned, describes his fallen condition after; it then points out the several offices of the law, and asserts that "justification, remission of sins, and our entire salvation depend on Christ alone."² After quoting some striking passages of the Scriptures, the author dwells with delight on the third chapter of the Philippians, and remarks that St. Paul has proved that whoever truly knows Christ, considers the works of the law hurtful, inasmuch as they divert a man from faith in Christ, in whom he ought to repose all his salvation. "We, beloved brethren, follow that truth which St. Paul taught, we give all the glory of our justification to the mercy of God and to the merits of his Son, who with his blood has freed us from the power of the law. . . . so that all true Christians may appear securely before God's tribunal, being clothed in the righteousness of Christ, and by him freed from the curse of the law. On this account St. Paul declares that the handwriting which was against us has been blotted out and made void by the cross."³

¹ "In iis de serie et ordine ex omni eternitate fluenti: de Republica ante mundi principia designata, constitutaque à Deo, cujus dux, autor et moderator unus est CHRISTUS: de lege abrogata, et gravissimo jugo servitutis disseruimus tantum, quantum tempora hæc misera in que incidimus permiserunt, non quantum certè optabamus, quod in iis aperiendis locus nullus sit periculo vacuus."—Palearii *Opera*, *Oratio pro se ipso*, p. 90. Ed. Wetsten. 1696.

² "Che la remissione delli peccati, e la giustificatione, e tutta la salute nostra dipende da Christo."—*Beneficio*, Capo iii. p. 7. Ed. Camb.

³ "Ecco come san Paulo dimostra chiaramente che chiunque conosce ueramente Christo, giudica le opere della legge dannose in quanto elle sviano l'huomo dalla

Here is another passage. "From what has been above stated we may clearly understand that the pious Christian need have no doubt of the remission of his sins, or of the grace of God; nevertheless, for the more complete satisfaction of the reader, I cite some passages from the fathers which confirm this truth."¹

Now let us hear what Paleario says of the contents of his book. "I said that from him in whom resides the Deity, who so lovingly shed his blood for our salvation, we may expect tranquillity and peace; and that we ought not to doubt of the good will of heaven. I affirmed on most ancient and certain authorities that the final term of evil was arrived, and all guilt cancelled in those whose hearts turn to Christ crucified, who trust in his promises, and confidently rest on One who cannot deceive."² It is impossible not to perceive the extreme similarity between the *Beneficio* now before us and the account given of it in the Oration. Bayle³ justly observes that the outline of this work is to be found in his *Defence*.

In the *Beneficio* Origen, Basil, Ambrose, Hilary, Augustine, and Bernard are cited to prove that their writings contain the joyful truth of a free salvation without the works of the law. On the citation from Augustine the author remarks, that the Christian ought not to fear, but may feel certain of being justified, if he rests, not on his own works, but on the atoning sacrifice of Christ, which cleanses from all sin and makes our peace with God.⁴

fiducia in Christo, nel quale egli deue costituire tutta la salute sua, Noi diletteissimi adunque fratelli seguitiamo la uerità che c' insegna San Paulo, e diamo tutta la gloria della nostra giustificazione alla misericordia di Dio, e agli meriti del suo figliuolo, il quale col sangue suo ci ha liberati dallo imperio della legge, però dice san Paulo che 'l Chirographo il quale ci era contrario, e stato scanzellato da Christo, e annullato nel legno della Croce."—See Babington's reprint of the *Beneficio*, pp. 12, 13, 14.

¹ "Per le cose dette si può intendere chiaramente che 'l pio christiano non ha da dubitare della remissione de suoi peccati, ne della gratia di Dio, nondimeno per piu sodisfattione del lettore voglio sottoscrivere alcune autorità de dottori santi, li quali confermano questa uerita."—*Beneficio*, p. 65. Ed. Camb.

² "Aiebam ego, ab eo in quo diuinitas inesset, uita cum sanguine pro salute nostra tam amanter profusa, nihil nos debere de coelestium uoluntate dubitare, omnia nobis tranquilla et quieta posse polliceri: affirmabam ex monumentis uetustissimis, et certissimis, finem malorum esse factum, notam omnem deletam iis qui animo in CHRISTUM crucifixum conversi, ejus fidei se permitterent, acquiescerent promissis, spe pleni hæerent in uno, qui fallere nescit opinionem."—Palearii *Opera*, *Oratione pro se ipso*, p. 91.

³ Bayle, *Dict. Biog. Art. PALEARIO*.

⁴ "Che 'l Christiano non dee temere, ma esser certo della sua giustificazione, fon-

In the Oration we find, "As to the passages taken from commentators, whoever accuses the Germans accuses also Origen, Chrysostom, Cyril, Augustine, and Jerome."¹ We have one more corroborating proof that Paleario was the author of the *Beneficio*. Among the ms. notices relating to him in the library of Siena, we find the following note: *Aonius Pallearius de Colle Vallis Elsee fecit librum sub titulo Plenitudo Sanguinis Cristi, in quo negabat Purgatorium posse probari per Scripturas, et tenebat contra orationes sanctorum et eorum imagines eo quod essent Idolatrare et Ecclesie Romanæ confutationes.*² "Aonio Paleario of Colle, in Val d' Elsa, wrote a book under the title of *The Plenitude, or full Sufficiency of the Blood of Christ*, in which he denied that purgatory can be proved from Scripture, and, in confutation of the Church of Rome, argued against prayers to the saints and their images as being idolatrous."

This ms. note proves that Paleario wrote a work on the efficacy of Christ's atoning blood, but mixes up a part of another work, *Testimonia et Actio in Pontifices Romanos et eorum Asseclas*, written about the same period as the *Beneficio*, but not published till twenty-six years after his death.³

Critics are proverbially hard to convince, and they have a better right than the unlearned to require strong proofs of literary authorship; but surely the simple facts of internal evidence are strong presumptive proof that Paleario was the author of the *Beneficio*. A close examination of his studies and writings will confirm the impression that he not only was capable of writing such a work, but that he actually did write a book of

dando questo non nelle opere sue, ma nel prezioso sangue di Christo, il quale ci monda da tutti i peccati nostri, e ci pacifica con Dio."—*Beneficio*, p. 67. Ed. Cambridge.

¹ "In his quæ sunt ex commentationibus sumpta, qui Germanos accusat Origenem, Chrysostomum, Cyrillum, Irenæum, Hilarium, Augustinum, Hieronymum accusat."—*Palearii Opera*, p. 83. Ed. Wetsten. 1696.

² At the close of this note there are a few words difficult to decypher, but which Mr. Panizzi has kindly interpreted to be *Interrogatus Processu*. 1542.

³ It is one of the most masterly controversial works which has ever been written against the corrupt doctrine of the Romish Church. Under twenty different heads it controverts the principal errors, and shews the great departure from the primitive church. Its most logical arguments are supported by apposite and abundant quotations from Scripture. We are glad to hear that it has been recently translated into Italian by two ex-priests of the Church of Rome.—*Palearii Opera*, p. 210.

a similar character, containing the same opinions, at the same period. "One thing is certain," says the editor of the Cambridge edition of the *Trattato*, "if it be not the work intended in his Oration, no track or trace of it has descended to our times."

The first printed notice of this book was from the pen of a Dominican monk,¹ who in 1544 undertook its confutation.² As he was a native of Siena and belonged to that order to which was committed inquisitions of heresy, he very likely knew something of the author, and that he had been called to account for writing this book, although he only says, being published anonymously it excited suspicion. He insinuates that from the preface we find that it is written by a person of authority, but it only says, *senza il nome dello scrittore, acciochè piu la cosa vi muova che l' autorità dell' autore*, without the name of the author, in order that the thing itself may make more impression than the author's authority or influence; meaning that the subject is of more

¹ Ambrosio Catarino commenced his polemical career in 1520, by publishing at Florence a work in five books or parts against Luther, dedicated to Charles V. So fierce was Catarino's passion against heresy, and so fine his scent for its discovery, that he could not refrain from skirmishing even with his own party, whom he imagined were poaching on his peculiar province as champion of the Church of Rome. This led him to attack a more enlightened defender of Romish doctrines, Tommaso Vio di Gaeta. Ambrosio, a native of Siena, was originally educated for the law, but at thirty years of age he entered the Dominican order, and changed both his christian and family name. From Lancellotto Politi he became Ambrosio Catarino, the latter in compliment to that wonderful visionary Catherine of Siena. From being an admirer of Savonarola he became his accuser, and passed great part of his life in writing violent philippics against heretical works. In these tirades he displayed the grossest ignorance of scriptural truth, and the most lamentable deficiency of christian moderation, as Tiraboschi says: "Sarebbe degno di maggior lode il Politi, se alla vivacità dell' ingegno, e all' estension del sapere avesse congiunta un' uguale moderazione nel proporre le sue opinioni, e nell' impugnare le altrui; che in tal maniera nè egli avrebbe sostenute tali sentenze, che gli furono a ragione rimproverate, e per cui qualche sua opera è stata registrata nell' Indice, nè col levarsi con troppo ardore contro gli altri avrebbe costretti molti a impiegare in contese inutili quelle fatiche, che meglio sarebbero state rivolte a difender la chiesa contro gli Eretici."—Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 270. Fontanini, *Elog. Ital.* tom. ii.

² In a work entitled *Compendio d' errori, et inganni Luterani contenuto in un Libretto, senza nome de l' Autore, intitolato Trattato utilissimo del beneficio di Christo crucifisso*, Rom. 1544. It was published in conjunction with another, called *Resolutione Sommaria*, against a book called *Il Sommario della Scrittura*, translated from a work by Melancthon. Giannone calls it *Seminario della Scrittura*, vol. xi. p. 185. A philippic against the ex-Capuchin Ochino and his letter to the Magistrates of Siena was also added. See CHAP. IX.

importance than the author's name. Catarino thus criticises these words, *non disse acciochè piu muova la verita, sapendo che non insegnava la verita*. "He did not say in order that truth might make more impression, knowing that he was not teaching truth." It would be difficult to find a more wilfully false statement than this. Every word of the *Beneficio* bears marks of deep sincerity and conviction of the great scriptural truths handled by the author.¹

Attention having been thus drawn to the Lutheran character of this precious book, in the year 1549 it was put in the Index by Monsignor della Casa, nuncio at Venice.

No sooner was this list of prohibited books published than P. P. Vergerio,² formerly bishop of Capo d' Istria, who had been driven out of Italy by the persecutions of Della Casa,³ issued an edition of this *Catalogo*,⁴ with notes on the several books condemned, and remarks on their authors. The *Beneficio* is mentioned with great praise, and from Vergerio we gather the earliest and surest notice of the author; though he could not

¹ For a sketch of this work the reader may consult the Rev. C. Babington's Introduction to the Cambridge edition, p. 56. Catarino seems to have altogether misapprehended the scope of the *Beneficio*; he tried to give it the colour of preaching faith without works, and chose to ignore its concordance with St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, to which he carefully avoids appealing.

² See CHAP. XVI. for an account of Vergerio.

³ Giovanni della Casa, born 1503, died 1556, was of a good Florentine family; his early studies were carried on at Bologna. After a short stay at Florence he went to Rome, where in 1548 he was appointed *cherico*, clergyman of the Apostolic Chamber. He now divided his time between study and pleasure, love and poetry. In 1544 he was promoted to be archbishop of Benevento, and sent that same year as papal nuncio to Venice. The Pope entrusted him with two important commissions; the one was to exhort the Venetians to join him in a league with France against the Emperor; in this he failed, but was more successful in carrying on an unjust persecution against P. P. Vergerio, bishop of Capo d' Istria. Della Casa lived in retirement after the death of Paul III. in 1549, till the accession of Paul IV. in 1555. He was then immediately summoned to court, and made Secretary of State, but did not long survive his newly acquired honours. He was considered an elegant writer both in prose and poetry. If report speaks true, the praise due to his learning was counterbalanced by the licentious tone of his muse, even while nuncio at Venice. His works were all published at Venice in 1728.—Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 19.

⁴ *Il Catalogo de' Libri Li Quali Nuovamente nel mess di Maggio nell' anno presente MDXLVIII sono stati condannati e scomunicati per heretici da M. Giovan della Casa legato di Venetia, e d' alcuni frati e aggiunto sopra Il Medesimo Catalogo un indicio e discorso del Vergerio.*—Brit. Mus.

venture to state the name, yet it is evident he knew perfectly well who wrote it. After speaking of several books he continues :

“This blessed Catalogue goes on to say, *Il Beneficio di Christo*, and below these words, *un libro cosi intitolato*. They are prudent, and here declare that they do not mean to condemn the benefit which Jesus Christ procured for his elect by dying on the cross, but the book. What difference is there between condemning this same benefit or condemning an engaging (*dolce*) little book which points out and teaches us to understand this benefit? Now about this book, listen : it is either good or bad ; if it is good, why condemn it? If bad, why have they first allowed forty thousand to be sold? for as many I know have been within the last six years printed and sold in Venice alone. How is it that they have allowed such a quantity of mental poison (as they deem it) to be scattered abroad?”¹

After some remarks on the heavy weight of superstition which oppresses the people, he says their teachers grew prouder every day, and more desirous of tyrannising over the poorer classes, and hiding everything which can enlighten them as to their salvation ; lest they should make light of indulgences and jubilees and such like inventions and tricks of men, and be led to understand that remission of sins will be bestowed, when through lively faith they can apprehend the great benefit conferred by God, in giving his beloved Son to shed his blood and die on the cross. This knowledge, he says, acts like a powerful sunbeam, it warms our hearts and enlightens our understandings.

“But I have something more to say about this *Beneficio di Christo*. There is a certain friar² who will not on any consideration hear of it, and with the hope of having a benefit from the Pope, has written an invective against that of Christ crucified. Then another good person of talent and spirit³ has undertaken to defend it, and has composed a *dolce libro*, and given it into the hands of a Cardinal,⁴ who report says is enlightened, knows the errors of the Church, and has tasted the sweetness of the Gospel. He has certainly many noble qualities ; but if this Cardinal does not now let the defence of this book, which he has in his possession, see the light, and does not declare himself by saying that it is good, I shall be of opinion that report speaks false, and that he is not animated by the feelings for which many have given him credit. He is accustomed to say that we must be prudent, and wait for a suitable time and opportunity. This sounds well, but the favorable time and opportunity will never come, now that so many

¹ See Appendix G.

² Ambrosio Catarino.

³ M. Antonio Flamínio, who wrote an apology for the *Beneficio* while living in Cardinal Pole's house at Viterbo.

⁴ Cardinal Reginald Pole.

people seek in such various ways to bury the benefits and glory of Christ. When will he declare himself and make himself known as his soldier, if he does not do it now that Christ (in his members) is so much combated, tormented, and afflicted? We shall now look to see what this Cardinal will do. May God give him courage, for it is quite time that he and all his followers declare themselves.

“I may add, that in the composition of this book, two persons have been engaged; one began, and the other finished and revised it. They are both in Italy, and well known and caressed by the chief members and ministers of the court of Rome, and yet their book is condemned as heretical. Let us wait and see if they can endure and swallow down the enmity shewn to their heavenly Father, and if they will still dissimulate, and enjoy the comforts and delights of their clergy. I wish these prohibitors, since they have excommunicated the *Beneficio di Christo*, would tell me why they have not also condemned other little books which express the same sentiments, thank God, or at least a great part of them, such as *la medicina dell' anima, lo trattato dell' oratione del Fregoso*. The preface of the Epistle to the Romans, which has at the beginning the name of the same Fregoso, but is (as I have said) by M. Luther. The Apology of Galateo, and the Apology of Fra Balbo, both in print. Another book also in Italian, with this title, *Istruzione come si ha a consolare nelle vie Christiane uno che stia per morire*, which is the work of the person who now writes against the *Catalogo*. The paraphrase upon the seven Psalms by Don Giovanni di Cremona, other new paraphrases with annotations on all the Psalms both in Latin and Italian, in France and in Italy, and many similar little books, whose object it is to celebrate the benefits of Christ crucified, and which say that we are elected, justified, and saved by his merits, and advocate a clear and simple justification, not like the doctrine of those at Trent.”¹ He goes on with the *Catalogue*, and says, “*Il summario della sacra scrittura*. Giberti, Bishop of Verona, remarks, that this was a very useful little book for those poor creatures who did not understand Latin, and as he thought there were in it some very few things which required explanation, he had employed some learned men whom he kept in his own house to explain in a few pages some particular passages, which was done, and they were printed at the close of the *Summario*, and have been read throughout Italy for more than fifteen years past. Now this theological legate takes it suddenly away, pays no attention to the opinion of the Bishop and learned men with him, and of so many worthy persons who have read and approved it: he throws down everything, and does not allow poor creatures to read it with or without a declaration, though he would be very willing they should read Orlandi or Rinaldi, &c.”²

¹ The Council of Trent was then sitting.

² The *Catalogo*, with notes by Vergerio, is so very rare a book that we give these extracts from a copy in the British Museum, persuaded that the intelligent reader will excuse this divergence from the *Beneficio*. They show Vergerio's complete knowledge of the authors and writings of his day, and confirm Mr. Babington's remark, that “no person then living had so extensive a knowledge of Italian literature relating to the Reformation” as Vergerio. For extracts from the original *Catalogo*, see Appendix H.

Let us now, with Vergerio's information before us, return to the consideration of his assertion that two persons were engaged in its composition; that they were both alive in Italy in 1549, and were in high favour with Cardinals and ecclesiastical dignitaries. Valdés could not be one of these persons, for he died in 1540,¹ nor Ochino,² for he left Italy in 1542, nor Contarini,³ for he also died in 1542. The Cardinals Bembo and Sadoleto, Paleario's great friends, died in 1547, but he was well known to Cardinal Pole, and intimate with Cardinals Filonardi and Maffei. Flaminio lived in the house of Cardinal Pole who was legate at Viterbo. Another eminent reformer, Carnasecca or Carnesecchi,⁴ was cited to Rome in 1546 under suspicion of heresy, but he was not accused of writing the *Beneficio*,⁵ and Laderchi says, that having successfully defended himself before Paul III. he quitted Italy, and did not return till 1552.⁶ There remains then, as far as we know, only Paleario and Flaminio to whom Vergerio's description can apply. Paleario publicly acknowledged having written a book on the same subject as the *Beneficio*, about the same period, and with the identical title. Flaminio was known to have written an apology in its favour. We cannot therefore be far wrong in fixing on Paleario as the author, and Flaminio as the reviser of this precious volume.

Vergerio's opinion of this book is worthy of note. "The book entitled *Beneficio di Christo* is circulated in Italian, I do not think it is translated into German or Latin. Many are of opinion that in our day nothing has ever been written in Italian so sweetly pious and simple, or so calculated to instruct the weak and ignorant, especially in the article of justification. I may add that Reginald Pole, an English Cardinal, the intimate friend of Morone, was thought to be the author of this book, or at least to have had a considerable share in its composition. It is however certain that he both defended it and

¹ See CHAP. VI. ² See CHAP. IX. ³ See CHAP. VII. ⁴ See CHAP. XXIII.

⁵ One of the articles of accusation against Carnesecchi at his subsequent trial was that he held the same heretical opinions contained in the *Beneficio*, a proof that he was not considered the author. Art. 34: "*Tandem cumctas hereses et errores in libro, de Beneficio Christi, contentos sectatus est, falsæque doctrinæ ac institutioni quam à Joh. Valdesio Præceptore suo didicerat adhæsit.*"—Gerdes, *Specimen Italie Reformate*, p. 148; and Schelhorn, *Amæn.* tom. ii. p. 205.

⁶ Laderchi, *Annales*, tom. xxii. p. 325.

promoted its diffusion in unison with his friends Flaminio, Priuli, and others of his school."¹

The earliest historical notice of the *Beneficio* is to be found in the ms. life of Paul IV. by Antonio Caracciolo. He was a bigoted Theatine, one of those slavish servants of the Romish Church, who for the honour of the Papal See would have dragged his own father to the stake. His work is a defence of the Inquisition, and a laudatory commendation of its originator Cardinal Caraffa.² Before we give any extracts from this ms. work relating to the *Beneficio*, we must premise that Caracciolo was not contemporary with any of the reputed authors of the prohibited books, and that though he had free access to the *Compendium Processuum*, a summary of trials in books of the Inquisition, yet as to facts in general he writes from hearsay, and eagerly adopts any report unfavourable to the reformers.³ He quotes the great historical work by De Thou, a proof that he wrote after its publication, which was about 1609, at which time it was put in the Index.

We subjoin some extracts from Caracciolo relating to the *Beneficio*. "In Zurich there was a pedant called M. S. Angelo, who staid a long time at Venice, and from that city sent to his accomplices the pestiferous books *del Beneficio di Christo*. The aforesaid books were written by a Benedictine, they were very pernicious, and on this account were diligently sought after by the Inquisition."⁴

"In Modena the heretics gave more trouble than in any other part of Italy. There was the vicar of Cardinal Morone named Bianco di Borghis, who was strongly suspected of heresy. There

¹ "Quod libellum intitulatum *Beneficium Christi* distribuendum curaverit, et bibliopolæ hæretico, seu de hæresi suspecto mandaverit, ut hujusmodi libellos venderet, quam pluribus posset, et iis qui non haberent, dono traderet, quia ipse pecuniam illorum solveret."—Schelhorn, *Aman.* tom. xii. p. 537.

² "Per opera del nostro Padre Paolo IV. fu eretto in Roma il Tribunale del S. Offitio, fortissimo ferro degl' eretici, et egli stesso a tempi nostri fu inventore del Indice de' Libri prohibiti, come zelantissimo della santa fede Cattolica."—Vita MS. di Gio. Pietro Caraffa, capo iii. Brit. Mus.

³ For an instance see CHAP. VI. p. 229.

⁴ "In Zurigo fu trovato un pedante chiamato M. S. Angelo il quale stette ancora in Vinetia un tempo, e da quella città mandava i pestiferi libri del *Beneficio di Christo*, a suoi complici. I detti libri furono composti da un Benedettino e furono molti perniciosi e per cio cercato con gran diligenza dall' Inquisizione."—Caracciolo, MS. p. 118.

was Antonio Gadaldino, a Modenese bookseller,¹ a thorough heretic with all his family. He sold a great many copies of the *Beneficio di Christo*, a most pernicious book which taught justification by faith alone, imputed through the merits of Christ, in the Lutheran style. This is the same book which we have mentioned above as so precious to the heretics that they printed it many times, and the said Gadaldino not only sold but also reprinted it."

In Modena also Friar Bartolomeo Pergola was sent by Cardinal Morone to preach. Through the influence of Soranzo Bishop of Bergamo he was requested to go to Rome and speak to Morone. He invited him to dinner, conversed with him, and found he was a Lutheran. He had with him in Rome the book of the *Beneficio di Christo*; it was given to him by a person named Guido di Fano. He preached many heresies at Modena, but Morone induced him afterwards to retract.²

"Cardinal Cortese, of Modena, though a Benedictine monk and highly esteemed for his learning and excellence, was called to account for having read and approved the book *del Beneficio di Christo*."³

We close these extracts with that which forms the single ground which induces the learned historian Ranke to dissent from the almost unanimous opinion of past ages that this treatise was written by Paleario.

"Concerning this book *del Beneficio di Christo*, besides what

¹ "In Modena gli heretici fecero piu faccende che in niuna parte d' Italia. Quivi fu il Vicario del Card. Morone chiamato Bianco di Borghis, e molti sospetti d' heresia. Vi fu Antonio Gadaldino libraio Modenese heretico marcio con tutta la sua famiglia, vendè costui molti volumi del *Beneficio di Christo*, libro pernizioso che insegnava la giustificatione ex sola fede et ex meriti Christi imputatino alla Luterana. Questo è quel libro di cui si disse di sopra cosi caro agl' heretici che fu da loro stampato molte volte el il d'º Gadaldino non solo lo vendè, ma anco lo ristampò." Compend. V. Antonio. Caracciolo, MS. p. 119.

² "In Modena fu parimente mandato del Card. Morone a predicare un Frate Bartolomeo Pergola. Costui per opera del Soranzo Vescovo di Bergamo fu invitato a Roma che andasse a parlare a Morone. Morone l' invitò a pranzo ragionò con lui e la conobbe per Luterano, hebbi in Roma il libro del *Beneficio di Christo* da un certo Guido da Fano."—*Ibid.* p. 120.

³ "Il Cardinale Cortese Modenese ancorchè Religioso Benedettino di grande stima per bontà e per lettere fu nondimeno senza rispetto alcuno inquisito dal S. Offitio per aver letto et approvato il libro del *Beneficio di Christo*." Compend. V. Card. Cortesius.—*Ibid.* Capo iii. p. 120.

has been said above, its author was a monk of S. Severino in Naples, a Sicilian, and a disciple of Valdés. Flaminio revised it, he being also deeply infected. It was printed repeatedly by order of Morone, and deceived many because it treated of justification in an attractive but heretical manner, attributing all to faith, and erroneously explaining the words of St. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans. It made light of works and merits, and this being the article on which so many prelates and friars of that age stumbled, it spread very widely, and was by many approved; in Verona alone it was understood and disapproved."¹

On this last note we may remark that Caracciolo, in saying the author is a monk of S. Severino, does not support this by referring to his name in the Inquisitors' Compendium of trials, as he does in all other cases. In a former page he observes that it was written by a Benedictine monk, but he does not say this monk of S. Severino² was a Benedictine. The disapprobation which the *Beneficio* met with at Verona was probably from Lippomano, chief coadjutor of Verona and Bishop of Bergamo; he was a great enemy of what he called the *mala erba Luterana*. Having heard that during his absence on a mission from the Pope the reformed opinions had made great progress, and that many books in Italian had been printed and circulated among the people, he gave directions for the suppression of these dangerous books, and among them he numbered the *Beneficio*. The Church of Rome, however unwilling to come openly into the field of religious discussion, was compelled by the activity and popular influence of the reformers to meet them on their

¹ "Circa quel libro del *Beneficio di Christo*, oltre quello che ho detto di sopra fu il suo autore un Monaco di S. Severino in Napoli Siciliano, discepolo di Valdés. Fu revisore del d'º libro il Flaminio anche egli gravemente infetto. Fu stampato molte volte perchè trattava della giustificatione con dolce modo, ma hereticamente attribuendo ogni cosa alla sola fede, e falsamente esponendo le parole de S. Paolo nell' Epistola dei Romani. Avviliva l' opere e gli meriti, e perchè questo è quell' articolo nel quale inciamparono gran parte dei Prelati e dei Frati di quell' età, però hebbe grande spaccio e fu da molti approvato, e solo in Verona fu conosciuto e reprobato." Compend. V. Benefic. Chr. Caracciolo, MS. p. 121.

² It may be just noted, though not in the way of argument, that Paleario was of San Severino lineage; a Neapolitan relationship with him was acknowledged by the Prince of Salerno. We have no reason to believe that Paleario was ever called San Severino, but it is not impossible that his friends might have spoken of him as of the San Severino family. San Severino, the place from whence the princely house of Salerno took its rise, is near La Cava, in the kingdom of Naples.

own ground, and to encourage the circulation of expositions and treatises in Italian on the doctrines of the Church.

Luigi Lippomano, a Venetian, was successively Bishop of Modena, Verona, and Bergamo, and employed in several political missions as nuncio. He was learned in languages, sacred history, and theology, and compiled a list of ancient interpreters in Greek and Latin on Genesis, Exodus, and some of the Psalms. In 1553 he published in Italian *La confermazione e stabilimento di tutti i dogmi Cattolici*,¹ which had been begun under his direction at Verona, and was revised and enlarged by himself the following year; also an Exposition in Italian of the Apostles' Creed. But his favourite and most extensive work was a history of the Lives of the Saints, in seven volumes. As he was superior in learning to most writers on this subject, his work was much applauded by the academies and by the Council of Trent.¹

Schelhorn,² Gerdes,³ Bayle,⁴ unanimously ascribe the

¹ Tiraboschi, tom. vii. p. 328. See *Scrinium Antiquarium*, vol. iii. p. 300, for a correspondence between Lippomano, when legate and bishop of Verona, and the Polonese prince Nicholas Radvill, in 1556.

² "Crediderim autem ego, laudati libelli auctorem non ipsum Polum, sed pium Jesu Christi martyrem, propter veritatem evangelii Romæ MDLXIX. igne exustum, Aonium Palearium, ipsi familiariter cognitum et adamatum, fuisse. In hunc enim libellum convenire mihi videntur ea quæ ipsemet Palearius in oratione pro se ipso ad Patres conscriptos Reip. Senensis habita commemorat." Schelhornii Amœn. *Hist. Eccl.* tom. i. p. 167. Ed. 1737; and *de Mino Cæleo Senensi*, pp. 24, 25.

³ "Sed et, diversatus adhuc Senis, aureolum libellum *de meritis mortis Christi* Tusce scripsit, qui Papæ satellites in eum armavit, cujus testis est PALEARIUS in Oratione *pro se ipso ad Patres conscriptos Reip. Senensis habita*." —Gerdes, *Specimen Italiæ Reformata*, p. 152. Ed. 1765.

⁴ "Les moines qui tacherent de le perdre a Sienne, le decroioient comme un heretique, parcequ' il declaroit assez nettement qu' il disaprovoit certaines su-

"I am of opinion that the author of this highly lauded book was not Pole, but that pious martyr of Jesus Christ, Aonio Paleario, who was burned at Rome in 1569¹ for the truth of the Gospel, he was intimately acquainted with Pole, and much beloved by him. What Paleario states in the oration in his own defence to the Senate of Siena appears to me to coincide with this book."

"While staying at Siena he wrote in Italian a golden little book on the merits of Christ's death, which armed the Pope's followers against him. Of this, Paleario himself is a witness, in an oration in his own defence to the Senate of Siena."

"The monks who tried to ruin him at Siena decried him as a heretic, because he plainly declared his disapprobation of certain superstitions. Besides this they

Beneficio to Paleario. Tiraboschi¹ says he was considered the author.

Laderchi,² the continuator of the Annals of Baronius, proves that Paleario was a heretic by shewing that he had published a book infected with heresy. Lazzari also alludes to his being accused of writing this book. "From his Oration we find other things against him; we shall bring forward only one.³ He had

perstitutions. Outre cela ils n'aprouvoient pas le livre qu' il avoit fait sur le merite de la mort de Jesus Christ." In *the margin* "cette ouvrage s' est perdu. Il etait en Italien. Voyez en le plan dans le 3me harangue de Palearius."

¹ " *Il Trattato del Beneficio di Christo* che vuolsi opera del Paleario stampato verso il 1544, e in quest' anno confutato da Ambrogio Catarino." Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 259.

² "Ediderat Palearius libellum in quo subdole lethale Hæresium virus absconderat; eaque de causa incommodi aliquid, ac molestiæ à duobus religiosis viris, apud Inquisitionis officium passus fuerat. Rem adeo indigne tulerat ut in oratione Senis habita, et quidem ad Senensis Republicæ Patres conscriptos ista protulerit, quæ in medium producere non piguit."—Laderchi *Annales*, tom. xxiii. p. 22, et seq.

³ Lazzari *Miscellaneorum*, tom. ii.

Both these writers were Roman Catholics, and had access to the documents of the Inquisition.

In the preface to the *Amsterdam* edition the author, who is either Grevio or Jan de Witt, (Schelhorn in his *Mino Celso* says the latter), remarks:

"Denique quod non ita pridem librum scripisset *de meritis mortis Jesu Christi*;" and again, "liber ille, quem nos unum magno redemptum velimus *de meritis mortis Jesu Christi*, sermone itidem vulgari conceptus."

did not approve of the book he had written on the Benefit of the death of Christ.

"This work is lost. It was in Italian. See the plan of it in the 3rd Oration by Paleario."

"The Treatise on the Benefit of Christ's death is thought to have been written by Paleario about the year 1544, and confuted the same year by Ambrosio Caterino."

"Paleario published a book in which he craftily infused the mortal poison of heresy, and on that account, by means of two monks he had been exposed to some trouble and annoyance from the office of the Inquisition. He was so indignant at this treatment that in an oration to the Senate at Siena he did not hesitate publicly to bring forward the same opinions."

"Finally he filled up the measure of his offences by having written a short time before a book on the Benefits of Christ's death;" and again, "that book written in Italian on the Benefits of the Death of Christ, one copy of which I would gladly buy at any price."

Aonii Palearii *Opera*, *Prefatio*. Amstelædami, 1696. See also the Jena edition, with a Dissertation on the life, merits, and fate of Aonio Paleario, by Halbauer, who says, when deploring the loss of so many of Paleario's works—

"et qui primo loco nominandus fuisset, *librum illum aureum de meritis mortis Christi* sermone Tusco exaratum." p. 42.

"and that golden book which ought to be mentioned first, on *the Benefits of the Death of Christ*, composed in Italian."

written a book on the benefits of Christ's death, which Halbauer erroneously imagines to be one of the lost works of Paleario, the want of which he so deeply deploras.

The reader has now before him in chronological order an account of some of the principal authors who have believed Paleario to be the author of the *Beneficio*. The unanimity on this point has been so great that it seems almost matter of surprise that there should now be any difference of opinion. Of modern historians, to mention the name of M'Crie is to bring forth a host of evidence. No English writer has so thoroughly studied the state of Italy, and the writings and sufferings of the Italian reformers, as he has done.¹ He has contrived to extract by far the most interesting portion of the mass of historical documents before him, and to excite in the reader's mind an intense desire to know more of these heroes of the Reformation. He states it as a fact that "Paleario gave the greatest offence by a book which he wrote on the benefit of the death of Christ," and says in a note that it was translated into English and read in Scotland.² He had not himself seen a copy, but extracts some portions of it from a German review. The eminent Ranke, who for depth of philosophic observation and concentration of matter may be styled the prince of modern historians, is, we believe, the first who ventured to impugn Paleario's authorship. He owns it had been imputed to him, but says that "it had wholly vanished, and is no longer to be found." His account is as follows. "About the year 1540 a little book, *On the Benefits bestowed by Christ*, obtained circulation, which, as a notification by the Inquisition expresses it, 'treated in an insinuating manner of justification, undervalued works and merits, and ascribed everything to faith alone; and forasmuch as this was the very point on which so many prelates and monks stumbled, the book has been diffused to an unusual extent.' The name of the author has been frequently enquired after; this notification distinctly identifies him. 'It was a monk of San Severino,' it asserts, a pupil of Valdés. Flaminio revised it."³

The single authority which Ranke quotes is in the MS. life of

¹ *Reformation in Italy*, by Thomas M'Crie, D.D. 1827.

² "*Four benefits of Christ, the piece, 2sh.* Testament of Thomas Bassinden, printer in Edinburgh, who deceased 18th October, 1577." p. 82. Ed. Blackwood.

³ *Hist. of the Popes*, by L. Ranke, Kelly's translation, p. 38.

Paul IV. by Caracciolo. We have already given the passage from the original.¹ The name of the monk, either Benedictine or S. Severino, is, as we have seen, not given. It would appear that it was not within the plan of the learned historian to study the history or writings of the Italian reformers, for he says, "the writings of Valdés have wholly disappeared."² This is far from being the case; though rare, they are to be found in most public libraries.³ In a note, Ranke, alluding to Paleario's own admission that he had written "this year a work on the numerous advantages conferred on mankind by the death of Christ," remarks, "the passage quoted from Palearius does not so distinctly indicate this book as to make it certain none other is meant: Palearius says he was called to account for it the same year, while, on the contrary, the words of the Compendium admit of no doubt;" then, after citing what we have before given, *quel libro fu da molti approbato, solo in Verona, fu conosciuto e reprobato, dopo molti anni fu posto nell' Indice*, "for these reasons," he says, "he differs in opinion from the learned scholars who attribute the *Beneficio* to Paleario."⁴ But are the "reasons" conclusive? The first edition extant is that of 1543. It was put in the Index in 1549. What was there to prevent its being written in 1542, the year in which Paleario was called to account for writing such a book?

Macaulay, copying from Ranke, declared in his review of the History of the Popes, that the original of the *Beneficio* was "hopelessly lost." In 1847 the Religious Tract Society reprinted the English translation of 1638,⁵ which had been made from a French copy.⁶ It was reserved for a modern scholar to convince

¹ See p. 335.

² See CHAP. VI.

³ At Geneva, Oxford, and especially at Cambridge, several of his works are to be found.

⁴ Ranke, *Hist. of the Popes*, pp. 38, 56. Kelly's translation, 1843.

⁵ From a copy in the Rev. J. Ayre's possession, who, in consequence of a notice in the *Christian Observer* by the late Rev. Mark Wilks, in 1846, interested himself about the "Benefit," and was the first to bring it forward. He has added an introduction, containing a short life of Paleario, copied chiefly from M'Crie's *Reform. in Italy*.

⁶ The earliest French translation was printed at Lyons in 1545. Mr. Babington has added a French translation of 1552; also an English version made directly from the Italian in 1548, by Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire. This beautiful MS. in the University Library was presented fifteen years ago by the Rev. R. W. Johnson, of Packwood, Henley-in-Arden, Warwickshire, and is a curiosity worthy of admiration. For a facsimile, see Babington's *Introduction*, pp. 80, 84.

the world that this famous treatise, so far from being "irrecoverably lost," had been lying unnoticed for a hundred years in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge. Not only Italian scholars, but all lovers of divine truth, are under the deepest obligations to this learned editor for the zeal and diligence employed in giving the long-lost *Beneficio* to the public. He has also published the first English translation in 1548, from a ms. in the University Library at Cambridge. Since the publication of the original copy of the *Beneficio*, another has been discovered in the University Library, and no doubt there are many more in existence,¹ especially in Italy.

In Mr. Babington's Introduction the reader will find all that critical acumen and patient research can bring forward on the authorship of this precious volume. It supplies nearly all that is needed on the subject. Presumptive proof is strong that Paleario was the author; positive demonstration is impossible, the work being anonymous. The greater part of the remarks in the preceding pages were written before the publication of this able epitome. In support of the same views we have brought forward internal proofs that the doctrines of the *Beneficio* corresponded with Paleario's train of thought and the theological studies in which he was engaged at the time; we have shewn that he wrote at the same period other anonymous works of the same tenour. These statements are corroborated by the ms. note found in the library of Siena.²

The *Beneficio* was evidently written either in Tuscany or by a person who had studied the pure Tuscan idiom. A very moderate acquaintance with the various modes of expression, both oral and written, in different parts of Italy, would be sufficient to convince the reader that the Italian in which it is written is not Neapolitan.³ This narrows the compass of authorship, though it opens a field of criticism more suitable for a native than a foreigner; but the publication of the original affords great facility for submitting it to the Della Crusca test.

Mr. Gibbings, in his interesting little volume containing the trial and martyrdom of Carnesecchi, makes the date (1543)

¹ See Appendix I.

² See p. 342.

³ One distinctive mark of some Neapolitan writers, even at the present day, is the omission of the *h*; for instance *ho*, I have, the Neapolitans write *o*, and *hanno*, *anno*.

of the copy found at Cambridge an objection to its being written by Paleario;¹ but if this be the only difficulty, it is easily got over. First, we have no certainty that this was the first edition. Printing, we must recollect, was at that time almost in its infancy, and it is very probable that the book was at first only written out, and privately circulated. Paleario wrote a clear roundhand, and left more than one of his works in MS.: he had friends both among the Augustines and the Capuchins who might easily have assisted him in multiplying copies; he does not say that in this same year he published or printed, but that he had written (*scripsissem*). We in this printing age take these words synonymously, but this was not the case in the sixteenth century. A work written and acknowledged in the month of August or September 1542 might very naturally have a first or even a second edition printed in 1543.

Another and more important solution of the difficulty may be found in the various periods at which the year was then calculated to commence. At Florence, Pisa, and Milan, the year began at the Annunciation or Incarnation, which was kept on the 25th of March. Some dated the beginning of the year from the Nativity or Circumcision; this would make a difference of three months in the dates of years. The Florentine era of 1542 would extend to 1543.² The historical events to which Paleario however alludes in his Oration all happened in 1542. Sadoletto was that year sent legate to France. Ochino fled from Italy in the month of August, and Sfondrato was governor of Siena.³

¹ Mr. Gibbings seems to think that Carneseochi lived at Naples, and was the author of the *Beneficio*, but he was only an occasional visitor, as his life and correspondents testify. Had he been even suspected as the author it would have been brought against him on his trial, but he is only accused of having the book in his possession and of having read it. Caracciolo, who ascribes it to a monk of S. Severino, wrote about 1611, sixty-eight years after its publication; and Laderchi, who thinks Valdés was the author, died in 1728, so he wrote at least one hundred years after it saw the light.

² "L' era de' Fiorentini stendeva l' Anno sino al di 25 di Marzo; in cui dava principio ad un altro. Però secondo esso l' Anno 969 durava nel Gennajo del nostro volgare Anno 970."—Muratori, *Antichità Italiane*, tom. ii. dissert. 34, p. 54.

³ See Sleidani *Comment.* p. 416. Ed. Argent. 1621; he says Sadoletto was sent on the 26th August, 1542. In his *Epistolarum* there is an epistle of the latter to William, Duke of Bavaria, dated Rome, 23 May, 1542. Compare also *Archivio Storico*, Sozzini, *Rivoluzioni di Siena*, p. 24, by which we find that Sfondrato arrived at Siena at the close of the year 1541, and staid *due anni in circa*, and that in 1543 he was replaced by Giovanni de Luna. See also extracts from Archives of Siena, Appendix B.

In a letter to Theodore Zuinger¹ of Basle, Paleario alludes to an epistle² which he wrote to the German and Swiss reformers, on the calling of a general Council. It was composed either at the close of 1542 or at the beginning of 1543, when Paul III.³ was preparing to set out on a progress through his states; he was to pass by Bologna, and give Charles V. a meeting in the north of Italy. Paleario says the Council was convoked for the 6th April of that year, but though it was nominally assembled in March 1542, no business was done and it did not actually sit till 1545. Paleario had great hopes that the Pope would himself be present, and that a serious discussion would take place between the Protestants and Roman Catholics; but this was never contemplated by the papal party.

The letter to which we now refer was published by Schelhorn in his Ecclesiastical history; he found it written anonymously in Latin in the Guelpherbitan library;⁴ but he says it proceeded from the pen of Paleario, who to his universal knowledge joined great oratorical powers, "and whose blameless life and glorious death had immortalised his name. That blessed man doubtless had weighty reasons for not affixing his name, and using only the appellation of 'Servant of Jesus Christ;' yet I am perfectly sure that this epistle belongs to him." He then brings forward his proofs, which are that it is alluded to in his preface to the Testimony against the Popes, which was found in his own handwriting.⁵ He there, as here, calls himself 'Servant of Jesus Christ,' and says, "The letters which I wrote some years ago to the Swiss and Germans without signing them, shew what were my hopes and opinions. God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is my witness how for a long time past I have entreated the Christian princes to summon learned men to preside over a Council to be held in their presence that I might render a firm

¹ See CHAP. XXIV.

² It is mentioned in the *History of the Augsburg Confession*, by Saligius, Part II. lib. v. cap. ii. p. 66, *sqq.*

³ Paul III. left Rome on the 26th February, 1543, and met Charles at Bussoto, near Piacenza, on the 21st of May or June. See Platina, *Vite dei Papi*. Vandenesse, *Itinerary*, by Bradford. Sadoleti *Epist.* pp. 829, 831. Ed. 1554. Pallavicino, *Concilio di Trento*, tom. ii. p. 283.

⁴ See Schelhorn, *Amœn.* tom. i. p. 448.

⁵ It was accidentally discovered at Siena, written out fairly and neatly in his own handwriting, after having lain concealed for fifty years.—*Palearii Opera*, p. 201.

and holy testimony, and die if necessary for Jesus Christ." Another proof that Paleario was the author is the style, and the same expressions being used with regard to the Licinian and Ebutian law in this letter to the Swiss and Germans which we find in his oration in favour of Bellanti. This law he quotes against the Pope and the Cardinals being judges in their own cause, and avers that it is an article in Roman jurisprudence "that neither colleagues, friends, nor kinsmen" should be entrusted with the entire management of their own cause.

It is a very valuable letter, in an historical point of view, as it conspicuously sets forth his religious opinions, and fully unfolds the sanguine hopes which good men in Italy entertained of the Council. The project was a grand one; a free open assembly, a kind of religious parliament in which each nation had its representatives, and where all were allowed to speak their opinions both fearlessly and candidly. It had been already tried on a small scale in Germany and Switzerland, and the free discussion of Scripture truth had been attended with great success. We cannot wonder that among the Italians men like Paleario should have had equal hopes of enlightenment; but alas! the difficulties were of another order than those of Germany or Switzerland. The enquirers were met at every turn by a compact body of men called the Church, drawn up in close phalanx, sworn to perpetuate abuses under the authority of the Romish See, and armed with power to advance their own interests, such as no other body of men ever enjoyed. They united the claims both of body and soul, and of temporal and spiritual dominion.

Paleario's elegant diction and energetic character eminently fitted him to be the mouthpiece of the religious party in Italy; from some hints dropped it would appear that his pen at this period was very active, and that he had written other letters to his brethren in Christ.

EPISTLE OF AONIO PALEARIO ON THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

"Letter of Paleario the Servant of Jesus Christ to Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, Martin Bucer, Calvin, and all the Swiss and Germans who invoke Jesus Christ.

"THE news of what is done at Rome may possibly reach you either by common report, or through messengers sent by many persons before the arrival of my letter; for there is a wonderful lack of trusty letter-

carriers, and the merchants who used to go to your part of the world have become alarmed because they are driven away from every place. Notwithstanding, either because the latest information is the most correct, or because I wish you to know my opinion, it seems neither vain nor useless to send you a short letter, if I can find any one to carry it. The Roman Pontiff is wonderfully busy, preparing to go speedily to Bologna. He uses all diligence in order that his party may be ready on the day fixed. Some are chosen out of the whole number to sit at Trent on the 24th of April. The rest of the court is to follow; those who do not will be regarded as enemies. For this purpose a public letter has been written and printed, and ordered to be affixed to the doors of the churches by their proper officers. Many have assembled in the city to shew their readiness to do what is required of them. These persons make every exertion that nothing may be omitted which can be devised against you. The Pope himself, who at his age is not very robust, does not even devote the night to repose. He has many counsellors, with whom he protracts conversation till the night is far advanced. Sometimes he consults lawyers, or men of experience and shrewdness, add if you please dishonest men. At other times he summons sophists, theologians, or philosophers, who delight in contention, and begs and entreats them to devote themselves to the common cause. He reminds them that in this Council the majesty of the Church of Rome, the fortunes of all the Bishops and of the chief Pontiffs are at stake, presses them to spare neither labour nor diligence to be acute in discussion against you, fluent and eloquent in speech. When he found that he had sufficiently roused and excited them, he applied himself to increasing his party in the College. Yesterday thirteen were admitted; two besides, he said, were in prospect. Do not ask whether this excited our indignation, who are willing to die for Christ. What is this but an unlawful mode of favour, bribery to corrupt the Council? What does he seek but to obtain the good-will of these men who sold their liberty (of speech) by accepting a hat, bought over to alienate them from you; in short, to draw away from the knowledge of the truth both the Emperor and the Kings; taking them, I imagine, for stocks or stones who do not hear these things, nor understand that the Bishop (of Rome), having convoked a Council, can contrive such artifices or practise such deceits. But we are neither so foolish nor so insane as to commit ourselves and the cause of Christ to him and his followers. Judgment must not, must not I say, be trusted to the cupidity of Bishops, who, as it were, form one body, of which the Roman Pontiff is the head. All the members are united and bound to the head, and serve it; if the head be in difficulty they support and sustain it, knowing that through its existence they also live comfortably. His dominion is not so odious to them as one might perhaps suppose, for even the most insignificant parts of the body aspire to it.

“There are in Germany four, or at the most five, Bishops, good and upright men, well skilled in divine things; in Switzerland there are three, and in Italy perhaps two, from whom we can look for anything good. But what can we expect from so great a multitude of unskilled and covetous men, whose adulteries, incests, corruptions, haughtiness, tyranny, cruelty and lusts are insatiable, and are the strongest and

clearest marks of an unchristian state of mind.¹ I cannot indeed see, if we are to abide by the judgment of the Pope and the Bishops, *alios nos habituros sanctiones*, that we shall have other laws² than the very things which they have always approved, and in which they have found their highest dignities and their immense incomes: thus has the most extensive, as well as the most unjust and the most tyrannical empire, been established not only over us but over emperors, kings, and princes.

“By general consent they fight for these things as for their altars and hearths. They say that the ancient customs and old usages of Councils are not to be changed, that neither Emperors nor Kings can subject them to new laws. Even if this were granted, they deny the power of voting in Councils to any one but themselves; let them discuss, they say, as much as they please. There are among us opinionated and contentious men who have for a long time past decided that we must abide by the judgment of the bishops. Puffed up and elated by these notions, they resolve and decree about the Council as on a certain victory already gained. They believe that we shall appear convicted and precondemned by their decision, when we come to the judgment in which they will declare their good pleasure from the city to which they have brought you. What then, you will say, are we not to come to the Council? Let the Turks only be quiet, and the hope of peace which we entertain not fail us.

“But first you must diligently and wisely reflect on the extent of mischief which the great power of these very corrupt bishops will inflict, if we are constrained to abide by their judgment in their own cause. The boldness, impudence, and iniquity of these men can only be repressed by the ancient and most ancient Licinian laws. There is both a Licinian and Ebutian law, which not only deprives him of all management and power who brings the action, but also his colleagues, relations, and kinsmen.³ These most ancient and just laws should be earnestly searched out by the Emperor and the Princes, in order that, in these miserable and most abandoned times, and on account of the great corruption of the bishops, they may be closely followed. There are six hundred statutes, in which it is provided and shewn to be just, that no one can be a judge in his own cause.

“It is to no purpose that they say, they meet together in the Holy Spirit, and are assembled in the name of Christ. He never commanded his people to grasp after riches, or be urgent for the chief seats and

¹ Observe that these were the characters who contended most strongly for the doctrine of salvation by works.

² See Palearii *Opera*, Test. xx. p. 220. Ed. Wetsten.

³ “*Licinia est lex atque altera Ebutia, quæ non modo eum, qui tulerit, de aliqua curatione ac potestate, sed etiam collegas ejus, cognatos, affines exceptit, ne eis ea potestas curatiove mandetur.*” Aonii Palearii *Ep. de Concilio Trident.* Schelhorn, *Amon.* tom. i. p. 453.

Compare this with “*Licinia lex, atque altera Ebutia est, quæ non modò eum qui tulerit de aliqua curatione ac potestate, sed etiam collegas ejus cognatos, affines exceptit, ne eis ea potestas, curatiove mandetur. Etenim si populo consulis, remove te à suspicione alicujus commodi, fac fidem te nihil nisi populi utilitatem et fructum querere.*”—Aonii Palearii *Opera*, Oratio II. *Pro A. Bellante*, p. 59.

things of this kind, for he did not even wish them to be anxious about food or clothing, and promised to be present when two or three are assembled in his name."

Paleario proceeds, after some further observations, to unfold a plan for the general Council, which he says very much resembles what he formerly proposed. Here it is:

"The Emperor, kings, and chiefs of States in England, France, and Germany, Italy, Spain, and other provinces, who call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, should choose men well skilled in divine things, and entirely free from suspicion of papal corruption. The first choice of the States should rest on the holy people of God. The people should report to the leading men those whom they have chosen, and these should ascertain what kind of persons they are whom the people have fixed on. Two ambassadors, the one a patrician the other a plebeian, should report to the Emperor and the Princes the names of the persons chosen. The Princes, having convoked the assembly, should fix upon an equal number, to the amount of six or seven, from each province. The Pope and the Bishops should then elect twelve out of the whole number of bishops, men of unblemished life and holiness, to lay their hands upon the members chosen, and pray over them that the grace of the Holy Spirit may come upon them. These men, thus consecrated, should be appointed by the Pope, the Bishops, the Emperor, the kings and heads of States, as faithful umpires in all discussions; and they should resolve and engage that whatever they decide, determine, or declare, they will resolutely accept and undoubtingly receive. When this decree is fully drawn up (security being given for those, whoever they are, who come to this assembly) it should be proclaimed that every one may speak freely, fearlessly, and safely, and that the Pope, the Bishops, and the Emperor, &c. should pledge themselves that all should be exempt from all edicts, decrees, censures, or punishments, who should either speak or write in presence of these chosen deputies. They are to sit in the place prepared, with the Pope, the Bishops, the Emperor, &c., to hear whatever may be said on either side; which they are afterwards to order to be committed to writing. Let those speak first who are either promoters of the Council, or who, as accusers, determine the subject of controversy or who present petitions. In the second place, let their opponents answer. Their accusations being heard, if any point need discussion let it be argued in presence of these same persons. The controversy closed, let both arguments and answers be written out. When these chosen and holy men have seen and read these articles, not only with their bodily eyes, but digested and weighed them in their minds, let them ascertain that the Gospel, the doctrine of the Apostles, and the Christian commonwealth have sustained no wrong. After invoking the Holy Spirit, let them freely pronounce and decide on that which is best for the glory of Christ and the good of his people.

"This counsel and scheme, such as it is, the brethren have commanded me to write to you. If it meet with your approbation it is desirable that you should take the lead and direction of it. It is the heavy and unhappy lot of the Italians that they have no one from

whom to find assistance when they ask it, nor if they had, would they be allowed to do so. The Swiss, whose minds are alienated from the Roman Babylon, can, by their ambassadors, both ask and obtain this from the king of France, with whom we hear they are in favour; and they can declare that unless the king listen to their request, they will never hereafter follow his party; and that, whether abandoned or assisted, they will leave a public monument of the fact to their children and posterity. The pious Germans will without difficulty obtain this from the Emperor, if they ask it by earnest entreaty, to relieve the cause of Christ, through the means of that Emperor whom they have so faithfully served for many years. The king of England, who is said to be against the Roman Pontiff, may be written to, and entreated both by the Swiss and Germans to adopt this proposal, and not despise the general opinion. All these good and much deserved and most useful and necessary things for the Christian commonwealth you will obtain, if from Christian piety you lay aside all enmities. It is reported among us, and that not obscurely nor ambiguously, that there are great contentions and divisions among you;¹ while you thus differ you cannot agree in one opinion, neither can you meet together in the same place. Ah brethren! grant this to our Christ at least for a time, that we so unite that the adversaries may not be able to sustain our attack. If you have unitedly rejected so many abuses of the Roman Babylon, if you are unanimous in keeping the apostolic commands and in defending the Gospel, and are here of one mind, why should one, or at the most two points distract and separate you? The adversaries advance against you fully equipped, powerful and unanimous. In the name of Jesus Christ muster your forces, lest if the enemy prevail there be no Christianity left for you to assert and defend, should you ever hereafter be so disposed.

“How many things are now to be defended, which in years past you have brought to light. The enemies of the Gospel are to be conquered and overthrown in the Council. If there be any difference of interpretation on some points of Holy Scripture, do not distress yourselves on this account. Let each rest in his own opinion. Hereafter God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom there is no spirit of contention, will grant you in the end to agree, where you now differ.

“Meanwhile undertake to defend and protect those doctrines concerning which you have no vague or uncertain notion, but a firm and decided opinion. What an impression, think you, will be made on those men, whom in Italy, France, and Spain you have roused by your writings, when they hear that not only the Germans are not divided (seeing that God is not the father of dissension, for the adversaries are apt to throw this in your teeth), but that the English and the Swiss are united with them? What will kings and princes say? Will they not think you have a respect for such great nations? If they ask that all may speak without fear or danger, not in presence of corrupt men, but before holy and equitable judges, doubt not that we shall have a sacred, solemn, upright, and incorrupt Council. Ask this with earnest entreaty of the Emperor, kings, and chiefs of States. If

¹ The Sacramentarian controversy is here alluded to.

Christendom could speak it would call on you loudly to do this. Desiring that this counsel of ours may be duly weighed by you, Bucer, Melancthon, and Luther; we beseech you, Calvin, by the Lord Jesus Christ, that you give your utmost diligence that a copy of this letter be delivered to each of them. If my letter should reach them before it reaches you, be not surprised if they forward a copy to you and our Swiss brethren; for we have sent this letter by another courier to Bucer, and if he receives it in safety we have begged him to transmit a copy to you. Farewell, good and faithful minister of Jesus Christ! I commend to you our fellow-servant Bernardino Ochino. In whatever way you assist him you assist Christ. Farewell, my brethren."

CHAPTER IX.

BERNARDINO OCHINO.

BORN 1487. DIED 1564.

ENTERS THE FRANCISCAN ORDER—BECOMES A CAPUCHIN—HIS AUSTERE LIFE—RECEIVES SPIRITUAL LIGHT—PREACHES AT NAPLES BEFORE CHARLES V.—INTIMATE WITH VALDÉS—GREAT REPUTATION AS A PREACHER—HIS DOCTRINE SUSPECTED—FORBIDDEN TO PREACH—SUCCESSFUL DEFENCE—IS REINSTATED—SPREAD OF REFORMED OPINIONS—HERETICAL BOOKS BURNED BY THE VICEROY—INTOLERANT EDICT—ATTEMPT TO INTRODUCE THE INQUISITION—NAPLES RISES IN TUMULT—HAPPY RESULT—ZEAL OF OCHINO—INFLUENCE WITH VITTORIA COLONNA—PREACHES AT MODENA, MILAN, AND VENICE—BEMBO EXTOLS HIM—ELOQUENT ADDRESS IN FAVOUR OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY—PREACHES AT SIENA—CITED TO ROME—GOES TO BOLOGNA—VISITS CARDINAL CONTARINI—LETTER TO THE MARCHIONESS OF PESCARA—LEAVES ITALY—RETIRES TO GENEVA—RAGE OF THE POPE AT HIS ESCAPE—LETTERS OF TOLOMMI AND CARDINAL CARAFA—OCHINO REPLIES—STATE OF GENEVA ON THE ARRIVAL OF OCHINO—CALVIN—DOCTRINAL APOLOGY FOR HIS FLIGHT, ADDRESSED TO THE MAGISTRATES OF SIENA, BY OCHINO—GOES TO BASLE, AUGSBURG, STRASBURG, AND ENGLAND—INVITED TO ZURICH—PASTOR OF AN ITALIAN CHURCH THERE—SYMPTOMS OF UNSOUND DOCTRINE—IS CONFIRMED IN RIGHT VIEWS BY P. MARTYR—AFTER MARTYR'S DEATH PUBLISHES HETERODOX WRITINGS—IS DRIVEN FROM ZURICH AND FROM SWITZERLAND—GOES TO POLAND—TURNED OUT THERE—DIES OF THE PLAGUE—HIS WORKS.

The history of this remarkable man which we are about to relate proves how extensively the doctrines of the Gospel had spread in Italy at the time of his flight, and how eagerly they were received, until their upholders were cut down by the arm of authority, and their books cast into the fire.

It was just at the period of Paleario's trial that the Papal court took the alarm. It felt that if Christ was duly exalted and his spiritual reign established in the heart, Rome was in danger. In order to repress all departure from the laws of the Church the carnal weapons of persecution were called in aid, each

Pope became more severe than the last, more acute in his search after heretics, more merciless in their destruction.

The two preachers, Ochino and P. Martyr, who had been most active in announcing the glad tidings of salvation, had been obliged to fly. Educated as monks, accustomed both by habit and by rule to a blind and passive obedience, they could not venture to sustain the truth by discussion with their superiors, and knew too well the unrelenting severity of the papal see towards heretics to hope for mercy, or to venture on a manly opposition to injustice. From the arbitrary decisions of the Inquisition there was no appeal. They shrank from its ordeal, and feared that torture might shake their constancy and betray them into a denial of those holy truths which in their hearts they so firmly believed. Flight therefore was their only alternative, and for this they had scriptural authority.

Bernardino Ochino was the son of Dominico Tomasini, a man of obscure family at Siena. He was called Ochino or Ocello,¹ not because it was a family name, but he acquired this appellation from living in a district of the city which had for its ensign an *Oca* or white goose on a green field.² It was in the parish of Fontebranda, so called from the ancient family of Branda, who built a great part of that quarter of the city, and erected the beautiful fountain which supplies the whole town with water. It is mentioned by Dante in the 'Inferno,' *Per Fonte Branda non darei la vista.*³

Bernardino Ochino shewed an early propensity for that

¹ To distinguish him from another Bernardino of Siena, of whom Dean Milner says that he was called "the burning coal" from his great zeal in preaching. His advice to clergymen was, "Seek first the kingdom of God, and the Holy Ghost will give you a wisdom which no adversary can withstand." Such was his ardour that he often expressed a desire to sound with a trumpet throughout the world, "How long will ye love simplicity?" He belonged to the order of St. Benedict, founded by Benedict of Narsea, in 529, one of the earliest monastic orders; its rules were at first simple, suited to a society of pious men who associated themselves together to lead a holy and peaceful life, dividing their time between study and prayer, education and philanthropy; but in process of time it became wealthy and corrupt. The founder of this order was eminently useful in opposing idolatry. His zeal suppressed the worship of Apollo, and he introduced Christianity into that region of Italy inhabited by the Samnites, now called the Abruzzi.—See Milner's *Ch. Hist.* Mosheim's *Ecol. Hist.*

² The annual race of the different parishes round the great Square is still kept up with the same ensigns, dresses, and colours they had in the sixteenth century.

³ Girolamo Gigli, *Diario Senese*, vol. i. pp. 20, 409.

austere and ascetic piety which thinks that religion consists in suffering and mortification. The Gospel is not to such persons glad tidings and freedom from bondage, but the worship of a harsh divinity, who, after having endowed man with capabilities for the best and purest enjoyments, takes delight in their self-infliction and misery. With these views Ochino enrolled himself in a branch of the Franciscan order called the *Minore Osservanti*.¹ He is accused of some vacillation of purpose before he took the irrevocable vows, and it is said that he devoted himself for a time to the study of medicine, but subsequently returned to the convent.

The order of St. Francis was originally a very poor and strict order, but in the course of time the monks departed from the austerity of its rules. A Franciscan of the name of Bassi undertook a reformation of the order, and believed that he had received a divine commission for this purpose. To distinguish his band of followers from the more degenerate Franciscans, he added a cowl or sharp pointed hood² to the woollen garment fastened with a white cord round the waist worn by this mendicant order. When Clement VII. gave a papal sanction to the revived strictness of this branch, they were called Capuchins.

As soon as these severe rules were established, Ochino immediately joined this more meritorious society.³ Tiraboschi says it was from the inconstancy of his character; but we are rather inclined to believe what he himself declares, that he sought peace of mind in austerity and discipline, considering it as the best way of serving his Creator. Totally ignorant of the benignant character of God as revealed in the Gospel, unmindful of the new and living way, maceration of the body and self-denial seemed to him the gate of perfection. How long he remained in this state of mind we have no precise data to determine, but we know that for a considerable time he continued very zealous; and that he introduced into his order what is called the forty hours' devotion,⁴ which consisted in holding an image

¹ Francis of Assisi founded this mendicant order in the thirteenth century, from an affectation or excess of humility; he called them *Fraterculi* or *Fraticelli*, little brethren; they were also called *Minores* and *Osservanti*, when the original strictness of their rule came into fresh observance.

² See Mosheim's *Ecol. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 198.

³ *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 294.

⁴ "Siena fu la terza città a riceuere la devozione dalle 40 ore ma in vece del

of Christ crucified for forty hours, occupied the whole time in unceasing contemplation. The idea no doubt was to meditate uninterruptedly on the passion and sufferings of the Saviour; but human nature can with difficulty maintain a lengthened spiritual abstraction; if it were even possible for any one individual to attain so great a measure of divine contemplation, there could be no certainty of its continuance, nor would he have the power of imparting it to others. These enforced contemplations, when they become prescribed duties, necessarily degenerate into external and mechanical movements. Wearied with the hypocritical sanctity to which the heart is a stranger, the imagination must often outstep the limits of the rule, while dreams of freedom and of social bliss intrude unbidden on the lonely hour. Such perhaps were some of the temptations of Ochino, for he was exactly the kind of character liable to discursive thoughts. His impulsive mind had no scope except in the practice of the austerities of his order, and in the exercise of his fine natural eloquence as a preacher. His mortified appearance and saintly reputation drew crowds to hear him, and he was invited to preach from all parts of Italy. "His age," says Bishop Gratian, "his austere manner of life, and the rudeness of his dress, left so powerful an impression on the beholders, that he was looked up to as an extraordinary and highly-favoured personage, and venerated not only by the multitude but also by princes and great men, and by devout ladies not a few. He was received everywhere with the highest honour and consideration, and accompanied on his departure with every mark of respect. In the most magnificent houses, seated at luxurious tables, he still observed the strictness of his rule, ate but of one dish, and that sparingly, and though offered the finest wines drank nothing but water: instead of occupying the rich couch provided for him he slept on the ground wrapped in his cloak. Thus, in an age when the religious orders were universally corrupt and relaxed, he acquired a high reputation for sanctity."¹

We cannot exactly learn how he was first induced to change

Venerabile Sagramento si esponeva il Crocifisso dalle compagnie e cio fecessi a sommissa di Fra Bernardino Tomasini Cappuccino detto per ognuno Ochino che in quell' anno 1540, predicava in Siena nell' Avvento.

¹ See Antonii M. Gratiani *De Vita*, J. F. Commendone Card. lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 123. Parisiis, 1669.

the dry scholastic mode of preaching then in vogue into an earnest appeal to the Gospel and to the conscience. Gratian, who is by no means favourable to him, says he was very choice in his language, and his preaching in the Italian tongue was so eloquent and attractive that he arrested the attention of his hearers. His various journies gave him opportunities of hearing the opinions of the reformers and of meeting with their books, which ever since the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 had been spread throughout Italy. The transition was not unnatural from reform in the cloister to reform in the Church at large, and he soon began to groan under the monkish yoke, and gladly sought liberty from the spiritual bondage which had hitherto enslaved him. When he caught some apprehension of that consoling truth, *not of works lest any man should boast*,¹ the imperfect merit of his observances lost its value, and he began to compare the corruptions of Rome with the light of the Gospel. He gradually attained a clear understanding of the great work which our Lord came to accomplish, and from that time preached in a different strain, and pressed on his hearers the necessity of a change of heart and life.

Charles V., when at Naples in 1536, went often to hear Ochino preach in the church of S. Giovanni Maggiore, and each time with renewed pleasure. Many historians have related as a saying of Charles himself, what Gregorio Rosso records in his journal as an observation: *Predicava con spirito e devotione grande che faceva piangere le pietre*.² Such was the impression he made that all the other churches were left empty. The whole population flocked to hear Friar Bernardino, now thundering in strong impassioned language against luxury and vice, and then with a soft persuasive eloquence dwelling on the truths of the Gospel, and the joy and happiness of walking in the love of God, and in the ways of holiness. His meagre emaciated appearance, pale face, and long white beard told of his holy and self-denying life, and set him forth as an example of the doctrines he advocated. During the whole of Lent, after the departure of the Emperor, he continued his discourses, carefully introducing as much Scripture doctrine as he could venture to announce.

The viceroy of Naples, being a great favourer of scholastic

¹ Eph. ii. 9.

² Greg. Rosso, *Historia delle cose di Napoli dal 1526, fin al 1537*.

divinity, did not much admire this new way of preaching the Gospel, and readily listened to the observations of some monks who asserted that Bernardino was tainted with Lutheranism. Acting upon their suggestions, Toledo desired the grand vicar of Naples to discover the truth; to bring the matter to a decision, he was forbidden to preach until he had publicly declared from the pulpit his opinions on the suspected points; but he defended himself with such singular dexterity that he was not only allowed to continue preaching, but his reputation stood higher than before.¹ Meanwhile he privately attended the religious meetings held by Valdés,² where he was confirmed in his doctrinal views, while at the same time the members of these assemblies were incited and encouraged by his preaching.

In 1538 he was elected vicar-general of his order, and having a natural turn for business, he did honour to the selection by a conscientious fulfilment of his duties. Once in three years he visited all his convents on foot, exhorted his brethren to the observance of their rule of poverty, and to the practice of the virtues of the Gospel.³

Three years after his appearance in the pulpit at Naples, he was invited in 1539 to return thither, to preach during Lent in the Cathedral dedicated to S. Gennaro, the saint of incorruptible and liquefiable blood,⁴ whose body is deposited in

¹ Giannone, *Storia di Napoli*, lib. xxxii. p. 178.

² See CHAP. VI. Some think he was converted by Valdés.

³ "L' Occhino nel 1536, cominciò a vomitar anch' egli alcune propositioni Eretiche nella chiesa di S. Gio. Maggiore, dove predicò la Quaresima. Ma perche con l' austera vita che mostrava con l' habito asprissimo, con il gridar contro vitij, ricopriva il suo veleno non si potè per all' hora senon da pochi conoscer la sua volpina fraude. Pure vi fu alcune che se n' accorse, e fra gli altri, anzi i primi per quanto ho inteso da nostri vecchi, furono i nostri Santi Padri Don Gaetano, e Don Gio. i quali poi piu chiaramente se n' accorsero nel 1539, quando l' Occhino predicando nel pulpito del Duomo, andava spargendo molte cose contra il Purgatorio, contra l' Indulgenze, contra le leggi ecclesiastiche, del digiuno etc. e quel che fù pessimo soleva talhora l' empio frate proferire interrogative quel che Sant' Agostino dice negative. *Qui facit te sine te non salvabit te sine te?* dando in questo modo ad intendere tutt' il contrario di quel che insegna Sant' Agostino: cioè che sola *fides sufficit*, e che Iddio ci salva senza che noi facciamo opera alcuna per cooperar con Dio. Andavano attorno i scritti prima, e poi i libri stampati di costoro, come di tanto profeti, e già in pochi anni non solo i plebei et ignoranti, ma anche molti Signori, e Signore nobili, e molti Religiosi e Preti se n' erano infetti e si facevano conferenze e conventicole secreti tra di loro, e si prestavan scritti l' un all' altro di cotali dottrina pestifere."—Caracciolo, *Vita di Paulo IV.* MS. Thuanus, *Hist.* tom. i.

⁴ "This supposed blood," says Eustace, "is kept in a vial in the *Tesoro*, a round

a rich subterranean chapel under the Cathedral. This beautiful building, with its elegant Corinthian columns, and richly adorned with works of art, was crowded almost to suffocation, so eager were the Neapolitans to hear the celebrated Friar. He was now more guarded and mysterious in his expressions, and made use of ambiguous phrases and obscure definitions that he might be able to defend himself if called to account. The subjects however which he chose and the way he treated them were altogether unusual. Justification, faith, works, the power of the Pope, purgatory, points which had hitherto been considered too sacred for public discussion, were thus brought before a popular audience, and became the theme of common conversation. Religion was no longer considered as a subject belonging exclusively to the clergy; but men began to see that in the Gospel all were invited to share its blessings. Then the unlearned artisans, and even the women, ventured to converse upon the Epistles of St. Paul, and to compare one text with another.¹ This spiritual awakening extended so widely that when Bernardino left Naples, numbers were shaken in their belief of Romish infallibility; and were desirous of examining the Scriptures as the paramount authority in matters of faith.

Vergerio very truly said,² "Italy is more advanced than people think . . . both within and without she has men of undaunted courage, who with the tongue and the pen strive for nothing but to shew forth Jesus Christ, who died on the cross for his elect. This is the light which shews us far better what are our corruptions and superstitions, and how to get rid of them, than the twelve sheets which contain the grievances of the Germans."³

chapel so called which has seven altars; it is considered as the most valuable of its deposits, and indeed as the glory and the ornament of the cathedral, and of the city itself."—Eustace, *Class. Tour*, vol. i. p. 340. It may perhaps be recollected that when the French, under Napoleon, took possession of Naples, they were obliged to use threats to make the blood liquefy, but they succeeded admirably.

¹ *Storia di Antonino Castaldo*, lib. i., apud Giannone, *Storia di Napoli*, lib. xxxii. p. 179.

² "La Italia è più avanti che qualch' uno non pensa. . . . Ella ha per dentro, e anche di fuori, de bravi spiriti, li quale con la lingua, e con la penna, non fanno altro, che mostrar Giesù Christo morto in Croce per gli suoi eletti, e questa e un luce, la quale può meglio mostrare quali sono gli abusi, e quali le superstitione, e quale la porta da uscirne fuori, che non possono quelle xij carte dove sono dipinte le querelle de Tedeschi."—*Il Catalogo*, Brit. Museum.

³ An allusion to the 100 Grievances presented to Pope Adrian.

We have seen in the history of Valdés the ready reception which the Gospel met with at Naples, and there can be no doubt that the preaching of Ochino and Peter Martyr contributed to increase the number of converts. On quitting Naples in 1539 he left behind him many sincere disciples. Among others Giovanni Mollio of Montalcino, a Franciscan monk.

In vain the preachers of the old school, favoured by Toledo, declaimed against the pestilential doctrine of the Lutherans; their most popular preacher, Friar Angelo, a Franciscan, and the viceroy's confessor, was followed by few; while those who preached in the same strain as Ochino were diligently sought; particularly Giovanni Mollio of Montalcino near Siena. After being an opposer he became a zealous partisan of the Gospel. At Bologna he had got into difficulties with the clerical party, and been rescued from prison by the general of his order. We shall hear more of him hereafter. Lorenzo Romano, a Sicilian, was a convert of a different stamp; he had not counted the cost, and fell away in the hour of persecution.

He received the truth at first with joy, and went about secretly disseminating his opinions, expounding the Psalms and the Epistles of St. Paul, and recommending the "Benefits of the death of Christ." When cited before the ecclesiastical court he fled in dismay, his ardour cooled, and he finally, in presence of Cardinal Caraffa, confessed his error. Thus far he was guided by terror and instability, but his ignoble spirit was more fully displayed by basely betraying his former disciples in Naples. The Theatine monks, who boasted of being the discoverers of heresy, induced him to reveal those who frequented the secret assemblies, and he gave the Cardinal the names of many eminent persons and ladies of rank who had adopted the reformed opinions. As soon as Romano was irrecoverably committed with his former friends, he was commanded to make a public recantation in the Cathedrals of Naples and of Caserta, and then return to Rome to finish a round of penance and abjuration; thus exhibiting to the public a melancholy instance of inconstancy and treachery.

The viceroy was much disturbed by the rumours of these changes; every deviation from the belief of the Church was called impiety, and apostasy from the Christian religion, and punished as such. To obviate the spread of the reformed

opinions great efforts were made to prevent books being introduced into the kingdom of Naples. Many appeared without the author's name, written by Melancthon and Erasmus,¹ and some with travestied signatures.² We have already mentioned two which were extensively circulated and eagerly read. Both contained clear statements of Scriptural truth, and were openly applauded, till the viceroy, informed by father Ambrosio of the evangelical and heretic tendencies of these books, commissioned him to collect them in bundles and burn them publicly before the gate of the archiepiscopal palace. This act of Vandalism was accompanied by the proclamation of tremendous threats against whoever read, or kept in their houses such dangerous books.

The historian Giannone makes the following curious reflection on this circumstance: "This severity had such an effect that no more was heard about these books, *and if any ventured to speak of the Scriptures* it was with more reserve and respect than before."³

In order to crush every effort for liberty of conscience, the viceroy issued a decree forbidding all books of theology or expositions of Scripture published within the last twenty-five years to be reprinted. Those already in circulation were ordered to be shewn to the vicar-general, and he was to decide whether they were of such a nature that they might be sold, or retained by those who possessed them. All anonymous writings on religion were absolutely disallowed. This was a serious blow not only to intercommunion of thought but to every species of literature. Associations of learned men were watched with jealous suspicion, under the natural and logical conclusion that if men were allowed to use their intellectual faculties in concert, they might pass from literature to philosophy, and from thence merge into the forbidden region of theology.

To provide an impregnable barrier against liberty of thought and freedom in religious opinions, nothing seemed so suitable as

¹ "Inter quos erant quedam Melancthonis scripta, itemque alius, cui titulus, *Seminarium Scripture*, et nonnulla Erasmi *Meletemata*. *Gerdes' Specimen Ital. Ref.* p. 82.

² Melancthon was called Ippofilo da Terra Negra; Postello, Helia Pandoches; Zuingle, Coricio Cogelio; Giulio di Milano, Girolamo Savonese. *Catalogo* by Vergerio, 1549.

³ *Storia* di Antonino Castaldo, lib. i., apud Giannone *Storia*, lib. xxxii. p. 185.

the Inquisition. Caracciolo in his MS. life of Paul IV. says that in 1539 "there was scarcely a city in Italy that was not infected with heresy; learned men were more disposed than others to become heretics. False doctrine everywhere abounded, and it was a most deplorable thing to see the monks, who were bound to be zealous professors of the Catholic faith, the most deeply infected, and doing the greatest mischief to Christendom both by their irregular and scandalous lives, and by their wicked and impious doctrine."¹

The Pope, at a loss for a remedy, called to his counsels the Cardinal Teatino (Caraffa), and enjoined him to consider how best they could oppose the prevailing heresy. The Cardinal's imperious nature was pleased with the commission; and his biographer relates "that after many and repeated prayers to God, he returned secretly to the Pope and told him that, for the glory of God, the establishment of the authority of the Apostolic See, there was nothing better than the erection of a supreme tribunal of the Inquisition in Rome, like that of Spain, only of higher and more irrefragable authority."²

Charles V., who was familiar with all its horrors in Spain, proposed that Toledo should endeavour to introduce the holy office into Naples; but that it might not seem to emanate direct from the government, it was arranged that the Pope should send a brief to Naples commanding that all cases of heresy be judged by the tribunal of the Inquisition. This did not take place till 1547. Its history carries us beyond our present subject; but as it was only a phase of the dread tribunal established at Rome in 1542 which imperilled the life of Paleario, we give here an account of the opposition which the city of Naples so successfully maintained.

The viceroy, fully aware of the temper of the Neapolitans and their horror of the Inquisition, dared not publish the papal brief by sound of trumpet according to custom, but was obliged to content himself with affixing it to the door of the archbishop's palace. Doubtful of the consequences, he retired to his villa at Pozzuoli, after issuing orders to win the people gently over not to oppose the papal brief, assuring them it was not the Spanish Inquisition proposed for Naples, but the Roman; that it came

¹ Caracciolo, *Vita di Paulo IV.* MS. Brit. Museum.

² *Ibid.* capo iv.

direct from the Pope, who was the only competent judge of these matters.

The Neapolitans however, who had been for some time suspicious of the viceroy's intentions, were not to be hoodwinked by these artifices. It was enough for them that the Inquisition was about to be established at Naples. Spanish or Roman, they were determined to have none of it. The discourses from the pulpit of late years had so enlightened them as to strengthen their resolution against this cruel and arbitrary tribunal. To their credit be it spoken, they maintained it manfully, and while they secured their own exemption they gave a lesson to nations in general, by proving that what a whole people unitedly resist, can never be forced upon them, be it civil or religious bondage.

The brief was no sooner seen than torn down by the people. The viceroy pretended to look upon this as a common case of riot, and ordered the magistrates to discover and punish the ringleaders. The *Eletti*¹ then met together, both nobles and plebeians, in their several districts, to choose deputies to go to Pozzuoli and see the viceroy. Antonio Grisone of the Nido district was the spokesman. With great energy and spirit he represented how odious and insufferable to the whole city was the very name of the Inquisition; for if this tribunal were once established, any person with a few *carlini* might gratify his private revenge by secret depositions, and thus men's lives and property could be sworn away in a moment. He respectfully entreated the viceroy not to allow Naples to be oppressed by so disgraceful and intolerable a yoke. Toledo courteously replied that they need not have given themselves the trouble to come to Pozzuoli to say this; he had the greatest affection for Naples, and looked on it almost as his native place, so much so that he had given one of his daughters in marriage to a Neapolitan noble. It was not his intention nor that of the Emperor to establish the Inquisition; that for his part he would rather lay down his viceroyalty than impose such a calamity on the Neapolitans; but as many were infected with heretical opinions, he hoped they would not take it ill if those found guilty of this crime were punished by the ordinary tribunals.

¹ The *Eletti* were the heads of the popular municipal magistrates chosen by the people, and removable by them at pleasure.

The deputation, delighted with this answer, returned joyfully to Naples. The people received their report with loud acclamations; but the affair was not yet finished. Toledo employed agents to go secretly about the city, insinuating that it was not worth while to make so much ado about the Inquisition, as it would only attack the guilty.

Notwithstanding the viceroy's assurances, before the close of the year another edict, couched in stronger language and more explicitly mentioning the Inquisition, was found affixed to the gates of the archbishop's palace. The whole city took the alarm and rushed about in tumult, crying, To arms, to arms! The edict was again torn down, and suspecting the old ones of collusion, they ran to elect new magistrates. Terracina their chief, having evinced some backwardness in this affair, was deprived of his office, and Giovanni Porcale, a man of bold unshrinking character, and a zealous partisan of the popular party, was chosen in his place. The nobles hated the Inquisition as much as the people, and cordially united with them in a bond of brotherhood to prevent its establishment. They exhorted the multitude to vigilance, and advised that, instead of confiding in the viceroy's promises, they should openly oppose him and declare they were prepared to resist the erection of this odious tribunal even unto death. In all other points they maintained a faithful allegiance to their prince, proving that it was really a war in favour of a principle, and not a seditious rising.

The viceroy, however, chose to consider it in another light. He was highly indignant that they should thus consistently maintain their ground, and threatened to punish the chief movers of the tumult. On his return to Naples he gave orders for prosecuting them before the ordinary tribunals. Tommaso Aniello,¹ a native of Sorrento, who had torn down the edict, was summoned to appear before the court of the Vicaria. The zeal and energy of this young man in the popular cause had made him a great favourite with the people. A descendant of his of the same name, who figured in the celebrated tumult at Naples a hundred years later, in 1647,² will give us a very good

¹ The family still exists at Sorrento. One of that name keeps an inn in the house which was formerly Tasso's villa; his brothers were donkey-drivers in 1841.

² He was then called *Massaniello*, but this is only an abbreviated compound of Tommaso and Aniello.—See *Rivoluzioni di Napoli*.

idea of a class over which centuries pass without visible change. Imagine then a young man of twenty-four years of age, with a handsome roguish-looking countenance, and bright black eyes, set in a thin face fringed with a light-coloured moustache almost concealing his mouth. His dress consisted only of an open shirt which left his brawny chest bare, and a pair of linen trowsers, while a profusion of uncombed hair was covered by a sailor's cap. His bronzed feet had never been confined either in shoes or stockings, and his large red hands were redolent of the fish he had been catching and dressing on the sea-shore for public consumption. We have now before us a pretty correct picture of the man who was singled out from his companions to answer for the tumult. Notwithstanding the warnings of the crowd, he professed his willingness to obey the summons; no sooner was this determination known than a formidable multitude was seen thronging round the palace of justice, rolling hither and thither like the waves of the sea, till their companion reappeared. The judge, observing the people to be in so unquiet a mood, after a short examination, thought it prudent to dismiss Aniello. The moment he made his appearance in the street, Ferrante Caraffa, Marchese di San Lucido, took him up behind him on horseback, and rode through the town in triumph to shew the people he was safe. Cesare Nobile, a young nobleman, was soon after summoned, but took care to go so well accompanied that he also was allowed to retire unmolested. This annoyed the viceroy exceedingly; he returned to Pozzuoli quite out of humour, and issued secret orders to Genoa for a body of Spanish troops to repair immediately to Naples, and occupy the fortress of Castel Nuovo. One day these troops, in number about three thousand, suddenly marched out, beyond the moat which surrounded the fortress, into the town. The people at sight of them rose in arms, and flew to the castle. The Spaniards fired on the inhabitants, sacked the houses, killing men, women and children. The Neapolitans, nothing daunted, rang the great bell of S. Lorenzo; its sound brought out the whole population in alarm, while the roaring of the cannon from the royal castles increased their exasperation. All was tumult and disorder, and night alone put a stop to the confusion.

The viceroy was furious, and next day he declared the city in a state of rebellion. But the magistrates and municipal

deputies complained loudly of his sending Spanish troops to sack the town, and treating it more like a place taken by assault than as a city belonging to their lawful sovereign. They resolved to send an embassy immediately to Spain, to complain of such treatment, and to exculpate themselves before the Emperor from the charge of rebellion. The magistrates, to prevent further disorders, took on themselves the defence of the city, for the irritation had greatly increased in consequence of the viceroy's rigour. He had ordered three young men to be tried and shot by martial law, for having liberated a prisoner for debt, who called out as he was being carried off, "Gentlemen, they are taking me to prison on account of the Inquisition."

After so determined a step, the viceroy thinking he had intimidated the rebels, rode about the city accompanied by an escort of Spanish cavalry and infantry. All the houses and shops were instantly closed; the people seized their arms, and rushed through the streets shouting like madmen. In vain the magistrates entreated the viceroy to retire for fear of mischief; he would on no account listen to them, and continued to parade the town on purpose to shew the people they could not inspire him with fear. Meanwhile the crowd were so far restrained as not to attempt any personal violence to Toledo; but not a single man, woman, or child shewed him the slightest sign of respect, though formerly he had been eagerly saluted when he rode past, all the men standing with their hats off bowing to the ground.

Confidence was so thoroughly lost, that the magistrates began to fear lest the viceroy might wreak his vengeance on them, and they persuaded the people that he was going to send his soldiers to arrest every person who was adverse to the Inquisition. This announcement made them run again to the great bell, the tocsin of alarm, while they declared themselves ready to die for the liberty of their country. Matters were daily getting worse, and at length the whole city met to deliberate, and they came to three definite resolutions. To reject the authority of the viceroy, nobles and people to make common cause, to unite together in a close bond of union, and send an embassy to Charles setting matters in their true light. This arranged; they marched through the town in procession, crying, "*Unione, unione,*" in the service of God, the Emperor, and the city. Whoever refused to join them was called a traitor to his country, *Traditor della*

patria. As all seemed inclined to join the procession, the viceroy with a sneer said, "he was sorry he could not have the pleasure of joining this union."

Ferdinando Severino, prince of Salerno,¹ was one of the persons deputed to carry the grievances of the city to Charles: Placido di Sangro accompanied him. On taking leave of the viceroy, he told them that if they were going about the Inquisition it was unnecessary, for he would promise in the name of the Emperor never to permit its introduction at Naples. Severino replied, that being engaged by the city to go on this embassy he must fulfil his mission, and immediately set out to make his preparations at Salerno.

The viceroy in some anxiety remained all day at the gate of the castle, interrogating the passengers about the state of the city. When he was told that Naples had renounced its obedience, and spoke of him no longer as viceroy but only as Don Pietro, he turned towards his gentlemen and said in a joking tone, "Let us then go and amuse ourselves; I have nothing to do, as I am no longer viceroy of Naples."

Meanwhile, for three successive nights and days, deadly skirmishes took place between the soldiers and the people. The townfolk, to shew that sedition or rebellion against their prince had no share in their resistance, hoisted a banner on the belfry of S. Lorenzo, emblazoned with the Emperor's arms, and used the same watchword as the soldiers, "Spain and the Emperor." To avoid further disorder a truce was at length arranged by some persons who had the confidence of the viceroy, and it was agreed to suspend all action on either side till the envoys sent by both parties returned from Spain. The viceroy's messenger had the advantage of arriving first, and of giving the earliest account of the tumult. Toledo represented that it was useless to attempt establishing the Inquisition in Naples, the people were so resolutely set against it. The spirit of disorder and insubordination, which had been fostered by the imprudence of the viceroy, continued however to prevail. To break the union between the nobles and people, Toledo ordered all the barons to lodge in the Spanish quarter for the service of his majesty, under pain of rebellion. This order was instantly obeyed next day, and the whole city, to shew the steadfastness

¹ Palcario's friend and relative.

of its loyalty, begged also to be admitted and lodged for the service of his majesty; but the viceroy jeeringly replied that the offer, though made in summer, was rather cold.

The restless multitude, without a head, committed great excesses, attacked the Spanish soldiers, and murdered several who were found off their guard, dining at an inn. The viceroy collected his troops, drew them up in square platoons, and drove back the people. When night arrived both parties fortified themselves in their several positions, but the people, wholly without discipline, were bent on mischief, and sallied forth in a body as far as Pozzuoli to injure the viceroy's property. This miserable state of things lasted fifteen days, the fighting going on day and night.

At length the envoys returned from Spain, and a calm succeeded the storm. All were eager to hear the Emperor's message, and when they were told he commanded them to lay down their arms, immediately obeyed. They had never intended to rebel against the supreme authority, and were become thoroughly weary of the present state of affairs. The viceroy, glad to see order so quickly restored, was himself pacified, and even sought to excuse their rashness by saying they had been led away by evil advisers, under pretence of the Inquisition.

But the population of Naples was not entirely satisfied till they were fully acquainted with the Emperor's commands. They entreated the viceroy to inform them, and professed their readiness to be obedient to his wishes. The Deputies were then summoned to the castle. As they entered, the drawbridge was withdrawn, which excited the alarm of those without; but they were courteously received by Toledo, who assured them that it was not the intention of the Emperor to insist on the establishment of the Inquisition, and that he was willing to forget the past on account of their loyalty. The Deputies then retired to gladden the people with this joyful tidings; nevertheless, shortly after, thirty-six persons were exempted by name from the general pardon, and were sentenced to death; the greater part however contrived to escape, so that a few only were beheaded.¹

From that time nothing more was heard of the Inquisition at Naples during the reign of Charles V. The Pope subsequently

¹ Giannone, *Storia d' Italia*, t. xi. pp. 195, 214. Uberto Folietta, *Tumult. Neap.*

issued a brief, forbidding all confiscations, and retracting what had been already decreed. Thus did a people of a lively and pleasure-loving nature make a successful resistance to cruelty and injustice; while the Spaniards, of a more grave and reflective character, suffered the intolerable yoke to be imposed, and furnished the world with the humiliating spectacle of a nation sunk under the degrading dominion of spiritual absolutism.

Toledo, however, continued to keep a watchful eye on the spread of the reformed opinions, and readily lent his assistance in despatching heretics to Rome. Nearly twenty years after, the austere Paul IV., a Neapolitan by birth, made another attempt to introduce the Inquisition into Naples. Effectually to carry out his purpose he chose for his agent the fierce Dominican monk, Michele Ghislieri (afterwards Pius V.), whom he had raised to the dignity of Cardinal, and invested with the authority of the '*Most Holy Office.*' Holy office! Language loses its use when thus misapplied. Was it a holy thing to revel in the weakness of humanity, breaking by terror the closest ties; to inflict the keenest tortures, and watch the agonies of the victim; to condemn to the flames believers in that Saviour who wept over the sorrows of humanity, and died that we might live? Untouched by the beneficent tendencies of Christianity they were strangers to its hallowed influence, and exchanged the worship of the merciful Creator for that of a Moloch who delights in human sacrifice. But let us now return to Ochino.

His fame as a preacher gradually extended; and his intimacy with most of the great men of the day, and the estimation in which he was held, caused him to be invited to all parts of Italy. The zeal and fervour of his discourses made the deepest impression on all who were really devout, and fanned the feeblest spark into a flame. The celebrated Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara, assiduously attended his sermons at Naples, and had taken him as her spiritual guide. So well known was the friendship that existed between them, that in 1538, when Venice desired to have this eloquent and far-famed preacher, Cardinal Bembo¹ wrote to the Marchioness, entreating her to use her influence with Friar Bernardino of Siena, to induce him to go to Venice during Lent to preach, at the same time expressing his own earnest desire to see and hear that 'holy man.'

¹ Bembo, *Letters*, vol. iv. p. 45. Ed. Venetia, 1560.

The following year Bembo wrote to the Marchioness enclosing a letter from Bernardino, and took this opportunity of expressing the great pleasure and edification he had received on hearing him—"I own I never heard any one preach more profitably, or in a more holy manner; I no longer wonder that your ladyship likes him so much; he speaks quite differently, with more charity and love, and in a more Christian manner than any who in my time has mounted the pulpit, and sets forth better and more joyful tidings. Every one is much delighted with him, and I think when he goes away he will carry the hearts of the whole city with him."¹

"The better and more joyful tidings" which Ochino preached were the doctrines of the Gospel. They were new to Bembo, who had passed his life in the study of classical literature, and had perhaps never even seen a copy of the Scriptures. No wonder then that the friar's discourses made so striking an impression. In a subsequent letter to the Marchioness of Pescara, in answer to her congratulations on his being made cardinal, he expresses a humble conviction that he had not served God as he ought to have done. "I speak to you, as I did this morning to the reverend friar Bernardino, to whom I laid open my whole heart and thoughts as I would to Jesus Christ himself, by whom I think he must be both accepted and beloved. I never conversed with a more holy man. I should be now at Padua, having just finished an affair which has kept me here a whole year, and I would indeed be glad to get away from the endless talk and demands upon me from my friends and relations about this *benedetto* Cardinalate; but I remain, not to lose the friar's most beautiful, holy, and joyful discourses. I have resolved to stay here as long as he does." This letter is dated 15th March, 1539.² He writes to the same noble lady a few weeks after, confirming the idea that Ochino had awakened some devotional feelings in his heart: "Our God, from whose compassion we receive all things, confers on me so much grace, that I can respond to the confidence you have in

¹ Bembo, *Letters*, vol. iv. p. 46. Ed. Venetia, 1560.

² It seems impossible to reconcile the discrepancy of dates; Ochino could not preach in Lent at Naples and at Venice. We might have imagined that Venice began the year on 25th March, if we did not find a letter in the same series dated April, 1539.

me. Our friar Bernardino, for mine I shall for the future call him as well as yours, is actually adored in this city. Both men and women exalt him to the skies by their praises. Oh what a treasure he is; what a delight, how he does edify us! But I reserve this to speak with you about him by word of mouth, and I also think of entreating N. S. so to regulate his manner of life that he may last longer, for the honour of God and the edification of men; for if he continues to treat himself so harshly as he now does, he cannot hold out long."

Bembo was not only brought under the religious influence of Ochino, but took him as the director of his conscience, and was so interested in his well-being that he wrote a letter to the rector of the SS. Apostoli at Rome, in whose church Ochino preached, earnestly entreating him to forbid Ochino to fast during Lent, and oblige him to eat meat; or he would not be able to bear the fatigue of preaching. Nor was Ochino less esteemed as a preacher at Siena, his native city. There is a minute in the Chancellor's office there, dated May 21st, 1539, which records that "four citizens were deputed to Friar Bernardino Ochino, to prevent his leaving the city, and to entreat him to preach either in the Cathedral or in the Palazzo (Town Hall). If necessary the Pope to be written to, that he may remain in Siena." Turning the page of the public records, *Deliberazione del Consistoro*, we find in June the same year the report of the four counsellors who were sent with the invitation.¹

Such was the powerful influence of his forcible appeals to the conscience that the immoral satirist, Pietro Aretino, after hearing one of these sermons, wrote a letter of apology to Paul III., begging his forgiveness for having used calumnious language against the court of Rome, and praising in the highest terms the eloquence of Friar Bernardino.²

In 1541 he passed through Modena on his way to Milan, where he had been invited to preach. The fame of his extraordinary gifts had preceded his arrival, and he was not allowed to leave the town till he had gratified the desire of the public to hear him. When conducted to the Cathedral, he found the concourse of people so great that there was not even standing room for all who wished to enter. Every person of eminence was there,

¹ See the original, Appendix A.

² See Appendix B.

including the members of the academy. The intellect of Modena was at this time thoroughly awake: it had a flourishing literary society composed of men of the highest ability. They studied the original languages with avidity, and but for Papal supremacy there is no doubt that Modena, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, would willingly have embraced the truths of the Gospel.

As preaching was limited to a certain period of the year, the season of Lent, the utmost efforts of the friar could not enable him to gratify the wishes of all who sought to hear him.

The matter of his sermons was as much the subject of conversation as the manner of delivery. In 1541 he printed some of his discourses; this publication increased the desire of the Venetians to hear him again. Although general of his order he could not go to Venice without the Pope's permission, but this was granted at the request of the Senate.

It appears that at this time some suspicious reports had begun to circulate at Rome about the tenour of his preaching; for Luca Contile writes: "The Marchioness of Pescara asked me about Friar Bernardino of Siena; I answered that he was gone, and that at Milan he had left behind a great reputation, and that his departure had caused universal regret. May it please God, said she, that he persevere."¹

Orders were privately sent to the Papal nuncio at Venice to watch him narrowly, and mark both his conduct and his preaching. He was received by the republic with every token of respect and veneration, and the whole population went to hear him, but he had been warned to be prudent, and no longer spoke with the same unrestrained freedom as before. For some time he maintained the most guarded caution; but when his friend Giulio Terenziano was thrown into prison on account of his religious opinions, he could no longer contain himself. In a sermon before the Senate and chief magistrates of the city, he burst forth in the following pathetic address from the pulpit: "O sirs, what remains for us to do! To what purpose do we waste and consume our lives? If in thee, O most noble city of Venice, Queen of the Adriatic, if in thee, I say, those who announce to you the truth are here imprisoned, confined in houses of correction, loaded with chains and fetters, what place then remains to us, what other field free for the truth?"

¹ Contile, *Letters*, tom. i. p. 24, apud Tiraboschi.

Would to God we might but preach the truth freely! How many blind eyes would be opened, and how many who are now stumbling in the dark be illuminated."¹

This was a strain of eloquence which thrilled through the hearts of his hearers. Venice, the most independent, the most liberal state in Italy, so jealous of her privileges, was she to submit to have her citizens imprisoned by an authority not belonging to the Republic?

Giulio was a teacher of theology,² and a pupil of Valdés, of the same opinions as Ochino, who felt that if he were thrown into prison his own turn could not be far distant; nor was he mistaken. As soon as the nuncio heard of the friar's apostrophe to the Senate he suspended him from preaching, and according to his instructions informed the Pope of what had taken place. The Venetians however could not submit quietly to have their favourite preacher silenced, and so beset the nuncio with entreaties that in three days' time the prohibition was removed, and he was again allowed to reappear in the pulpit.³ In the interval Ochino had been summoned to the presence of the nuncio and his opinions sifted, but he fearlessly defended himself from all accusations of false doctrine. As Paleario says, "nothing is so difficult as to convict a person of heretical opinions, if the accused shelters himself under obscure definitions of theological phrases." The friar resumed his discourses, but with less courage than before; he felt as if a sword was suspended over his head ready to strike him for a word; the dread power of the ecclesiastical courts crippled his energies and curbed his zeal for the remainder of Lent.

¹ Boverio, *Annali dei Cappuccini*, tom. i. p. 411. Ed. Venet. 1643. On this passage Boverio has the following remark: "Queste parole andavano a ferire il Nuncio Apostolico il quale non molto avanti aveva cacciato in prigione come inquisito d'eresia un certo Giulio Milanese Maestro in Theologia famigliarissimo et carissimo all' Ochino. Aveva questo Giulio appreso dal istesso Valdesio l'eresia in Napoli; ai quali essendosi aggiunto per terzo un Pietro Martire Predicatore d' un'altra religione collegati insieme con questo triplicate e profano piuttosto diabolico vincolo d'amicizia infernale avevano congiurato contra la Santa Fede. Ma il demonio ch' aveva tessuto queste tre funicelle d' impietà, le aveva insieme ristretti, le cacciò ancora unitamente agli Eretici."

² Gerdes calls him Julius Terentianus; if so he must have been the Giulio who was the friend and companion of P. Martyr; but there was another Giulio di Milano, who wrote the martyrdom of Fannio, and it is possible there may be some confusion between the two.

³ Boverio, *Annali dei Cappuccini*.

Soon after he quitted Venice and went to Verona, where as general of his order he assembled all whose office it was to preach, and began a course of lectures on the Epistles of St. Paul.¹ In thus withdrawing from public observation he hoped to gather strength by more fully instructing those who already shared his opinions. But scarcely had he begun this pious occupation, when, in consequence of the nuncio's report, he was cited to Rome, and required to give an account of his doctrine.

This summons threw him into a very serious dilemma, and caused him to debate much within himself whether he should obey or not. The danger he knew was great, of exposing himself either to deny the authority of Scripture, or of being put to death for refusing to obey the Church. As he subsequently wrote to Muzio, he had also great scruples about submitting in any way to the authority of the Pope, whom he looked on as antichrist.

After considerable hesitation and delay he set out towards Bologna, with the intention of consulting Cardinal Contarini, the governor, hoping to secure his patronage and protection. On his arrival he was much grieved and disappointed to find the Cardinal so dangerously ill that he could not see him. His fears were so excited by the papal summons that he imagined the illness of the Cardinal to be only a feint to detain him. Unable to bear the anxiety of delay, he pressed so earnestly to be admitted, that at length he was introduced into the Cardinal's chamber. He found him tossing on his bed under an attack of fever, and quite unable to converse. All he could say was, "Father, you see the state to which I am reduced; pity me, and pray to God for me; I wish you a good journey." Ochino, deeply affected at seeing this hope fail him, and at beholding a man he so highly esteemed in so dangerous a state, bowed his head in silence and left the room. Beccatelli, the friend and secretary of Contarini, who was present, says no further conversation took place. This visit to Contarini gave rise after his death to a report that the Cardinal favoured Ochino's opinions;² and his biographer, on the defection of Ochino, was very anxious

¹ Boverio, *Annali dei Cappuccini*.

² It seems unlike the character of the friar to leave Contarini's presence without uttering a word, more especially as these were scenes he was accustomed to; and unless fear sealed his lips it was the very moment to speak.—See CHAP. VII.

to clear the memory of his patron from all suspicion, and denied what Ochino had already asserted, "that the Cardinal lamented with him the proceedings of the court of Rome against good men."¹

Ochino left Bologna in a sad and doubtful spirit, and pursued his way to Florence. Here he met his valued friend Peter Martyr, with whom he had so often conversed on religion at Naples. They had listened together to the teaching of Valdés, were filled with the same spirit, and placed in the same peril. Martyr indeed had not yet been summoned to Rome, but might every day expect that the mandate would go forth. They consulted together how they could best avoid the danger which the newly constituted tribunal prepared for all who dared to dissent from the church of Rome. Ochino still wavered, but Martyr strenuously advised him not to put himself in the power of the Pope, but to fly the country as the only means of safety, reminding him of the Saviour's counsel, "When they persecute you in one city flee unto another."² This decided the point, and they both resolved to leave Italy, but not in company, for fear of discovery. Ochino then went to Siena to take leave of his brethren; here he was on the point of being arrested, as he himself relates in a letter to Muzio. "Twelve men surrounded the convent of the Capuchins near Siena on the vigil of St. Bartholomew, (the 23rd of August,) with the intention of taking me, but having gone on before, I escaped, though they followed me to Florence."³

The day before he had written a letter to Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara, in which he expresses his great anxiety of mind, and his determination to leave Italy. The following is a translation of this interesting letter, penned in a moment of agonizing suspense. It exhibits the painful alternative to which he was reduced, either to deny Christ, suffer death, or be an exile for ever.

"ILLUSTRIous LADY,

"I am now in the outskirts of Florence, in no small anxiety of mind. I have been cited to Rome, and notwithstanding my being dissuaded by many persons before I came here, I arrived with the intention of going there. But hearing every day

¹ See Beccatelli, *Vita del Card. Contarini*.

² Matt. x. 23.

³ Bernardino Ochino, Senese, a Mutio Giustinopolitano. MS. in the library of Siena. See Appendix C.

fresh accounts of their mode of proceeding, I have been prevailed on, particularly by Peter Martyr and others, not to go, lest I should be obliged either to deny Christ or be crucified. The first I do not desire to do; for the second I am willing through his grace, but in his (Christ's) own good time. To go voluntarily to die, I have not courage. God, when he chooses, can find me wherever I am. Christ (by his example) has taught me to fly more than once, both to Egypt and to the Samaritans; and like Paul he tells me that when I am not received in one city, to go to another. And besides, what more can I do in Italy? Preach as a suspected person, and preach Christ obscurely under a mask! To satisfy the superstition of the world, I must often blaspheme him; and even this will not be enough. It will be sufficient for any evil-disposed person to write to — (Rome) for me to be out of favour, and we should have the same turmoil over again; nor could I either bring anything to light by writing. For this and other reasons I decide on going away; for I see by their manner of proceeding that they would in the end examine (by torture) and make me deny Christ, or kill me. If St. Paul were in my place I think he would act in the same way. I may add that I have passed through Bologna almost by miracle. I was not detained because I manifested an intention to proceed, and also on account of the prudence and goodness of Cardinal Contarini; of this I have very strong proofs. I have since heard that Farnese¹ says that I am summoned because I have preached heresy and scandalous doctrine. By the account I have received the Theatine (Cardinal Caraffa) Puccio,² and others whom I will not name, are so much against me, that if I had crucified Christ they could not have made more noise.

“Your Ladyship knows what I am, and my doctrine may be known from those who have heard me. I have never preached with so much reserve and caution as this year, and without hearing me they have bruited abroad that I am a heretic. I rejoice that through me the Church begins to be reformed. They keep a friar in the black dress in Araceli.³ The Chapter has been ordered to deprive him of his frock, from whence so much commotion against me. I think it wisest to yield to the storm. On the other hand, imagine how hard it is for me for many reasons which you know. Consider how repugnant I feel to leave all, and to think that they will say Christ has both willed and permitted them to persecute me thus for some good purpose. It would have been most exceedingly grateful to me to have had your opinion and that of the Rev. Monsignor Pole, or a letter from you; but it is more than a month since I have received any of your letters. Pray to God for me; I desire more than ever to serve him by the help of his grace. I salute you all. From Florence, 22nd of August, 1542.”⁴

¹ Alessandro Farnese, grandson of the Pope, was made Cardinal 18th Dec. 1534.

² Antonio Puccio, a Florentine, bishop of Pistoia, created Cardinal by Clement VII.

³ There is a church and convent on the Capitol at Rome called Araceli. This passage is very obscure: it is not clear whether Ochino as general of his order had punished a friar by depriving him of his frock, or if it was the Court of Rome which inflicted the chastisement.

⁴ See Appendix D.

This simple and natural letter, written when his heart was wrung with anguish at the danger which threatened him, and the necessity of departure, places his character and circumstances clearly before us. While we admire his sincerity and willingness to sacrifice all in order to maintain his fidelity to the Gospel, we sympathise with the anxieties of the man who at fifty-five years of age was compelled to break up the habits of a life, and become an exile and a wanderer; to exchange the respect and consideration which had so long attended him for the obloquy of a heretic's name; to leave the admiring crowds which thronged to hear him, for unknown scenes and stranger faces. To separate from the society of his dearest friends, and brave their contempt and that of the world in general, was indeed a trial of faith. The more we observe some tokens of natural weakness of character, the more we feel assured of the truth of his convictions and the reality of his zeal. Had he been only acting a part recantation would have been easy, and he had so many powerful friends that even a show of submission to Rome would have secured his forgiveness; but he felt the danger of being obliged to deny Christ, and wisely decided to fly. Caracciolo says that before he left Florence he went privately to the house of Caterina Cibo, Duchess of Camerino, and exchanged his monkish dress for a secular habit.¹ Boverio, the annalist of his order, gives the names of three monks who accompanied him out of Florence, with whom he pursued his way across the Alps. When at the summit, he relates, they turned to take a last look of Italy; Ochino burst into tears, and poured forth an affecting adieu to his country and his order,² but we do not know what reliance is to be placed on this account.

He was well received by the Duchess Renée at the court of Ferrara; she had imbibed the reformed opinions before she left France, and was always a patroness of persons persecuted on account of religion. But Ochino was too remarkable a character to remain long concealed in any part of Italy.

¹ "Prima che l'Ochino fuggisse se n'andò a casa della Duchessa di Camerino chiamata Caterina Cibo: e quivi si spogliò l'habito e si sfratò e poi se ne fuggì in Ginevra (Compend. V. Bernardino, fol. 3), aveva egli particolar strettezza con quella Sra. e con la Marchesa di Pescara onde costei ne fu poscia inquisita e molestata (Compend. Ver. Bernardinus, et V. Marchionissa."—Caracciolo, *Vita di Gio. Pietro Caraffa*, capo vi. f. 200.

² See Boverio, *Annali dei Cappuccini*.

As Calvin had paid the Duchess a visit a few years before, it is more than probable that she advised Ochino to proceed to Geneva, and furnished him with letters of recommendation there.

The Pope, on hearing of Ochino's flight and apostasy from the Roman Catholic religion, was so enraged that he proposed to suppress the whole order of which he was a member. Those who had looked up to him as a saint, and who considered forsaking Rome as a mortal sin, were thunderstruck, and his defalcation was mourned as that of a fallen angel. Several letters still extant, written to him after his departure, shew how greatly he was esteemed and beloved. Among others, Claudio Tolommeo, of a noble Sienese family, expostulated with him in the most touching terms. As he resided at Rome, and was the centre of the literary circles there, we may conclude he spoke the sentiments of the Roman world, especially of those who were attached to the Church.

TO FRIAR BERNARDINO OCHINO.

“Returning a few days ago from the villa to Rome, I was immediately told a piece of news, which not only appeared new, but foolish, incredible, and frightful. I was informed that you, influenced by I know not what strange counsel, had passed from the Catholics to the Lutherans, and had joined that heretical and wicked sect. I was horrified, and as the saying is, made the sign of the cross. Afterwards, hearing it repeated by four and by six other persons, and finally confirmed by every one, I was obliged against my will to believe it; although it appeared to me as strange as if I had heard that the doves were turned into serpents and the goats into panthers. But reflecting how Lucifer from a beautiful angel became a devil, I began more easily to understand the possibility of this horrible transformation. For several days I was doubtful whether I ought to write to you, or if it were not better to be silent, and confine within my own breast the grief which I felt and do still feel at this new and terrible change. For on the one hand there seemed little to be gained by writing, since your mind was so set on this new sect that you had shewn to the world your fixed determination not only by words but in actions. Fearing also that in your answer you might more easily disturb my mind than I could hope to withdraw you from the path you have taken; for I know well how great your learning is, and the fervour of your eloquence, two things which might easily by their attractions carry me away, and perhaps expose me to some danger. But, on the other hand, I feared if I were silent to be obliged to have a dishonourable opinion of you: not knowing your reasons, nor what has induced you to go away, I could never, before the many who accuse me, excuse you enough. One common excuse only was left me, that I could not believe Friar Bernardino Ochino, who had always shewn himself a man of great prudence and singular goodness and

exalted religion, could now without good reason have fallen into such opposite opinions and manner of life. This was my assertion, though to some it appeared that innovations on established points in religion, disobedience to your chief, passing from the Catholics to the Protestants, were not things either prudent or religious; and finally the quitting that holy truth which from the first Apostles had been handed down and preserved in the Church of Rome. To leave it, I assert is neither lawful nor allowed in any case; on the contrary, we ought to bear every kind of distress in order to profess and defend it. There where torture is turned into pleasure, a prison into liberty, torments into joy, poverty to riches, and death into a true and eternal life. Thus have many ancient martyrs acted who would never abandon the articles (of faith) held by the Catholic Church, which (as says St. Paul) is the pillar and foundation of truth.¹ When I heard you thus spoken of I was so disturbed and grieved that at last I resolved to write, entreating you, if it is a fair request, to answer me and try to enlighten the darkness of this your most unexpected change. Till I have further information I cannot believe that you have not received light from God.

“You will perhaps tell me that you have left Italy because you have been persecuted, and that in so doing you have imitated the example of Christ and of Paul and other saints who when persecuted fled from the fangs of their persecutors, and you will say that often those who are accused and despised by the world, are excused and honoured by God. . . . Well do I remember how in Italy you were admired, honoured, revered, and almost adored as divine. While preaching the holy name and the true law of Christ you were listened to by all Italy with so much devotion, that neither in you could more grace nor in her (Italy) a better spirit be desired. . . . But it will be said that in your later discourses some things which you said were noted, reprovèd, and accused as not being according to sound Catholic doctrine. What shall I say here but that the accusation was either just or unjust? if unjust what was there to fear? Why not when summoned go to Rome? and then, before the most just of princes who greatly loved you, would the opinion entertained of your goodness and virtue have come out like gold tried in the fire. . . . But if the accusation was just I do not know what is to be said, but that either from ignorance or evil intent this doctrine must have been divulged to the public. The one, to speak plainly, appears difficult, the other impossible to believe. . . . You will perhaps tell me that it has been neither from ignorance nor evil intent, but through a greater knowledge of divine things. That Christ has opened up to you many truths hitherto concealed, as it pleased him to enlighten Paul and convert him from Judaism to the true faith. . . . Has Christ then for so long a time abandoned his Church? These Catholic truths were believed by all before the time of the impious Luther; if that which was believed was not true, then Christ had utterly forsaken us; a thing too horrible even to think of, for Christ has said, ‘Lo, I am

¹ “*La quale è (come disse San Paolo) colonna e fermamento de la verità.*” The reader may perhaps be desirous of turning to this passage of St. Paul, but we must own that we cannot assist him in finding it.

with you always, even to the end of the world.' It is necessary (believe me), in this confused and tempestuous sea of various opinions, to have a fixed star to which we can look, which guides us rightly in the path of godliness.

"Whenever any one shews you canonical Scriptures which are contrary to that which is observed and used by the Church and consented to by the people of Christ, it is as if he said, *Ecco in quelle case è la parola della verità*, 'Behold here is the word of truth;' but you are not to believe them, nor leave your paternal and ecclesiastical traditions, nor ought we to believe anything contrary to the creed of the ancient Church."

He then expresses the great affection which had been kindled by the remarkable virtues of Ochino, and begs to be consoled by an explanation of his reasons, which might in some degree soften his grief; advises him, as he had left Italy for safety, to remain quietly where he is, to proceed no farther, not to preach or write against the Catholic doctrine, but to submit humbly to the judgment of the Church of Rome, and then he will only be accused of having been foolishly alarmed.

"All Italy will then rise in your favour, will desire and call you back, pray for and eagerly entreat for you. There was a time, as you know, when I often begged you to pray to God for me; but now, knowing that the contrary is necessary, I do nothing but pray to Him for you; and once again I humbly beseech Him to be pleased to enlighten and assist you. From Rome. 20th October, 1542."

Those who are conversant with Scripture will perceive that a good deal of the mistaken reasoning in the above letter arises from understanding the word *church*¹ in an erroneous and limited sense. Its primary Christian meaning is a company of believers in Christ; but the Roman Catholic Church monopolises the word for itself alone, and at the same time appropriates exclusively all those passages which promise divine support to believers in general. Tolommeo when he quotes the Fathers, who forbid anything to be believed "contrary to the creed of the ancient church," forgets that the most ancient teaching is the Holy Scriptures, from whence the belief of every Christian com-

¹ Perhaps there are few words of such enlarged and multifarious signification as the word *church*. It means in Scripture an assembly of believers in Christ, whether meeting on earth or admitted to heaven, the Christians of one family, province, or country, the rulers of a congregation, and the Jewish nation. See Acts ii. 47, xi. 26; Rom. xvi. 5; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; Heb. xii. 23; Col. i. 18; 1 Pet. v. 13; Col. iv. 16; Acts vii. 38. The exclusiveness of the Roman Catholic Church is strikingly manifest by their denying the name of Christian to all who do not belong to the Church of Rome. In Italy they frequently say, speaking of strangers whom they know are not Jews, Is he or she a Christian? meaning, are they Roman Catholics?

munity is derived. They are the fixed and immoveable star which for eighteen hundred years has shone with unchanging lustre. They are invariable, and ever speak the same truths. This cannot be said of any human institution or composition, and still less of the Church of Rome, whose very name tells of its human origin.

Cardinal Caraffa bewailed Ochino's separation from Rome in accents of the most poignant grief and reproachful irony.

"What! thou the eminent example, thou the herald of the Most High God! Thou loudly sounding trumpet, full of doctrine and learning! Thou the Cherubim, extinct and fallen! Thou wert in the delights of paradise. The Lord placed thee in his Holy Mount, set thee as a light upon a candlestick, as a sun before his people, and a pillar in his temple; as a keeper in his vineyard he sent thee to feed his flock. Your most eloquent discourses still sound in our ears. You still stand before us in unshod feet. Where are now your magnificent philippics on contempt of the world, where your severe invectives against avarice and love of gain? Where art thou thyself? thou who preached, Thou shalt not steal, dost thou steal? Where, O teacher, art thou?"¹

This letter, from the devout and ascetic Cardinal Caraffa, the founder of the Inquisition, is a good specimen of the inflated eloquence of the time, and gives some idea of the style of Ochino's preaching. The imaginative powers of the Italians are peculiarly adapted for this style of oratory.

The preaching of the Gospel, though so expressly commanded by our Lord, had been long disused in Italy. A few sermons in Lent were the only discourses delivered during the sixteenth century, and it is much the same now. What then must have been the effect on an impressionable people, when the tidings of salvation, the way of peace between God and man, were set before them by a man of sincere convictions in a strain of such flowing eloquence as to win all hearts. It is sound policy in the Romish hierarchy not to allow any but a chosen few to preach, and that at distant intervals; for it is an engine too powerful to be wielded by individuals without any defined theological standard. Appeals to Scripture are suspicious, and the transition from the doctrine of the Church to heterodoxy both obscure and ambiguous.

¹ See Ep. Reginaldi Poli, *Diatriba*, vol. i. p. 87. For original, see Appendix D.

Ochino answered the remonstrances of his friends in two circumstantial letters, in which he fully details his own feelings and train of thought. One was addressed to his native city, Siena, the other to Muzio¹, his townsman, who strongly condemned his departure. He enters fully into the disappointments he had experienced in his attempts to serve God by following the austere rules of his order, explains the change he underwent as soon as he began to comprehend the fulness and freedom of the Gospel, and gives his reasons for quitting Italy. It is a most natural description of the state of a man who is trying to make himself acceptable to God by means not commanded, and who hopes to gain favour by mortification of the flesh. While mourning over his imperfect attainment of the peace he sought, a beam of Gospel light reveals to him that grace and mercy came by Jesus Christ, and leads him on his way rejoicing.

He first acknowledges having received a letter from Muzio, and then replies as follows :

“Since your object is to condemn my departure and calumniate the motives of my change, I will answer you thus far, and say that from my earliest youth I was deceived, as those are now who still live under the reign of antichrist, and think they can save themselves by their own works, and that they can and ought, by fasting, prayers, abstinence, watchings, and similar forms, satisfy for their sins, and, by the grace of God concurring, acquire Paradise.

“Having an earnest desire to save myself, I began to consider what kind of life I should lead. Seeing that the religious orders were holy, and especially because they were approved by the Church of Rome, which is thought incapable of error ; and perceiving that the life of the friars of S. Francesco, called Dell’ Osservantia, was the most rigid and austere, and on that account the most perfect and most conformable to Christ, I entered among them ; and though I did not find there that which I had expected, nevertheless, not knowing at that time, in my blind state, of any better life, I staid with them till the Capuchin friars began to appear in the world. When I saw the severity of that rule I assumed their habit, though with no small repugnance to the flesh and to carnal prudence, hoping to find with them that which I was in search of. I remember that I said then to Christ, ‘ Lord, if I cannot now save myself I do not know what more to do.’ See what an ungodly Pharisee I was ! I can say with Paul, that I was more perfect in Judaism than many of my day, and exceedingly zealous about paternal traditions and teachings. But I had only been a short time with them when the Lord began to open my eyes, and fixed my attention upon three points. First, that Christ has made satisfaction for his elect and merited heaven for them, and that he alone is our righteousness. 2ndly, That the vows of the religious orders are not only invalid but

¹ For an account of Muzio, see Appendix C.

ungodly. 3rdly, That the Church of Rome, however splendid to carnal eyes in its exterior, is nevertheless abomination in the sight of heaven. God having thus clearly shewn me these things, and having also the testimony of the Holy Scriptures and of the Spirit, who in exercising his office became a law to me, I fell from the height of self-confidence into the depths of despair as regarded my own strength and works, and perceived that under the semblance of truth I had, like Paul, persecuted Jesus Christ, his grace and his gospel, and that when I most desired to work, and sought to draw near to God, I had only gone the further from Him. I found myself in a great perplexity, but did not remain long in this state; for Christ by his grace shewed me that when, like Paul, we lose confidence in ourselves we then seek God, and in Him place all our hopes. I then committed my ways to his governance, since of myself I had always gone in an opposite direction. Though many things suggested themselves to me, yet He did not point out any mode of life in which for the present I could serve God better than by making use of the habit of St. Francesco, and of that external and apparent holiness of life to preach the doctrines of grace, the gospel, and Christ and his great merits. I say this, considering how many were and still are the superstitions of Italy, and the peculiarity of my own position.

“I began therefore to shew that we are saved by Christ, though I saw that the spiritual sight of Italy was so weak that if I had all of a sudden openly discovered the brightness of Christ's light it would not have been borne, and I should have given such great offence that the Scribes and Pharisees who reign there would certainly have killed me. I judged it therefore wisest not to display all at once the refulgent light of the Gospel, but to adapt myself by degrees to their feeble vision, tempering my words according to circumstances. I preached that we are saved by the grace of Christ, that he has atoned for our sins, and acquired heaven for us. I did not indeed fully unfold the impiety of the kingdom of antichrist; I did not say there are no other merits, satisfaction, or indulgences but those of Christ, neither is there any purgatory; but left these subjects to those who by the grace of God had a deep sense of the benefits of Christ. I could not say you are under the ungodly kingdom of antichrist who resides at Rome; the state of whose Church, both his and ours, is greatly corrupted, and its doctrine no less so. I did not exactly say our religious communities are ungodly, and there is no other true religion but that of Christ. It is evident that you are idolaters, and in taking the saints for your advocates you offend God, Christ, his mother, and all the heavenly host. I could not dwell on truths like these, but withheld them, waiting for Christ to shew me what he would have me do. It is true that secretly I unfolded the truth to many, some of whom had inquired on purpose to try me and others for their own ends, to inform the Pope and the Cardinals what my creed was; shewing themselves to be quite of a contrary opinion from that which they had professed when conversing with me in private. There were not wanting also persons who, moved either by envy as regarded their own community or on account of my preaching, went about blowing the flame, saying that I preached heresy; and this with the more malice because nobody could bring anything home, or catch me in my words. They also knew that on ac-

count of my great reputation I had it in my power to excite a great commotion in Italy on the slightest opportunity: chiefly because the Capuchins, and particularly the best preachers, shared my opinions, and that those whom they call heretics were continually increasing, as they believed more sincerely in Christ.

"Now you know well that antichrist and his members, fearing surreptitiously to lose his kingdom, and knowing that the kingdom of Christ being its very opposite would prove the ruin of theirs, resolved like Caiaphas that I should die. Six¹ cardinals were chosen, and employed to extinguish every ray of light which exhibited their wicked robberies. I was summoned in haste to appear immediately in the presence of antichrist; they spread abroad that I was cited for heresy as they call it.

"Finding myself thus situated, I asked counsel of Christ and of some pious friends, and said to myself, You know well that he who summons you is antichrist, whom you are not bound to obey. He persecutes you unto death, because you preach Christ, grace through the Gospel, and those truths which, by exalting the Son of God, destroy his (antichrist's) reign; thus it becomes a reason of state. You may be sure they will take your life, as of this you have had certain notice. . . . I reasoned internally with myself that it would be a scandal to the pious if I were to tempt God by exposing myself to death without a particular revelation from the Spirit. You will be your own murderer. You can and ought, like Paul and others, and also like Christ, to fly; they have taught you this both by precept and example in similar circumstances, saying, 'If they persecute you in one city, flee to another.' If you obey him (antichrist) by going to certain death, you honour and highly approve and sanction his authority, to the great dishonour of God; and shew to the whole world that you consider him as the true and lawful vicar of Christ on earth, when you know certainly that he is antichrist, and thus offer an occasion of scandal to the world, and an injury to the cause of God. Christ has hitherto made use of you under the mask of your habit and manner of life, that you might preach the grace of the Gospel and the great benefits conferred by Christ, without awakening the suspicions of superstition. Now God has other work for you to do. He calls you to write openly on the truth, irrespective of human authority. This you could never do while you remained in Italy, and so God has put you in this strait that you may no longer be silent. Seeing Christ daily crucified under the name of piety, it became necessary that I should speak, as those know who were most intimate with me, and condemn, not only the lives, but much more the impious doctrine of the kingdom of antichrist."

We have seen in Paleario's Oration what a sensation the flight of Ochino made at Siena, and that the persecution raised against him proceeded from the members and satellites of the Inquisition.

¹ Cardinal Gio. P. Caraffa, Cardinal Fra Gio. di Toledo, Cardinal P. P. Parisio, Cardinal Fra D. Laurerio, Cardinal Tomaso Badia, and afterwards Cardinal Pio di Carpi, were the first Inquisitors named in the brief which decreed the foundation of the *Holy Office*, dated 20th July, 1542.

In the above letter we behold the struggle of a mind not remarkably strong by nature, and only recently emancipated from the bondage of papal authority, yet determined to follow the dictates of revealed truth.

In the letter he wrote to the magistrates of Siena¹ he expresses himself with the utmost affection and tenderness towards his native city; tells them, if he had not written before it was not from want of regard; but knowing how grieved they had been at his departure he had not at first had courage to address them, but now that time had in some measure mitigated his sorrow at leaving them, he felt disposed to enter fully into the motives of his departure. He then goes on to give an account of his religious opinions, and tells them that "the salvation of the true Church and the ruin of the kingdom of antichrist depends on one article alone, and that is living faith in Christ." He is persecuted for believing the doctrines of St. Paul, who declares that man in his fallen condition is incapable of rising or reconciling himself to God, without Christ. He was sent by his eternal Father to take upon him our sins, and atone for them on the cross. He adopts us for his children and enriches us with the heavenly treasures of grace, without our having merited these blessings. He opens the eyes of the elect to discern the excellence of godliness, and grants them light to perform good works to his glory. He next draws a clear distinction between exterior observances done from slavish fears and those which spring from love to God, and contrasts the low estate of the man who works for himself, and the dignity of the child of God who is invested with the spiritual righteousness of Christ, who repudiates all his own doings as nothing in themselves, but from love delights to obey his heavenly Father. Reprobating the idea of giving any part of the glory of our salvation to man, he points out that those who believe with lively faith in Christ are reconciled to God, justified and sanctified, and adopted as his children. He warns them against the common error of supposing that this faith diminishes their desire to do well, or, to speak in the common phraseology, to perform good works, and shews that it is this very principle of living faith which excites to all that is pure, holy, and of good report. Confessing his belief in one Catholic universal Church

¹ Bernardino Ochino, *Alli Molti Magnifici li SS. Signori di Balìa della città di Siena*.—MS. Bib. Siena. It has been printed with his Sermons.

composed of believers, he presses on them the important truth that faith, living, acting, obedient faith, is the sum and substance of Christianity and the essence of that Gospel which was preached by Christ and the Apostles. For this truth he declares he has been obliged to leave Italy, where he was exposed to persecution and death. If he is wrong in believing what Christ has said and Paul has written, then it would be better at once "to burn the Gospels and the Epistles and all the Scriptures together," for the Gospel must be a deception; but he adds, "Study these sacred writings with true humility of heart, and God will give you light. I have begun and hope to go on publishing, in Italian, a summary of those things which are necessary for the Christian, that you may have no excuse before God. You will say, that my works are forbidden to be read. Is this not an evident sign that they exhibit the light of truth, which they (the Cardinals) do not desire to see brought forward? There is nothing in the substance of my sermons but the very passages and words of Holy Writ." He then proceeds with great earnestness to tell them they need not fear being deceived by him: he loves his country and his people too well. "If I stood alone in believing and professing the true Gospel you would have some apparent excuse for not believing me; but do not you see that the greater number of Christians have opened their eyes to the truth, and especially the more noble, pious, and truly learned persons (*spiriti*)? Oh! if in Italy, in France, and in Spain, the Gospel could be preached as freely as in Germany, so powerful is the truth that almost every one would accept it."

"We now see fulfilled what Paul foretold, that Christ would destroy antichrist, not by means of human strength, but with the breath of his mouth, that is, with his word." "Never since the time of the Apostles did the world see such enlightened souls, *chiari spiriti*, nor the Scriptures so well handled. This then is the work of God, who will be honoured in all his undertakings. He will conquer through the blood of the martyrs shed throughout the world, and then will be verified that saying, that Christ and his Gospel shall be preached throughout the world." The whole letter is so earnestly zealous that it is difficult to select or abridge his impassioned entreaties to the people of Siena to receive the Gospel. "Oh, how happy would you be (*Siena mia*) if you would purify yourself of so many ridiculous,

pharisaical, tiresome, pernicious, and foolish fancies, invented by those who pretend to be saints, but which are abomination before God. Take the word of God and his Gospel in the sense in which it was preached by Christ and the Apostles. . . . Will you not make some movement towards Christ, you that are gifted with so many noble spirits? Will you be the last to know Christ? Open, oh open even now, your eyes to the truth, that you may acknowledge the Son of God to be your righteousness, wisdom, safety, and peace, and that you may always live happily in God's service and render him praise, honour, and glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

Ochino traversed Switzerland, passing through Zurich to Geneva. We have no details of his journey, but we may imagine how weary and heavy in heart he was when he entered that city: although it had already become a place of refuge for those who fled from persecution, he was not sure what reception he might meet with.

Geneva played so important a part in the great efforts of the sixteenth century to shake off the burden of a corrupted religion, that the history of the times would be incomplete without a glance at her struggles and her success. Limited in territory, feeble in power, she was yet enabled by steadfast perseverance to obtain, through the blessing of God, the inestimable privileges so dear to a manly race, and to add to her mountain fastnesses the sacred ramparts of civil and religious liberty.

When Ochino arrived, this ancient city was only just beginning to breathe after the perpetual contests in which for twelve years it had been continually engaged. The Duke of Savoy and the Bishop had been competitors for the supreme power, and the Genevans would inevitably have fallen a prey to one of the parties, had not their energetic efforts for civil liberty been invigorated by the still nobler aim of attaining religious freedom, in order to carry out the scriptural principles of the Reformation. The vices of the clergy, here as elsewhere, had been so flagitious as to produce universal corruption of life and manners; and when at length the Bishop joined with the Duke of Savoy to reduce the city to obedience, it shook off both ecclesiastical and temporal authority. In vain the prelate thundered forth the threats and maledictions of the Roman Catholic Church. They fell harmless, as they must ever do, when not supported by power to enforce them.

Already was the good leaven of the Reformation at work. When Guy of Furbeti, a Dominican friar, mounted the pulpit in 1534, and burst into violent invectives against the reformers and their doctrine, they insisted on his proving his statements from the Scriptures, and offered to dispute with him on this ground. A discussion took place accordingly, which lasted three days, between Furbeti, Farel, and Viret. As it was carried on in public it had a wonderful effect in deciding the Genevese to reject the supremacy of the Pope, and the power of the Roman Catholic Church. The following year, 1535, another important discussion or colloquy on religion took place at Geneva. It was greatly promoted by the eager enquiries of three brothers of the name of Bernard. They were sincere Roman Catholics, persons of good family, partially enlightened by Farel, who wished thoroughly to understand the doctrines of the reformers. James Bernard was a monk, and the most zealous of the three brothers; he proposed to discuss publicly the chief points set forth by Protestants in opposition to Rome; such as

1. Justification to be sought by faith in Christ, and not by our own works.
2. Religious worship due to God alone, prayers to Saints and images idolatrous.
3. The Church of Christ to be governed by the word of God alone. All human traditions on matters of faith doubtful and dangerous.
4. The sacrifice made by Christ of himself is the sole sacrifice for sin; the sacrifice of the mass, and prayers for the dead, contrary to the word of God.
5. That Jesus Christ is our only Mediator, and the intercession of Saints is of human authority.¹

The truth of these doctrines was clearly proved by the disputants from Scripture, the different periods of time at which errors were introduced into the Church noted, and the gradual progress of ceremonies and doctrines in the Church of Rome clearly pointed out. As the greater part of the hearers were willing to submit to the authority of Scripture, it was not difficult to convince them of the necessity of a thorough refor-

¹ See the *Histories* of Buchat and Spon, Scott's *Continuation*, and Melchior Adam.

mation in faith, doctrine, and life, and they resolved in future to take the Gospel for their guide in these matters. An edict was immediately published in Geneva against papal idolatry, and public worship remodelled according to Scripture.

In the year 1536, Geneva, assisted by her faithful ally the Canton of Berne, achieved her independence, and the first act of her Council was to draw up a confession of faith. Farel, as their minister, had the chief hand in framing these articles, amounting to twenty-one in number. Popery was publicly and solemnly abjured throughout Geneva and its dependencies, including Lausanne, &c.

One of the chief features of this revolution in religion was its peaceful character: notwithstanding the heat of parties and the intolerant spirit of the age, one victim only fell, a minister of Geneva; he was murdered by a man and his two sons, who were judicially condemned for their crime.

Berne, the adjoining Canton, soon followed the example of Geneva, and adopted the same principles. It began its course in like manner by a public discussion, in which the Scriptures were cited as the only source from which articles of faith could be drawn.

The discussion was held in the Cathedral, and occupied eight successive days. Farel specially pressed his opponents with the third chapter of the Romans. When they objected that many things were wanting for salvation besides faith, he eloquently proved that the man who truly believes that Christ has suffered for him, and that God for his sake pardons his sins, cannot live in sin, or willingly offend that God who has conferred such unspeakable benefits on him. When Farel read the close of the chapter, a medical man named Blancheron, the principal Romanist spokesman, expressed his doubts whether what he had heard was in very truth part of the word of God; nor could he be satisfied till he had himself examined an old copy of the bible in the library. But when this honest opponent found that the words used did indeed form part of the inspired writings, he immediately exclaimed, "It is indeed true! We are not saved by works of righteousness which we have done, but God according to his mercy saves us." All present were struck with this important truth, and felt that if this was written in Scripture the pride of man's boasted merits must bow before this supreme

authority; and they all resolved in future to take the bible instead of tradition for their guide.

Jean Calvin had arrived in Geneva but a short time before this colloquy; he spoke twice on the subject of the Sacraments. The doctrines of the Reformation had been in a great measure received in Switzerland when this highly gifted individual passed through Geneva on his return from Italy.

The reformed ministers who were engaged in the heat of the struggle for religious liberty and sound doctrine, looked on the arrival of so powerful a coadjutor as help sent from above. Farel in particular eagerly laid hold of him, made strong appeals to his conscience, and pointed out that he would be committing a sin against Providence if he refused to embrace so favourable an opportunity of devoting himself to the cause of the Gospel. His entreaties were so earnest that Calvin at length yielded, though rather against his inclination, as he wished to go to Strasburg to carry on his studies.

He was immediately appointed Professor of divinity. As yet there was no university, properly so called, but he gave lessons in private, and was ordained pastor of a church. Though at this time only twenty-eight years of age, the dearth of able and pious men made his services highly valued. Such, however, was the unreasonable turbulence of this infant republic, that had he been governed by worldly motives he would soon have repented his decision; but moved solely by a sincere and disinterested desire for the glory of God and the good of his fellow-creatures, when disappointed in his hopes of cooperation or of progress, he consoled himself with the thought that all things are overruled by an all-wise power, who in his own good pleasure will bring good out of evil.

The general corruption of manners, and the ignorance and abject superstition which had hitherto prevailed among the people, made some degree of discipline necessary before they could attain the salutary enjoyment of the liberty so lately attained. As is often the case in great public changes, many had advocated a reform in religion more from the influence of example than from any inward feelings of piety. Having fought against authority and conquered, they were more desirous of licence than restraint. Disputes and discord prevailed to such an extent that the ministers of religion, seeing how little there was of the

true spirit of christian communion and love, came to the resolution of suspending for a time the administration of the Lord's Supper. This was a reproof which the independent burghers who composed the Town Council could not brook; it raised their indignation to such a pitch that the magistrates immediately called a meeting and pronounced a decree of banishment against the three ministers, Farel, Calvin, and Fourcault. Calvin, who had been persuaded against his will to stay in Geneva, received the order with great indifference, and only observed, "Had I been the servant of men I should have complained of being ill requited, but it is well for me that I have served One who never deserts those who devote themselves to him."¹

Farel, who had suffered all the throes of anxiety in the formation of this infant church, was cut to the heart by their ingratitude. Fourcault, the third minister, was blind; he had done much by his learning and piety towards promoting the introduction of the Gospel at Geneva, and died shortly after his expulsion.

Calvin went to Strasburg, where he established a French church. Sadoletto,² bishop of Carpentras in Dauphinè, seized the opportunity, when Geneva was deprived of its most valiant defenders, to endeavour to reconcile it with the Roman Catholic Church. He wrote a mild persuasive letter inviting the citizens to return to their ancient faith; it was printed and extensively circulated. But Calvin, though a banished man, anxiously watched over the spiritual interests of the republic, and wrote so able a reply to the letter of Sadoletto, that Geneva made no movement towards Rome. It was at Strasburg that Calvin took that step for which so many of the reformers have been blamed. Though he had received the tonsure he was bound by no vows, and broke no engagements when by the advice of Bucer he married Idolette de Bore, a sensible, serious person, widow of John Storder.³ The following year, 1541, he was summoned to Ratisbon to assist at the colloquy on religion.

¹ "*Certe, si hominibus servivissem, mala mihi merces perciperetur: sed bonè est; quod ei inservivi; qui nunquam non servis suis rependit, quod semel promisit.*"—M. Adam, *Vitas Theologorum Exterorum*, p. 70. Ed. 1618.

² Paleario's patron. See CHAP. XI.

³ Melchior Adam, *Theol. Ester.* p. 72.

There he met Melancthon, and the friendship between these eminent men was commenced, which continued during life.

Meanwhile the Genevese were becoming ashamed of their intemperate and unpatriotic conduct in banishing men who had the real good of the country sincerely at heart, men whose firm principles and distinguished talents could alone keep the evil-disposed in check. The Council met to rescind the decree of banishment they had formerly issued, and though Calvin did not immediately respond to their overtures, he at length suffered himself to be persuaded to return.¹ Melchior Adam says that his enemies met with violent deaths; one threw himself out of the window, the other was condemned for committing homicide.

It was on the 13th of September, 1541, that Calvin for the second time entered Geneva. He was welcomed with great joy by the citizens, who made a full acknowledgment of their former error. His first care was to organize public worship in a regular Presbyterian form; he resumed his plans exactly at the point where he had left off when thrust out of the city, and maintained the power of censure and suspension from the Lord's Supper in cases of scandal or immorality.

When Ochino arrived at Geneva,² a year after, Calvin was firmly established in his pastoral office;³ he received from him a courteous and hearty welcome, and was presented to the ministers and members of this rising church. The friar must

¹ Scott's *Continuation*, vol. iii.

² His arrival was the beginning of the Italian Church at Geneva. In the "*MS. de la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève*," under the head of "*Spectacles, Professeurs, Recteurs, et des Ministres des Eglises étrangères qui sont dans la ville*," we find the following entry, p. 181, *Eglise Italienne. Cette Eglise fut établie en 1542, Octobre*; and then, 1542, *Bernardin de Servas or Searas qui avoit été religieux prêcha à la Chapelle du Cardinal (à Ostia) tous les Dimanches*. M'Crie, quoting Spon, *Hist. de Genève*, tom. i. p. 290, has *Searas*, but in these old handwritings it would not be difficult to turn *sew* into *ien* to make *Siens*; the last letter was probably added by the clerk who did not understand Italian. Mr. Gibbings thinks it a misprint, but the above has been carefully copied from the archives of Geneva. I am under great obligation to the Rev. Mr. Binder, Professor of Theology at l'Oratoire, for his kind assistance in making extracts from the Town Council books. Compare M'Crie's *Hist. of Reformation in Spain*, p. 352, with Gibbings' *Trial and Martyrdom of P. Carneseccchi*, p. 6.

³ He had employed this interval in drawing up a Catechism in French and in Latin. It was afterwards published in the German, Belgic, Spanish, and Scotch languages. Tremellio translated it into Hebrew, and Henry Stephens into Greek. His *Institution Chrétienne* had been published some years before.

have been both edified and astonished to see a person who put no value on the merit of anything which he performed, spending himself and being spent, making tenfold more exertions than he himself had ever done, with all his mortifications and privations. Here he beheld a man in the vigour of life, though of a delicate constitution, devoting every hour of his existence to the service of God, or the good of his fellow-creatures. He preached for a whole week together every fortnight, lectured three times a week, expounded, assisted the government in council, and kept up a most extensive correspondence throughout Europe. Besides all this labour he exercised an unwearied diligence to prevent the entrance of false doctrine. Endowed with a keen penetration into character, he knew that when the faculties of men are loosed as it were from their moorings, it is more than ever necessary to keep them close to Scripture, and to guard them from the dangers of inconsistency and fanaticism. A most cordial and christian union of spirit existed between the three ministers of Geneva, though each of a distinct and different character. Farel was remarkable for boldness and energy both in preaching and prayer. Viret possessed a soft persuasive eloquence which won its way to the hearts of his hearers, and Calvin excelled in a depth of judgment and weightiness of matter which ensured veneration and respect.

As full justice has been done to the lives and labours of these excellent men in many able and well-known works, there is no need of enlarging further on this engrossing topic. Three hundred years have passed away since the standard of divine truth was planted on the shores of Lake Lemman by these great reformers; and though a cloud has at times obscured the purity of the air, it is now, under the beams of the Sun of righteousness, slowly rolling away. Geneva is still free to profess the truth, and still remains a refuge for sound doctrine.

We have very imperfect notices of Ochino after he left Italy; from Geneva he went to Basle, with the intention of printing there his sermons,¹ and his apology for leaving Italy. He afterwards repaired to Augsburg, where he found employment as an Italian preacher, with a stipend of 200 florins per annum. His ancient fame procured him a numerous congregation, and he lectured with his accustomed energy and eloquence on the

¹ To which he alludes in his letter to Siena. See page 382.

Epistle to the Romans. But the events of war drove him from this shelter. In 1547 Charles V. arrived at Augsburg with his army, and was immediately informed by his friendly counsellors of the friar's residence in the city. He gave orders for his arrest, but Ochino had timely warning of his danger, and once more took to flight. His companion was Francesco Stancarò, of Mantua, a learned Hebrew scholar, and a refugee on account of religion.¹ They went together to Strasburg, where Ochino found his old friend Peter Martyr. They were that same year invited to London by Archbishop Cranmer, and travelled there together.² Ochino was married, but at what period is not ascertained, nor is the name of his wife known. In a letter written to Wolfgang Musculus, from London, Dec. 23, 1548, he says, "My wife and daughter are well, and salute you with your wife and children;" his daughter was not an infant, but she could not be more than six years old. In 1549, Dryander, who had just left England, wrote from Basle to Henry Bullinger: alluding to a false report that Bernardino and Bucer had been apprehended, together with the lord-protector of the kingdom, he adds, "but this is not the fact. Bernardino and Bucer, in my opinion, never lived more happily or usefully than at this time. For Bernardino employs his whole time in writing, and this too with a force and rapidity, as he tells me, beyond what he ever did before: and he has a son lately born in whom he takes great delight." There is only one mention of his wife, by Hooper, in April that same year, and that not very favorable. "I hear that Bernardino's wife exhibits herself in England, both in dress and appearance, as a French lady of rank. But I shall soon know more about her, and so shall you."³

During the residence of Ochino in England he was chiefly occupied in preaching to the refugee Italians, and in writing. He interested himself also in the welfare of other reformers, as may be seen by a letter to Wolfgang Musculus, minister of the

¹ He was very unsound in his opinions, and a bad companion for Ochino. In 1547 he printed at Basle, *De Trinitate, et Mediatore Domino nostro Jesu Christo, adversus Henricum Bullingerum, Petrum Martyrem, et Joannem Calvinum, et reliquos Tigurinae ac Genevensis ecclesie ministros, ecclesie Dei perturbatores, &c.* He was professor of Hebrew at Cracow and at Konigsberg.—See Gerdes' *Syllabus Ital. Ref.* p. 337, and *Zurich Letters*, p. 171.

² See CHAP. I.

³ See *Eng. Reform.* pp. 334, 353, 355.

church of Augsburg. "I am informed that the impious doctrine set forth by the Emperor Charles has been received in many cities of Germany, some of whom, influenced by fear, and others by foul superstition, had not courage to resist the ungodly edict. Among the other states which have arrived at this wretchedness, that of Augsburg is mentioned; impelled by the menaces of the Emperor, it is forced to receive that abominable Interim. When therefore I made mention of your virtue and learning and present misfortune to the most reverend the Archbishop of Canterbury, he replied, that if you thought fit to come over to this country, he would provide you with some honorable means of subsistence."¹

At the death of Edward VI. Ochino returned to Switzerland, and was soon after appointed pastor of an Italian congregation composed of emigrants from Locarno.² Before he entered on the office of a minister he was obliged to make known his opinions on the most fundamental doctrines of Scripture, and to swear to observe faithfully all the rites of the Helvetic Church, and the regulations of their synods. The exiles from Locarno had obtained from the Senate of Zurich the use of a church,³ with liberty to worship in their own language. Their first pastor was Beccaria⁴ their countryman. But he only remained a few months, to supply an urgent necessity, and then returned to the Grisons. He was eminently useful among the ignorant population, till Cardinal Borromeo drove him out, when he retired to Chiavenna.

¹ This letter is dated London, July 17th, 1548. The invitation was repeated by Ochino in December following, with an offer of money for the journey. "I will add, that there are in London more than five thousand Germans to whom you may preach and administer the Sacraments; and if you wish to lecture at Cambridge, you will be able to do so." Wolfgang Musculus did not accept the offer; he wrote to Bullinger, "I have no thoughts of this invitation, unless (as I before wrote to Bernardino) there should not be afforded me an opportunity of serving Christ in Germany."—*Eng. Reform.* pp. 334—337. 1846.

² Situated in a gulf of the Lago Maggiore. It was at this time a large and populous city, belonging to the diocese of Como; its very strong citadel was destroyed by the Swiss in 1532. The reformed opinions were introduced there as early as 1526.—See M'Crie's *Reform. in Italy*, p. 85.

³ The church in which he preached no longer exists at Zurich; the site even is unknown, but some suppose it formed part of the old building now used as a library.

⁴ Giovanni Beccaria was called the Apostle of Locarno.—See Jo. de Muralto, *Oratio de Persecutione Locarnensium*, iv. pp. 141—144, apud M'Crie.

At Zurich Ochino found his townsman Lelio Sozzini,¹ who had for some years been settled there. This was an unfortunate meeting, for Peter Martyr soon after received a letter which stated that Bernardino Ochino and Lelio Sozzini were endeavouring to undermine the doctrine of the Atonement. This was grievous intelligence to Martyr, but being himself soon after invited to Zurich as Professor of Theology, he had sufficient influence with Ochino to lead him apparently back to the right path, and during Martyr's lifetime we hear no more of these doctrinal errors. But he, though the elder of the two, survived his friend. After the death of Martyr all restraint ceased, and we find him relapsing into prejudicial sophisms to cloak the unbelief which there is too much reason to fear had taken possession of his mind.² He published some dialogues at Basle on obscure and difficult subjects, in which he put the strongest arguments on the side of error. This most dangerous method of treating mysterious doctrines, such as Free-will, the Trinity, the Messiah, was destructive of all sincere faith. He put a finishing hand to his misdeeds, as well as to the patience of the Swiss Church, by printing and publishing at Basle thirty dialogues, translated into Latin by Castalio. Some of them treated of polygamy in an offensive and unchristian manner. The Zurichers were not in the least aware of the peculiarity of his views on these subjects, till some of their citizens paid a visit to Basle, and brought back a report that Zurich harboured opinions contrary to the principles of the Reformation, and favoured polygamy. This touched the honour of the town, and an enquiry was immediately set on foot by the magistrates. They directed the dialogue on polygamy to be translated into German, that they might themselves judge of its tenour. The ministers presented it and the other dialogues with their remarks to the Senate. After a careful perusal they were so fully convinced of the dangerous nature of the book, that they resolved to exile the author from the territory of the Canton. However severe it might appear, to turn an old man and his family out of the state in the middle of winter, it was nevertheless a case which required the cutting off the right hand, and the plucking out the right eye, for fear of contamination. In vain

¹ See Appendix F.

² See M'Crie's *Reform. in Italy*, for a further account of Ochino.

he petitioned to stay the winter, being at an advanced age. Had he been silent this circumstance might have excited compassion, but he published an apology, in which, instead of defending himself, he accused others, and inveighed bitterly against Bullinger, one of the most devoted ministers of Zurich, spoke of him as the enemy of foreigners, especially Italians, and even declared that he himself was persecuted because he would not bow down before him as to a Pope or a God. All this was diametrically opposed to facts, for no one had been a greater friend to the exiles than Bullinger, nor shewn more anxiety for the welfare of the Italian Church; but he was also still more zealous for the purity of the Christian faith. Ochino was not more happy in the defence of his book, for he pursued his usual plan of placing the best arguments on the side of error.

On leaving Zurich he went to Basle, but not being allowed to stay there, he was compelled to set out with his family for Mulhausen. His wife was dead; the son and daughter formerly mentioned, if alive, must have been grown up; we do not know if he had other children. From Mulhausen he went to Poland to join his friend Stancaro; there he openly declared his anti-trinitarian opinions, and there also he found his Roman Catholic enemies. Cardinal Commendone, legate at the court of Sigismund, king of Poland, with the view of banishing Ochino, persuaded the king to issue a decree forbidding all strangers to stay in his dominions. Gratian,¹ who wrote the Cardinal's life, gives a part of Ochino's discourse, reported by a hearer, addressed to the Italian refugees in Poland. "Beware of going to hear any one who is not a true apostle of Jesus Christ. I have suffered for the name and for the glory of Christ more fatigue and greater tribulations than faith requires a man to endure, or than any Apostle has ever borne. Though it is not granted to me, as it was to them, to work miracles and prodigies, yet you ought not to have less faith in me than in them, for I teach the same truths, received from the same God, and what I have suffered are miracles and prodigies in themselves." The Cardinal's biographer concludes this quotation with a remark on the vanity and pomposity of the speaker; but Ochino was no doubt warning his audience against the Roman Catholics. He could say with truth that his life was a miracle of prodigies, and very curious

¹ Gratiani, *Vita J. F. Card. Commendone.*

would a faithful autobiography be of his devious career. Thus driven from place to place, he retired to Moravia, where, it is said, both he and his family died of the plague in the year 1564, within a year after his expulsion from Switzerland, at the age of seventy-six years.

The unhappy close of so long and chequered a life gives rise to melancholy reflections. Some minds, when once shaken in their belief and veneration, are totally overturned, and float for ever in a sea of doubts and uncertainties. Ochino first believed the Roman Catholic Church infallible, and lived to think it antichrist. After a period of rejoicing in the scriptural truths brought forward by the reformers, he underwent another change, and finally in his dotage rejected the essential doctrines of the Gospel. Perhaps he was never able to shake off the materialism of his early education; the very sanctuaries of truth were vitiated, and his mind was not one of sufficient power to grapple safely with the sophistries of unbelief. The finite nature of the human understanding, and the incompetency of language to reason safely on subjects of faith, was never more apparent than at this period, when men seemed to subtilise their conceptions and multiply their definitions with endless variety.

Until the death of Peter Martyr, in 1563, Ochino was universally respected; he is mentioned no less than thirteen times in the Zurich Letters¹ as "the good old man, the most pious and learned Bernardino." Peter Martyr wrote to Thomas Sampson² on the 20th of March 1560: "I have communicated your letter to Master Bernardino. He is in a weak state of health, both through old age and the diseases incident to that time of life, yet he does not decline the office of writing to the queen (Elizabeth), but promises to do so as soon as he is able."

Du Pin, an impartial Roman Catholic writer, says Ochino wrote with great subtlety, and contrived to cast so much doubt on truth as to make error triumph. His imagination seems unhappily to have been more powerful than his judgment, and was perhaps

¹ Published by the Parker Society, Camb. 1846.

² One of the reformed divines who took refuge at Zurich in Queen Mary's time. He refused the bishopric of Norwich, and was resolutely opposed to any conformity to popish vestments or ceremonials. Burnet says, in 1564, "Sampson, of Coventry and Lichfield, dying soon after, Bayn succeeded him," but Sampson lived till 1566.—See *Letter to Bullinger of 16th Feb.*, answered by him May 1st of the same year. *Zurich Letters*, pp. 211, 214; and Burnet's *Reform.* p. 490.

too much brought into play while exercising his natural gift of oratory. Of the sincerity of his faith and the soundness of his religious opinions when he first left Italy, we have given ample proof in his letters, which are a kind of confession of faith, and we can see no motive for a change, except perhaps a certain uneasy feeling of having lost an elevated position which had tended to flatter and to foster his self-love.

We borrow from M'Crie the translation of a letter written by Calvin to Conrad Pellican, which, as this eminent Scottish writer remarks, "reflects honour on the heart of that great reformer, and shews that he was far from being of that suspicious and intolerant disposition which many through ignorance or prejudice have ascribed to him." Calvin's letter is to Conrad Pellican of Zurich. "There is another thing of which I must write you, at the request of our friend Bernardino. I understand that it has been reported, through the foolishness of a certain brother, who was one of his companions, that he was somewhat suspected here as not altogether sound on the doctrine of the Trinity and person of Christ. I shall say nothing in his exculpation, except simply to state the truth of what happened. As I have not great confidence in the genius of the Italians, when he first imparted to me his design of taking up his residence here, I conferred with him freely on the several articles of faith in such a manner that if he had differed on anything from us he could scarcely have concealed it. It appeared to me that I discovered, and if I have any judgment I can safely attest, that he agreed with us entirely on the article referred to, as well as on other points. The only thing I perceived was that he felt displeased with the over-curious discussion of these questions which is common with the school-men; and really, when it is considered how much the airy speculations of these sophists differ from the sober and modest doctrine of the ancients, I cannot be of a different opinion. I think it proper to bear this testimony to a pious and holy man, lest the slightest suspicion should unjustly be attached to his character among us; for he is unquestionably a person distinguished for genius, learning, and sanctity." Calvin retained the same favourable opinion of him at a subsequent period.¹

¹ See Calvinus ad Pellicanum Genevæ 14 Calend. Maias, 1543: *Calvini Epistolæ*, MSS. vol. i. No. 80. in *Bibl. Genev.*, and Calvinus ad Viretum, 6 April, 1547; idem apud M'Crie's *Reform. in Italy*, p. 227.

The actual outbreak of his heterodox opinions was short. Peter Martyr died in 1562, and Ochino in 1566, when he was seventy-nine years of age; thus leaving only four years of his old age, when perhaps he was in his dotage, for this unhappy change. How long he had secretly entertained unsound views is known only to the all-seeing eye who discerns the thoughts and intents of the heart. He has left many sound and scriptural works behind him. Those written at the time he left Italy might be reprinted with advantage, as they are now so rare as not to be found except in public libraries.¹

¹ See a list, Appendix G.

CHAPTER X.

PETER MARTYR VERMIGLIO.

BORN 1500. DIED 1563.

PARENTS—EDUCATION—ENTERS AN AUGUSTINE CONVENT AT FIRESOLE—GOES TO PAVIA TO STUDY—PREACHER, AND ABBOT OF SPOLETO—PRIOR OF A COLLEGE AT NAPLES—BECOMES ENLIGHTENED—SUSPECTED OF HERESY—PRIOR AT LUCCA—SCRIPTURE READINGS AND PREACHINGS—SEVERITY OF BISHOP OF LUCCA—MARTYR LEAVES ITALY FOR ZURICH, BASEL, STRASBURG—LETTER TO HIS FLOCK AT LUCCA—SEVERE ENACTMENTS THERE—BURLAMACCHI—HIS PLOT—DISCOVERED—EXECUTED—P. MARTYR AT STRASBURG—METHOD OF INTERPRETATION—HIS MARRIAGE—INVITED TO ENGLAND BY CRANMER—DEPARTURE—ARRIVAL—MADE REGIUS PROFESSOR AT OXFORD—BUCER INVITED TO ENGLAND—MARTYR LECTURES AT OXFORD—OPPOSITION OF PAPAL PARTY—EUCCHARISTIC DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER—COURAGE AND FIRMNESS OF MARTYR—A DISPUTATION IN PRESENCE OF THE KING'S DELEGATES—INSURRECTION AT OXFORD—MARTYR ESCAPES TO LONDON—VISITS THE KING, WHO PROMISES HIM A CANONRY—EDWARD VI.—MARTYR'S OCCUPATIONS AT OXFORD—IS MADE CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH—DEATH OF BUCER—MARTYR'S GRIEF—MARTYR ASSISTS IN FRAMING THE ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND—DEATH OF EDWARD VI.—ILLNESS—DEATH OF MARTYR'S WIFE—HER BODY EXHUMED IN MARY'S REIGN, AND LAID IN A STABLE—REINTERRED—MARTYR'S ALARM—PETITIONS QUEEN MARY—VISITS CRANMER IN LONDON—PERILS—ESCAPE—ARRIVES AT STRASBURG—RESUMES HIS LECTURES—INVITED TO ZURICH—ARRIVAL THERE—WRITINGS—VESTIARIAN CONTROVERSY—BISHOP JEWEL—COLLOQUY OF POISSY—MARTYR INVITED—INTERVIEW WITH THE QUEEN DOWAGER—DE BEZE, CARDINAL OF LORRAINE—MARTYR SPEAKS IN ITALIAN—TAKES LEAVE OF THE QUEEN—RETURNS TO ZURICH—LAST ILLNESS—DEATH—HIS WORKS.

PETER MARTYR was the friend and contemporary of Ochino, and his companion in exile; but they were very different characters. We are now to follow the career of a man endowed with talents of a much higher order than those of the Capuchin monk, and possessed of a sounder judgment. He was one of the most learned of the little band of Christ's disciples who met in secret at Naples to hear and to read the Scriptures. Well trained both

in erudition and philosophy, his penetrative genius grappled firmly with error, and quickly detected sophistry: he was thus eminently qualified for the apostolic office to which his whole life was devoted.

He was born at Florence on the 8th of September 1500, a day memorable for the capture of Jerusalem by Titus the Roman Emperor, in the year 70 of the Christian era, and traditionally kept as the birthday of the Virgin Mary; coincidences which in those days were thought to foretel future greatness and distinction. His parents, Stefano Vermiglio and Maria Fumantina, were both of ancient and honourable families, and their ancestors had held various municipal offices in their native city. They gave their child the name of Peter Martyr, because previous to his birth they had vowed to consecrate him to Peter Martyr of Milan, whose life was taken by the Arians, and to whom a chapel in their neighbourhood was dedicated. His parents had lost several sons: hoping to preserve this their last surviving boy, they imposed on him this honoured name as a means of saving his life. Their prayers were heard, and much more was granted than they asked, though not exactly in the way they expected. He lived to be a bright and consistent example of christian godliness. Though he separated himself from the Church of Rome as soon as he discovered that she had not only abandoned the faith of the primitive church, but rigorously persecuted those who desired to revive the faith of Christ and his Apostles, he was made eminently useful in building up other churches, and restoring them to apostolic simplicity both in ritual and doctrine.

He enjoyed, in common with many other learned men, the advantage of being taught by a tender and sensible mother, who from his earliest infancy carefully fostered his talents. She was a highly educated woman, taught him Latin herself, and translated with him the comedies of Terence, directing his attention to the author's purity of style and delicacy of sentiment. Like the ancient Roman matrons, mothers of the Gracchi, Catullus, &c., she laid the foundation of that learning for which he was afterwards so eminently distinguished. His parents were in easy circumstances, and as he grew older they spared no expense or pains to complete his education. They furnished him with the best teachers, and diligently followed up their instructions

by inculcating on the docile mind of their pupil the importance of assiduity. He attended the lectures of Marcello Virgilio,¹ professor of Latin and Greek literature under the Florentine republic. His companions were Francesco Medici, Alessandro Capponi, the brothers Francesco and Raffaello Ricci, and that wonder of the age Piero Vettori,² whom he zealously emulated. He was remarkable at this time for great promptitude of conception and a wonderfully retentive memory; these advantages were combined with an enthusiastic love of study, so that while many plodded over the lesson with indifference or as a matter of duty, he eagerly appropriated every species of instruction, and was never weary of reading or of hearing lectures. These solid qualities were enhanced by the engaging modesty of his demeanour, which endeared him not only to his parents but also to his teachers and companions, and prevented him falling into those petty rivalries and jealousies which so frequently produced quarrels among the students.

As soon as he was old enough to think of a career he resolved to embrace the monastic life, considering it the most free from temptation, and the most holy and acceptable to God. The order of St. Augustine being both strict and learned he resolved to join this community; and at the early age of sixteen years he entered the monastery of St. Augustine at Fiesole, a few miles from Florence. His arrival afforded great pleasure to the monks, as they hoped his talents would redound to the fame of their order. His only sister, Gemina Felicità, followed his example and entered the nunnery of S. Pietro Martire. This step was by no means pleasing to their parents, as they were thus deprived of both their children. Stefano, the father, in particular was much disappointed at the resolution taken by his only son to seclude himself entirely from society, and would greatly have preferred his marrying and transmitting the family name to posterity. He was a very enlightened person, and disapproved of the superstitious practices of the monastic orders; the preaching of Savonarola³ had drawn his attention to many corruptions both in the church and in the cloistered orders. To prove his dislike to his son's profession, after the death of Martyr's mother he married again, and left a great part of his property to his

¹ Celebrated for his learning; he translated and commented on Dioscorides.

² See CHAP. III.

³ See Appendix A.

second wife, and the rest to the *Albergo dei Forestieri*, the Stranger's Home, for the benefit of the poor; and to his son¹ he bequeathed only fifty crowns a-year for life. To a pure and unsophisticated mind, the tranquil leisure and the opportunity for study which a convent life afforded was a great attraction. The convent of Fiesole possessed a rich and extensive library, the gift of the Medici family; and besides the cultivation of literature, for which it was celebrated, there were other things in this monastery worthy of praise. Great attention was paid to elocution and eloquence, and the Scriptures were diligently read and studied there; it was the custom for the young monks who had good memories to commit to memory certain passages of the Scriptures, and some even could repeat the whole Epistles of St. Paul, the book of Proverbs, and the Psalms. Martyr found the advantage of this practice in after-life, and he profited greatly by the oratorical fluency in which the young monks were exercised.

After three years' abode in this monastery, his superiors were so well satisfied with his progress and docility, that they sent him, for the further cultivation of his talents, to a convent near Padua, where he might attend the lectures of this celebrated university.

The eight years which Martyr spent in the monastery of *S. Giovanni di Verdaro*, under the direction of the learned abbot Albert, were almost wholly occupied in the study of philosophy, and he sometimes devoted the night as well as the day to this important and interesting subject. Assiduous in his attendance at the lectures of Branda, Genua, and Gonfalonieri, he made them his own, by discussing their several arguments and opinions, writing down his own opinion, and sifting every doubtful assertion, while seeking new light both by reflection and enquiry. His talents and industry were so much esteemed, that in the public meeting the most learned of the professors invited their Florentine, as they called Martyr, to take a part in the discussion. The philosophy of Aristotle¹ reigned paramount in the university, and both his ethics and method of reasoning had great attractions for Martyr. Knowing that no translation can fully convey the meaning of an author, he was not satisfied

¹ He probably gave him the customary provision on entering the convent.

² See CHAP. III.

with reading them in Latin, but resolved to learn the Greek language; and such was his application that he and his friend Benedetto Cusano frequently spent the whole night in study; the first rays of morning light appearing through the windows of the library alone reminded them of the hour. Having thus by unceasing assiduity mastered the language, the two friends had the pleasure of reading in the original tongue not only the orators and philosophers of ancient Greece, but also the best poets, all of which contributed to fertilize and enlarge their minds, and to furnish them with a rich and ready eloquence. His plan of study included a course of scholastic theology, of which there were three professors at Padua; two of them were Dominicans, and the third an Eremit: but as in after-life he happily learned a better and more scriptural theology, we may pass over the instruction of the theologians of Padua.

Martyr had now reached his twenty-sixth year; hitherto his whole life had been exclusively devoted to study, but he was now to enter upon a different scene, and to go forth into the world to exercise his talents as a preacher, and do honour to the society under whose auspices he had received his education. The office of preaching was then, as now, chiefly confined to the monks. Those who preached every Sunday were of the Dominican order,¹ hence called the *ordine dei Predicatori*. The monks of other orders preached only at Advent and in Lent. The rarity of these discourses brought great crowds to hear them; for this reason men of talent and learning, who could charm the audience by their eloquence, were chosen as preachers. On this account the order of St. Augustine enjoyed special privileges from the Popes: whoever had distinguished himself as a preacher was loaded with honours, dignities, and immunities. To these privileged offices Martyr was advanced when only twenty-six years of age, at which time the degree of doctor of divinity was conferred on him.

His first essay was at Brescia; afterwards he preached in all the chief cities of Italy, at Rome, Bologna, Venice, Mantua, Bergamo, Pisa, and Montserrat. Every moment he had to spare from preaching was devoted to the study of the Scriptures and sacred literature. Besides preaching he lectured in different

¹ An uncomplimentary pun has been made on the word Dominicani, by writing it thus, *Domini-cani*.

convents on the Scriptures, and on philosophy at Padua, Ravenna, Bologna, and Vercelli; in this latter city, at the earnest request of his friend and companion Benedetto Cusano, a native of Vercelli, he lectured on the Greek language, and gave interpretations of Homer.

When Martyr first began to preach he followed the dry scholastic method which he had been taught, kept close to Tommaso and Arimense and other writers of that stamp; he likewise studied the Fathers, but not being altogether satisfied with their contradictory statements, he examined the Scriptures with greater attention, and commenced a regular and diligent perusal of the Old and New Testaments. Here also, as in the study of Aristotle, he could not rest till he had acquired the Hebrew language, that he might read the sacred text in the original. At Bologna, being appointed vicar of the prior of his convent, he applied to a Jew named Isaac, a Jewish physician, for some assistance in learning Hebrew. But being unaccustomed to teach his own language, and deficient in method, he could give him but little aid; Martyr's indefatigable perseverance however conquered every difficulty, and he finally attained a sufficient knowledge of the Hebrew tongue to be able to read the Old Testament with facility. Thus was he unconsciously preparing himself for the great work which lay before him, and for the wider sphere of action to which he was destined. He did what he could, he acted uprightly according to the light he possessed, his prayers and his works went up as a memorial before God of his sincerity, and the great Searcher of hearts was pleased to kindle in his heart a true love for his Word; till at length, taught by the Spirit of God, he began to understand the mysteries of divine grace.

Meanwhile his diligence and faithfulness in his calling were not overlooked by his superiors; for they bestowed on him the abbacy of Spoleto. After he took possession of his benefice the ability with which he regulated his affairs excited some surprise. So much prudence and good management was not expected from a man who had hitherto been wholly given to study and literature. By his active exertions some convents and nunneries which had fallen into great irregularities were reformed: from the negligence of former abbots they had arrived at such a pitch of luxury and vice as to be the detestation of the whole town. But

Martyr's firmness in admonition, and even in punishing, soon put a stop to the mischief. Nor was this all: the town of Spoleto, like other places, was divided into so many parties that concord seemed impossible; but Martyr, persuaded that nothing was so suitable to the character of a minister of religion as the promotion of peace, resolved to risk even his life for this object. Both in public and in private he exhorted them to union, taught them the duties of Christians, pointed out the misery they inflicted on each other, and so effectually preached conciliation, that during his residence in the city violence and faction were hushed into silence, and peace and amity restored.

In accordance with the evil custom of heaping benefices on every promising youth, after being three years at Spoleto he was appointed prior of the convent of *S. Pietro ad Ara* at Naples, a position of great dignity and value. Hitherto he had followed the theology of the schools, and sought light from the works of the Fathers; but latterly he had examined the Scriptures with closer attention, and every day of sacred research brought him nearer to that true light which lighteth every man who seeks it. He gradually began to discern the abuses which had disfigured the Church of Rome. Just at this juncture he happened to meet with Bucer's¹ Commentaries on the Gospels and on the Psalms.² His honest and sincere mind was deeply impressed by the scriptural views contained in this work. Shortly after, the admirable treatise on *True and False Religion*, by Zuinglius, fell into his hands. These, with other works of the Reformers which he now eagerly perused, convinced him how reasonable a thing it was for pious men to desire a return to the original simplicity of the Christian religion, and he felt what a relief it would be if the members of the Church of Christ could be freed from the heavy yoke of useless rites and ceremonies. These awakening thoughts were much strengthened by daily conversations with those who like himself were searching the Scriptures,

¹ See Appendix B.

² It was published under the feigned name of *Arezzo Folino*, and was read with great applause, both by cardinals and bishops, till it was known that Bucer was the author, when it was immediately suppressed, and cried down as a bad book.—*In quatuor evangelia enarrationes*, 1527. *Sacrorum Psalmorum libri quinque, ad Ebraicam veritatem traducti*. See *Athenas Cantabrigienses*, p. 102. 1858. The original was in Latin by *Arctinum Folinum*. When translated into Italian the name was italianised.

more particularly Benedetto Cusano, his intimate friend and companion, and Marc' Antonio Flaminio, the poet. While in this enquiring state he went to hear the expositions of Juan Valdés, who, as we have already seen,¹ set forth with so much unction the glad tidings of revealed truth. The seed fell on a fertile soil, and brought forth much fruit to the glory of God. They conferred together on points of faith and doctrine, and Martyr was gradually brought to a full apprehension of the great and joyful truths of the Gospel. No sooner was he enlightened on the true meaning of grace and atonement, than he became painfully conscious that these were the doctrines which the Church of Rome had vitiated and obscured. With this conviction he began an exposition of the first Epistle to the Corinthians at *S. Pietro ad Ara*,² in the presence of all the brethren of his convent, and of several bishops and distinguished persons. So great was the concourse of hearers that those who did not attend these lectures were considered but indifferent Christians.³

The brilliant eloquence of the preacher, the learning and talent displayed in his exposition, and the manner in which he explained the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ and not by our own merits, were so completely subversive of confidence in vain superstitions, that many who heard him, some of them the first nobles in the land, began to enquire seriously and in good earnest, "What must we do to be saved?" These lectures must have been delivered after the death of Valdés, for we find it noted that Galeazzo Caracciolo, the son of the Marquis of Vico, was just twenty-four years of age when he went, in the year 1541, to hear Peter Martyr lecture on St. Paul's Epistles in his church. The deep and serious attention of his noble hearers, Caserta, Caracciolo, and other Neapolitan gentlemen, excited the envy of the monks, particularly the Theatines, and they began to

¹ See CHAP. VI.

² "HORA costoro (Pietro Martire, Bernardino Ochino, Marc' Antonio Flaminio), mentre furono in Napoli per fare brigate maggiore di discepoli s'erano divisi in diversi pulpiti di Scrittura santa. Il Vermiglio in S. Pietro d' Ara leggeva l' Epistole di S. Paolo, e perchè quivi era anco la Compagnia de' Bianchi fondatevi dal Revdo Priore D. Calisto Canonico Regolare, quindi fu che molte grave e per altro da bene Gentil' huomini Napoletani ma poco accorti coll' ascoltare la Lettione di quell' Heresiarca restarono macchiati di quella pece."—Caracciolo, *Vita di Paolo IV.* MS. p. 114.

³ Giannone, *Istoria Civile di Napoli*, vol. xi. p. 182.

whisper that his doctrine was heretical; his sermons were reported to the viceroy, and every word was critically watched. One day, in the course of his lectures on the third chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, he came to the passage which speaks of Christ being the sole foundation on which we can build our salvation, *Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ. Now if any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble, every man's work shall be made manifest; for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is.*¹ Though he expressed himself cautiously, it was suspected that he did not believe in purgatory. His interpretation did not coincide with the Roman Catholic explanation of this passage, for he proved with the more ancient Fathers that the fire spoken of in the thirteenth verse, *the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is*, and again in the fifteenth, *but he himself shall be saved yet as by fire*, figured the entire consumption of error or pretence of merit, and that those who had added foreign substances of whatever nature to the foundation (Christ) and considered them aids in the work of salvation, could be saved only as persons are who escape from a fire having lost all except life. Then by a close application of his text he shewed that everything which led to confidence in themselves or their works turned their hearts from the 'chief corner-stone,' on which the strength of the building depended, involving not only loss of time, but to the spiritual mind both pain and grief. Such an interpretation of the only passage in the Gospel which could possibly be applied to purgatory, was highly displeasing to the ignorant and interested supporters of the Church of Rome. They were keen enough to perceive that any diminution of respect for this favorite and profitable doctrine would lessen the value of indulgences, and render useless prayers for the dead, and thus block up the channel by which such abundant contributions had been poured into the clerical coffers.

In order therefore to put a stop to all discussions on this subject, Toledo was prevailed on to forbid him to preach; but Martyr, at the head of a convent and member of a distinguished order, refused to obey, and appealed to the Pope against this unjust sentence. He had powerful friends in the Roman court;

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 11—13.

Hercules Gonzaga of Mantua, Contarini, Pole, Bembo, and Fregoso, all cardinals and favorites of the Pope, who was himself thought to desire a reform in the church, stood forth in his defence. The prohibition was at their instance removed, and Martyr continued to preach as at first; but before he had finished his three years' station at Naples he and Benedetto Cusano were both seized with a dangerous fever, of which Cusano died. Martyr was so much reduced by the disease that his superiors, fearing the air of Naples was injurious to his health, made him visitor-general of his order, and sent him to travel throughout Italy. He discharged this office, which gave him power to correct all abuses, with the highest integrity and impartiality, and to the satisfaction of all who desired the honour and credit of the order. Some of the members were secret enemies to all reform or improvement, but Martyr's judicious management reduced them to silence. With a just and well-merited severity he rigorously suppressed all luxury and immorality, and checked that petty tyranny which many delighted to exercise over their meeker brethren. When all ordinary repression failed to produce obedience, he took counsel with Cardinal Gonzaga, the protector of the order, and with his sanction deprived the most contumacious both of rank and office. The rector-general was among the recusants, and he, with several of his companions, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the island of Diomede. This well-timed rigour was thought to reflect great honour on Martyr; but we, not knowing the extent of the rector's guilt, feel rather disposed to pity this victim of irrevocable vows, and to wish that he could have been punished, by being thrust out of the order, to which he was a disgrace, and left to the free use of his limbs. But Martyr acted in conformity to the opinions of the times, and shewed that he at least was no respecter of persons, and that as the administrator of justice, he was not afraid to strike those who deliberately violated the rules of the society. The great object was to bring back the community to the purity and simplicity of their original founder.

His superiors soon after testified their approbation by conferring on him the dignity of prior of S. Frediano at Lucca,¹

¹ "Pietro Martire Vermigli non fu nominato priore degli Agostiniani o canonici lateranensi di S. Frediano prima del 1541. In uno strumento di 22 Nov. di detto anno, interviene il Vermigli come Visitatore dell'ordine. *V. Archivio del Monastero*

an important office, which conferred episcopal authority over one half of the city. Some who favoured his election were malicious enough to imagine this would throw him into new difficulties, on account of the extreme jealousy between the inhabitants of Lucca and Florence. But Martyr's learning and virtue excited the respect of the Lucchese, and they soon ceased to look on him as a native of the city which had deprived them of their liberty. His first step was to assemble the most learned monks of the convent, and the best disposed novices, and to inform them of his determination to introduce a strict discipline as to conduct. He next expressed his earnest desire to promote the love of study and the practice of true religion, and was fortunate enough to find many willing coadjutors in his plan of reform.

He then directed his attention to the education of the young, and took care to have them well grounded in the Scriptures, and fully instructed in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. For this purpose he chose men of talent and piety, favourable to Gospel doctrine, who were conversant with the Scriptures in their original languages. Paolo Lacisio¹ of Verona taught Latin, and was also conversant with Greek and Hebrew: Count Celso Martinengo,² Greek: Emanueto Tremellio,³ a converted Jew,

di S. Frediano, lib. I. de' contratti. Anzi siccome da esso archivio si ha riscontro, che uno dei primi atti del Priore novellamente eletto fosse quello di assegnare ai singoli canonici le cappelle da officiarsi così pare che possa stabilirsi la data dell' elezione del Vermigli Priore di S. Frediano non prima del giugno del 1541 imperocchè alle 12 di detto mese lo si vede appunto procedere a siffatto assegnazione."—*Archivio Storico Italiano*, tom. x. *Sommario della Storia di Lucca* per cura di C. Minutoli.

¹ "In questa città Lucca non solo egli (Pietro Martire) più apertamente si dichiarò seguace dell' eresia; ma presa ancora a tenerne quasi pubblica scuola; finchè temendo di essere arrestato fuggissene in segreto l'anno 1542, con Paolo Lacisio Veronese, ch'era ivi Professore di Lingua Latina, e che fu poscia Professore di Greco in Strasburgo, uomo pel suo sapere in quelle due lingue, e nell' Ebraica ancora assai lodato dal Robertello, e di cui abbiamo la versione delle Omelie di Giovanni Tzetze stampata in Basilea nel 1546."—Tiraboschi, tom. vii. p. 292. Melchior Adam, *Vitas Theol. Ester.* p. 33. Gerdes, *Syllabus Ital. Reform.* p. 280.

² Maximiliano Celso, of the noble family of the Martinenghi in Lombardy, was a canon of the church of the Lateran. He left Italy for the sake of religion, and Girolamo Zanchi, his intimate friend, followed his example. Martinengo was afterwards pastor of the Italian church at Geneva.—See *Sorin. Antiq. Epist. Zanchi*, tom. v. p. 230.

³ Tremellio was a native of Ferrara. He was converted from Judaism by Cardinal Pole and M. A. Flaminio, and baptised in the Cardinal's house at Viterbo. Having embraced the Reformed opinions he left Italy with Peter Martyr, and went first to Strasburg, then to England, during the reign of Edward VI. At his death

Hebrew. In order that the young men while acquiring Greek and Hebrew might at the same time learn religion, Martyr himself gave a daily exposition in Italian on the Epistles of St. Paul, and required the students to rehearse what had been said. Before supper, in presence of the whole community, he explained one of the Psalms. These lectures were attended by great numbers of the chief citizens of Lucca, and by not a few of the nobles.

Earnestly desirous of spreading the knowledge of true religion throughout the republic, Martyr preached every Sunday publicly to the people in Italian. At Christmas and in Lent he followed the usual practice of reading the Gospels and made comments as he went on, losing no opportunity of bringing forward the fundamental truths of Christianity. Except in Lent, Martyr lectured chiefly on the Epistles of St. Paul, and made ample use of the forcible reasoning of the Apostle on faith and works. His manner of preaching gradually gathered round him a congregation, who made daily advances in enlightenment and scripture knowledge, and proved the sincerity of their faith by their willing obedience to the commands of God, and their christian love for each other.

But they were not left long in peace to follow this christian course; for their rulers knew too well that if these reforms of life and doctrine were universally diffused and became rooted in the hearts of the people, the authority of the church would be undermined, and its gains disappear.

In 1541 Charles V. and Paul III. met at Lucca, and Cardinal Contarini,¹ on his return from Ratisbon, arrived to pay his respects to the Pope. During the short time he spent at Lucca Contarini renewed his former friendship with Martyr, and took up his abode in the convent with him, accompanied by Tommaso Badia, master of the sacred palace and the colleague of the legate.² They had daily conversations on religious subjects.

he returned to Germany, and was Professor of Hebrew at Heidelberg, where he translated the Scriptures. He afterwards went to Sedan, where he died in the year 1580, aged seventy years. He published *Grammatica Chaldaeo-Syra* and a Catechism in Hebrew.—See Gerdes' *Syllabus Ital. Reform.* p. 342, and Wolfii *Bibl. Hebr.* tom. iii. p. 883.

¹ See CHAP. VII. p. 274.

² See *Vita Martyris*, by Simler, in Melchior Adam, *Vitas Theol. Extor.* p. 34. This confirms the conjecture hazarded in a note, page 286, that Tommaso Badia was the Master of the Sacred Palace, to whom Paleario addressed an account of the conspiracy against him.

Contarini entered warmly into the deepest discussions with his learned friend. Fresh from the clear and forcible statements of the German Reformers, his upright mind had learned to value their uncompromising search after truth, and though he did not agree with them on all points, yet his opinions had been greatly modified by their appeals to Scripture, and it was thought, if not held back by his allegiance to the church, he would have been by no means unfavourable to their views of divine truth. Martyr listened with deep interest to Contarini's account of what had passed at Ratisbon, and we may be sure that the several arguments were reported with that logical precision which became the disciple of Aristotle.¹ They confirmed Martyr in the opinions he already entertained, and were by no means useless to the speaker, who was gradually receiving light.

Knowing that some degree of suspicion rested on Martyr, his friends were fearful lest this visit of the Pope to Lucca should bring him into trouble. But the time was not yet come for his principles to be put to the test, and the meeting of these exalted personages passed off without his being disturbed by any notice on their part. The meeting of these potentates was purely political. The Pope sought his nephew's aggrandisement, but Charles, knowing how little reliance was to be placed on his promises, resolved not to augment the papal power in Italy; thus they met to little purpose, for both were disappointed.

But though the danger which Peter Martyr and his friends had apprehended did not at this time reach him, yet it had by no means passed away. The clergy in the Pope's train carried back to Rome a bad report of Lucca, and Guidiccioni the bishop wrote to the municipality complaining of the spread of heretical opinions, and warning them that if they did not put a stop to these doctrines it would be done for them in a way they would not like. This alarm in the mind of the bishop was no doubt occasioned by the reforms begun by Peter Martyr, for he says, "Till now it has been thought, as it was formerly, by our lord the Pope, that the evil arose from pedants and women; but hearing of conventicles which are held in the convent of St. Augustine, and the doctrines which are taught and printed, and seeing no hindrance is offered either by the

¹ See *Contarini's Life*, p. 278.

spiritual or temporal rulers of the city, and that they do ask others to do what they have not courage themselves to accomplish, we can only conclude that all proceeds with their consent and approval.”¹ Another letter from the bishop, in reply to the municipality, commands them to arrest Celio,² and also the friars of St. Augustine, especially the vicar,³ “of whom we hear for certain that he has given the communion several times to many of our citizens, teaching them to partake only in remembrance of the sufferings of Christ, and not because they believed that this wafer contained his most holy body, *non già perchè credino che in quell’ ostia vi sia il suo santissimo corpo.* When taken, use diligence that they may be sent to Rome, or give notice that you have arrested them at the instance of his Holiness, in order that all good men may see that you are willing to prove yourselves, like your ancestors, good catholic Christians and obedient sons of the holy apostolic see.”⁴

The threatening tone of these letters was no doubt greatly inspired by the knowledge that measures were preparing at Rome by the erection of the dread tribunal of the Inquisition, which would vastly increase the power of the clergy. Full powers were vested in six Cardinals to enquire into all cases of heresy, and Guidiccioni, on the 26th of August 1542, wrote in a more decided tone than before of the “increase of the perverse doctrine taught in our city,” to his own displeasure and distress, “so that nothing is more painful to me than to write on this subject.” “This morning, after the departure of the ambassador, in the assembly of the most reverend deputies [from the holy office?] eight Lutheran and anti-catholic propositions of D. Constantino the Prior of Frigionaja have so greatly displeased N. S. (the Pope) and the most reverend deputies, that they have directed me to write to your lordships desiring you to commit him to prison, giving public notice, and send him here with that other friar of St. Augustine.” Though Martyr does not appear to be named in these letters, those threatened must have been well

¹ This letter is dated the 22nd of June, 1542. See the original in Appendix D.

² Celio Secondo Curione.

³ “*Oltre il monasterio di S. Frediano, e l’altro da esso dipendente di S. Maria di Fregonaja, anche il convento di S. Agostino della regola eremitana era guasto dall’eresia.*”—*Archivio Storico*, vol. x. p. 35. 1847.

⁴ Dated from Rome 22nd July, 1542.

known to him, and among the number of his friends. But though his enemies were powerful his friends were equally so, and the high veneration in which he was held by the independent inhabitants of Lucca rendered it difficult to attack him.

An attempt however was made in the person of an Augustine friar, who was committed to prison by order of the Pope in the above letter from the bishop. Preparations were made to try him for having violated the precepts of the Roman Catholic Church. But the Lucchese nobles, knowing the piety and goodness of this man, unable to brook the infliction of so much injustice, forced open the prison-doors, carried him out of the city, and exhorted him to fly. Unhappily he broke his leg in attempting to get away, was captured a second time, and sent to Rome.¹

The persecutors having succeeded in apprehending this victim began to concert measures how to take Martyr also. He had been pursuing with unwearied zeal his reforms in the convent, and checking every species of unholy licence. His serious and popular style of preaching won the hearts of the people, but the monks were so highly incensed at the strict discipline he had introduced, that they sought for some means of injuring him. The suspicion of heresy was a ready engine for the gratification of the basest passions. They wrote secretly to Rome; plots were carried on against him in all the convents of his order; his old enemies were roused to seize this opportunity for regaining the liberty of licentiousness, and for revenging themselves on him who had stemmed the torrent of their wickedness. They watched him closely, set spies at work to find out all his movements, to see what books he read,² to catch him in conversation, hoping to find matter for calumny. Fear of an outcry in his favour among the people alone kept them from harsher measures. But the train was laid which was shortly to break up this reformed community, and free the Church of Rome from those inconsistent members who preferred worship-

¹ J. Simler, *Vita Petri M. Vermigli*, in Melchior Adam, *Vitas Theolog.* p. 34. *Scrinium Antiq.* tom. iii. p. 19. *Archivio Storico Italiano*, tom. x. p. 34.

² "Nuove inculpazioni di tollerare la diffusione delle luterane dottrine, anzi che reprimerle con calore, vennero ad aggravar la Repubblica che pretendevasi lasciassi circolare troppo liberamente quei libri onde venivano insegnate e che menavano di quei di gran romore."—*Sommario di Storia Lucchese*, lib. iii. p. 391, apud *Archivio Storico Italiano*, tom. x.

ping in the spirit of Holy Writ to the practice of idle and useless ceremonies, and preferred to obey God rather than man. A number of those most addicted to superstition called a meeting at Genoa which, was to be composed not only of the chiefs of the order but of all those opposed to Martyr's reforms. Martyr was invited in due form to be present. Aware of the snare laid for him, and mindful of the warning given by the bishop of Lucca, he listened to the exhortations of his friends, who pointed out that time was only wanting to complete the designs of his enemies, and unwillingly resolved to secure his safety by flight.¹ He began his preparations by withdrawing a part of his books, and confiding them to the care of Cristoforo Brenta, a Lucchese noble, a pious man and a sincere lover of true religion, to whom he gave injunctions to take an early opportunity of forwarding them to Germany; the rest he left to the convent. Having arranged his affairs in the best possible manner, and handed over his charge to the vicar, he secretly quitted Lucca and his brethren. He was accompanied by three of his friends, Paolo Lacisio, afterwards Professor at Strasburg, Theodosio Trebellio, and Giulio Terenziano, his affectionate and lifelong faithful attendant.

Martyr left Lucca for Pisa, where he concealed himself for a short time, but met in secret some nobles and christian friends, to whom he dispensed the Lord's Supper, after the simple and touching manner recorded in the Gospels of our Lord's institution of this holy ordinance. Thus did he, in the most perilous moment of his life, unite together by this holy act the members of this infant church. He confided to some faithful messengers

¹ The papal biographer speaks of the Reformed opinions as of an infectious and fatal disease. "Lucca fu molto appestata di questo morbo perciò che dice il Thuano, tom. i. fol. 239. In quella città (Lucca) teneva scuola Pietro Martire dopo che partì di Napoli, e vi hebbe per compagni il Tremellio Ferrarese, lettore di lingua Hebraica; Celso Martinengo lettore di lingua Greca, Paolo Lacisio Veronese lettore di Latina, e costoro vi trovarono con Girolamo Zanebio tutti pessimi heretici, e vi stettero fino al 1542, quando per paura del Papa che ritornava dal Busseto se ne fuggirono tutti in Germania insieme: Siena e Firenze furono assai pieno d' heresie. Quello produsse l' Ochino e Lattanzio Ragnoni heretici. Questi hebbe fra Pietro Martire Vermigli che infettò Napoli, Firenze, e tutta l' Inghilterra."—Caracciolo, MS. p. 121. The Pope met Charles V. at Busseto on the 21st of June 1543, and the *heretics* left Italy in August 1542. Inaccuracy of dates and facts runs through Caracciolo's history: in proof see Vandenesse, *Itinerary*, by Bradford, p. 536, and Muratori *Annali*, tom. x. p. 50.

letters to Reginald Pole and to his friends at Lucca, informing them of his intended departure. In these letters he openly declared his opinion of the many serious errors in the Roman Catholic Church, blamed the abuses in the monastic orders, and averred them to be so great that he could no longer with a safe conscience remain. He gave also other reasons for his departure, such as the snares laid for him by his enemies, and reminded his former flock of the sincerity of his faith and his zeal in instructing and guiding them, and deeply lamented not having been able more fully to impart to them the principles of the true faith. To shew that he had no desire to appropriate to himself the smallest thing belonging to the convent, he restored to them the ring which he wore as a badge of his office. These letters were not to be delivered for a month after he had left Italy; he carried with him but a very small sum of money, a proof of his disinterestedness and disregard of gain.

From Pisa he went to Florence, where he had some steady friends; there he met his friend Bernardino Ochino, who was placed in the same unpleasant predicament with himself: the alternative was a painful one, either to yield themselves to the destructive power of Rome, or become perpetual exiles from their native country. Martyr's counsels helped to overcome Ochino's scruples, and they both determined to leave Italy, though by different roads. Martyr set out two days after Ochino by the way of Bologna, Ferrara, and Verona. He was received everywhere by his old friends with the utmost kindness; passing the Rhetian Alps he at length set foot in Switzerland, that friendly refuge for the persecuted Italians. His first halt was at Zurich, and he seemed to breathe afresh when he trod a free soil and found himself at liberty to worship God according to his conscience. The town of Zurich possessed many able and zealous reformers who cordially greeted him as a friend. Henry Bullinger, Conrad Pellican, and Rodolph Gualter were ministers of the Swiss church, men of simple, fervent piety, whose christian fellowship seemed so desirable that Martyr would willingly have tarried there and made it his home; but there was no office vacant in which he could be useful either as a teacher or minister of the word, so that after a short time he felt compelled to pursue his journey; but he always en-

tertained a great affection for Zurich, as the place where he was first received as a christian brother, and he gladly returned thither when in the providence of God he was brought back there at the close of his life. From Zurich he went to Basle, from whence in a few weeks he was invited by Paolo Laciosio to Strasburg, and through the influence of Martin Bucer was appointed professor of theology.

In an oration delivered at Zurich many years after, he thus describes his feelings when the light of the Gospel first dawned on his mind :

“ When my Heavenly Father, through the merits of Christ, had compassion on me, I began to see through a cloud, and as trees walking, the truth of the Gospel; nor, though I understood as yet but darkly, could I keep silent. I communicated it unto others, and the light was increased, and both measure and means being enlarged I taught more openly, and things were brought to such a pass that I could no longer live in Italy without extreme danger. Wherefore, dear brethren, I came into Germany, that from whence I had by letters tasted the first principles of the reformed truth, I might there receive abundantly a more fruitful and perfect doctrine. I desired also personally to behold certain reformed churches, lest I should imagine the reformation of the church to be like the commonwealth of Plato, which may indeed be apprehended, but hath nowhere any existence. This then I earnestly sought first at Zurich, and thence I turned my steps : God directed my journey, and gave me a happy success in that which I had taken in hand. When I was come hither I perceived that godly and sincere divinity was here taught, and that the church was reformed with pure and apostolical ordinances. Not a little did their bountiful courtesy increase in my mind the desire which stirred within me. For those two days wherein I tarried here with those who belonged to me, I was so delighted with the godly, learned, and sweet communication which I had with Doctors Bullinger,¹ Bibliander,² Gualter,³ and Pellican,⁴

¹ Henry Bullinger, of Bremgarten, born 1504, died 1575, was an eminent Swiss divine. His opinions were more akin to those of Zuingle than of Luther on some points, particularly on the Lord's Supper. After Zuingle's death he was greatly instrumental in establishing the Reformed opinions at Zurich. See Melchior Adam, ed. 1620, p. 476; and *Zurich Letters*, 1846.

² Theodore Bibliander, a Swiss, born 1514, died 1564, was a learned reformed teacher at Zurich.—*Ibid.* p. 402.

³ Rodolph Gualter, a native of Zurich, born 1519, died 1586, a learned divine and active reformer, head of the church at Zurich.—*Ibid.* 592.

⁴ Conrad Pellican, a German, born 1478, died 1556, a learned Hebrew scholar who composed a Hebrew dictionary and grammar; the latter was translated into German. In 1502 he was appointed reader of theology at Baale. He received the degree of Doctor in his 40th year. In 1526 he was invited to Zurich as Professor of Hebrew, and in his first lecture on the fifteenth chapter of Exodus he thanked God who had brought him out of Egyptian and papistic captivity, helped him to pass the

of blessed memory, and with others whom I cannot now rehearse by name; that I thought those most happy who could live with such persons. I rejoiced even at my exile, since Almighty God had brought me to the comfort and consolation of having knowledge and speech of such excellent men. Believe me, I could never afterwards forget this church, those two days, and that entertainment. What shall I say more? I was taken hence against my will, as at that time there appeared no occasion for tarrying."¹

As soon as he had found a refuge where he could occupy himself in preaching the Gospel and expounding the Scriptures, he addressed a letter to his beloved church at Lucca. In this frank and affectionate epistle he expresses his compunction for being obliged to leave them, and owns himself alive to the blame which might possibly be cast on his flight. This letter was dated from Strasburg the 6th of January, 1543.

“To the faithful of the Church of Lucca, saints by calling, grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

“If I should keep silence any longer about my flight it might be unprofitable, and would appear ungrateful towards you, the which would ill become me: wherefore, having as I hope the Spirit of God, I am minded to talk with you by these letters, since I cannot speak to you face to face.

“I tarried at Basle till the 16th of November (1542). Although I was made welcome and well received of all men, I found no place vacant suited to my branch of study, the city having no need of teachers. Wherefore, not being able to keep out poverty and want without some honest calling, and utterly indisposed for all other save my own, namely, expounding the word of God, I remained in doubt, expecting what the Lord would have to be done with me and my faithful companions. Sometimes we were sorry we had not gone from Zurich to Geneva, whither Bernardino Ochino journeyed the day before our arrival at Zurich. Howbeit, looking diligently at the event, we perceived that it was overruled by the providence of God, who saw that we were more fitted for Strasburg than for Geneva. Bucer, who is at the head of the church at Strasburg, having heard that we remained at Basle without any occupation, after the death of Capito, invited us to Strasburg. We truly rejoiced, gave thanks to Almighty God for this opportunity, and set out on our journey. On our arrival we were most lovingly received by Bucer into his house, and remained with him seventeen days. His dwelling seemed to be a home of hospitality, he is so accustomed to entertain strangers who travel for the

Red sea, and sing the song of Miriam with joy, ‘Sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously.’ He was forty-eight years of age when he laid aside the monastic habit. He continued his Hebrew studies till the age of seventy-eight. Martyr succeeded him.—*Zurich Letters*, p. 262.

¹ Translation of P. Martyr’s *Common Places*, with letters, by Antony Masters, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, Ed. 1573—1578.

Gospel and the cause of Christ. He governs his house so well that in all these days I could not once perceive any cause of offence, but found many occasions of edification. At his table there is no appearance of excess or niggardliness, but only a godly moderation: here there is no distinction of meats. Before and after meat something is recited out of the Holy Scriptures to minister matter of godly and holy communications. I may boldly affirm that I ever went from that table a wiser man; for I always learned something I had not thoroughly weighed before. . . . Bucer was continually occupied by daily sermons, governing the church, seeing that the curates watched over souls and confirming them by holy examples; he visited also the schools of learning to see that all labour had reference to the furtherance of the Gospel, exhorting and stirring up the magistrate to christian godliness. For this purpose he daily attended the courts of justice. Being thus fully occupied during the day, he takes the night for his private studies and prayers. I never awaked out of sleep but I found him awake. Thus does he prepare himself for his work in the daytime, and thus is he strengthened by prayer for his daily avocations. . . . Behold, well-beloved brethren, in our age bishops upon the earth, or rather in the church of Christ, who are truly holy. This is the office of a pastor, this is that bishoplike dignity described by Paul in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus. It delighteth me much to read this description in those epistles; but it pleaseth me a great deal more to see the patterns themselves. Perhaps your countrymen will object that the dignity and bishoplike majesty cannot thus be preserved. If a bishop must teach and preach every day, if he continually visit the schools, if needy strangers and wayfaring men are cared for, if poverty be not seen with indifference, and he be without great revenues, where will be the dignity, glory, and majesty of a bishop? We answer that honour, riches, and glory are held in no estimation by the pastors of souls and by apostolical bishops. On the other hand, we grant that bishops who are not of the church, but of the world, keepers of souls but of dogs, horses, and hawks, chiefly regard these things, these are their great delights, and to them all their desires tend. But lest my epistle should be too long, I will lay aside my comments on bishops and return to what I was saying before.

“Bucer obtained for me from the senate the Professorship of theology, and hath committed to me the charge of a daily interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, with an honourable stipend by which I can maintain myself. At this present time I interpret the lesser prophets as they used to call them, being now at the end of Amos; and because the greater number in this school know something of Hebrew, I expound the Hebrew text in Latin. Capito, a man famous for learning and godliness, occupied the place which I now hold; he having died a year ago, no one had as yet been appointed in his room. Now hath God the most merciful Father brought me hither that I might in some degree ease Bucer of his great labours; for before my coming he went every day to teach in the school. Since I have taken Capito's place he can now attend to other business of no less importance. He preaches every day, to the great profit of the whole school and of myself also who hear him. Thus through the mercy of God my affairs are in a very good state. Moreover, I cannot

express in words how welcome and well-beloved I am of all, and how well I content the whole school. Blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who of his infinite clemency hath been merciful unto me. I would that your Church might be blessed with such a government. Although ye should be altogether destitute of the ministers of the Word to whom the preaching of the Gospel is committed, (which God forbid,) yet the Spirit of God will never be wanting to speak to your hearts instead of preachers. Moreover there are among you those, who by the grace of God are so truly illumined with the light of the truth, that they can also impart light to others, and give testimony to the truth: and besides those whom the Lord has already filled with his grace, he will continually stir up others. Wherefore from this I gather that my departure has not inflicted much real damage on you. I acknowledge that you cannot but feel it grievous to be deprived of that spiritual comfort which God vouchsafed you by my sermons, lectures, and conferences. But if God recompense this loss with a greater measure of his Spirit, then there is no harm brought on you in the way of salvation. Besides, these sermons, lectures, and conferences could not endure any longer unless I had consented to obscure the truth: it grieves me that I should ever have done this, but to teach falsely, that I could in no wise do. Reports had been already spread at Rome, amongst those who are conversant in these matters, that it was chiefly owing to me that your city continued in error. This was cast in my teeth at Lucca, and it was said that I might by my sermons and authority remedy all these things. Yea, and those monks and mine also murmured every day that our monastery was on my account worse reported of than the convent of the Augustines, and they said that by three words in the pulpit I might wipe off this reproach. These rumours were brought to the ears of the general and the heads of the order, and I began to perceive that I should soon be prohibited from preaching, either by the Pope, by your city, or by the order, and that condign punishment would also be inflicted, which would in no way have turned to your advantage. For wherein by my silence could I have been a help to you, especially after having in so many sermons and lectures expounded to all who were not deaf, the principal points of heavenly doctrine which are necessary unto salvation, and unfolded all those things which I myself understood. You will perhaps say you should have continued, waited until the most imminent dangers had actually come upon you and suffered them with a patient mind, the which in the end would have greatly furthered the building up of the Church. Your example would have animated others to constancy. We can least of all allow it to have been right for you to flee away before necessity required. But time and necessity are revealed to those who in adversity wholly commit themselves to God's protection. I was so persuaded that the right moment for me to depart was come, that I doubt not this persuasion was inspired by God. Although by my departure I avoided some bitter troubles, yet I did not escape entirely free. At Naples I suffered great vexation,¹ and also in your city. You yourselves know what anxiety and torment I endured during the last year. These, though not to be called grievous calamities, were yet the

¹ When he was prohibited from preaching.

messengers and tokens of them. It seems to me that I have not preached the Gospel without afflictions. I did not therefore refuse to provide for my safety: while I am here I am by God's grace of some use.

“If God should give any tranquillity to your state, I may perhaps again live among you. Never will I shrink from danger when God calls me for the salvation of souls. Moreover you are not ignorant of the scruples which burthened my conscience on account of that state of life which I followed. I had to wink every day at a variety of superstitions, and was myself obliged not only to perform many superstitious rites, but also most unreasonably to require them of others, and forced to do many things contrary both to my judgment and conscience. Being your pastor I did what I could by means of lectures and sermons; but when I could not govern the Church as christian truth required, I thought it best to renounce so arduous a post, and withdraw to some place from whence I might at the least exhort you by letter. I am not aware that any man has been brought into peril by my flight. By God's blessing I am come to a place where I can be of some use, and expound the Holy Scriptures, comfort you by letters, and exhort you to remain in the purity of the Gospel. To say the truth, my departure—I say this as setting forth the glory of God—when duly considered, carries with it no small mortification of self, the loss of honours and promotion, wherewith in the sight of man I was largely endowed, and of many comforts with which I was surrounded, besides the laying down of an authority which gave me both power and influence over men. All these things I might have increased in many ways, if I would have departed from the truth of God and of the Gospel. Wherefore I am delivered from a great danger, for I was certified from Rome, by different converts and members of my order and also by persons in your city, of the persecutions nigh at hand, though I did harm to none, but only by lectures and sermons manifested the truth, setting aside all dignities, riches and convenience, having been delivered from the bonds of superstition and hypocrisy. There is no reason why any man should take offence because I delivered my life from imminent oppression: doth not the Lord grant that we may avoid persecutions? To speak freely, I cannot here see or acknowledge any guilt. Would that I could consider myself equally blameless in every other action of my life. If there be in it any sin, it must rather be attributed to a want of judgment than intention. Of these things, dear brethren, I have written somewhat at large, but yet I trust not without profit, for an interpreter of the Word of God must yield account unto the people both of his sayings and doings of importance, lest they be misunderstood by other men, and so he destroy more by his actions than he has edified by his sermons. Hereafter I will write more often to you, but will not write anything but christian doctrine and spiritual consolation. I thought it good first to inform you what place of the world I am in, how I am occupied, and give you a reason for my departure. I make mention of you all in my prayers, and earnestly beseech you to do the like for me, commending me in your prayers to the mercy of God. Grace and peace through the spirit of Christ be daily multiplied to you all. Amen. Given at Strasborough, 25th January, 1543.”

Before we follow Martyr further we shall return to Lucca and give an account of some circumstances which occurred there after his departure.

It does not appear that the infant church at Lucca, which had been gathered together by the zeal and teaching of Peter Martyr, dispersed at his flight; on the contrary, the rage of his personal enemies being somewhat appeased by his absence, its members were left unmolested, and continued to worship God in secret and in peace for a time; but a few years after, the city of Lucca being formally accused at Rome of encouraging heresy, the authorities, afraid of seeing the Inquisition established, themselves took initiative measures, and issued a most severe order, forbidding all correspondence with heretics, all disputes or discussions on religious subjects, and all books which condemned the Roman Catholic religion. A particular office or tribunal was created for the cognisance of these peculiar offences, and thus the city of Lucca was put under the power of the Pope.¹

In 1546, Francesco Burlamacchi laid a plot to free Lucca, Pisa, and Florence from the dominion of Duke Cosmo, and unite them with Siena in a republican league. It was one of those plausible schemes by which Italy has been so often in vain seduced; his plan was to restore the church to its primitive poverty and holiness, to deprive the clergy of their property, and the Pope of his temporal dominions, and give them to the Emperor Charles V.

Burlamacchi, a noble of ancient descent, was actuated by a sincere desire for his country's good. His intentions were pure, and he conceived that Italy, if once freed from the papal yoke, might possess, and hope to retain, both civil and religious liberty. The rise of the reformed opinions in Germany, the appeal made to the highest and most paramount authority, that of the word of God, served to forward his views with regard to the church. The study of ancient literature, the memory of former republican grandeur, and his ignorance of constitutional government, made him imagine that a republic could alone free his country from the fetters of despotism; he had so long studied Plutarch's Lives of celebrated men, that he burned to transmit his name to posterity, ennobled by some great and patriotic deed. He was Gonfalonière, or Mayor, that year, and had

¹ See Appendix C.

taken measures to surprise Pisa. All his plans were carefully laid, when, just on the eve of their accomplishment, some offence was taken by a person privy to the plot, who, in revenge, revealed the whole to Cosmo, Duke of Florence. The Senate of Lucca had often heard Burlamacchi talk of the liberty of Italy, but never suspected that he would do more than dream of such an unattainable good. They were so fearful of being considered his accomplices, that they immediately sent messengers to Florence and to Gonzaga, governor of Milan, the agent of Charles V., revealing the whole matter. Meanwhile Burlamacchi was treated with great severity, and examined by torture to discover his associates. Cosmo was anxious to have him sent to Florence, but the Lucchese knew well that his chief wish was to make him, under the agony of torture, accuse the republic in order still further to abridge their liberties. On this account the senate steadily refused repeated applications to give up the prisoner, and preferred waiting the commands of the Emperor. Gonzaga sent Bellori as imperial commissioner to act in concert with a commissioner from Cosmo, and examine Burlamacchi. He had been twice tortured by the senate, and now for the third time his constancy was put to the proof; but he revealed nothing more than he had confessed at the first examination. He was then condemned to death by the Emperor, who said if Cosmo consented he would commute the sentence to perpetual banishment. To this Cosmo agreed, provided he was delivered into his keeping; but the senate refused, and neither party being willing to yield, the poor mangled prisoner was taken to Milan, and the following day, the 14th February 1548, he was beheaded.² Thus fell a noble victim to national independence; a good which Italy sought three hundred years ago, and still seeks, with better prospect we hope of success.

During the five years which Martyr spent at Strasburg he went through several books of the Old and New Testament, making comments in his public lectures, and interpreting the various readings from Hebrew into Latin. He began with Jeremiah and the twelve minor prophets, and afterwards took

² See *Francesco Burlamacchi*, by Carlo Minutoli, Lucca, 1844; and *Luccques et les Burlamacchi*, by Charles Eynard. Paris, 1848. Those who wish to consult a fuller history may see Mazzorosa, *Istoria di Lucca*.

up the whole bible, going through Genesis, Exodus, and a great part of Leviticus. His custom was first to explain the literal meaning of each verse, point out the sense in the original language with its context, then to enlarge on the arguments and instruction contained in each passage, confronting different texts, throwing light on any obscurity, and drawing the attention of his audience in a special manner to the spiritual instruction and application of a passage. This he did with an earnestness and simplicity which proved how truly his heart was impressed by the truths he was elucidating. Finally, with admirable readiness he adduced the opinion of the Fathers on disputed points, accurately weighed the consideration due to their several arguments, and thus furnished his hearers with the means of arriving at a just comprehension of scriptural doctrine. His clear, logical mode of treating a subject surpassed in power even that of his learned colleague Martin Bucer;¹ for Martyr possessed in perfection the great art of teaching with lucidity and precision. He opened his subject with method, and never diverged from the main argument, but gradually brought all his reasoning to establish the truth he was inculcating. Bucer, on the contrary, sometimes launched out into extraneous observations, and left the principal points in comparative obscurity. Bucer was so highly esteemed at Strasburg that a higher eulogium could not be passed on Martyr than to equal him to this worthy divine; but in method and logical precision he was considered his superior: he owed this probably to the close study of Aristotle so much practised in Italy. He frequently observed that the want of precise terms and accurate definitions was the cause of many misunderstandings in argument. Martyr lectured in Latin; his style was pure and elegant, avoiding on the one hand too much conciseness, which sounds abrupt, and on the other too long parentheses, which confuse the memory and embroil the ideas. When dwelling on the duty and happiness of a religious life his eloquence rose with his subject, and he earnestly exhorted his audience to a sincere and heartfelt repentance, and described the joy of serving God and devoting ourselves to Him with the fervour of personal piety. In his writings on justification and predestination he paid great attention to the use of terms, and more particularly when treating of the Lord's

¹ CHAP. VII. See Appendix F.

Supper, which had become such a mysterious subject with learned men that they purposely made use of words which were susceptible of different interpretations in order to quiet the consciences of the more scrupulous. He did indeed for a time yield to Bucer's persuasions¹ to clothe his arguments in ambiguous terms for the sake of promoting union, but he soon found it impossible to satisfy at one and the same time those who believe there is a corporeal and real presence of Christ in this ordinance, and those who look on it as an act of solemn and spiritual commemoration of the death of Christ as our Redeemer, and therefore returned to his former clear interpretation of divine truth. But neither this nor any other difference of opinion between these good men clouded the sincerity of their regard for each other: their friendship was cemented by a similarity of religious opinions, and an unbroken intimacy of several years, in which they maintained a continual interchange of friendly offices.

On Martyr's first arrival in Strasburg he lived in common with his Italian friends. Within a year no less than eighteen monks of his convent broke off from the Roman Catholic communion and followed Martyr,² to join those churches where the pure doctrine of the Gospel was publicly preached, and numbers of the patrician families of Lucca who had been awakened to a sense of true religion by Martyr's discourses went into voluntary exile to obey the commands of Christ.

An entire change had taken place in his habits, for he had left rich abbeys and splendid refectories for a moderate stipend which only provided for his daily wants: his frugal habits, however, always left him something for his friends in case of necessity. Among other modifications of opinion, on leaving the Church of Rome, he had ceased to think celibacy a religious obligation, and had found out that it was not commanded in Scripture. He was now about forty years of age, and but for the advice of his friends would not perhaps have thought of taking a wife, but they busied themselves in finding him a suitable companion. The converted monks were thought to prove their sincerity by disregarding their monastic vows.

¹ Bucer rather inclined to the Lutheran view of the Lord's Supper.

² Celso Martinengo, Girolamo Zanchi, and Emanuele Tremellio were of the number.

Martyr married Catherine Dammartin, a lady of Metz, and a lover of true religion. She was a prudent, industrious person, ever ready to relieve and benefit the poor with advice and assistance, and proved in every respect a true helpmate for him. Her gentle, modest disposition increased his affection for her, and constant intercourse with so pious a man helped her on in her christian course, and daily added to her faith and knowledge. She followed him to England and died at Oxford.

On the death of Henry VIII., Edward VI.¹ was immediately proclaimed king. The Duke of Somerset, lord-protector, and Archbishop Cranmer were both desirous of establishing the reformed religion within the realm. In the former reign some images which had been put to superstitious uses were removed from the churches, but many were still retained. In vain the people were taught not to worship the image, but the person it represented: they could not understand the distinction; plain common-sense considers kneeling and praying before an image worship: the reader of Scripture knows that this is idolatry, and that it is positively forbidden by God, but ignorance of the Divine commands universally prevailed, and the whole land was in darkness. To obviate these inconveniencies, supply the deficiencies of the universities, and gradually introduce the doctrines of the Reformation, Cranmer wisely resolved to invite in the king's name learned and godly foreigners to come to England and devote their talents to the promotion of learning and the diffusion of the reformed opinions.

The defeat of the Protestants in 1547 by Charles V., and the imposition of the Interim, obliged many ministers in Germany to desert their posts. Peter Martyr and Bernardino Ochino accepted the archbishop's invitation in 1547, and soon after set out on their journey.² Martyr was accompanied by his faithful friend Giulio Terenziano. The archbishop gave them a hearty welcome to England, and hospitably received them into his house. He assigned a yearly pension of forty marks to each, secured to them by letters-patent.³ Martyr was appointed

¹ Edward vi. was born 12th October, 1537; he became king at his father's death on 31st January, 1547.

² See Appendix D.

³ See Burnet's *Reform.* vol. i. p. 328.

Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford the same year, and Ochino was made a Canon of Canterbury, with a dispensation of residence.

Meanwhile the Interim¹ was making fearful havoc among the Reformed Churches in Germany. Bucer's position at Strasburg was no longer tenable;² Martyr was very anxious to have him in England, and Archbishop Cranmer having seen a letter written to John Hales, a learned and good man, in which Bucer related "the miserable condition of Germany" and the difficulty of ministering the word of truth in Strasburg, answered the letter in the words³ of the Psalmist, "Shew thy marvellous loving-kindness, O thou that savest them which trust in thee from those that rise up against thy right hand," and then earnestly invited Bucer to take refuge in harbour.

"Come over therefore to us, and become a labourer with us in the harvest of the Lord. . . . We will make it manifest that nothing can be more gratifying or agreeable to us than the presence of Bucer. . . . I pray God, the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with my whole heart, that in the midst of wrath he may remember mercy, and look upon the calamities of his afflicted church. . . . May he likewise, my Bucer, guide and preserve you, and bring you over to us in safety. . . . Farewell, most anxious for your arrival."⁴

Martyr wrote to him in December of the same year, pressing him to accept this invitation :

¹ The Interim, drawn up by Pflug, Hellingus, and Agricola Islebius, differed little from the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, except that it permitted the marriage of priests, and did not interdict the communion in both kinds. It was ratified in a diet held 15th May, 1548. The monastic life was to be restored, and nothing allowed to be taught in the schools contrary to Roman Catholic doctrine, and the services were to be performed in Latin, *lest they should fall into contempt if the people understood the language*.—See Scott's *Continuation*, vol. ii. p. 24, and Sleidan, *Comment.* p. 620.

² Bucer was sent for by Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg, at Augsburg, and pressed by him and by Granvelle to subscribe the Interim, but he refused, though not without some danger to his life, and returned to Strasburg.—See Scott's *Continuation*, vol. ii. p. 25, and Sleidan, *Comment.* p. 620. Schmidt says, "Dès le 1^{er} Mars 1549, deux des plus courageux défenseurs du protestantisme, Bucer et Fagius, sont destitués sur l'ordre formel de l'empereur et de l'évêque; l'empereur avoit contre Bucer un ressentiment particulier, à cause de la part qu'il avoit prise à la reformation de Cologne. Sturm, affligé de voir partir ces deux compagnons de son œuvre, leur conseilla de se rendre à l'invitation de l'Archevêque Cranmer qui les appellait en Angleterre."—Sturm à Walsingham 23 fevr. 1577; en tête des *Scripta Anglicana* de Bucer. Bale, 1577, in fol. See C. Schmidt, *Vie de Jean Sturm*, p. 81.

³ See original letter in Strype's *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 585.

⁴ *English Reform.* vol. ii. p. 27.

“I am unable to tell you anything respecting religion; concerning which if I neglect to inform you, I do not see what weight or authority my letter would have as to other matters; inasmuch as to us, to whom to live is Christ, every thing that does not relate to the administration of his kingdom is altogether futile. Up to this time this subject has been one of doubt and uncertainty; for many persons have been afraid that by reason of the unhappy events in Germany this kingdom would be yet more tardy, and employ new delays in fully taking up the cause of religion. But things are going on far otherwise, because diligent exertions are now making for this sole object. . . . If you knew how great is the scarcity in this country of those who are conversant with ecclesiastical order and government, you would, I am sure, take compassion on the Lord's flock. Those who possess any share of learning are either wholly opposed to religion, or if they are actuated by any feeling of it, are either not engaged in the sacred office, or are so cold as altogether to shrink from the endurance of any labours or perils. . . . I will not use many words to tell you, in the last place, how delightful it will be to myself, and to all my friends, to welcome one whom I dearly love in Christ, uniting with me beyond the reach of danger in the same employment of cultivating this fallow ground.”¹

Nearly a month afterwards, on the 22nd of January, 1549, Martyr replied to a letter of Bucer's written before Christmas, which anticipated the overthrow of true religion at Strasburg, and thus expresses his sympathy:

“Would that I had any solid comfort wherewith to refresh your mind, distressed as it is, and not without cause, by reason of the desolation of the church of Christ! But though I have not expressed it so fully as yourself, yet, believe me, I deeply bewail this great anger of God: such comfort as I can, I tender from my heart. Among those who planted that church you have distinguished yourself by your labour and exertion; yet, as I think, not you, but the grace of God which was with you more than with others: and though I was absent at the beginning, yet I have had the best means of knowing, both from the report of others and from what I have myself witnessed, the perils you have endured and the difficulties you have undergone for the advancement of the Gospel. Wherefore I must now be either a stock or a stone, not to be sensible of the groans and tears and sighs that must burst from you, when you were expecting the sweetest grapes and fruit, which you might offer as a sweet-smelling savour to the Lord, and lo! there are brought forth sour and ill-savoured wild grapes. You wish that there were granted you the tears of Jeremiah, the groans of David, and the weeping of Christ; and wearied with lamentation you seek for a comforter. But I, who did not long labour in that quarter, but rather refreshed myself by the food of doctrine and every office of christian love; who endured no perils, but rather escaped them by coming to you; who was not weighed down with any

¹ The whole of this letter is well worth perusal. See *Engl. Reform. Letter 225*, p. 468.

trouble, but rather unburdened of great anxiety; when I now hear of this dreadful destruction, I fear the impending overthrow, and shudder at the devastation of so well cultivated a vineyard. I dare not put my grief on a level with yours; but yet be assured that it is so severe that I am altogether unable to afford you any comfort. Strasburg (Argentina, the silver city) has hitherto been flourishing, and its church especially had been so distinguished among others by reason of the Gospel and of its school, as to be called by some persons Aurentina (the golden city); but now, alas! it is to be feared lest it should give place to antichrist, and should be changed into an iron city (Ferrentina), and instead of a faithful city become a tower of unfaithfulness. . . .

"I am at present, as you know, at Oxford, and cannot communicate with the archbishop of Canterbury except by letter, which I do not consider advisable. Meanwhile you and Paul Fagius, who are invited, ought to come over: how welcome and acceptable you will be there is no occasion for me to tell you; for besides that he is most earnestly wishing for you both, you are very much wanted in these universities. When you are settled here yourselves, I doubt not but that it will be very easy to make provision for the other three persons whom you mentioned, and who, as I confidently expect, will be invited forthwith. I must go to London during this Lent, and shall abide some days, as I am wont to do, with my lord of Canterbury; at which time I will arrange matters for our brethren as I may think necessary, and will take care that you shall not have recommended them to me in vain."¹

Bucer and Fagius arrived in London early in April 1549. They resided three months with the good archbishop at Lambeth till the Cambridge term should begin. During this interval Cranmer occupied them in revising the Scriptures, and writing short lucid interpretations of the most difficult passages. They divided the work between them. Fagius being a good Hebrew scholar took the Old Testament, and Bucer the New.²

In a letter to the ministers at Strasburg, dated Lambeth, April 26, 1549, Bucer gives an account of his journey and reception by the archbishop thus:

"We yesterday waited upon the archbishop of Canterbury, that most benevolent and kind father of the churches and of godly men, who

¹ One of these was the historian John Sleidan (John Philipson); his salary had failed in Germany, and the Reformers were anxious to secure him a subsistence that he might continue his history, *Comment. de Statu Religionis.—Engl. Reform.* p. 476.

² Bucer went as far as the eighth chapter of St. Matthew on the following method: "the Latin translation with large notes in the margin, and at the end of each chapter common-places collected from thence in the nature of inferences and observations: which I conclude the archbishop put him upon doing while he was with him. The work was looked over and examined by the archbishop, notes and corrections of his own hand being here and there inserted."—Strype, *Mom. of Archbp. Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 142.

received and entertains us as brethren, not as dependents. We found at his house what was most gratifying to us, our dear friend Doctor Peter Martyr with his wife, and his attendant Julius, Master Immanuel Tremellius¹ with his wife, and also Dryander² and some other godly Frenchmen whom we had sent before us. We foreigners (he says), as far as we can learn, are to be incorporated in some university, probably in that of Cambridge,³ since Peter Martyr is at Oxford. God grant that the result may be for his glory."⁴

In another letter of the same year he writes :

"It is fallow ground here, such as the devastation of antichrist is wont to leave : for, as in Italy, very few sermons have been preached here, nor are they even now very frequent, neither is there any catechetical instruction whatever."⁵

Martyr was no sooner established as Professor at Oxford than he began to lecture on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians. He made choice of these Epistles because they were full of instruction on the subjects at that time so much controverted, and for the rich and abundant materials they offered of contrasting the simplicity and purity of the primitive Church with the overloaded rites and superstitions of the Church of Rome.

At first those who favoured Papal doctrine at Oxford went in great numbers to hear Martyr, and much admired his learning and the methodical arrangement of his discourse. As long as he only adverted in a general manner to the corruptions of Rome, no outcry was raised against him. The heads of con-

¹ See *Engl. Reform.* p. 535.

² Dryander, his real name was Francis Encinas, but he took various appellations, Du Chene, Van Eyck, and Eichman, significant of his own name which meant an oak. He was of a noble Spanish family at Burgos. He and his two brothers James and John were remarkable for their learning and zeal. Francis was a pupil of Melancthon. After he embraced the Protestant religion he translated the New Testament into Spanish, and dedicated it to Charles V. *El Nuevo Testamento de nuestro Redemptor y Salvador, Jesu Christo, traducido de Griego en lengua Castellana dedicado à la Cesarea Magestad.* Antwerp, 1543. He was imprisoned at Brussels in consequence, but escaped in 1545 to Antwerp, and from thence to Germany. In 1548 he went to England, and in 1549 was Greek reader in the university of Cambridge, but left that same year for Basle, and afterwards in 1552 retired to Strasburg and Geneva. Bishop Hooper did not admire him. His brother John was burned at Rome in 1546. It is thought Francis died in 1570, but where is not known.—See *Athens Cantabrigioness*, and *Zurich Letters*.

³ He was appointed Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. See the King's letter, Appendix E.

⁴ *Engl. Reform.* vol. ii. Letter 248, p. 535. The whole letter is worth reading.

⁵ *Ibid.* Martin Bucer to Albert Hardenburg, August 14, 1549, vol. ii. Letter 250, p. 538.

vents indeed forbade their members to attend his lectures; but when he came to the 11th chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians and to the twenty-sixth verse, 'As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come,' when he interpreted this passage on the ordinance of the Lord's Supper as a commemoration of the death of Christ, and not a sacrifice of his body, then the Papists rose up against him, and hotly defended what they called the ancient opinions of the Church, but which were in fact the innovations of superstition, which had exchanged the simple and touching remembrance of the death of Christ commanded by him for the worship of the wafer and the perpetual renewal of his bodily sacrifice. In the uncertain state of public opinion and the ignorance of vital religion at that time prevalent, it was easy to raise a clamour against Peter Martyr, and to denounce him as an enemy to the church of their forefathers. Unknown to him placards in English were immediately affixed to all the churches, announcing that next day there would be a public discussion on the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Their partisans being thus warned they assembled in numbers, filled all the seats, and prepared themselves for clamorous contradictions, and even for fighting if necessary to maintain their ground. On the morning of the lecture the streets were full of monks on their way to the church, while the people with visible agitation flocked thither to watch the issue. Meanwhile Martyr, ignorant of what was going on, was quietly occupied in his study, preparing his lecture, condensing his arguments, and from time to time offering up a prayer to the Giver of all good, beseeching him to accompany with a blessing the instruction he was about to communicate. His friends, astonished at the unwonted crowd, enquired the reason of this assemblage; they informed him of the irritation in the town, and entreated him to remain at home, and not expose himself to the danger of meeting his excited enemies. Martyr thanked them for their kind solicitude, but replied, with truly noble firmness, that he could not fail in his duty, nor omit his lecture; that doubtless there were many among the multitude who were eager to attend the lecture. He then prepared to go out, accompanied by his friends. As they crossed the threshold they were accosted

¹ Simler, *Orat. de vita et obitu P. Martyris.*

by a messenger, sent by Martyr's great adversary Richard Smith,¹ who put into his hands a challenge to a public disputation. This renewed the alarm of his friends, who again entreated him to return home; but Martyr was not so easily intimidated, and firm in his purpose went forward to meet his audience. Taking no heed of the provocation offered by his enemies, he said calmly, that though he by no means declined discussion, yet for the present he had not come to dispute, but to lecture, and with their permission he would perform his customary duty. Then, to the astonishment of all, he began his discourse as usual. He was listened to with fixed attention; those who had before admired his talents and learning, now extolled his courage and firmness. The rage of his enemies, and the low murmurs of disapprobation from the audience, had no effect on his well-poised mind; they did not even produce any change of countenance, or the slightest faltering of voice throughout the whole of the lecture.

But no sooner was it over than the lowering storm burst forth; loud vociferations were heard demanding a discussion. Martyr still declined, alleging he was not sufficiently prepared, but was told that as he had lectured on the Lord's Supper a very short time ago, he could not be unprepared. Thus closely pushed he replied that he could not enter upon so important a matter without the consent of the king, more especially as he discerned symptoms of sedition. That before he could begin a regular discussion certain rules must be laid down, questions proposed, umpires chosen for appeal, and notaries appointed to write down the arguments on both sides with faithfulness and accuracy. There was no time, he said, for these preliminary arrangements, for it was now nearly noon, it must therefore be deferred to a future occasion. His adversaries, discontented at this delay, evinced so much disposition to riot that the Vice Chancellor² fearing violence interposed his authority, and advised that Martyr

¹ Richard Smith, D.D., Fellow of Merton College, and Principal of St. Alban's, Oxford, was Regius Professor of Divinity in 1535. He was a violent Roman Catholic; in order to keep his Professor's chair he recanted at Paul's Cross in the reign of Edward VI., but being removed notwithstanding, in his indignation he again professed himself a Roman Catholic, but frequented Martyr's lectures, and took notes for matter of dispute to raise a party against him in the University. He soon afterwards published a tract, entitled *De celibatu Sacerdotum et votis monasticis contra Pet. Martyrem*.—See *Engl. Reform.* p. 478.

² Richard Cox, D.D.

and Smith should come to his house and arrange the subject, manner, and order of the discussion. He then ordered the bedells to disperse the assembly, and going up to Martyr took him by the hand, led him through the crowd, and accompanied him home.

Though little fruit was to be expected from the discussion, Martyr was neither desirous of shrinking from the danger, nor of betraying any distrust in the goodness of his cause; he therefore went to the Vice-Chancellor's house accompanied by Sidall¹ and Curtop,² who were then valiant defenders of truth. His adversaries on their part were accompanied by Oglethorpe and three other Doctors of Divinity. After a prolonged discussion as to the manner of proceeding, Martyr at length succeeded in persuading them to follow the same method in confuting him which he had made use of in his lectures. His chief desire being the demonstration of truth, he desired to avoid all vague and indeterminate phrases which were susceptible of different meanings, and in his explanation of the Lord's Supper he confined himself to two principal arguments, corporeally and carnally, because the Scriptures in speaking of the Supper mention the flesh and the body, but does not touch upon the nature of its substance. At length, all things being arranged for a regular and methodical disputation, the whole matter was referred to the king's councillors, and they fixed the 4th of May,³ and promised to send delegates from court to be present. Smith, conscious of having endeavoured to raise a tumult and fearful of being called to account, before the time fixed for the discussion went away, first to Scotland and afterwards to Brabant, and thus tacitly owned himself unable to meet the superior talent and piety of his opponent.⁴ The delegates of the king however came on the

¹ Henry Sidall, or Sydel, was Canon of Christ Church and Vicar of Walthamstow; he it was who by persuasions and threats induced Cranmer to recant. He was among the first to conform in Queen Elisabeth's reign.

² James Curtop, or Curthop, also a Canon of Christ Church. He at first favoured the Reformation, but recanted in Queen Mary's reign, and was sworn as a witness against Cranmer.

³ Strype says the disputation began on the 28th of May.

⁴ One great cause of his jealousy and enmity was that Peter Martyr filled the office of Regius Professor of Divinity, which Smith formerly held, but of which he had been deprived in consequence of his opposition to the doctrines of the Reformation.

day appointed.¹ In their presence Martyr disputed for four days with three theologians of the Papal party.² Martyr's learning and Scripture knowledge enabled him easily to confute his adversaries. The discussion was afterwards printed in full, to contradict the false reports of his arguments, and to lay before the public a scriptural view of this most holy ordinance.³ His chief propositions were: 1. In the Eucharist there is no transubstantiation. 2. The body and blood of Christ are not present under the appearance of bread and wine. 3. The body and blood are united to the elements sacramentally.⁴

At the close of the year 1549 there were risings and insurrections in different parts of England, on account of the enclosures of land and the oppressions inflicted on the poor. The priests contrived to give these discontents a religious colour, and tried to turn the passions of the multitude against those who advocated the reformed opinions. Armed bands loudly demanded the re-establishment of the mass and the Roman Catholic rites. The peasants rose in tumult near Oxford, and rushed about the streets, threatening the Protestants with death. Among others, Martyr was specially singled out for vengeance, and cries of 'Death to Peter Martyr!' were frequently uttered by the furious mob. Such was the inefficiency of the law that the authorities had no power to protect him; his lectures were suspended, and he was no longer

¹ They were Henry, Bishop of Lincoln, Richard Cox, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Simon Hyde, Dean of Oxford, Richard Morris and Christopher Tennison, Doctors of Divinity.

² Tresham and Cheander, both D.D., and Morgan, M.A.

³ It is found in his common-places, and in Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, pp. 1873, et seq. Ed. 1583.

⁴ When all was concluded the Chancellor made a speech, of which we extract a part: "Peter (and a Peter indeed for his steady constancy) Martyr (and rightly called Martyr for the numberless testimonies by him produced in behalf of truth) must needs obtain much favour and respect from us and all good men: First, that he hath taken such vast pains in standing under a burden of disputations. For if 'not Hercules himself against two,' what shall we think of Peter alone against all? Secondly, that he hath undertook the challenge of a disputation, and so stopped the vain speeches of vain men, who dispersed envious and odious insinuations concerning him; as that either he would not, or dared not to maintain his own tenets. And lastly, that he hath so excellently well answered the expectation of the chief magistrates and of the king himself, while he hath not only recommended to the University the doctrine of Christ from God's lively fountains, but also hath not permitted any (as much as lay in him) to muddy or obstruct them."—Strype, *Mem.* vol. ii. p. 163; and for original, No. 44, App. p. 588. Ed. 1848.

secure in his own house. His friends were so alarmed for his safety that they conveyed him under good protection to London, while his wife and household took shelter in some hidden retreat, till the furious multitude had left the city.¹

The young king was deeply concerned at these commotions, and felt so greatly interested in Martyr's favour that he granted him an audience at Richmond, and received him with marks of the highest regard, congratulating him on his escape, and promising him the first vacant canonry of Christ Church.

As soon as the troops had cleared Oxford and the environs of its factious visitants, Martyr returned to resume his labours. On the 27th of January, 1550, he wrote to Bullinger at Zurich :

“ You congratulate me upon the happy result of the disputations, which however is rather to be attributed to you than to me, since you have for so many years both taught and maintained that doctrine which I there undertook to defend : but if you knew what numerous and powerful enemies the devil has stirred up against me on this account you would be surprised. . . . I will not write much respecting the progress of Christ's kingdom in this country ; for I suppose there are others by whose care and diligence you are made acquainted with all our affairs. The sum however is this, that many things yet remain to be done which we have in expectation rather than in reality.”²

In a letter written the following June to the same friend he gives an account of his occupations at Oxford.

“ I will explain to you in few words the kind of employment in which I have been engaged. In addition to my daily expositions of St. Paul, which of themselves would almost entirely occupy the time of anyone who should employ himself upon them as they deserve, a new burden has been imposed upon this university by laws lately enacted by the king's majesty. For it is decreed that public disputations upon theological subjects should be held frequently, that is, every alternate week, at which I am required to be present and to preside. Then in the King's College, where I reside, theological disputations are held every week, which, inasmuch as all persons are freely admitted to hear them, may in like manner be called public ; and over these I am appointed moderator, as over the others. I have therefore a continual struggle with my adversaries, who are indeed

¹ *Engl. Reform.* Letter 227, p. 478.

² Cranmer set apart a day of fasting and humiliation, on which sermons were to be preached against these seditions. Peter Martyr preached two ; the MSS. are in the library of Corpus Christi College, at Cambridge, cccxl. pp. 73 and 116. One of these sermons is in Martyr's own handwriting, *Sermo Petri Martyr manu propria scriptus in seditionem Devonensium*. From this an English discourse was prepared by Cranmer. Archbishop Parker notes it thus, *Hic sermo prius descriptus Latine a Petro Martyre*. Bucer also wrote a discourse against this sedition.—See *Strype's Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 118.

most obstinate; so that I am easily compelled, whether I will or not, often to lay aside other matters, and devote the whole time allowed me to the vocation to which I am bound. . . . You must know that the business of religion is making progress in this country; not indeed with the success and ardour that I could wish, but yet far more than our sins deserve, and somewhat more favourably than I dared to promise myself four months since. . . . When innumerable corruptions, infinite abuses, and excessive superstitions have grown everywhere into use in the Church of Christ, it is impossible that a proper reform can be effected, unless those things which have been perverted to abuse be restored to their true origin, their most pure sources, and unadulterated beginnings. Satan is very subtle in his attacks upon all godly exertions: for under this pretext he would have the most numerous relics of popery remain undisturbed; partly that men may not readily forget it, and partly that the return to it may be made more easy. . . .

“But on the other hand, we derive no little comfort from having a king¹ who is truly holy, and who is inflamed with so much zeal for godliness. He is endued with much erudition for his age, and already expresses himself with so much prudence and gravity, as to fill all his hearers with admiration and astonishment: wherefore we must entreat God with most fervent prayers very long to preserve him to the kingdom and to the church. There are also very many of the nobility and men of rank who entertain right views; and we have some bishops who are not ill inclined; among whom the archbishop of Canterbury is as a standard-bearer.”²

To Rodolph Gualter he wrote about the same time :

“The people in most places are still opposing us, owing to their want of instruction, and they are secretly confirmed in their errors by the subtle artifices of the papists. The tender age too of our Josiah is no slight hindrance to the business; but we have placed our hope in God, and are daily looking for no less progress than was made at first.”³

The death of Mr. W. Haynes, canon of Christ Church, enabled the king to fulfil his promise to Martyr. He was installed canon the 20th of January 1551.⁴ Anthony à Wood says

¹ Bucer's account of Edward VI. in 1550 is highly interesting: “The king is godly and learned to a miracle. He is well acquainted with Latin, and has a fair knowledge of Greek, speaks Italian, and is learning French. He is now studying moral philosophy from Cicero and Aristotle, but no study delights him more than that of the holy Scriptures, of which he daily reads about ten chapters with the greatest attention.”—*Engl. Reform. Letter 252*, p. 543. See Appendix F.

² *Engl. Reform. Letter 228*, p. 481.

³ *Ibid.* p. 484.

⁴ See MS. in the Chapter-house of Christ Church, Oxford, called *Gilpin's Book*, from which an extract has kindly been furnished by the Rev. Dr. Jacobson, Regius Professor of Divinity. (See Appendix G.) I have also to express my thanks to the Rev. Dr. Jelf for politely tendering his assistance in answering enquiries.

“that he entered into his lodgings belonging to him, then joining on the N. side of Christ Church great gate leading to Fish Street. With him also settled his beloved wife Katherine, as also the wife of Dr. Richard Cox did about the same time with him in the Dean’s lodgings, being the first woman, as it was observed, that resided in any college or hall in Oxon. While Martyr continued in the said lodgings, (whose windows were near to Fish Street,) he continually, especially in the night-time, received very opprobrious language from the Roman Catholics, as well scholars as laics, and often had his windows broken. So that his studies and sleep being often disturbed, he changed his lodgings, which were then belonging to the first canonry, for those in the cloister belonging to the canons of the second, being formerly the very same which belonged to the prior of St. Frideswyde;¹ in which being settled, he spent the remainder of his abode in Oxon in peace. However, for the serene enjoyment of his thoughts and studies he erected a fabric of stone² in his garden, situated on the east side of his lodgings, wherein he partly composed his commentary on the first Epistle to the Corinthians and certain epistles to learned men which were afterwards printed.”

Martyr had received the degree of D.D. at Padua, but it was conferred on him anew by the university of Oxford. All the most learned and christian men of the university were his friends. Bishop Hooper and Miles Coverdale attended his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans. He kept up the most friendly relations with bishops Latimer and Ridley, and other eminent persons who afterwards laid down their lives for the Gospel.

His struggles with popery were great, especially on the

¹ “This fabric which contained two stories stood till the end of March 1684, at which time it was plucked down by that canon, Dr. Henry Aldrich, that was owner of the lodgings to which the garden and fabric appertained.”—See Wood’s *Athenæ Oxonienses*, p. 327.

² Now occupied by the Rev. Dr. Heurtley, who, at the request of my kind friend the Rev. W. Freemantle, courteously allowed me to inspect the locality. No trace of P. Martyr’s summer study now remains; but the spacious garden, surrounded by trees, with the distant view of the beautiful tower of Magdalen College, forms an attractive picture, and offers a tranquil retreat for a scholar. The old Chapter-house, in which P. Martyr met with his brother canons, still remains the same: a wretchedly executed likeness of him hangs on the walls. Dr. Jacobson has a much better picture in his house.

subject of the Lord's Supper; these continual discussions depressed his spirits, though he did not shrink from declaring what he considered truth. About this time he printed his exposition of the Epistles to the Corinthians at Frankfort; Bullinger had revised it, for which he says "he cannot sufficiently express his gratitude." In the same letter he gives full consent to Bullinger's opinions upon the Eucharist.

"I desire nothing more than that a plain and perspicuous statement upon that subject may be set forth in the churches of Christ: as far as my own opinion¹ is concerned, I go along with you altogether, and scarcely deliver any other sentiments in this place, when any conversation or disputation takes place respecting the Lord's Supper. You would not, however, believe with what bitterness, obstinacy, perverseness and inflexibility of mind we are resisted by our adversaries, especially on this very subject. The devil cannot endure that these seals of the promises of God should be purified, for he plainly perceives that when they are restored to their native integrity and simplicity, the chief part of superstition will be overthrown. I shrink from no danger or exertions in the defence of this sound doctrine; and unless God himself had been present to support me, I sometimes do not know how I should have survived. You are, I believe, aware that a certain brawling doctor,² who has left England because he refused to make a recantation of his superstitions, has now written against the archbishop of Canterbury on the sacrament of the Eucharist, and likewise against me respecting the celibacy of the clergy and justification.³ The lord archbishop is now replying to him, and I shall write my defence⁴ on the above subjects during the next autumn vacation."

This may be said perhaps to have been the most useful period of Martyr's life. Surrounded by christian friends, enjoying the luxury of learned leisure, and the quiet tranquillity of a convent life without its burdens and privations, he was able to devote all his faculties and acquirements to the service of God, and had the gratification of seeing England become every day more settled in the profession of a pure religion. His lot was not indeed all sunshine; he had to bear the burden of constant opposition and the contest of continual discussion. He

¹ See his *Loci Communes*.

² Dr. Smith, who wrote "A confutation of the true and catholic doctrine."

³ "Diatribæ de Hominis justificatione ædita Oxoniæ in Angliâ, anno a nativitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi, 1550, mense Febuario, adversus Petrum Martyræ Vermelinū olim Cartusianū Lucensem in Italia, nunc apostatam in Angliâ Oxoniæ, acerrimum improborum dogmatum assertorem, sed imperitum et impudentem cum primis. Per Ricardum Smythæum Anglum Mygorniensem. Louvanii, 1550, mense Octobri."—See *Engl. Reform.* p. 495.

⁴ Printed at Zurich 1551.

never forgot that he was an exile, and the darkness and corruptions of his native land lay heavy at his heart. His health at times suffered from the incessant fatigue of preparing and delivering his public lectures.

In 1551 Martyr suffered a deep affliction in the death of his friend Bucer, with whom he had lived for many years in the bonds of the closest friendship.

He wrote a long letter of grief and consolation to his widow, of which we extract a part.

“I am considering, dear sister in Christ, how unfortunate is the state of the children of Adam: for they cannot become happy, unless they leave in most bitter tears and incredible sorrow those whom in their lifetime they held more dear than life itself. Your husband Bucer, my most singular friend and most dear to all who give their minds to study the Gospel of Christ, might not by death go unto God, whom he entirely loved, without our inexpressible sorrow and that of all godly persons.”

After adducing some proofs from Scripture that we are not forbidden to weep for the loss of friends, particularly that of Christ weeping at the tomb of Lazarus, he says:

“Wherefore, seeing God our good Father doth well interpret the moaning of his children for the loss of their friends, I cannot forbear but most grievously lament, that from the Church is taken away so good a pastor, so faithful a teacher of the school, so godly a husband to you, so incomparable a friend to me, and a most diligent and excellent governor of your household. How often in my time have I been refreshed by him; whatsoever trouble I suffered I was wont straightway to declare it unto him: I can never forget how ready his fond and faithful counsels were for me. And now this doth especially grieve me that I was not present at his death, and that I did not hear as well as others his last words, which I doubt not were full of godliness; and that I, who have been so long intimate with him, was not present at his burial. I was fully minded after Easter to go unto you, and this I had already written to him. He wrote to me in answer that he rejoiced at my intention, and earnestly expressed how welcome I should be. His last letters are to me like a very swan’s song. He said that he had good hopes about his disease; therefore I, miserable man, conceived the vain hope that in a short space of time he would recover, and that I should find him safe and well at Cambridge. O mind of mine, uncertain of things to come, and so easy of credence! My Bucer has withdrawn himself into heaven without saluting or waiting for his Martyr. What then shall I do? Whither shall I turn? I cannot go from hence into heaven unless I be called. To live alone, separated from him, I cannot. I beseech thee, O Christ, do thou for thy goodness’ sake take pity on my sorrow, and do not suffer me to be long separated from him. Now indeed I feel myself in banishment, now I perceive I am out of my country; those things which I only considered incon-

veniences while he lived, now that I am left alone appear a grief and a distress. . . . But our Bucer died in peace, he did not fall into the hands of the enemies of Christ. . . . My wife and Julius are so greatly disturbed by this grievous misfortune, that if their sorrow does not equal yours, yet it comes very near in kind: they pray from their hearts that the abundant help of God may speedily relieve you and all this godly family. I beg you on no account to think that I am less at your command than during the life of your Bucer and mine.”

The loss of this cherished friend is also most feelingly mourned in a letter Martyr wrote to Conrad Hubert of Strasburgh :

“He has now departed in peace to our God and to Christ Jesus, to the universal regret of all good men, and to my incredible sorrow. I am so broken down and dismayed by his death that I seem mutilated of more than half of myself, and that the better half; so that I am almost worn out by anxieties and tears, and seem scarcely to retain my senses by reason of the bitterness of my grief. He died on the last day of February, having been a valiant conqueror in many of the battles of the Lord. . . . This most estimable doctor and father was lent to us by God for a time, to be recalled at his good pleasure. . . . Oh, how continually had he on his lips the church of Strasburg! what anxieties he underwent for her! yet in spirit, believe me, he was always present with you. Last summer he came to visit me here at Oxford, and staid in my house eleven days. What discourses, what conversations took place between us respecting all of you, our worthy brethren in Christ! When we were talking together we seemed to be conversing in the midst of you all at Strasburgh: we were thinking of our return, but he has outstripped me, and betaken himself not to our Argentine church, but to the golden one of heaven. God has now assigned him an eternal abode and a blessed habitation, from whence no violence can draw him away, nor any inducement make him willing to depart. I pray God that as I was so thoroughly united to him in life, he will not long suffer me to be separated from him by death. . . . My wife and Julius salute you in the Lord. I wish you every happiness in Christ, and that you may bear the loss of Master Bucer with greater fortitude than I am able to do. March 8th, 1551.”

In another letter he says :

“Nothing grieves me more than that the church should suffer so great a dearth of ministers. There are few who are willing to endure danger and to undertake the defence of the cause of Christ. The university of Cambridge must speedily be succoured; but I cannot as yet perceive this to be a matter of easy accomplishment. I wish they might obtain from you what they are seeking for.”

This letter was dated Oxford, April 25, 1551.

There is some reason to fear that these exiles on account

¹ Some slight corrections of spelling and diction have been made of the old English.—P. Martyr's *Common Places*, translated by Antony Masters, 1574.

of religion suffered from the climate of England and the change in their habits of life. Bucer wrote to Strasburg that Fagius was at first in a room without a fire, and severely affected by the cold; this he thinks produced the inflammation and fever which caused his death.¹ Bucer himself was in delicate health, and complains of suffering severely. "Think what it must be for this frail body of mine, which has been from my childhood utterly unable to bear the cold, to be without a stove during the winter, which is occasionally most severe, and at all times injurious, and also to be without my usual wine and diet."²

The winter seems to have been fatal to him: this letter was written in December 1550, and he died at Cambridge on the 28th of February 1551.

The year before the archbishop had sent Bucer, through Richard Wilks, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, a Latin translation of the book of Common Prayer, requesting him to say if anything in it might be made more conformable to God's word. Bucer having examined it carefully, made short notes of his observations, and gave a general opinion that there was nothing enjoined in the book but what was agreeable to the word of God.³ Notwithstanding the great reforms in doctrine and in other respects, there was still much laxity in England in the distribution of the church revenues; they had been taken from the monkish orders, but were retained by laymen and not employed for the advancement of religion. Bucer wrote privately to Calvin on this subject in the year 1550. This induced the Genevan reformer to address a letter to the Duke of Somerset in 1551, entreating him to see that the revenues of the church and the universities were put to their legitimate use for the promotion of true religion and sound education.⁴

¹ He was ill at Lambeth, and died at Cambridge on the 28th of August, 1550.—See *Athena Cantabrigienses*.

² *Engl. Reform.* Letter 254. To the ministers of Strasburg.—*Ibid.*

³ See his *Scripta Anglicana*, and Burnet's *Hist. Reform.* vol. ii. p. 319, 321. Strype's *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 203.

⁴ "Car a ce qu' on dit, il y a grand faulte de doctrine pour le simple peuple. Combien qu' il ne soit pas ayse' de recouvrer gens propres et idoines pour faire ceste office; toutefois a ce que j' entens, il y a deux grandz empeschemens, auquelz il seroit necessaire de proveoir. L' un est, que les revenus des Universitez, qui ont esté fondez pour nourrir les escholiers, sont mal distribuez en partie. Le second mal est, que le revénu des curés est distraict et dissipé: en sorte qu' il n' y a point pour nourrir gens de bien qui seroient propres a faire l' office de vrays pasteurs. Et par

During Martyr's residence at Oxford, Geneva was declared a sister church by the enlightened and religious primate of England. The rule of faith adopted by Calvin was publicly received as that of the Church of England without abandoning episcopacy or the rites and ceremonies pertaining to that form of government. They were one in doctrine and in appeal to Scriptural authority, and each church was left at liberty to follow out its own regulations in inferior points. In short, notwithstanding the general ignorance which prevailed, more simplicity and a greater measure of mutual tolerance and brotherly love existed then, between christian churches, than now in the nineteenth century, when different communions seem to forget that there is but one faith and one Lord for all Christians.¹

Cranmer, on the contrary, felt as much concern for the salvation of foreigners as for his own people, and as many had been driven by persecution from other countries he took care to enable them to meet for public worship. John à Lasco,² of a noble Polish family, who had forsaken family and fortune for the sake of the Gospel, was one of these distinguished foreigners. Latimer mentioned him to king Edward, reminding him of Christ's saying to his disciples, "he that receiveth you receiveth me." The church of St. Augustine in Southwark was given up to them, but the churchwardens threatened the strangers with imprisonment unless they went to their parish church; Lord-chancellor Goodrich, however, relieved them from that burden. à Lasco extended his superintendence to all the foreign churches in London. Melancthon speaks of the purity of doctrine in his churches.³

By the care of the archbishop there was also an Italian church in London; it was under Cecil's protection and super-

ce moien on y mest prestres ignorans, qui emporte une grande confusion. Car la qualité des personnes engendre un grand mespris de la parole de Dieu. . . . Je vous pris doncque, monseigneur, pour faire toujours avancer en mieulx la reformation, et luy donner fermeté permanente a ce qu'elle tienne: qu'il vous plaise employer toutes vos forces a la correction de cet abus."—*Strype's Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 655.

¹ This exclusive spirit was singularly exemplified on the occasion of the Great Exhibition of 1861, when the late Bishop of London publicly forbade foreign ministers to preach in the pulpits of the Church of England.

² There are thirteen Epistles of his in *Sorinium Antiquarium*, vol. iv. pp. 446, 491, from the years 1544 to 1555.

³ Melancthon, *Epist.* Leyden, 1647. See *Strype's Memorials*, p. 275.

intended by John à Lasco, and was composed of members from all the states of Italy. Michel Angelo Florio, a Florentine, was their preacher; but it does not appear that he was a very enlightened or devoted man, and he was not acceptable to his congregation; perhaps he was too faithful, and too desirous to detach them from popery, and he might have been injudicious in his zeal. Besides the German and Italian church there was also a French congregation in Threadneedle Street, which still exists, though it is removed to St. Martin's-le-Grand.

Martyr enjoyed the confidential friendship of Cranmer, who relied so entirely on his judgment that he consulted him on all important matters; and when the king commanded the archbishop to compile a system of ecclesiastical polity for the Church of England, and to choose persons suitable for the work, Cranmer took care that Martyr should be one of the number. When, finally, the king left the whole matter in the hands of the archbishop, he chose Walter Haddon, Rowland Taylor, and Peter Martyr to draw up the Articles of the Anglican Church. They are still highly esteemed and reflect great honor on the compilers. Martyr corresponded with his friend Bucer on the subject. They made their several comments on different parts of the book of Common Prayer,¹ and were both of one mind in the improvements suggested. Martyr objected to the elements being carried from the church to the house of a rich man. Their suggestions were finally submitted to the bishops. Archbishop Cranmer told Martyr that, if they would not adopt these changes, the king was resolved to do it himself, by means of his parliament, without them.

In 1552 Martyr went up to London to attend the meeting of parliament in which the new Liturgy was to be established by law. The doctrines held by the Church of England were reduced to forty-two articles. A committee of thirty-two persons, with Cranmer at their head, had been appointed to revise the book of Common Prayer. Men of piety among the Reformers, whether English or foreign, were engaged in this work, and universally agreed to exalt Christ and his sufferings, instead of the Virgin Mary and popular superstitions. They held the

¹ See P. Martyr to Bucer, entitled *Censura libri Communium Precum*, in Archbp. Cranmer's handwriting.—See Strype's *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 661.

doctrine of justification by faith instead of that of merit by prayers and abstinence.

“I came to London (Martyr writes) some time since, on account of the holding of the assembly commonly called a parliament; for the king’s majesty has ordained that as the Gospel is received in his kingdom, and the bishop of Rome is driven out, the Church of England shall be no longer ruled by pontifical decrees and decretals, Sixtine, Clementine, and other popish ordinances of the same kind: for the administration of these laws has for the most part prevailed up to this time in the ecclesiastical court, under the tacit authority of the pope. . . . The king has appointed two-and-thirty persons to frame ecclesiastical laws for this realm, namely, eight bishops, eight divines, eight civil lawyers, and eight common lawyers; the majority of whom are equally distinguished by profound erudition and solid piety: and we also, I mean Hooper, à Lasco, and myself are enrolled among them.”¹

Under the fostering protection of the amiable and religious young king great hopes were entertained of the establishment of a thorough reformation throughout the kingdom. But the expectations of the nation were all suddenly clouded, and its bright prospects destroyed, by the unexpected death of the king. He was of a weak and sickly constitution, and having been unfortunately seized first with the measles and then with the small-pox, he was so enfeebled by this succession of disease that he fell into a rapid decline and died on the 16th of July, 1533, when only sixteen years of age.

At Edward’s death the whole kingdom was thrown into confusion, and never was there a stronger instance of human shortsightedness. The Reformers, who had counted on long years of royal protection² and were hoping to build up the Church of God on a stable foundation, were overwhelmed with dismay. Mary, a bigoted Roman Catholic, ascended the throne, and overthrew all that her father and brother had done in favour of the Pro-

¹ To Bullinger, March 8th, 1552, *Engl. Reform. Letter* 236, p. 503.

² It must ever be regretted that our eminent historian, Hume, did not treat the character of Edward VI. in a more impartial manner, and that he did not more prominently bring forward the ecclesiastical reforms during his short reign, and point out their beneficial influence in softening the national character. In his account of the king he says, at one place, “Edward possessed mildness of character,” and soon after, “he inclined somewhat to bigotry and persecution,” an accusation for which there is not the slightest authority. These contradictions lead us to suspect that Hume did not take the trouble to distinguish between the bigotry of a superstitious attachment to rites and ceremonies, and the sincerity of a religious mind which desired to take the Scriptures as a guide, believing them to be of divine authority.—See Hume’s *Hist. of England, Edward VI.*

testant faith. But to the eye of faith God rules over all, and though under the new Sovereign England was for a time a prey to her bitterest enemies, and the friends of reform were exposed to a baptism in blood, yet the blessings so earnestly desired were only delayed, not withheld. The violent reign of Mary created a lasting hatred against Popery, and prepared the nation under Elizabeth for a firmer hold of that pure doctrine which has never since been abandoned.

The foreign reformers soon perceived there was no safety but in flight. Peter Martyr had just recovered from a severe illness, and was in deep affliction for the loss of his wife. She died of a fever after only a few days' illness. Martyr gives an account of her death in a letter to Conrad Hubert, a minister of Strasburg, dated 23rd April, 1553. He expresses an earnest desire to hear something about the church and schools of Strasburg, and the progress of the Gospel in Germany.

“Of my wife I have sad and mournful news to tell; my grief is renewed in writing it, and your regard for me is so great that I know it will grieve you also. She was seized with a quartan fever both violent and incessant, and after a few days departed to Christ. She evinced so much faith, piety, fortitude and constancy in the confession of the truth in her last moments as to fill the bystanders with astonishment. Though I rejoice in her happiness, I cannot but deeply grieve that at her age she should have so unexpectedly left me. The kindness and charity she always shewed to the poor makes her death felt as no common loss by all persons. It was a sharp pang to me when I observed the violence of the fever four days before her death, and saw that all remedies were vain. On the fifteenth of February she fell asleep in God. I myself am greatly weakened by my late illness; but the grace of God is sufficient, even though I be riven in half. On this account I write to you, beseeching your prayers that I may have solid consolation in Christ.”¹

Catherine was buried in the cathedral near the tomb of St. Frideswyde. Four years after, in 1557, during the reign of queen Mary, after the Roman Catholic religion had been restored, inquisition was made throughout the realm for heretics and godly books. A commission was sent to Oxford,² to burn

¹ *Historia vera: item Historia Catharinæ Vermilise, D. Petri Martyris Vermilij castis. atque piissimæ coniugis, exhumatæ, eiusdemq. ad honestam sepulturam restituta.* p. 195. 1562.

² It was composed of Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, Nicholas Ormaneto, Datary, Robert Norman, Master of Corpus Christi, and Henry Coles and Bishop White, Doctors in civil law.

bibles, and those who read them.¹ The enemies of Peter Martyr took this opportunity to wreak their vengeance on the buried corpse of his wife. They could bring no proof of her being a heretic, but it was taken for granted that she was of the same religion as her husband. Her memory was so much beloved that no one was found to bear witness against her; those who were questioned replied that she was a foreigner, and they did not understand her language. This want of evidence puzzled the commissioners, for unless she was proved a heretic they could not burn her body. It was determined however that her remains should no longer contaminate the cathedral by lying so near the body of the saint. Cardinal Pole, the legate, sent an order to Marshall, the dean of Christ Church, that as the body of Catherine, wife of Peter Martyr, lay near that of the most holy Frideswyde, it was to be taken up and thrown out.² Armed with this order, the dean after vespers proceeded to its execution; he desired the grave to be opened and the body taken up, carried out of the church, and thrown on a heap of dung in his own stable.³ There it remained till the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, when an ecclesiastical commission, composed of Parker, Grindal, and Goodrich, all personal friends of Martyr, deputed James Calfhill⁴ and other persons to enquire into the circumstances of the exhumation of this good woman's body, that it might be replaced in the cathedral from whence it was taken. Persons were summoned to shew where it was laid, and it was dug out of the dunghill. The flesh was much consumed, but not entirely destroyed; the long black hair which covered the head and the testimony of eyewitnesses identified it to be Catherine's body; the ligaments of the several bones were loosened, and many of them separated; they were all collected together, put into a receptacle, placed in the church, and carefully watched till they could be decently reinterred. Two silk

¹ See Appendix F.

² *Ut, quoniam juxta corpus sanctissima Fridesvide jacebat corpus Catharina uxoris Petri Martyris, exhumari et jactari faciat.*—*Hist. Cath. Verm.* p. 200.

³ The stables were part of the Priory of St. Frideswyde, and the present stables of Christ Church were built opposite. The drawing of Marshall's stables, done by O'Neale the celebrated Oxford draughtsman, is preserved in Alderman Fletcher's illustrated copy of Wood's *Hist. and Antiq. of the Colleges and Halls of Oxford*, in the Bodleian Library. It has also an old plan of Christ Church dated 1673.

⁴ He was rector of Barking in Essex.—See *Historia de Exhum.* p. 197.

bags were found on the shrine of St. Frideswyde; they were supposed to contain the bones and relics of the saint which the Roman Catholics had been accustomed to expose at stated intervals on the altar for adoration. To put an end to all such superstitious worship, and in order to treat the remains of the foundress of the church with due decorum and preserve Catherine's bones from all future insult, they were mixed with those of the saint and laid in one grave at the north-east end of the cathedral. A speech was made on the occasion to a large audience, closing with these words: *Hic requiescit Religio cum Superstitione.*

Next day being the Lord's day, a clergyman named Rogerson preached a learned and pious sermon on the occasion, and therein took notice of the cruelty exercised by the papists on the bodies of innocent and good men, in burning them alive, and then spoke of the horrible manner in which this pious matron's dead body had been treated. He took occasion to set forth her life as an example worthy of imitation, and the uncivilised cruelty of these deluded men as a lesson to avoid the dangers of an intolerant spirit. To honour the memory of Catherine, the university hung upon the church doors copies of Latin and Greek verses composed by different learned men¹ on this occasion, which it must be owned offered incidents striking enough to inspire the dullest muse.

To take off the odium of this exhumation the papists tried to defame and disparage Catherine: among these one Dr. Hill is particularly spiteful and ironical against the reformers.² "It necessarily follows then that no nation had ever true religion before Martin Luther married Nonne Bore, before John Calvin ran away to Geneva, before Peter Martyr with his Fustelugs³ came to teach at Oxford." But Dr. Abbot answers him manfully: "Now when you name these three, Luther, Calvin, and Martyr, you do not dishonour, but grace them, since when they are rightly thought of they are like three of David's worthies, or in a sort like the three children which were in the fiery furnace and not burnt. . . . Whereas you bestow your remembrance

¹ See *Historia de Echum.* p. 204.

² See *Catholic Religion Unmasked*, by Geo. Abbot, D.D. Burnet's *Hist. Reform.* vol. i. p. 341. Ed. 1850.

³ Fustelugs, fus' te-lugs, a gross, fat, unwieldy person.—Boag's *Dictionary.* 1848.

on Peter Martyr's wife, how blessed was she living, and how happy is her soul now, that she should in such sort be exagitated for Christ his sake. She was neither *flaps* nor *fustelugs*; she was reasonably corpulent, but of most matronlike modesty, for the which she was much revered by the most. She was of singular patience, and of excellent arts and qualities. Among other things, for her recreation she delighted to cut plum-stones into curious faces and countenances, of which, exceedingly artificially done, I once had one, with a woman's visage and head attire on the one side, and a bishop with his mitre on the other, which was the elegant work of her hands."¹

About the same time that the body of Peter Martyr's wife was taken up by the Ecclesiastical Commission at Oxford, and by command of the legate, a deputation of bishops elect, Watson of Lincoln, Scot of Chester, and Christopherson of Chichester, went to Cambridge, and after acting the farce of a formal trial and condemnation for heresy, they proceeded to take up the bodies of Bucer and Fagius, and publicly burned them in the market-place on the 6th of February, 1556.² Bucer had been buried two days after his death in the choir of St. Mary's church, and Fagius in St. Michael's. The University, as soon as they were relieved from the tyranny of Popery, did what they could as a learned body to wipe off the stain incurred by this barbarous act. Instigated by a letter from archbishop Parker, they restored these learned men to their titles and honours, and rescinded all proceedings against them. Their ashes had no doubt been scattered to the winds and were no longer to be found.³

The chronological order of events has been rather anticipated in the relation of Catherine's exhumation and reinterment, as her husband was not in England when this insult was offered to her remains. We now return to him at Oxford, where, immediately on the death of the king, he had been kept a prisoner six weeks

¹ *Strype's Life of M. Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. Abbot's Catholic Religion Unmasked.*

² See Appendix H.

³ Strangers are surprised not to find any memorial tablet inscribed with their names in the churches where they were first buried, but no such respect has as yet been paid to their memory. For a full account of the circumstances, see *Historia vera de vita, obitu, sepultura, accusatione etc. doctiss. Theologorum D. Martini Buceri et Pauli Fagii.* 1562.

in his own house. His faithful attendant Julius Terentianus went up to London to consult with his friends, now greatly reduced in number, and who were themselves in too much peril to be able to do much for him.¹ A petition was presented to the queen and council, in which it was stated that Peter Martyr had been invited over from Strasburg by the deceased king, and that during the last year he had been recalled by the magistrates there, but the king would not allow him to depart; perceiving now that the queen had no longer any use for his services, he entreated to be allowed to leave the kingdom. A considerable delay took place before any answer was returned to this petition; meanwhile Martyr suffered all the anxiety of suspense and the desolation of solitude; two only of his friends remained at Oxford, Sidall and Haddon. At length he was allowed to go to London and plead his own cause before the council. A favorable answer was returned, and permission given to remove his goods. He was cordially welcomed on his arrival at Lambeth by the archbishop, who had offered all his property as security for him. Cranmer had gone up to town to confute the false reports circulated by his enemies, that he had ordered the mass to be set up, and promised himself to say it at the funeral of the king; at the same time notice was given that a disputation was about to be held. To put down these false rumours Cranmer posted placards throughout London, expressing his readiness to defend in public the form of worship² established by the late king, and that, with the queen's permission and the assistance of Peter Martyr and some others, he would by God's help prove that the book of Common Prayer, the rites and ceremonies of the Anglican Church, and all the doctrines sanctioned by Edward VI., were more consonant to the word of God than what had been taught before in England.

Martyr highly approved of this courageous step, expressed himself willing to assist the archbishop, and ready to confront every danger in defence of the truth.

After dinner Cranmer took Martyr into his room, and there unbosomed himself to him with unreserved confidence. While he saw the personal dangers to which he was himself exposed,

¹ See a letter by Julius Terentianus to John (ab Ulmis), *Engl. Reform.* p. 365.

² Those who wish for fuller information may consult Cardwell's two books on the *Common Prayer*, 1852, and *Cardwell's Reform. Leg. Ecol.* Oxford, 1850.

he fully shared the distress of Martyr at the prospect of popery being reestablished in the kingdom. Cranmer had been cited into court¹ on a charge of treason; he felt they might never meet again, and recommended Martyr to depart without delay while it was yet possible. This filled Martyr with no small dismay, but a few days after a safe conduct was sent him from the queen. Notwithstanding the advice of some fiery zealots who urged his apprehension, Gardiner² honourably pleaded that he had come over by an invitation from a former government, and furnished him with money for his journey.

Martyr lost no time in setting out, for he knew the Jesuit doctrine, that no faith was to be kept with a heretic, was of easy application, and he felt that he had been too strong an opposer of the papal see to trust himself in the hands of its advocates. He was warned to guard against their snares after crossing the sea, for they would perhaps be lying in wait for him in Flanders; but the providence of God had more work for him in his vineyard, and watched over his safety in a special manner.

The vessel in which he was to embark was full of travellers and pilgrims going from Denmark to Frisia; the pilot, a pious man, concealed him in his own house for fourteen days, during which time both friends and enemies thought he had gone to Hamburg with the others. At last his friend the pilot landed him at Antwerp during the night, and conveyed him before day in a car by cross roads through the most dangerous part of the way. His friend Julius,³ who had stayed behind to avoid suspicion, arrived at Antwerp the same day in a different vessel. They both arrived safely at Strasburg, and Martyr, on the 30th of October 1557, was received with unbounded joy by his old friends, the learned Sturm,⁴ Sleidan, Zanchi, and others.

¹ Cranmer was cited on the 13th of September, 1553, and committed to the Tower on the 14th.—See Burnet's *Hist. Reform.* vol. ii. p. 387.

² See Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors.*

³ See the above-mentioned letter.

⁴ Jean Sturm; for Jacques Sturm, the magistrate, died the very day Martyr and Julius returned to Strasburg. Erasmus thus describes him: "*Incomparabilis juvenis, qui majorum imagines morum illustrat integritate, juventutem ornat senili morum gravitate, doctrinam haud quaquam vulgarem incredibili modestia mire condecorat.*" A. Wimpheling, at the end of a treatise, *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum.* Strasb. 1514, in 4to. See Ch. Schmidt, *La Vie de Jean Sturm*, p. 19. See Appendix I.

Strype¹ very justly observes that P. Martyr must have been glad to get out of England, "considering how insufferably he was affronted, undermined, and belied by the popish party at Oxford, who, one would think, might have better entreated a man of quality by birth; a man, besides, of great learning, integrity and reverence, whom the king had thought good, for his great parts, to place for his professor of divinity in that university, and a man also who had always carried himself inoffensively unto all."²

Soon after Martyr's arrival at Strasburg he wrote to his esteemed friend John Calvin, entreating his prayers for his English friends under their present peril.

"By what means, worthy sir, God plucked me out of the lion's mouth even I myself do not yet well know, much less can I declare unto you. But, like Peter when brought out of prison by the angel, I thought that these things which were done had been seen in a dream; even now I can scarcely think it true that I have escaped. But nevertheless I am safe and well here in Strasburg, whereof I thought it good to certify you with speed, that you, together with me and other good brethren, may give thanks to God. I earnestly beseech your godly church to offer up their hearty prayers to obtain the assistance of God, whereby the calamities that oppress the English church may be mitigated. The archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Worcester and Oxford, with many other learned and godly preachers, are in prison, and together with other holy men stand in extreme danger. I know from your godly mind that these things will be grievous to your ears, but I will now shew you two things that may somewhat mitigate your sorrow. First, that although the infirmity of some betrays itself, yet many more are constant than we had hoped, so that I doubt not we shall have many famous martyrs, if Winchester,³ who is now in high favour, begins to shew his cruelty. Secondly, it is the common opinion of all men that this calamity will not endure long. . . . Wherefore let us entreat God that he will quickly tread down Satan under the feet of his church. As for me I am uncertain whether I shall remain at Strasburg. Perhaps the controversy about the Eucharist will be a hindrance. However I do not strive much about it. It is not a trifling matter that the better and more learned persons are desirous of keeping me here. Whithersoever the Lord call me there I am willing to go. I was not a little grieved that

¹ Strype's *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 55.

² Peter Martyr himself noticed this furious spirit in his dedicatory Epistle to his book on the Eucharist, and wrote "that he could not have thought there were any in the world, unless he had found them, that with such crafty wiles, deceitful tricks, and bitter slanders, would rage so against a man that deserved no manner of evil of them, nor ever hurt any one of them either in word or deed."—P. Martyr, *Epist. Nuncup. T. Cranmero Tractat. de Sacramento*. Ed. Lond. 1549. Strype.

³ Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

James Sturm, to whom the commonwealth and the schools are so greatly beholden, departed this life the very day that I returned to this city, to wit the 30th of October. It is thought that his brother Peter Sturm will be chosen in his stead. But John Sturm, the rector of the school, is doing all he can to have me stay here; how far he will succeed I know not. This however I will tell you, that it was my intention to go to Geneva and stay there for a while to enjoy your company. But the winter which is now at hand hath deterred me from any further journey; but that which I have for the present deferred, I hope next spring to be able to accomplish. If I can do you any pleasure here, only give me notice, that will be enough. I wish you farewell in the Lord, and may you long remain in security for the sake of the churches of Christ. At Strasburg, 3rd Nov. 1553."

Rodolph Gualter wrote to Martyr from Zurich congratulating him on having escaped the "English perils," and offering him accommodation in his house. Martyr in return writes:

"I have not yet determined what I shall do; when I am resolved I will take care you also shall know it. They have not yet restored me to my former state, the reason whereof you can better guess than is requisite or safe for me to express by letter. If I remain here I will not suffer either my lips or my tongue to be deprived of that liberty of speech to which you exhort me, using nevertheless both moderation and fit opportunity. For the lodging in your house which you willingly offer, if I go thither, I give you thanks, neither do I refuse your courtesy. Wherefore if I come I may perhaps turn in unto you."

But before he sent this letter, which was written on the 30th of December 1553, he added a postscript on the 1st of January 1554, informing his friend that the matter was settled and his mind at ease.

"It is at length decreed that I shall remain here at Strasburg, and they restore to me my former place, which I had before my departure for England."

This delay of two months, before the magistrates found themselves at liberty to nominate Martyr to his former post, was occasioned by the party-spirit which the imposition of the Interim had generated. The president of the ecclesiastical body was at this time Jean Marbach,¹ an indifferent scholar, but an energetic and popular preacher, and a violent Lutheran. When Martyr's name was proposed his sentiments on the Lord's Supper were made an objection, and it was reported that he had departed from the Confession of Augsburg and might bring discord into the church. The ministers demanded, that before

¹ Simler, *Vita Martyris*, in Melchior Adam, p. 47.

his installation he should sign the act of concord between Luther and Bucer. Martyr then wrote a justification of his opinions to the Senate, stating that he in no degree differed from the Confession of Augsburg, when understood in its true sense; that there was no fear of his commencing any disputes, for in bringing forward Scripture in support of his opinions, he hoped to do it without bitterness, and with that modesty and charity which became the subject. Some for the sake of peace adhered to the act of concord, but he had never promised to put his hand to anything which cannot be proved by the word of God in a manner satisfactory to the conscience. It was impossible to believe that those who did not possess true faith received the body of Christ in partaking of the sacrament.¹ As faith is the only means by which we can receive Christ's body and blood, if this be absent we receive nothing but an empty outward form, that is to say, the bread and wine consecrated according to the command of our Lord. That as an adult, if baptized without faith, receives nothing but water and the prayers of the church, and none who do not believe can receive regeneration, so without faith there can be no communion of the body and blood of Christ. Augustine explains eating and drinking to mean receiving and believing. Finally, he added, that if he signed this act of concord he should be condemning all the churches in England and Switzerland, and those dispersed among the brethren in Italy and France: the word of God did not require this, nor was it consistent with christian charity. But this did not prevent him from venerating and loving the German church and its followers, or enjoying communion with them in the Lord, as there was nothing in the nature of this controversy to loosen the bonds of love between believers.²

The Senate of Strasburg, who were much attached to Martyr notwithstanding the opposition of the ecclesiastical body, appointed him to his former office of expounding Scripture in the schools of St. Thomas. Jean Sturm, the indefatigable promoter of education, though he had yielded for a time to the storm of 1549 and quitted the city,³ was soon brought back

¹ Simler, *Vita Martyris*.

² Schmidt, *Vie de Jean Sturm*, p. 116.

³ See a letter by George Fabricius to Wolfgang Meurer, 16th March, 1549, *Sturmium Argentorato exulare auidi, et agere in Sazonia Brunovici, Fabricii Epistola*, p. 62. Schmidt, *Vie de Sturm*, p. 81.

by his interest in the schools,¹ which had already cost him so much labour and anxiety. He exerted himself so energetically in favour of toleration, that the bishop, Erasmus of Limburg, gave up the idea of introducing Catholicism into the chapter of St. Thomas, and its schools remained exclusively protestant.

The learned biographer² of Jean Sturm has admirably depicted the intellectual movement at Strasburg, and the indefatigable exertions of this great man who began his career there at thirty years of age, in the year 1536. He was received by Bucer into his house, and encouraged by him to begin his lectures on Aristotle, that he might leave Bucer at liberty to devote his whole time to the interpretation of the Scriptures. Sturm belonged to that superior order of mind which is ever aiming towards perfection. His comprehensive mind embraced the most extensive schemes, and he possessed also a talent for classification and combination which enabled him practically and successfully to carry out his great projects.

Martyr, on resuming his post as professor of divinity, began his lectures with the book of Judges. As there was no professor of philosophy, it was agreed that two theologians should lecture on Aristotle and on the Scriptures each alternate week. Martyr, to whom this exercise was not new, willingly prepared himself for lecturing on the books *De moribus ad Nicomachum*. His colleague was the celebrated Girolamo Zanchi,³ an old and intimate friend, who had followed him from Lucca; he lectured

¹ "Cette absence ne fut pas de longue durée. Non-seulement, en sa qualité de fonctionnaire laïque, Sturm avoit moins à craindre que les pasteurs, mais le devoir de veiller à la conservation de son école le rappelait impérieusement à son poste. Il revint à Strasbourg et y déploya une activité qui fit l'admiration de ses amis de près et de loin. Il continua ses cours sur l'éloquence et publia quelques discours d'orateurs grecs qu'il dédia à l'évêque Pflug, pour prouver que, même dans ces temps difficiles, l'école de Strasbourg n'interrompait pas ses leçons. Mais cette école courait les mêmes dangers que la liberté religieuse à laquelle elle avait dû son origine. L'évêque Erasme, se fondant sur l'Intérim, voulût réintroduire le catholicisme dans le chapitre de Saint-Thomas."—Ch. Schmidt, *Vie de Jean Sturm*, p. 81.

² Charles Schmidt, Directeur du Gymnase Protestant à Strasbourg, and author of *La vie et les travaux de Jean Sturm*. Strasb. 1856.

³ Born 1516, died 1590. He was one of the eighteen monks who had been converted by Martyr at Lucca. When he went to England Zanchi succeeded him as Professor of Theology at Strasburg: he was afterwards pastor at Chiavenna; driven from thence by the plague, he then went to Heidelberg, where he died at the age of seventy-five years. He was a profound and impartial theologian, and a staunch reformer.

on the books of Aristotle entitled *De natura*. He had left Strasburg on the first promulgation of the Interim, and returned about the same time as Martyr.¹

The English exiles who flocked to Strasburg were treated with much kindness and hospitality by Martyr, in return for the favour shewn him in England. Jewel, then a very young man, looked on him as a father in Israel. Martyr wrote to him at Frankfort to come and join him, took him into his house, and in a very short time a goodly company² of pious and learned Englishmen were assembled at Strasburg to enjoy the benefit of Martyr's society. They met together for study and prayer, and supported each other under the privations of exile by friendly and christian sympathy, and devoted themselves so zealously to the study of Scriptures, that when brighter prospects opened for them in their own land, they came forth from their retirement fitted for labour and fully prepared to cultivate the vineyard of the Lord. Peter Martyr, who had in England directed the studies of many of them, continued to be their instructor.

He had been little more than a year at Strasburg when he received a letter from Calvin, inviting him to come to Geneva and take charge of the Italian congregation there. This proposition, had he not been so recently settled, would have offered him great attractions, but he was not at this time disposed to change his position, and thus replies to his venerated friend:³

“It now remains for me to answer about the choice of the Italian church. . . . Assuredly I am desirous, and it would delight me very much if at last I could for once do service to my own countrymen from Italy. For I am not made of brass, nor is my flesh of iron. Wherefore, even as Paul desired salvation for the Jews, so do I earnestly desire that my countrymen may be saved. Howbeit, as you yourself know, I am not under my own command; for I have been bound to this church and commonwealth for nearly twelve years. When I went to England it was with the consent of the magistrate and the church; I hoped when I returned I should be dismissed; if this had been the case I should have gone directly to you. But when the subject was proposed in the Senate I had no leave to depart, but was

¹ See Schmidt, *Vie de Sturm*, p. 116.

² More than eight hundred clergymen and other gentlemen fled at Mary's accession, among whom were five bishops, five deans, four archdeacons, and fifty doctors and preachers. See their names in Strype's *Memorials of Archbp. Cranmer*, vol. iii. p. 38.

³ In a letter of three pages of two columns each. See *Common Places*, translated by Masters, with letters.

appointed to my former office. As many benefits have been bestowed on me by the Senate and the Church, I fear I should be justly accused of inconstancy or of some interested motive if I should attempt to withdraw myself from hence without some very just reason. What shall I say? That the Italian church is destitute of a pastor. They have at least Celsus,¹ who is as dear to me as my own soul, and whom I know to be an honest, learned, grave man, very fit to govern the Church. Shall I offer to assist him with my counsel in things of importance? but you are appointed there to be a superintendent, and you will never deny him your help and counsel, so that there is not any good reason whereby I can crave my dismissal from the magistrate. Further, although I work not in the schools so much as I ought, yet I think my labour is not altogether unprofitable. My auditors are both Germans and other strangers. . . . While Zanchi and I, who are great friends, cooperate together, we leave no opportunity for error to creep in. Besides this, the French church entreats me not to leave . . . Farewell, thou man of God, worthy to be held in reverence. Sturm, Sleidan, and Zanchi most dutifully salute you. From Strasburgh, 8th May, 1558."

The arrival of Peter Martyr and Zanchi was unfortunately, without any fault of theirs, the cause of much discord at Strasburgh. The Lutherans had no longer the sole influence in doctrine, and the pastors complained of the professors interfering in the schools: the violence of Marbach and his colleagues was vigorously opposed by Matthew Pfarrer,² one among the first to introduce the reformed doctrines into Strasburgh, and by Jean Sleidan, whom everybody respected, and they at last succeeded in bringing about a kind of reconciliation. But the calm did not last long. The Lutheran ministers knew the majority were in their favour, and they continued to agitate dry subjects of controversy which were favourable neither to learning nor to piety. At length two years afterwards the quarrel broke out afresh. By the intolerance of the ministers, and of Marbach in particular, it was determined that the Confession of Augsburg in its Lutheran sense should be universally received. The professors, on the contrary, who were the most learned, inclined to more liberal and more scriptural views of the Lord's Supper.

Though Martyr was not openly opposed, the secret machinations of the Lutherans were not the less troublesome. They assailed him covertly in their lectures with such pointed meaning that his name only was omitted; even the students held public

¹ Celso Maximiliano Martinengo, who was with P. Martyr at Lucca. See p. 407.

² He had been "élu sept fois aux fonctions d'Ammeister, plusieurs fois député de la ville aux diètes ou à la cour imperiale."—Ch. Schmidt, *Vie de Sturm*, p. 117.

discussions in the schools on the Lord's Supper, condemnatory of Martyr's opinions. The increase of this opposition gave him serious concern, and so marred his usefulness as a teacher, that he began to think of leaving Strasburg. While he was meditating on these things a circumstance occurred which offered a most suitable and unexpected opportunity of putting his wishes into execution.

The excellent and pious Conrad Pellican, who had so long filled the chair of professor of Hebrew at Zurich, died full of years, of faith, and of good works. The Senate immediately wrote to Martyr and to the Senate of Strasburg, requesting that they might have the advantage of Peter Martyr's services as the successor of Conrad. This invitation was most agreeable to Martyr, for though much attached to Strasburg as the scene of his first protestant labours, yet the atmosphere of controversy was not suited to his peaceful spirit; and perceiving that the agitation on the subject of the Lord's Supper became every day more violent, he longed to seek a place where he might meditate in peace on divine truth, and employ himself in interpreting the Scriptures apart from the bitterness of party, and the intemperate discussions of well-meaning but narrow-minded men.

The relief this invitation to Zurich afforded him, may be seen in the following letter to Bullinger:

"Most loving and reverend sir in the Lord, I received your letters full of great courtesy and Christian love, whereby I perceive that in appointing a successor in place of the good and godly old man¹ who is dead, you have been mindful of your Martyr. I know that I have not deserved so great an honour, but whatever is most friendly on your part, and that of your associates, I attribute to your goodness and christian affection. Wherefore doubt not that I should most thankfully accept your invitation, were it not that the school and the Senate take my going grievously to heart, for many endeavour in different ways to discourage me from consenting to your call. But I, who prefer the union of religion and godliness above all, am steadfast in my determination; and our most noble and honourable Senate having asked me which way my inclination turned, I did not dissemble, but said, leave to depart would be very acceptable to me. Not that I am unmindful or ungrateful for benefits received, for I know my deep obligation to this noble commonwealth; nor would I suffer myself to be separated from it if I could agree with their ministers about the sacrament. But since there is no hope of this, I have openly expressed how desirous I am to go whither I am called by most loving brethren: I seized this opportunity to complain to the magistrate of our doctrine of the

¹ Conrad Pellican.—See Melchior Adam, *Vita German. Theolog.* p. 262.

Eucharist being in a public assembly both immeasurably and shamefully spoken against by the ministers of the city, and I added that I both wonder and regret that they will not treat this subject openly in the schools, though in the churches they utter both outrageous and bitter speeches against it. Briefly, I have now twice pleaded my cause before them, and also with some who were appointed to talk with me apart; and I thought that in four days they would have been able to despatch the matter. But this day the Senate answered that there was some reasonable cause for my desire to depart, but that I must not act hastily in so important an affair, and therefore they requested that I would wait patiently for at least a month for a decided answer. They promise that at the end of that time they will either offer me such conditions as I can conscientiously accept and remain among them, or they will leave me at liberty to follow my wish of going to you. This request of our magistrates, to whom I am much beholden, and who share your opinions, I could not honestly refuse, especially as they added that there were certain reasons why they could not suddenly give me a decided answer, and so against my will I yielded that period of delay which they required. But I pray you be of good cheer; as much as lieth in me I will not fail to strive that your calling me shall not be in vain. A month will soon slip away. Wherefore, as you appoint in your letters, I hope the matter will be at an end, and that I shall be with you, if the Lord pleases, as I hope he will, on St. John Baptist's day. How much am I beholden to your wise and puissant Senate for the vocation with which they have honoured me, and for the letters they have sent here. I have indeed in answer given them thanks, but I beseech you, my singular good friend, that you also will testify more at large the same unto them. I give thanks also to all your associates, and my most loving brethren in Christ, to whom I would most willingly have written, but this business and consulting with my friends, who come to me every moment about this matter, has hitherto prevented me. . . . I detained your messenger two days longer than was reasonable, hoping on the third day to have been able to give you a decided answer. . . . Salute all your fellow-ministers and associates. Farewell: may you live well and happily in Christ. From Strasburg, the 7th May, 1556."

After the expiration of the proposed month of delay the Senate told him that if he would avoid certain points of doctrine, and restrain his zeal on others, they would be most happy to retain him among them; but to this he would on no account agree. The teacher of divine truth, he thought, ought ever to be free to speak according to his conscience, and he told the Senate it would be better for them to choose men whose opinions coincided with their own, than for him to be silent on truths which he found in the revealed word of God. He had left all to profess the gospel according to his conscience, and he could not for a moment entertain the idea of suppressing any truth in compliance with human prejudice. Such however was his regard for

the men, and the place where he had been twice most honorably received in his utmost need, that he expressed his willingness to return, if at any future time a change should take place among the leading men. After this declaration the Senate unwillingly allowed him to depart.

Sturm was deeply grieved at his departure. He wrote mournfully to Theodore de Beze, complaining that scarcely a year after the peace of Augsburg, which ensured liberty of conscience to the Protestants, these young ardent divines disturbed the general tranquillity, and by their contests threatened to strand the vessel of the Church. The French church was attacked by these hot-heads, who were all strangers to Strasburg. The pastor Jean Garnier, who in 1549 published a confession of faith, was accused of disturbing the public peace. Sturm applied to Calvin in his favour, and he wrote to Marbach, that if Luther, that eminent servant of God, were alive he would not approve of their violence, and that the remembrance of Bucer and Capito ought to protect Strasburg from the invasion of intolerance; but Marbach paid no attention to this remonstrance, and Garnier resigned his office.¹

Martyr communicated his own dismissal to Lodovic Lavater² in terms which shewed how relieved he felt to be able to exchange an atmosphere of dispute and difference of opinion, for one of union and sympathy.

“Hitherto, my learned friend and very loving brother in Christ, I have not been able to write any thing certain about my coming to you. . . . But now at last I write to inform you that on St. John’s day leave was given me to depart. I laboured greatly in this matter, and I never in my whole life obtained any thing with greater difficulty. All the good and learned men earnestly withstood my purpose of departure. The magistrate put me off till now, and when he gave me leave, testified in plain terms that he did it against his will. Afterwards, when I took leave of my auditory, which was a very large one, all present wept at my departure. I rehearse these things to shew you how great has been my desire to come to you. Now, my dear Lavater, you and your fellows have that which you desire. I come, and am

¹ Ch. Schmidt, *Vie de Jean Sturm*, p. 118.

² Lavater was a native of Zurich and a minister of the church there, and the colleague of Bullinger. The date of his birth is not exactly known, but he died in 1586. His most approved writings were *Historia de ortu et progressu controversiæ Sacramentariæ*; and *Tractatus de spectris, lemuribus, fragoribus, variisq. præagitationibus*. The last was translated into Latin, German, Belgic, French, and Italian.—See Melchior Adam, *Vite Germ. Theolog.*

now wholly occupied in preparation for my journey ; this I might have done sooner and more conveniently if I could have got my discharge before. I hope very shortly to enjoy the presence of you all ; fare you well therefore, and love me as you do, and commend me to all the brethren. From Strasburg, the 30th of June, 1556."

Thus was Martyr's long connection with Strasburg dissolved in a manner highly honorable both to his character and principles, and to the deep regret of all the most respectable inhabitants. He carried with him the affection of the students, who loved him not only for his learning and piety but for the amiable suavity of his disposition. His own immediate circle comprised many distinguished English exiles : Jewel was too much attached to his revered master to leave him ; he accompanied him to Zurich, and continued to live in his house as before.

Martyr was welcomed with the warmest cordiality by the Senate of Zurich and by the students and ministers of the Church. His old friend Bullinger received him into his house till Julius with his wife and child arrived. The friendship which had so long existed between these eminent men was now to be drawn closer by constant intercourse, and a thorough union of opinion on points of doctrine.

When Martyr arrived at Zurich he had been a widower for six years, but his biographer¹ states that he frequently expressed his regret at not having any children to transmit his family name to posterity. This encouraged his friends to recommend him to take a second wife ; they advised him to marry Caterina Merenda, a young lady of Brescia, who had left Italy on account of religion, and had joined the Italian church at Geneva. This union appears to have been a happy one, and was blessed with several children, though none of them survived.

We find a letter to Calvin written in the beginning of the year 1557, in which Martyr condoles with Count Maximilian Martinengo on the death of his wife :

"I desire you to comfort my, or rather your Count Maximilian, our most dear brother in Christ, in this visitation of his. For I understand that by the death of his most dear wife he has received a very great wound, but yet of the Physician, the which ought to be no small comfort unto Christians. For our Saviour Christ knoweth what will further our salvation a great deal better than ourselves."

His domestic happiness had been of short duration, for he

¹ Simler, *Vita Martyris*, p. 50.

was married in February, 1556, to an English lady;¹ she died the following year, and he very soon followed her.²

About two years after Martyr's removal to Zurich, on the death of Martinengo in 1557, the members of the Italian congregation at Geneva, consisting chiefly of pious Italian exiles, many of them natives of Lucca and personally known to Martyr, were anxious to have him for their pastor. The elders of this little church wrote letters earnestly entreating him to come and undertake this charge. Some of his old English friends were settled as exiles at Geneva, and added their entreaties. Calvin³ himself wrote to say that in Geneva he would find the flower of Italian piety, and set before him the unanimous desire of the whole flock to have him for their minister, and the eminent service he would render to the Church of Christ by complying with their wishes.⁴

But Martyr, though greatly interested in the spiritual welfare of his countrymen, would of himself decide nothing, but left it entirely to the Senate and ministers of Zurich to say whether he should go or not. They, persuaded that they could not give up Martyr without inflicting a severe blow on the schools and the church of Zurich, decided on retaining him, and represented that there were at Geneva many learned Italians capable of taking Martinengo's place.

When Cardinal Caraffa⁵ was elected Pope in 1555, Martyr's

¹ Marriage Register of the English Church at Geneva, Feb. 24, 1556, *Jane Strafford, alias Williams, Widow, was there married to Count Maximilian Celous the Italian preacher*. MS. The family of Strafford were exiles living at Geneva. The records of the English Church have been recently collected into one MS. volume at Geneva. There were also many Spanish exiles who joined the Italian congregation.

² "Maximilian Martinengo de Brescia en Italie. Fu fils de Cesar des Contes de Martinengo, reçu Bourgeois gratis le 30 Janvier 1556. Il est mort en 1557. Registre tenu par M. Jean Penault. Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève MS."

³ See Appendix K.

⁴ It appears from the registers of the Italian church at Geneva that the successor of Martinengo was Lattanzio Ragnoni of Siena, the fosterbrother of Bernardino Ochino. He arrived at Geneva in 1551, was the first who filled the office of Catechist, and was afterwards appointed minister of the Italian congregation.—See *Archives de Genève, Eglise Italienne de Genève 1551, Lattanzio Ragnoni de Siena, arrivato qui nel mese di Giugno 1551 (prima Catechista), fu ricevuto ministro nella chiesa alle 24 Ottobre 1557. Esso morse alle 16 Febraro 1559.*

⁵ Cardinal Caraffa was elected Pope at the advanced age of eighty years, on the 26th May, 1555.

former flock at Lucca felt the oppressive hand of the Inquisition.¹ The want of zealous reformers like Martyr had occasioned much lukewarmness, and when they were suddenly taken from their families and thrown into secret dungeons, many recanted and conformed to the Roman Catholic Church. But, if the terrorists rejoiced over the success of their measures, it was far otherwise with the pious Martyr. He mourned over their fall with the deepest sorrow.

“How can I suppress my tears when I think of the awful tempest which has destroyed the flourishing church of Lucca, and left scarcely a trace remaining! Those who knew you well, might have feared you were too weak to resist the storm; but for my part I own I did not believe it possible that you would have so disgracefully yielded. You knew the fury of antichrist, and the danger which threatened you when you refused to fly and profit by what some call the resource of the weak, but which I consider a wise precaution in certain circumstances. Those who had a high idea of your courage said, these generous soldiers of Christ will not fly because they are determined to risk life and face martyrdom to ensure the progress of the gospel in their country, and that they may not be behind, but follow the glorious example given daily by their brethren in France, Belgium, and England. Alas! how cruelly have these bright hopes been crushed, and what a subject of joy and triumph is offered to our ungodly oppressors! I can better deplore this calamity with tears than by words.”²

The accession of Elizabeth, queen of England, in 1558 rejoiced the hearts of all lovers of religious liberty, and the exiles joyfully hurried home.³ The correspondence which they maintained with Peter Martyr and other divines at Zurich is not only a valuable record of the state of opinion at that period, but a proof of the high esteem these pious and godly men entertained for Peter Martyr: many of them were made bishops soon after their arrival in England, and they were anxious to have Martyr's opinion upon several nice and delicate points.

The letters of the bishops Jewel, Cox, Parkhurst, and Sampson⁴ shew the difficulties they had to contend with in remodelling the worship of the Church of England to bring it in accordance with Scripture; from these valuable documents we may learn

¹ See the edict in *Sommario di Storia Lucchese. Archivio Storico*, vol. x. *Documenti*, p. 172.

² Ch. Eynard, *Lucoques et les Burlomacchi*. The author does not cite his authority.

³ Jewel was fifty-seven days on his journey from Zurich to London.

⁴ *Zurich Letters*, published by the Parker Society. Camb. 1846.

some of the causes which have since distracted the Anglican Church.

Elizabeth was a Protestant,¹ and firmly resolved that all superstitious rites should be abolished throughout the kingdom; but she was surrounded by Roman Catholics, and as it was no part of the Protestant creed to use violence in religion, she was obliged to be prudent and not offend the prejudices of her partisans.

Jewel wrote frequently to Martyr, and gave him a full account of all that was passing in England.

“The bishops are a great hindrance to us; for being, as you know, among the nobility and leading men in the upper house, and we having none there on our side to expose their artifices and confute their falsehoods, they reign as sole monarchs in the midst of weak ignorant men, and easily overreach our little party either by their numbers or their reputation for learning. . . . Two famous virtues, namely ignorance and obstinacy, have wonderfully increased at Oxford since you left it: religion and all hope of good learning and talent is altogether abandoned. . . . Farewell, my father, and most esteemed master in Christ.”²

“Our adversaries have always acted with precipitancy, without precedent, without authority, without law; while we manage everything with so much deliberation, prudence, wariness, and circumspection, as if God himself could scarce retain his authority without our ordinances and precautions; so that it is idly and scurrilously said, by way of joke, that as heretofore Christ was *cast out* by his enemies, so now he is *kept out* by his friends.”³

“Many persons make most honourable enquiry after you, where you are, how you live, what you are teaching, and whether, in case you should be recalled, you would feel disposed to return to England. . . . There is everywhere a profound silence respecting schools and the encouragement of learning. . . . The queen both speaks and thinks most honourably of you: she lately told Lord Russel that she was desirous of inviting you to England, a measure which is urged both by himself and others as far as they are able. But unless you should be seriously, earnestly, and honourably recalled, I for my part will never advise your coming. For myself indeed there is nothing that I desire more, or with greater impatience, than to behold you, and enjoy your most delightful conversation either in England or at Zurich. But, as far as I can perceive, that inauspicious arrival will present an obstacle to my wishes. For our queen is now thinking of joining the league of Smalcald, but there is one who writes to her from Germany that this can by no means be brought about if you should return to us.

¹ On the first Sunday of her reign, the 20th of November, she ordered Dr. Bill, her chaplain and almoner, to preach the gospel at Paul's Cross.

² *Zurich Letters*, pp. 22, 23. The whole letter is worth reading, as also the next in the series.

³ *Ibid.* p. 28.

Who this person is, if I tell you that he was once a bishop, that he is now an exile, an Italian, a crafty knave, either Peter or Paul,¹ you will perhaps know him better than I do.² The scenic apparatus of divine worship is now under agitation; and those very things which you and I have so often laughed at, are now seriously and solemnly entertained by certain persons (for *we* are not consulted), as if the Christian religion could not exist without something tawdry. Our minds indeed are not sufficiently disengaged to make these fooleries of much importance. Others are seeking after a *golden*, or as it rather seems to me, a *leaden* mediocrity, and are crying out that the half is better than the whole."³

In a letter to Bullinger, dated 22nd May 1559, Jewel gives a miserable account of the state of learning in England :

"Our universities are so depressed and ruined, that at Oxford there are scarcely two individuals who think with us, and even they are so dejected and broken in spirit that they can do nothing. That despicable friar, Soto, and another Spanish monk (Juan de Villa Garcia), have so torn up by the roots all that Peter Martyr had so prosperously planted, that they have reduced the vineyard of the Lord into a wilderness."⁴

The vestiarian and ceremonial controversy occupied a great portion of attention in England after the restoration of religion. Though in itself, as far as relates to the doctrines of salvation, unimportant, yet these dresses and external ornaments, as badges of a party and as signs of a leaning to Roman Catholicism, were by no means indifferent. It naturally became a question whether the reformed church should retain garments, lights, crosses, which had been used as incentives to idolatry and superstition, or lay them all aside and take the Gospel as exclusive authority in matters pertaining to worship, and thus closely follow the teaching and practice of the Apostles. However much this opinion might prevail among godly men, it was not so universally adopted as to be thought advisable to peril the establishment of the reformed doctrine by making too complete a change in public worship. With the hope therefore of pleasing all parties, and of winning over the moderate Roman Catholics, many things were retained for which there was no scriptural

¹ Peter Paul Vergerio, Bishop of Capo d'Istria, is here alluded to. Jewel speaks with prejudice of a man he did not know, and deals rather severe measure to him. He sincerely embraced the Reformed opinions: it is true he was a courtier, for his early life had been spent at court, but he was a most uncompromising exposor of the corruptions of the Church of Rome, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter.

² *Zurich Letters*, p. 31.

³ *Ibid.* p. 33.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 42.

authority, and which were stumbling-blocks in the way of the more enlightened and conscientious reformers, who desired to be entirely released from the trappings of popery and from the garments spotted by the flesh.

Could they have foreseen that this arid controversy would be again revived in the nineteenth century, and even be made a stepping-stone to the communion of Rome,¹ they might perhaps have been more decided in making a root-and-branch reformation in externals rather than risk the future tranquillity of the Church, and would have expunged from the rubric every trace of papal ceremonial. There is however the clearest evidence of the purity of their motives, though somewhat tinged with expediency.² It must ever be man's highest wisdom simply to follow the divine law, and leave all consequences under the sage control of the Ruler of the universe.

Philosophers must decide whether these frequent changes of opinion on the most important subjects are the result of an evil seed cast into the bosom of man's fitful nature at the fall, which from time to time springs up and bears most bitter fruit; or if it is the law of imperfection which reigns so imperiously here below, that it is continually working to counteract all permanent good in order that we may sigh for that higher sphere where all is entirely good and glorious. The light which faintly glimmers to illuminate this hemisphere in one generation, is darkened and overshadowed to the next. This revolving light is called progress; but it would appear that progress beyond a certain limit is incompatible with the evanescent and perishing nature of earthly good. The finiteness of man's attainments compared with the grandeur of his aspirations has been justly taken as a proof of the immortality of his nature. All things here below, however excellent in their nature or desirable in their object, when arrived at a certain point, require a counteracting check against excess. Both civil and religious liberty, those inestimable privileges of intelligent beings, if not hedged round

¹ An allusion to the introduction of altars, candles, crosses, images, and embroidery into some churches within the last twelve years, and the conversion of many clergymen of the Church of England to Popery.

² The world, at least the English world, is not yet quite a convert to the Machiavellian policy advocated by a modern writer in his very original work, that "expediency is better than truth."—See Buckle's *Civilisation*.

by the sound restraints of the law of God, will lead men far a-field from their original scope, and degenerate into weakness and confusion.

The records of modern history offer many useful lessons to shew us that "happy is that people whose God is the Lord," and whose civil and religious institutions are founded on the doctrines and precepts of the Gospel; on those solid principles which treat man as a responsible being, and steer equally clear from oppression and licence.

If we adopt the theory that national sins eventually bring national punishment, it will explain much that is mysterious in the histories of neighbouring countries.

France in the last century became so thoroughly demoralized by her sanguinary revolution, that all respect for authority was loosened, and the floodgates of change were so widely opened, that for years she remained tossed in a sea of political difficulties and exposed to the wild theories and ambitious hopes of men to whom stability was a dream, and constancy of purpose an undesired good. If she settles down for a while, it is under the name rather than the reality of that liberty, for which she has shed the best blood of her citizens.

Italy, of a nobler nature, has been perpetually renewing her struggles for national independence. Her great difficulty has been foreign occupation; but her barrier to civil and religious liberty is her subservience to the papacy, and her want of courage to throw off a yoke which she detests. Till she is freed from the tyranny of the Pope's temporal and spiritual power, she can never take her place among the nations. Her convulsive efforts to be free have hitherto only been like the efforts of a caged bird, which remains wounded and bleeding in the power of a master. But if once it were possible for Italy to free itself from foreign occupation and to shake off the influence and authority of a spurious christianity, we should see her awake to new life and shine with the genius of her forefathers.¹

The lively interest which every liberal mind takes in the Italian cause will excuse this digression suggested by the history of an Italian reformer, obliged by the tyranny of the Pope

¹ Since the victory of Solferino and the emancipation of Lombardy the prospect brightens, and the Italians hope at length to be allowed to taste the blessings of freedom.

to fly from his country. At the time of the English reformation he did signal service to the cause of truth while at Oxford, and by his piety and learning greatly assisted in settling the book of Common Prayer and the Articles of the Church of England. Let us now hear his opinion about these popish leanings in the early days of queen Elizabeth. Thomas Sampson, one of the Zurich exiles, was so distressed at the things imposed on clergymen, that he thought of giving up the ministry altogether rather than comply, and wrote to ask Peter Martyr's opinion, who thus replies :

“ The things of which we now speak were both instituted by men without any divine sanction, and have splendidly subserved that worship which all godly persons do now abominate. I do not see how the things retained by you can properly be regarded with indifference. Certainly, since they present to the beholders an express resemblance of the pernicious mass, wherein ungodly men will exceedingly delight themselves, . . . who shall prevent such of the bystanders in whose hearts popery still remains from adoring the crucifix? Wherefore, my very dear brother in Christ, since things are in this state, I give you two pieces of advice : first, that you still retain the function of preaching, and cease not both in public and private to defend the truth of doctrine, and to declaim against rites which are full of offence and occasions of falling.”¹

On the 2nd of November, 1559, Jewel wrote to P. Martyr :

“ Yesterday, as soon as I returned to London, I heard from the archbishop of Canterbury that you are invited hither, and that your old lectureship is kept open for you. I know not how true this may be ; I can only affirm thus much, that no professor of divinity is yet appointed at Oxford. For my own part, my father, I most exceedingly long to see you, and especially in England ; and how can I do otherwise than desire this, who am so perpetually desiring to see you even at Zurich ? But I know your prudence, and you know the character and disposition of us islanders. I pray that what we now see the beginning of may be lasting. Nothing can be in a more desperate condition than the (divinity) school is at present. You will think that when you were formerly there, you had employed all your exertions to no purpose :

Thus in the garden that was once so gay,
The darnel and the barren weed bear sway.

“ Your book on Vows,² like all your other works, is caught up with the greatest avidity. We are now looking for you to publish your further commentaries on the book of Judges and the two books of Samuel. Farewell, my father, and salute your wife³ in my

¹ *Zurich Letters*, p. 53.

² *Defensio sui contra R. Smithie duos libellos de celibatu Sacerdotum et vot. Monastic.* Bas. 1559.

³ His second wife Caterina Merenda.

name, a lady personally indeed unknown to me, but with whom I am nevertheless now well acquainted, both by your letter and our friend Abel's commendation of her. I congratulate you on her account, and her on yours. Salute masters Bullinger, Gualter, Bernardino, Herman, Julius, his wife, and my little Martyr."¹

Absence did not diminish Jewel's warm friendship and veneration for Martyr, and he still entertained hopes of his coming to England, as may be seen by the following letter :

"Three letters from you reached me at the same moment; by the most delightful perusal of which I was so refreshed as entirely to banish from my mind all the troubles of the preceding days (a long and tiresome journey). For though whenever I think about you, (as I certainly do every hour of my life, and should be very ungrateful if I did not,) I am delighted at the very thought and remembrance of your name; yet when I read your letters I seem to myself to be at Zurich, and in your society, and in most delightful conversation with you, which indeed, believe me, I value more than all the wealth of bishops. As to what you write respecting religion, and the theatrical habits, I heartily wish it could be accomplished. We on our parts have not been wanting to so good a cause. But those persons who have taken such delight in these matters have followed, I believe, the ignorance of the priests; whom, when they found them to be no better than logs of wood, without talent or learning or morality,² they were willing at least to commend to the people that comical dress. For in these times, alas! no care is taken for the encouragement of literature and the due succession of learned men. . . . I wrote to you, as I remember, at some length before I left London, but my letter, as is often the case, was probably lost on the road. I added also that the queen of her own accord eagerly perused both your letter and the book itself, and wonderfully commended your learning and character in general: and that your book was made so much of by all men, that I know not whether anything of the kind was ever so valued before. But, alas! what must I say when no recompense has been made to you? I am ashamed, and know not what to answer. The queen however made diligent enquiry of the messenger as to what you were doing, where you lived, in what state of health and what circumstances you were, and whether your age would allow you to undertake a journey. She was altogether desirous that you should by all means be invited to England, that as you formerly *tilled* as it were the university by your lectures, you might again *water* it by the same, now it is in so disordered and wretched a condition. But since then the deliberations about Saxony and the embassy from Smalcald have put an end to those counsels. Yet, whatever be the reason, nothing is at this time more talked about than that Peter Martyr is invited, and daily expected in England. Oh, how I wish that our affairs may sometime acquire stability and strength! For I am most anxious, my father, to see you, and to enjoy your most delightful conversation and most friendly

¹ *Zurich Letters*, p. 62.

² An exact description of the priests in Italy at the present time.

counsels. If I should ever see that day, or rather, as I hope I may say, *when* I shall see it, where is the Amiens or Salisbury that I shall not look down upon? Farewell, my pride, and more than the half of my own soul. Salute in my name that excellent lady your wife: may God grant her a happy delivery,¹ and make you the father of a beautiful offspring."

In the next letter Jewel continues his lamentation about the ceremonies.

"The doctrine is everywhere most pure; but as to ceremonies and maskings there is a little too much fooling. That little silver cross, of ill-omened origin, still maintains its place in the queen's chapel. Wretched me! this thing will soon be drawn into a precedent. There was at one time some hope of its being removed; and we all of us diligently exerted ourselves, and still continue to do, that it might be so. But as far as I can perceive it is now a hopeless case. Such is the obstinacy of some minds. There seems to be far too much prudence, too much mystery in the management of these affairs, and God alone knows what will be the issue. The slow-paced horses retard the chariot. Cecil favours our cause most ardently."²

He then repeats what he had said in a former letter about Martyr's coming and the uncertainty of affairs.

In the following year, 1560, that good man Thomas Sampson announced the appointment of several of the Zurich exiles to bishoprics,³ all of them Martyr's friends. He pathetically laments over the fragments of popery retained, and asks Martyr to give his opinion whether these things are indifferent.

"Oh, my father! what can I hope for, when the ministry of Christ is banished from court? while the crucifix is allowed with lights burning before it? The altars indeed are removed, and images also throughout the kingdom; the crucifix and candles are retained at court alone. And the wretched multitude are not only rejoicing at this, but will imitate it of their own accord. What can I hope, when three of our lately appointed bishops are to officiate at the table of the Lord, one as priest, another as deacon, and a third as subdeacon, before the image of the crucifix, or at least not far from it, with candles and habited in the golden vestments of the papacy, and are thus to celebrate the Lord's Supper without any sermon? What hope is there of any good, when our party are disposed to look for religion in these dumb remnants of idolatry, and not from the preaching of the lively word of God. . . . Let others be bishops, I will either undertake the office of a preacher or none at all: may the will of the Lord be done."⁴

¹ She was expecting the birth of her second child: this letter is dated Nov. 5, 1559.—See *Zurich Letters*, p. 68.

² *Ibid.* p. 69.

³ Parker was made archbishop of Canterbury, Cox bishop of Ely, Grindal of London, Sandys of Worcester, and Jewel of Salisbury.

⁴ *Zurich Letters*, p. 79. The whole letter is worthy of attention.

In answer to this letter, Martyr returned the following reply :

“ I exhort you, by reason of the great want of ministers in your country, not to withdraw yourself from the function offered to you ; for if you, who are as it were pillars, shall decline taking upon yourselves the performance of ecclesiastical offices, not only will the churches be destitute of pastors, but you will give way to wolves and antichrists. By remaining without any office you will be so far from amending those things which you dislike, that you will hardly retain what is now conceded. But if you sit at the helm of the church, there is hope that many things may be corrected, though not all.”

He advised him to put up with “ the square cap and episcopal habit,” provided he persisted in “ speaking and teaching against the use of them,” to shew that though they might be used for conformity’s sake, they were by no means desirable.

“ But I can never recommend any one, either when about to preach or to administer the Lord’s Supper, to have the image of the crucifix on the table.”¹

Cox, bishop of Ely, Martyr’s old friend and the former Chancellor of Oxford, offered his services to reinstate him in his stall as canon at Oxford.

“ Richard Bruerne, (formerly provost of Eton,) an excellent Hebraist, is in possession of your prebend ; if you will send me your letters-of-attorney for the restoration of your stall, I may possibly be able to do something for you in this respect. As I was writing this, your book was brought to me as a present from the author. Respecting our affairs, what shall I write ? By the blessing of God all those heads of religion are restored to us which we maintained in the time of king Edward. We are only constrained, to our great distress of mind,² to tolerate in our churches the image of the cross, and him who was crucified : the Lord must be intreated that this stumblingblock may at length be removed.”³

We find by a letter written by Jewel on the 5th March 1560, that the controversy on the crucifix still continued.

“ The controversy about the crucifix is now at its height. You would scarcely believe to what a degree of insanity some persons, who once had some show of common sense, have been carried upon so foolish a subject. There is not one of them, however, with whom you are acquainted, excepting Cox. A disputation upon the subject will take place tomorrow : the moderators will be selected by the Council. The disputants on the one side are the archbishop of Canterbury and Cox ;⁴ and on the other Grindal the bishop of London, and myself : the

¹ *Zurich Letters*, p. 84, 85.

² Cox wrote a letter to the queen on this subject. See Strype’s *Annals*, tom. i. p. 260.

³ *Zurich Letters*, p. 81.

⁴ Mathew Parker.

decision rests with the judges. I smile, however, when I think with what grave and solid reasons they will defend their little cross. Whatever be the result I will write to you more at length when the disputation is over, for the controversy is as yet undecided; yet, as far as I can conjecture, I shall not again write to you as a bishop. For matters are come to that pass, that either the crosses of silver and tin, which we have everywhere broken in pieces, must be restored, or we must resign our bishoprics."¹

The letters from England reporting progress became more and more encouraging as time advanced. The Zurich exiles with Jewel at their head were very zealous for purity of doctrine and simplicity of form, and it would not be saying too much to affirm that the establishment of sound doctrine in England was greatly owing to the purity of the Gospel doctrines which the English divines had learned in Switzerland, and which were gladly embraced by the good sense of the people. In 1560 bishop Jewel writes :

"Religion is now somewhat more established than it was. The people are everywhere exceedingly inclined to the better part. The practice of church music has very much conduced to this. For as soon as they had once commenced singing in public, in only one little church in London, immediately not only the churches in the neighbourhood, but even the towns far distant, began to vie with each other in the same practice. You may now sometimes see at Paul's Cross, after the service, six thousand persons, old and young, of both sexes, all singing together and praising God. This sadly annoys the mass-priests. . . . Your friend White, who so *candidly* and *kindly* wrote² against you, is dead, as I think, from rage."³

Sandys, bishop of Worcester, was very zealous against images, and wrote to Peter Martyr that on this account he was very nearly deprived of his bishopric.

"The doctrine of the Eucharist, as yet by God's blessing unimpugned, remains to us, and we hope will continue to remain pure and inviolate. For both myself and my episcopal brethren will maintain it by God's help, to the utmost of our power, as long as we live. We had not long since a controversy respecting images. The queen's majesty considered it not contrary to the word of God, nay rather for the advantage of the church, that the image of Christ crucified, together with (those of) Mary and John, should be placed as heretofore in some conspicuous part of the church, where they might more readily be seen by all the people. Some of us

¹ *Zurich Letters*, p. 86.

² De veritate corporis et sanguinis Christi in sacramento altario, contra Petrum Martyrem hereticum.

³ *Zurich Letters*, p. 90.

(bishops) thought far otherwise, and more especially as all images of every kind were at our last visitation not only taken down but also burnt, and that too by public authority; and because the ignorant and superstitious multitude are in the habit of paying adoration to this idol above others. As to myself, because I was rather vehement in this matter, and could by no means consent that an occasion of stumbling should be afforded to the Church of Christ, I was very near being deposed from my office, and incurring the displeasure of the queen."¹

Bishop Jewel could not give up the idea of welcoming Martyr to England, and in his usual affectionate strain thus addresses him :

"How often do I imagine myself at Zurich, and, agreeably to the delightful intimacy that exists between us, fancy I am now hearing you, now conversing with you; to the end that, although I cannot in reality enjoy that pleasure, I may at least enjoy an ideal and shadowy gratification! But when our affairs are settled, and peace established, and the government placed on a firm footing, as I hope will shortly be the case, I shall dismiss these shadows and behold you face to face. For you must know that this is anxiously desired and endeavoured both by myself and all good men. In the meantime our universities, and especially Oxford, are most sadly deserted, without learning, without lectures, without any regard to religion. I do not assume so much to myself as to be able to afford you any consolation concerning your Eliperius,² but I know your good sense, and that you are wont to anticipate by reflection that comfort which time would otherwise impart. I wish however that you could have had, especially in your declining years, a son to survive you, so endearing and like yourself, not only to have amused you with his prattle, but also to have been the inheritor of your talents and piety, and of all your virtues and learning."³"

"Your lectureship is still vacant, and I do not know for whom it should rather be kept open than for yourself. In the meantime everything there is falling into ruin and decay; for the colleges are now filled with mere boys, and empty of learning."⁴

At the close of this year, 1560, bishop Jewel alludes mysteriously to some unpleasant reports which had been circulated about Peter Martyr; we have no means of clearing up the obscurity of this passage, which is found in a letter dated 6th November 1560.

"I was on the point of writing to you, I know not what about, a month since; indeed I had already begun my letter. But when a rumour was everywhere circulated about you, unfavourable to your-

¹ *Zurich Letters*, p. 98.

² A son who was born on the 2nd of March, 1560, and died on the 10th inst.

³ *Zurich Letters*, p. 101.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 104.

self, painful to us all, and to myself especially most distressing; and this too not only confirmed by common report but also by the letters of Grindal and the archbishop of Canterbury, I was, believe me, compelled through grief and anxiety of mind to leave off, and tear up what I had begun. Now however, since our brethren from Geneva, who have very lately returned among us, relate that all is with you as we desire, I cannot refrain from writing something to you, though in truth I have at this time nothing to write about."¹

The only conjecture we can form as to the subject of these reports is that, in consequence of his intimacy with Bernardino and other unsound members of the Italian church, he was exposed to some unjust aspersions in point of doctrine; but, as bishop Jewel says "all is with you as we desire," the rumour must have been totally unfounded. The following letter, written by Martyr to Calvin in June 1558, was probably the ground of the report which Jewel alluded to in March 1560:

"I heard of some trouble in the Italian church, which grieved me so much that my mind could scarce be quiet day or night. After the report reached us, Georgio (Blandrata, the physician) came here. He immediately began to talk to me, and I perceived that he thought I would lean to his opinion. But he was much deceived, for no man can detest this error² more than I do. I conferred two or three times with this man, and saw things were as you write; namely, that these men believe but one person in the Divine nature, that of the Father only, and affirm that the Father and the Son do not form one essence. Since they will have a distinction or diversity in the divine essence, they cannot avoid the belief in a multitude of Gods, which Gribaldi,³ I hear, affirmed in plain terms. In words indeed he denied this, but strives for those things, which being granted, the rest must necessarily follow. I referred the matter to Bullinger; he disliked it much, and desired me to break off the controversy as soon as possible, which indeed I was of myself minded to do, for opinions like these are not easily rooted out. Therefore having said to this man whatever I thought profitable, I begged him to reconcile himself with your church, otherwise he could have no place among us. Behold, at a seasonable moment I received letters, which to my great joy informed me that the Italian church had come to an agreement, and that a form of doctrine had been drawn up to which they had all subscribed. This is no doubt a profitable remedy, and conformable to the ancient custom of the churches. I seized this occasion to try to persuade Georgio of the unity of the Church, and begged him with a pure and sincere mind to subscribe the form which the Church sanctioned, for this was the only way of reconciliation and edification of those whom he had troubled and offended. But I perceived I was wasting both my words and

¹ *Zurich Letters*, p. 115.

² George Blandrata was a noted antitrinitarian.

³ Lord of Forges in the country of Gex. See Spon, *Histoire de Genève*.

labour in vain. This being the case, Bullinger was advised both by Wolfius and Gualter to bid me persuade him to depart, or the magistrate would command him to go away. But when I had told him this he went away, and relieved me of no small anxiety. He said that he was going to Hungary, but I fear he will tarry some time at Basle. He was accompanied by a man of the name of Johannes Paulus Pedemontanus, who also departed, and is I think gone to Chiavenna. Would to God he would bridle Satan, for he seems to be at liberty in this age of ours, and not only consumeth the children of the Church with fear, but corrupteth them with all manner of false opinions. I entreat of you, notwithstanding, for Christ's sake, whom you serve so faithfully in spirit, not on this account to trouble the Italians or love them one whit less than you did before. For if God suffers some goats to lurk among his dear sheep, and then go their way, yet they which remain do still belong to Christ, and will I hope be converted by your ministry. I have not added this at the close of my letter because I mistrust your goodness and endeavours, but to pour out my desires into your bosom. Farewell, my singular and well-beloved friend. May God keep you safe in his Church, and abundantly bless your labours. From Zurich, 11th of June, 1558."¹

In England the friends of Martyr were still endeavouring to get him over. The archbishop of Canterbury (Parker) and the bishops were raising a fund out of their own revenues in order to follow up the plan, begun by Archbishop Cranmer, of inviting and maintaining learned foreigners at the Universities.² An English nobleman,³ who had been very kind to Martyr's attendant Julius when in England, moved by love of his country and "exceeding anxiety for the advancement of God's word," wrote to Martyr inviting him to come over to promote the cause of religion and learning. On this occasion, as on the call to Geneva, he shewed great humility and simplicity of character in leaving the whole responsibility of the decision to the Senate of Zurich. From this we may also gather somewhat of the constancy of his affection for that church. It was the spot of his predilection when he first passed the Alps, now the asylum of his old age, and neither ambition nor interest offered him any temptation to leave it. He thus writes to his noble patron, July 22nd, 1561 :

"But now as touching my return to England, although I am unable to answer as I could earnestly desire, do you, most noble prince, with your usual kindness take in good part what I write in reply.

¹ See P. Martyr's *Epistles*, translated by Masters.

² See Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 381.

³ Supposed to be the duke of Norfolk, who had the celebrated John Fox for his tutor.

First of all, I would not have you think that I have anything more at heart, than the solid and firm well-being of England in the Lord. But at this present time, such is the situation in which I am placed, that I am engaged to the state and church of Zurich, and am therefore not my own master. I have therefore enquired the opinion and inclination as well of the magistrates as of my fellow ministers upon this matter; and indeed I found in them a singular zeal and most ready mind to satisfy your desire. . . . But on the other hand they no less prudently than lovingly take into consideration my constitution, state, and age; and are somewhat apprehensive lest, burdened as I am and in some measure broken with age, I should be unable to bear the fatigue of the journey, which is rather long, variable, and not without difficulty. They see moreover that no small danger is to be apprehended in different places on the road; and they consider too, that I am called forth to much more severe labours than I undergo in this place. Wherefore they think it very likely that I shall be unable to serve either them or you; and are therefore of opinion that it is much better for me to remain here, where, by teaching, writing, and publishing my commentaries, I may be of use both to them and you and others, according to my ability.”¹

We can understand that being now past sixty he was not much disposed to begin anew a life of contest and disputation in a country where he had already experienced much rough treatment. It was not indolence which detained him at Zurich, for that same year he accepted an invitation from the king of Navarre, to be present at the Colloquy of Poissy.² He wrote himself to Bishop Parkhurst on the 25th of August, 1561 :

“I am called into France to deal in conference touching religion. A safe conduct is brought hither in the name of the king and queen-mother, both signed and sealed. And by the letters of the king of Navarre,³ I am earnestly invited, so that it hardly seems that my journey can be deferred. Seeing that the matter is important and full of danger, I heartily desire your lordship that you will commend the same and myself also most earnestly in your prayers to God.”³

The kingdom of France had for a long time past been greatly disturbed on account of religion. In vain had Francis I. endeavoured by strong repressive measures to crush the desire for reform; his cruel and unjust executions had only increased the national desire for religious liberty. Since his death the country had been incessantly agitated by contentions between the Catholics and the Protestants.

The Council of Trent, which it was hoped would prove a corrective of all the evils in religion, had been set at nought by

¹ *Zurich Letters*, p. 121.

² De Thou says that Catherine invited him to take part in the discussion.

³ *Zurich Letters*, p. 123.

the Protestants, for to them the supreme power of the Pope was an insuperable objection. Henry II. lost his life in a tournament, and Francis II. had fallen a victim to disease at an early age. Charles IX. who succeeded was little more than a child, and under the tutelage of his mother, Catherine de' Medici. She professed her desire to conciliate the Protestants by holding a kind of national synod, in which both parties should be allowed to speak their opinions freely on the points in dispute. The queen-mother needed the support of the Protestants to counterbalance the power of the Guise faction. There was a time when she either felt or feigned an interest in the subject. An anonymous letter was written to her in 1559, in which she was reminded of the time when she was in danger of being divorced. She had no child for ten years after her marriage, and her divorce was openly talked of as necessary to provide heirs for the crown. "Remember," said the anonymous letter, "how you carried your griefs with tears and prayers to God, for then you really sought Him, and prized the holy bible. It was ever on your table or within your reach, and from time to time you were reading this holy book, and your women also had the happy opportunity of reading it."¹

Through the energetic efforts of M. de la Ferrière a Protestant church had been publicly formed in 1555, and many who had before held the reformed opinions openly joined it. Their numbers rapidly increased till they were said to amount to eight thousand persons. When they met for worship at Pré-aux-Clercs² they sang Marot's new version of the Psalms in French, and frequently prolonged their sacred melody to the hours of night. Many persons of rank and importance had joined them, the king and queen of Navarre, Condé, Coligny, &c. The courtiers, pleased with the sweet melody of this sacred music, took it up and made it fashionable. Henry II. took great pleasure in this exercise, particularly during his recovery from a severe illness. His

¹ Mémoires de Condé. See Appendix F.

² The Pré-aux-Clercs was the gift of Charlemagne to the university at the time of its foundation. It was a large field which extended along the banks of the Seine to the walls of the town in the fauxbourg St. Germain, then called *La petite Genève*, and was divided by a road which passed through the middle of it. This was at one time a fashionable promenade, and when Protestant influence preponderated many met there to sing their favourite Psalms.—See Lettre de Villegagnon, *Recueil des choses Mémorables*, 1565. Ch. Waddington, *Vie de Ramus*, p. 408. Paris, 1855.

favourites followed his example, each appropriating to himself a particular psalm which they sang to the lute and other instruments of music, saying to the king, 'Sire, let me have this one.' For himself he chose Psalm cxxviii., *Bienheureux est quiconque sert a Dieu volontiers*, and himself set it to music suitable to the words in several parts; and it was one of his most pleasant entertainments to sing it with his courtiers, accompanied by lutes and various instruments. Catherine chose the 150th Psalm¹ for her's, and had on many occasions shewn herself favorable to the Protestants. But ambition now occupied the heart which in distress had been humbled before God, and she skilfully made use of both parties to maintain her own power. It appears however, from her letters to the bishop of Rennes, that she really entertained some hope that the proposed conference would produce unity.²

It was to be held at Poissy, near Paris, between the Catholic clergy and the ministers of the Reformed Church. Conferences of this description between persons of opposite opinions had been very useful in promoting truth. We have already seen how successful they were in Switzerland, and the Protestants were very sanguine as to the result. The Chancellor, Michel l' Hopital, a man of rigid virtue and great uprightness of character, had expressed himself favorable, and had won over Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, to his opinion.

The Colloquy took place in presence of the king, the queen-mother, and court. The clergy shewed their disapprobation by absenting themselves; fifty only out of three hundred obeyed the summons. The Cardinal of Lorraine, who knew nothing of theology and had a very imperfect idea of the reformed opinions, felt persuaded that an assembly of bishops would easily confound the ministers, and was convinced that the conference would utterly crush the Reformers. But these anticipations were made in utter ignorance of the learning, zeal, and talent of the reformed pastors, and he soon found they were more than a match for his own dis-

¹ Vers l' Eternel des opprésés le Père
Je m' en iray, lui montrant l' impropère
Qu' on me faict, lui ferai ma prière
A haute voix, qu' il ne jette en arrière
Mes piteux oris, car en lui j' espère.

² Mémoires de Castelnau.

putants, and that their profound knowledge of Scripture put the dignified divines to the blush.

The reformed party wisely summoned to the conference two of the most learned controversialists of the day, Theodore de Beze and Peter Martyr. Claude de Bredelle, an envoy from the reformed churches, visited Zurich in company with De Beze to secure Martyr's services and arrange their future proceedings. Bredelle returned to Geneva, but as soon as the necessary letters arrived from Paris he travelled back post to Zurich, carrying with him an invitation for Martyr, signed by Antoine king of Navarre,¹ addressed to the Senate, begging them to send Martyr to the colloquy, and enclosing a safe conduct for his greater security.

As the French ambassador to the Swiss republic happened to be returning to France, Martyr travelled in his company to Paris, where he was joyfully received by the brethren who had already arrived. Martyr completed the number of twelve, all men zealous for truth and liberty of conscience.

At the head of these defenders of the truth was Theodore de Beze,² a native of Burgundy. He was of noble birth, and had received a learned education at Orleans under Wolmar, who diligently instructed him in the doctrines of the Scriptures. Having made a public profession of the reformed opinions, he retired to Switzerland, and taught first at Lausanne and afterwards became a minister at Geneva, where he was the intimate friend and companion of Calvin.

No one could be more fit than De Beze to contend with the bishops; he was master of the French language, an elegant scholar, unbending in principle, and acute in argument. He boldly buckled on his armour and entered the field, confiding in God and the goodness of his cause.

Martyr, on his arrival, went immediately to pay his respects to the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and the venerable Admiral Coligny. He was soon after summoned to the presence of the queen-mother, when he earnestly exhorted her to protect the interests of true religion, and pointed out the necessity of a religious reform of the church. He endeavoured to convince her

¹ See copy in Appendix J.

² Born 1519, died 1605, aged 86. He was born at Vezelai. His father's name was Pierre de Beze, his mother's Marie Bourdeille.

that this reform would not only benefit France but have a salutary influence over all Europe, whose attention was now fixed on their proceedings, he encouraged her not to fear, for God was ever with those princes who seek his glory. This time he said, was now come to lay aside superstition and return to the purity and simplicity of the primitive church: vain was the reasoning of those who pretended this did not belong to princes; for both the Old and New Testament had declared it the duty of rulers to be promoters of good works, and amongst these divine worship ought to claim special attention.

The queen listened attentively, and even graciously, more particularly as he spoke in her native tongue. She declared herself animated by a sincere love of truth, and that this had led her to invite him to assist her in promoting concord, for the confusion and turbulence of the kingdom was great on account of religion.

To this Martyr candidly replied that though they could not count on the good will of their adversaries, yet they were willing to discuss calmly and courteously the points in dispute; that we must not be surprised, if when the Gospel is faithfully preached differences should arise; for Christ had declared that he did not come to bring peace on earth, but a sword; that pure religion was not to be maintained or defended without the cross, and he exhorted her to be of good courage and arm herself for the contest, relying on the promises of God.

The queen asked him several times¹ what he thought the best method of quieting the country, and bringing all parties to concord; to which he replied that he knew of no other means than giving full liberty to those of the reformed opinions to meet together for public worship and granting them temples where they might preach the Gospel; truth would then make its own way, and there would be no longer any need of conference or discussions. Being finally asked what he thought of the Augsburg Confession of faith, he answered, that for him the word of God was sufficient, for he found written there all that was necessary to salvation; that if the Augsburg Confession were received it would not

¹ Card. Commendone wrote to Card. Borromeo: "Fra Martire, ha di continuo adito aperta a la Regina, e se bene non dubito de la buona mente di sua Maestà temo nondimeno ciò portare gran pregiudizio, a la causa, agomentando li catholici e dando ardire a li heretici."—*Ep. Poggiani*, p. 358.

satisfy the Roman Catholics, for they had already declared it heretical. He expressed the same sentiments to the king of Navarre and other chief personages of the court who asked his opinion.

Preparations were now made for opening the colloquy, and the twelve protestant ministers¹ met to arrange the manner in which the discussion should be carried on: they drew up a petition to the king, in which they proposed four articles to facilitate a good understanding and happy termination to the colloquy.

1. That the bishops be present as parties engaged, and not as judges.
2. That the king and his council preside at the conference.
3. That each subject of controversy be decided by appeal to the word of God.
4. That whatever is decided on shall be written down by notaries or accredited secretaries agreed on, and that their report be of authority.

The queen-mother granted all that was asked, except that instead of notaries she appointed one of the state secretaries. The ministers, anxious to legalize the acts of the conference, pressed her to promise in writing that the king should preside, but she told them to trust to her word and not require a written engagement.

At length, on the 9th of September 1561, the court assembled at Poissy, where in a vast refectory hall they found six cardinals and forty prelates, besides the reformed party and several doctors.

The young king opened the sitting in a short speech; he invited them to unity, and hoped the meeting would not separate without having tranquillised the public mind about the great questions on religion.

The chancellor, Michel de l'Hopital, in a lengthened discourse, dwelt more fully on the object and aim of the conference, and gave great satisfaction by saying, "many books are not needed on this occasion, the word of God alone is sufficient.

¹ Augustin Marlorat, François de St. Pol, Josef Raimond Merlin, Jean Malot, François de Morel, Nicolas Thobie, Claude de la Boissiere, Jean Bouquin, Josef Viret, Jean de la Tour, Nicolas des Gallars, and Jean de l'Espine. They were each accompanied by two lay deputies.—See *De Thou*, lib. xxviii. 6.

This is the rule by which all doctrine is to be judged." The Protestants, he said, were our brethren, they adored the same Saviour, and ought to be listened to with calmness and impartiality.¹

The cardinal de Tournon, as the chief prelate of the Gallican church, rose to thank the king, the queen-mother, and the princes of the blood for being present at the conference: as nothing could be added to what the chancellor had said he begged to have his speech in writing, but de l'Hopital perceiving the snare laid for him declined to give it in writing.

Theodore de Beze was then called on to speak; he first knelt down and fervently implored the divine assistance, and after having made a confession of his faith addressed the king in a speech of great eloquence, in which he set before him the heavy grievances of the Protestants, and the unjust treatment they met with from courts of law. "If," said he, "we demand liberty to meet together, it is to worship God, and not for any seditious purpose. We only seek to be allowed to follow the dictates of our conscience in peace and tranquillity, that we may cheerfully obey the powers which God has ordained."

He then in a clear precise manner went over the several points in which the Protestants differed from the Catholics—faith, good works, salvation, the Scriptures, the Sacraments, the authority of the Fathers and of Councils. When he came to the article of the Lord's Supper, he startled the whole assembly by declaring that Christ's bodily presence was as distant from the elements as heaven is from earth. A murmur of indignation was heard from the episcopal bench, the word blasphemy was pronounced in low but significant tones; they half rose from their seats, and cardinal de Tournon came forward and said that either

¹ Michel de l'Hopital was of Jewish origin: he was the son of a man who followed the fortunes of the Constable Bourbon in his rebellion, but subsequently rose to the highest honours of the state by his talents and integrity. He studied jurisprudence at Padua, and practised as a judge at Rome. He had been brought forward by the Cardinal of Lorraine, and attracted the attention of Margaret, sister of Henry II., who appointed him her chancellor, and he accompanied her to Turin on her marriage with Philibert Emanuel, Duke of Savoy. He was recalled to France to fill the post of chancellor there, and held the seals with unspotted integrity; his voice was always in favour of peace, and he ever desired to forward the best interests of his country; but he was too upright for Catherine, and was finally disgraced by her, that she might be at liberty to pursue her own crooked path unmolested by his remonstrances.

De Beze must be silenced or they must leave the conference: but the queen-mother, fearful of causing irritation, interposed, and he was allowed to finish his speech. No sooner had he sat down than the cardinal de Tournon, in a voice trembling with rage, addressed the king, entreating him not to believe anything advanced by these new evangelists, but to remain faithful to the religion of his ancestors. In conclusion, he declared that nothing but respect for the king prevented himself and his brother prelates from leaving an assembly where the doctrines of their religion were attacked. From that moment he and the other prelates tried to silence the Protestants and close the conference; but the cardinal of Lorraine had not yet spoken, he was still confident of victory, and the conference was prorogued till the 15th of September.

During this interval De Beze, desirous of softening the impression made by his speech, wrote to the queen and explained his meaning in the sense of St. Augustine, who had said, "as God, Christ is everywhere, but as man he is in heaven."

It was resolved that at the next session two points only should be discussed, the Church and the Lord's Supper, as the prelates declared if they could not be of one mind on these two points it was needless to confer on others.

On the 15th of September the assembly opened with the same solemnities as before, but the audience was less numerous. The cardinal of Lorraine delivered the discourse he had prepared with so much care. He began by enlarging on the power of the Church; the king, he said, was only a member, not head of the Church; he had no power to decide on any doctrine, but must receive all articles of faith with implicit obedience to the Church. He then proceeded to treat of the real presence, and without absolutely advocating transubstantiation, accused the Protestants of rashness and obstinacy for presuming to fathom so great a mystery; if they would not grant that Christ was present in the sacramental elements it was impossible to agree with them: then ringing a change on the sentiments of De Beze, he concluded by saying, "heaven is not farther from earth than I am from their opinions." He sat down amid the applause of the audience, even the Protestants admired his eloquence;¹ he acknowledged the abuses of the Church, and

¹ *Splendida illa nostri Purpurati Oratio*, Beza Ep. ad Calvinum.

confessed the superiority of the primitive church, though he expressed his attachment to the present order of things. No sooner had he finished than the cardinal de Tournon and his colleagues rose and formed a circle round the young king, and began to laud and approve the discourse of Lorraine.¹ Before they proceeded further De Tournon begged that the Protestants should be required to sign their assent to the doctrines advanced by the cardinal. If they refused they were unworthy to be heard, and should immediately be turned out of the kingdom.

When De Beze was asked if he would sign the Confession of Augsburg, he demanded whether the prelates would also sign it, and requested leave to reply immediately, but was put off till the following day. Some days having passed without the conference meeting, the reformed ministers began to think the prelates had succeeded in putting an end to it altogether. They drew up a respectful remonstrance, reminding the court that they had come to Poissy for the express purpose of discussing their differences of opinion, and hoped they should be permitted to enter fully into the various articles of their belief.

A week after, the conference reassembled in presence of the queen-mother and the princes, but without the king.

De Beze read a speech which he had written, and spoke of ordination in a manner which was not agreeable to the bishops. Claude le Despence replied, but every day the disputants were drifting farther apart, and there seemed less hope of their coming to a mutual understanding. The Catholic party, entrenched behind the barrier of human authority, could have no arguments to convince those who were governed entirely by divine prescription. When Le Despence came to the subject of the Lord's Supper, he particularly objected to the word 'substance' which Calvin had used in his explanation of the ordinance.

Martyr replied on this question. It was not without difficulty that he had obtained permission to be present at the conference. Nothing but the decided protection of the queen-mother would have allowed him liberty to speak, for he was looked on as an apostate of the darkest dye, formerly a monk, and an Italian, and now in the foremost ranks of the reformed church; he was

¹ His discourse produced a singular effect on the philosopher Ramus, for it converted him to Protestantism. See Waddington, *Vie De Ramus*, p. 134, and Appendix K.

listened to with no ordinary prejudice. He spoke in Italian, which was very generally understood at the French court.¹

His discourse opened in a conciliating manner on the subject of the Lord's Supper; he dwelt with emphasis on the vivifying effects of a spiritual partaking of this holy ordinance, and pointed out that the change operated was not in the elements of bread and wine, the image of Christ's crucified body and blood shed, but that we must look for this change in ourselves when partaking of these holy emblems of Christ's sufferings. It was not that Christ came down from heaven, but that he drew our hearts up to him, and so filled us with his likeness, that we became like unto this our glorious pattern, the Captain of our salvation. The tact, judgment, and piety with which he treated this difficult and much contested point obliged even his antagonist Despençe to pay a tribute of admiration to his eloquence and impartiality.

The cardinal of Lorraine would not condescend to enter the lists with Martyr, pretending he did not understand Italian.

A Spanish Jesuit, named Laincz, deputed by the cardinal of Ferrara, made a speech in that language full of violent abuse of the reformers. Martyr replied; but as evening was drawing on, and the assembly so much excited that even the cardinal gave way to loud exclamations, his party would fain have closed the conference altogether; but the reformers insisting on concluding their arguments, the discussion was renewed next day.

The number of disputants was now diminished to five² on each side, and the Protestants were very anxious to have an article in writing on the Lord's Supper so drawn up that all might sign it. Each put down his view of the subject and argued upon it for several days; then a new form was prepared which both parties signed. But Martyr, perceiving there were some ambiguities in this second declaration, said he preferred the first, which had been presented by De Beze and the disputants on the Protestant side, and added a short explanation of the sense in which he held it.

¹ "At noster Martyr tum primum loqui exorsus Italico sermone ut a Regina intelligi posset, rem totam ab ovo usque explicavit et vel invitò ad rem ipsam descendere coëgit."—*Epist. ad Calvin.* 159.

² For the Catholics, the bishops of Valence and Seez, Devines, Salignac, and Despençe; for the Reformers, De Beze, P. Martyr, Marlorat, De l'Espine, and Des Gallars.

The declaration drawn up by the ministers was as follows :
 " We believe that Jesus Christ in the Lord's Supper presents to the believer the substance of his body by the operation of his Holy Spirit, and that by faith we spiritually eat of this his body which has been slain for us, and thus become bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh. By this we are quickened and receive all things necessary for salvation. As it is by faith in the word of God that the thing received becomes present, so by this faith we really and truly receive the true and natural body and blood of Christ through the virtue of the Holy Spirit, and thus acknowledge and perceive in the Supper the presence of his body and blood."

To an unsophisticated mind, not puzzled with obscure definitions, this appears to be virtually acknowledging the real presence in such a manner that the staunchest Catholic might have signed it; but no, Despenca concurred in the first part, but altered the latter thus: "by the virtue and efficacy of God's word we really and in fact receive the true and natural body and blood of Christ, and we confess and acknowledge that his body and blood are present in the Supper."¹

But even this modification did not receive the sanction of the bishops, and the legate, cardinal Hercules of Ferrara, protested against any explanation of doctrine not authorised by the papal see.

Catherine had been so anxious to prevent the legate from overawing the conference, that she had even stopped the messengers and destroyed the letters sent by express at the expense of the Pope.² She succeeded so far as to prevent him from arriving in time for the conference to be opened under his authority,³ but no precautions could keep him entirely away, nor prevent his being insulted on entering Paris.

The Colloquy of Poissy broke up on the 19th of October,⁴

¹ See *De Thou*.

² See *Memoires de Castelnau*.

³ Huraut de Bois-taille, French Ambassador at Venice, wrote to the Bishop of Rennes, Catherine's confidant, that the legate had left Rome, with an escort of 500 or 600 horse, on the 2nd of July. Huraut was then sent to Ferrara to sound the dispositions of the legate, and wrote that he found him willing to serve the king, and to engage not to use the authority committed to him except under the advice of the king's councillors. Hercules was the son of Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, who favoured the Reformed doctrines.—*Memoires de Castelnau*.

⁴ For a fuller account of this conference see De Beze, *Eglises Reformées*; De Thou, *Histoire de son temps*; and Smedley, *Reformed Religion in France*.

without coming to any conclusions¹ in favour of union: nor is this surprising, for neither the authority nor the doctrine of the two parties were similar. The reformed church appealed to the Scriptures, the Roman Catholics quoted tradition, the fathers, general councils, and above all the supreme authority of the Pope as the rule of faith.

Soon after the rising of the conference the king's council issued a decree permitting the ministers to preach, and allowing the Protestants a fixed spot where they might meet in limited numbers, but they were to disarm and give up the churches of which they had taken possession.

Martyr, finding there was nothing more for him to do, turned his thoughts homewards. He waited on the prince de Condé who conducted him to the queen, with whom he held a long discourse, in which he earnestly entreated her to watch over the interests of the reformed church, and expressed the pleasure he felt in being permitted to pay his homage to a queen so worthy of honour, and entitled to his particular respect as a native of his own country. He told her that he had willingly undertaken so long a journey in behalf of religion, and hoped that nothing had been advanced in the conference contrary to truth and moderation, nor anything kept back tending to promote peace: though at present no ground appeared to be gained, yet he trusted the meeting would not prove altogether without fruit. He begged leave now to be dismissed; he was old, he said, the winter was approaching, the weather would soon be inclement and the roads impassable; his duties at Zurich required his presence. He entreated her majesty not to listen to any disadvantageous reports that might be circulated against him. It had been said that he was a foreigner of seditious character, but he could with truth assure her nothing was more alien from his sentiments than anything like factious opposition to lawful government.

He had been to Strasburg, in England, and then returned again to Strasburg, and was now in Switzerland; his whole life proved him to be a man of peace in everything not contrary

¹ Theodore de Beze says, "quoique rien n'y eust été conclu n'y accordé, ceux de la religion multiplièrent merveilleusement, et sans attendre aucun ordonnance, commencèrent peu a peu à prescher publiquement."—*Hist. des Eglises Reformées*, p. 605.

to the word of God. Since he had been in France no man could call in question his submission to the laws. As for the queen herself, she being the light and splendour of his native country, he could not but feel for her the deepest respect and attachment,¹ so that he was ready to sacrifice his life in her cause and that of her son, if necessary. He concluded by craving permission to depart.

The queen listened to this conciliatory speech with the most courteous and gracious attention, thanked him for having responded to her call, and gave him leave to depart in two days' time, assuring him of her protection, and adding that she hoped if she should again need his services he would not refuse to risk the journey a second time. As to the accusations against him, it was true she had heard many things, but she reserved her own judgment, and assured him of her entire good opinion.

Martyr now took leave, but could not quit the royal presence without making a last appeal in behalf of the suffering churches, and earnestly recommending the Protestants to her protection he left the audience chamber.

He then visited the king of Navarre, the prince de Condé, and admiral Coligny. They received him with much respect, and furnished him with letters of thanks to the Senate of Zurich commendatory of his talents and piety. They provided him with an escort of two soldiers to protect him on the road, and he was laden with written testimonials of esteem.

His road lay through the province of Champagne: at Troyes he was hospitably received by the bishop,² who was a Neapolitan; he had long been favourable to the Protestants, and winked at their preaching in his diocese. Since the opening of the colloquy Caracciolo had felt considerable scruple about his ordination, not having been elected by the clergy or by the people, but placed there by favour or patronage. He now fully opened his mind to Peter Martyr, and they had long conversations on the points of doctrine so lately discussed at the conference. Martyr earnestly laboured to bring conviction to his mind where there was any

¹ Till the massacre of St. Bartholomew, Catherine played her part so well that the Reformed party looked on her as their friend.

² Jean Antoine Caracciolo, son of the prince of Melfi, one of the greatest captains of his age. De Thou says he was present at the Colloquy, and that he was so convinced by the arguments of the ministers of the true nature of ordination that he determined to be reordained.—See De Thou, *Histoire de son temps*.

hesitation. After his departure Caracciolo called together the elders of the Protestant church, and begged them to examine the validity of his ordination and see whether they were willing to choose him for their bishop. With singular humility he begged that no favour might be shewn him, for he was quite ready to lay down his office if he appeared to them unworthy of it. They immediately confirmed him in his vocation, and from that period he began to study the Scriptures and to preach, fearlessly announcing the Gospel from the pulpit. But the Catholics thought this a bad precedent, and induced the king to deprive him of his bishopric.¹

Martyr was joyfully welcomed back to Zurich, not only by his wife and friends, but also by the Senate and the young men who were in the habit of attending his lectures. The journey had considerably exhausted and fatigued him; he had suffered from the change in his habits, and experienced certain sensations which he received as warnings to complete the works he had begun. Though he returned with fresh pleasure to his biblical studies, they were often interrupted by languor and weakness. The distracted state of the French church excited his utmost anxiety, for during the winter of 1561 it was in the greatest danger of extinction. Civil war had burst the bounds of moderation; ambition and bigotry held the reins of power; and the rights of conscience and religious liberty were overwhelmed by the most cruel oppression. The Protestants were deprived of the privilege of meeting for worship, and if a few assembled they were exposed to the grossest insults and most alarming dangers. Every post brought woeful tidings. The massacre of Vassy took place in April 1562, and put an end to all hopes of concord, and from that moment the Protestants took up the sword in self-defence. "Since," said they, "a harmless assemblage of men women and children are to be butchered in cold blood by the minions of a bigoted noble,"² because his lordly ears are offended

¹ He was cited to Rome for heresy, in company with six other French bishops, but they did not appear; and the Cardinal of Lorraine represented to the Pope that it was an infringement on the rights of the Gallican church for the Court of Rome to take the initiative in such a case.

² François de Lorraine, Duke of Guise. A Protestant church had been established about a year at Vassy, a town not far distant from the domain of the Guise family at Joinville. One Sunday the Duke and his suite were riding past when they heard bells ringing to summon the Protestants to worship. Some of the Duke's

with the heretic sound of psalm-singing, we must provide for ourselves." Condé seized Orleans. The Duke of Guise issued a murderous order against all who should pray to God in the French language. The Catholics were too ready to execute it. The rabble committed the most horrible excesses. In Touraine they strangled several persons who confessed themselves Protestants, seized the pastor, and after putting out his eyes, savagely burned him at a slow fire.

The vacillating king of Navarre had been won over by the Catholic party, to the inexpressible grief of his noble-minded wife, Jeanne of Navarre. He was killed at the siege of Rouen, where a pitched battle had been gained by the Duke of Guise. But before civil war had arrived at so perilous a height, Martyr had entered into his rest.

Martyr's last letter to England was written to congratulate his beloved friend bishop Jewel on the publication of his famous *Apology for the Church of England*, in which he sets forth the reasons for shaking off the authority of Rome and assimilating her worship and doctrine to the Gospel.

"By the favour of the bishop of London, most worthy Prelate and my ever-honoured Lord, was brought hither a copy of your *Apology*¹ for the Church of England, the which had not been seen before either by myself or any of our people. In your last letter² indeed you rather give an intimation of its intended appearance than an express announcement of it. But so long was the journey hither that it did not reach us till about the first of August. . . . As for the *Apology*, it hath not only in all points and respects satisfied me, by whom all your writings are so wonderfully well liked and approved, but it appeared also to Bullinger and his sons and sons-in-law, and also to Gualter and Wolfius, so wise, admirable, and eloquent, that they can make no end of commending it, and think that nothing in these days hath been set forth more perfectly. I exceedingly congratulate your talents upon

suite went to insult the assembled congregation. They found assembled in a large barn about twelve hundred persons of all ages. As the intruders entered they were singing psalms, and by no means prepared for the cruel mockery offered by the minions of the Duke to their worship. The Protestants endeavoured to close the doors, but the followers of the Duke dismounted from their horses, and sword in hand rushed in among a helpless crowd of women and children. Shrieks of terror brought the Duke himself to the spot while his people were firing on the unarmed multitude. His commands were disregarded; sixty persons were killed and two hundred wounded, among whom the pastor Leonard. The pulpit and benches were battered to pieces, the books destroyed, and the poor-box rifled.—See De Thou, *Histoire*; and Smedley, *Reformed Religion in France*.

¹ *Apologia Ecclesie Anglicane*.

² In *Letters*.lx., dated 7th February, 1562.—*Zurich Letters*, p. 124.

this excellent fruit, the Church upon this its edification, and England upon this honour; and beseech you to proceed in the same way you have entered. For though we have a good cause, yet in comparison of the number of our enemies there are but few who defend it. . . . Wherefore, since you have excited so great expectations of yourself in your most learned and elegant Apology, know for certain, that all good and learned men are assuring themselves that while you are alive the truth of the Gospel will not be attacked with impunity. And I rejoice most exceedingly that I have seen the day in which you have become the parent of so noble and elegant an offspring. May God our heavenly Father grant of his goodness that you may often be honoured with the like fruit. . . . As touching myself, if you desire to know more particularly how I do, understand that I am of a cheerful mind in Christ, and that I am occupied in the same labours in which I was engaged when you were here; but in body I am not so strong and lusty as I was heretofore. For the burden of old age daily becomes more heavy. Now for the space of a year and a-half I have been altogether toothless, neither hath my stomach performed its office of inciting me to eat with appetite. I am troubled also with rheum, in addition to which I have no small pain in my legs, by reason of two sores, wherewith I am at times greatly tormented. Wherein, though the body properly and by itself be afflicted, yet by reason of that connection between them, which the Greeks call *sympathy*, the mind also cannot choose but be affected. These things, which I am sure from the good will you bear me you will be sorry to hear, I would by no means have inserted in this letter, had I not very great need of your prayers."¹

Three months after he wrote this letter, on the 5th of November, 1562, he was suddenly seized with a kind of epidemic fever, which had been for some time prevalent, but as it had never proved fatal, neither his friends nor medical attendants experienced any alarm. After the first few days he resumed his studies, and prepared to give his lecture as usual on the following day. Josiah Simler entreated him not to attempt it, and offered himself to take his place; but Martyr still hoped to be equal to the exertion, and said that if he were not worse next day he would deliver his lecture as usual. In the night however the fever returned with fresh violence, and notwithstanding the encouragement of the medical men he began himself to apprehend danger, and expressed a wish to make his will.

He sent for Bernard Sprungel his neighbour, the questor, whom he had left guardian of his wife, who was expecting her confinement,² and he begged Simler to read it in his presence,

¹ This letter was dated Zurich, 24th August, 1562.—See *Zurich Letters*, p. 161.

² She had borne him two children before, Kliperio and Gerodora, both of whom died in their infancy. The one born after his death was called Maria. The little

that he might induce the Senate to confirm it with their authority. After this he slept well, and the disease seemed to have abated; in reality it had done its work and greatly reduced his strength.

During his hours of languor he was constantly visited by his friends, and conversed with them as long as he could speak quite as cheerfully as when in health. Medicine having been one of his favorite studies, he frequently discussed with his doctors the nature of his complaint and its symptoms. He slept a good deal, and on waking he felt grateful for this refreshment, and received it as a blessing sent from God; sometimes he entered into a philosophical dissertation on the nature of sleep and its soothing effect on the system. His cough was violent, and distressed both his head and chest; but after these paroxysms he would say, "if the body is ill at ease, the mind is tranquil," and then he spoke of faith, and of the rich consolations that sustained him in a manner which shewed his soul already winged for heaven.

One day Bullinger, among other quotations of scripture, repeated those words of St. Paul, *We have a house not made with hands eternal in the heavens*. "I know," said Martyr, "but not the heaven of Brentius which is nowhere." This observation shewed how full his mind was of his occupation before his illness, when he was employed in confuting the doctrines of Brentius on the ubiquity of our Lord's body. His whole life had been spent in controversy; he was never however a bitter or unfair adversary: he contended earnestly for truth, but with mildness and forbearance towards his opponent, for he sought conviction rather than victory. Brentius, who was cast in a rougher mould, had attacked him violently, but he sincerely forgave him, wishing only it were the will of God that he might be able to answer him fully, carry conviction to others, and repel the calumnies spread against himself. But while he thus spake the bystanders saw that his work was done, and that his life was drawing to a close. His friends never left him, some of them were always watching by his bedside.

One night, a very short time before his death, while they

Martyr so often mentioned in Jewel's letters was probably the son of Julius Terentianus. Jewel took so much interest in him, calling him 'my Martyr,' that he was perhaps his god-son.

were sitting up with him, his friend Bullinger among the number, after meditating in silence for some time, he seemed to wish to leave a dying testimony of his faith, and addressed them in a very distinct voice, saying, "I believe that life and salvation have been given by God the Father to the human race through Christ alone; he is the only Saviour;" this he supported by scripture proofs, and concluded, "this is my faith, in this faith I die: God will disperse those who teach otherwise and draw men aside to other doctrines." As he uttered these words he extended his hand to each separately, and said, "Farewell, my dear brethren and friends."

During the whole of his illness his thoughts turned almost exclusively on heavenly subjects: he dwelt much on the joys of a future life, and the nearer the moment approached for his being absent from the body and present with Christ, "the more," says his biographer, who was an eyewitness of his latter hours, "did his divine hopes brighten;" this was undoubtedly the work of the Holy Spirit on his heart.

The day of his death he spoke but little; his breathing was much oppressed, and his voice very low. The doctors left him at ten, to return at twelve: he begged to be taken out of bed and dressed as usual, took some slight refreshment, and remained in a sitting posture, leaning on the shoulder of one of his friends; feeling exhausted he lay down on the bed. Meanwhile his room was filled with visitors; all who knew him wished to behold him once more. When the pastors and elders of the Italian church came in, he conversed with them for a short time. We may imagine the solemnity of the scene: Ochino, the principal pastor, had been Martyr's friend in early life, natives of the same country, speaking the same language, sharing the same perils; what must have been the feelings of the survivor, the elder of the two, when about to lose such a friend!

The oppression of breathing and restlessness increased, and Martyr expressed a wish to rise and be again placed in a sitting posture. The doctors prescribed some trifling palliative, and some of his friends fearing to fatigue him left the room for a short time. His wife, Conrad Gesner, and two young men who waited on him constantly, alone remained. Martyr feeling himself growing weaker every moment commended his soul to God; his attendants ran to call Bullinger and those who were within

reach, and in their presence he gently breathed his last, on the 12th of November, 1562.¹ So calm and peaceful was his departure that they could not believe he was dead, but thought he was still looking at them.

Bullinger, though greatly overcome, summoned courage to pay the last offices of humanity. With his own hands he closed his eyes, and dressed him in his funeral garb.

He was followed to the grave by an immense concourse of people, of all ranks and conditions, and laid in the dust by those who had been his friends and colleagues, and who most sincerely grieved for his loss.

Many and various were the perilous changes to which this Christian minister had been exposed for the sake of the Gospel. He was brought up within the pale of a church which refuses salvation to the members of all other churches, and strictly educated in the doctrine that heaven may be obtained by the merit of prayers and fastings; but the knowledge of the Scriptures had freed him from this bondage, and he became one of the brightest ornaments of that Christian Church which sets the crown and merit of salvation on the brow of the Saviour. His talents, which were of no common order, were all consecrated to his Master's service, and his numerous writings still exist to shew his diligence; his commentaries on the Scriptures, if translated into living languages, would edify the faithful of all ages.

The first work that he published after leaving Italy was an explanation of the Apostles' Creed in Italian. On his return to Strasburg, and afterwards at Zurich, where he had both leisure and liberty to write, he revised many of his writings, particularly his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. It was the substance of the lectures he delivered at Oxford as Regius Professor of Divinity, and forms a complete code of Christian doctrine and morals.² The work which was most opposed by the

¹ Many celebrated men wrote epitaphs to his memory; the following is by De Beze:

"Tuscia te pepulit, Germania et Anglia fovit,
Martyr: quem extinctum nunc tegit Helvetia.
Dicere quæ si vera volent, re et nomine dicent,
Hic fidus Christi (credite) Martyr erat.
Utque istæ taceant, satis hoc tua scripta loquuntur:
Plus satis hoc Italii exprobrat exilium."

² Simler says that notwithstanding various learned works both ancient and modern on this epistle, yet the great erudition and faithful interpretation of the text in Martyr's commentary render it a most valuable addition to sacred literature.

Catholics was that which he wrote in England on the Lord's Supper. In it he set forth the doctrine of the primitive church on the Eucharist. Stephen Gardiner¹ wrote a work which took the Roman Catholic and material view of the ordinance. The excellent and learned Archbishop Cranmer had prepared a full reply to the unscriptural sophistries of Gardiner, but his imprisonment and subsequent execution prevented him from finishing it. Martyr's friends, who knew his talent for handling controversial subjects, desirous that so subtle a production should not remain unanswered, persuaded him to undertake the task. In compliance with their desire he printed a work at Zurich, written expressly in answer to Gardiner's book, in which he embodied his former lectures at Oxford on this subject. He begins by detailing with great lucidity and method the reasons by which the Protestants support their view of the ordinance, and then adduces all the passages of Scripture which treat of the Lord's Supper, brings forward the opinions of the early fathers, and then closely examines his antagonist's statements, and by the weight of his authorities confutes him passage by passage, proving by the clearest evidence how entirely the Roman Catholic doctrine had departed from the original institution. One of his last works was an answer to John Brentius, who had published a book on the personal union of the two natures in Christ. To solve the difficulty of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament, Brentius advanced a new and monstrous doctrine on the ubiquity of the body of Christ. Martyr's reply was written in the form of a dialogue; and remembering that Brentius had on other points rendered some service to the Church of Christ, he treated him with much consideration, and at the same time warned the inexperienced reader against the fallacy of his arguments.² He left also some voluminous comments on the books of the Old Testament and the minor prophets, and some commentaries on Aristotle.³

If we consider the education he received and the difficulties he had to struggle with, few characters of his age appear so

¹ It was published under the name of M. Antony Costanzo.

² Brentius replied with so much bitterness that even Martyr's gentle spirit was roused to some displeasure. This was the book which haunted him in his last illness.

³ See a list of his works in Appendix L.

simply consistent or so eminently useful as Peter Martyr. Animated by a sincere reverence for divine revelation, he dared to overstep the bounds of a popular religion and trace the dictates of heavenly wisdom from their original source, and continued through a long and active life to combat the darkness of ignorance and the prejudices of a narrow and bigoted creed. His were not oratorical flights of enthusiasm, but the energy of faith. He believed, and therefore he spake, and it was not till the close of his life that he entered into the enjoyment of that spiritual atmosphere which may be justly termed the communion of saints. After having passed fourteen years in active combat, he enjoyed the repose of being placed within a circle of devoted men, who shared each other's sentiments and fanned their mutual piety by union and sympathy. If our imaginations were permitted to dwell on the joys of heaven, we should perhaps indulge ourselves in the contemplation of a large spiritualised assembly, adoring with perfect sympathy before the throne of the Most High, and enjoying within the veil a holy intercommunion with glorified spirits, where all earthly desires are merged in divine fruition. If such be the portion of the redeemed, what attraction must the faintest shadow of this spiritual existence present to the regenerate mind; and how welcome must be a shelter from the discordant attrition of the world in the society of kindred spirits. But though Martyr after his arrival at Zurich led a peaceful existence, his pen was not idle; his anxiety for the spread of divine truth and the suppression of error kept him busy to the last, and when summoned by his Master to eternal bliss his lamp was trimmed and burning. The suavity of his manners shed a charm over his instructions, and the purity of his life¹ won the affection of his friends and the esteem of his enemies. His dignity and self-command inspired respect and often disarmed the bitterness of his opponents.

¹ The life of Peter Martyr is worthy of a more able and more extended history than the limits of a chapter can afford, and is still a desideratum in sacred literature. The materials are abundant, and would well repay a scholar's diligence if taken up as a separate work, incorporating his correspondence with the chief men of the day. Three lives exist: one in Latin, by Josiah Simler, his personal friend; and two in German, *Leben des Peter Martyr Vermüli*, by F. C. Schlosser. Heidelberg, 1809; *Peter Martyr Vermigli Leben und ausgewählte Schriften*, by Dr. C. Schmidt, Prof. Theol. at Strasburg. Elberfeld, 1858. See also Strype's *Memorials and Annals, English Reformation, Zurich Letters*, Ant. Wood's *Ozonia Antiqua*, and his own works, besides many collateral sources of information.

A silver medal¹ bearing Martyr's effigy, was sent from Zurich after his death to several of his English friends. Josiah Simler² sent with it to bishop Jewel a history of his life and death, which is the basis of this and all other histories of Peter Martyr. Jewel, acknowledging its receipt, writes:

"In the figure (face?) indeed, although there is in many respects an admirable resemblance, yet there is a something wanting, I know not what, in the skill of the artist. And what wonder is it that there should be some defect in producing the likeness of one, the like of whom, whenever I look around me, I can scarce believe ever to have existed. Your little book, however, I have perused with the greatest eagerness and delight, for there I seemed to behold the same old man with whom I had formerly lived on such affectionate terms, and to behold him too, I know not why, more nearly and thoroughly than when we were living together. . . . Should you publish the writings of Peter Martyr, you will both confer a benefit on the Church and satisfy the expectation of many good men."³

Thomas Sampson, the great enemy of all outward conformity to Rome, felt Martyr's loss deeply. He wrote to Bullinger in July 1563: "There was one not long since at Zurich, into whose bosom I could pour out all my cares. His remains are now with you. Zurich therefore often comes into my mind. But to what purpose should I idly prate of my thoughts at such times? Martyr is yet alive."⁴

¹ Bishop Parkhurst wrote to J. Simler: "For the silver medal of Martyr I sent a golden Elizabeth. You are right in preparing an edition of the works of Martyr, for you will thus deserve well of all pious persons, and perform a most useful service to the Church of Christ."—*Zurich Letters*, p. 190.

² Josiah Simler, born 1530, died 1576, was one of the Protestant lights of Zurich. He was successively the pupil, fellow minister, and son-in-law of Bullinger, and the colleague and successor of Peter Martyr. Gifted with a retentive memory and quick intellect he was eminently useful in the church, but so great a sufferer from the gout that he died at the early age of forty-five years. Besides the life of Peter Martyr he wrote several theological and mathematical works.—See *Melchior Adam*, p. 507.

³ *Zurich Letters*, p. 170.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 175.

CHAPTER XI.

PALEARIO AS A DISAPPOINTED CANDIDATE.

1542—1547.

PROPOSED AS PROFESSOR—PREJUDICE AGAINST HIM—EXTENSIVE SPREAD OF THE REFORMED DOCTRINES—THE INQUIRITION—ITS EVIL INFLUENCE—PALEARIO INDIFFERENT ABOUT SUCCESS—SMALL STIPEND—LETTER OF FLACIDO ALDELLI—PARTY SPIRIT—TREACHERY—STEDFAST OPPOSITION TO PALEARIO FOR HIS RELIGIOUS OPINIONS—HIS FRIENDS FEW—THEIR ZEAL—INTRIGUES OF HIS ENEMIES—HIS DEEP MORTIFICATION—LETTER TO FILONARDI—DUTIES OF A BISHOP—TRUCE BROKEN—TURKISH PIRATES—TERROR AT SIENA—CORSI—STATE OF LITERATURE AT SIENA—LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR OF SIENA—PALEARIO'S RIVAL AT LUCCA—ACCOUNT OF HIM—INVITATION TO LUCCA—ACCEPTED—LETTER TO THE SENATE—CARDINAL SADOLETO—HIS LETTER—PRAISE OF PALEARIO'S WRITINGS—DEFENDS HIS EULOGY OF OCHINO—ADVISES HIM TO REFRAIN FROM WRITING—SADOLETO—HIS LIFE—SECRETARY TO LEO AND CLEMENT—LEAVES ROME—LOSES HIS BOOKS—COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS—PROHIBITED—HIS VEXATION—CONTARINI DEFENDS HIM—PROHIBITION REVOKED—GOES TO BOLOGNA—SUMMONED TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT—AFRAID OF THE EXPENCE—DIES AT ROME OF A FEVER.

It is time to return to Paleario, whom we left writhing¹ under his discomfiture as candidate for the chair of Philology at Siena. The principles which actuate and support an upright mind under difficulty or perplexity cannot always shield from the pains of sensibility. High aspirations after excellence and lofty conceptions of virtue are so ill suited to this mortal atmosphere, that they are apt to induce a morbid sensitiveness to the littleness of humanity. Petty jealousies and insidious enmities sting where they cannot destroy. It belongs to the divine mind alone, as we see it exhibited in the character of Christ, to be full of tenderness and compassion for the follies and vices of mankind without being disturbed in its equanimity or descending from the dignity of its nature.

¹ See CHAP. VIII. p. 310.

Paleario's pecuniary difficulties, already sufficiently oppressive, were greatly increased by the suspension of his private lectures and the expence of his trial. He had, however, escaped the vengeance of his enemies, and the change of parties in the government relieved him from the penalties attached to the accusation of heresy. His friends, who knew his abilities, had been desirous of procuring his election as professor of Belles Lettres,¹ but his party was small and the prejudice against him great. The suspicion of heresy was a serious obstacle to the occupation of a public chair in this clamorous republic. Nevertheless his friends made the attempt. One of the most zealous, Placido Aldelli, gives him a full account of the state of parties at Siena, relates the treachery of one friend, the lukewarmness of another, and approves of Paleario's resolution to give up the contest. While we admire the spirit which declined to be cap in hand to people he despised, we sympathise in his disappointment, a disappointment not only wounding to his self-love but aggravated by his necessities. He was eminently fitted for this important post. Both he and his friends felt that his election would be a new era for literature in the Republic; that it would promote sound learning and encourage the study of philosophy, as well as contribute to the moral training of the rising generation.

His correspondence on the subject with his friend² proves how highly he was esteemed by the better part of the community. It also gives us an insight into the literary and religious intrigues which were at work against a man who had declared himself an advocate for a revival of literature, and an approver of reform in religion. His greatest danger lay in the enmity of the monks. This close black phalanx of the ecclesiastical army was determined to resist all encroachments on the reign of superstition. They had been latterly reinforced by the Inquisition. In 1542 the austere and aspiring Caraffa won from the easy nature of Paul III. a reluctant consent to the establishment of this dread tribunal. He was persuaded to believe that

¹ From three to five years was the term generally fixed for the occupation of a chair of learning. Both students and professors moved from university to university, the one in search of knowledge, the other of advancement. The salary was augmented according to the fame and popularity of the professor.

² Orazio Malvolti, a relation of the historian.

nothing but the utmost severity could save Italy and Europe in general from becoming wholly Protestant. Caraffa, as an ardent and active supporter of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, stood forward to the rescue. It was time; the benignant precepts of the Gospel were already spread throughout Italy. Not only were the Scriptures themselves widely circulated, but books from Germany were continually arriving at Venice,¹ Milan, and Como.² Placed on the confines of Switzerland they had greater facilities for receiving the bales of books which passed the frontier. From east to west, say the Catholic writers, the whole country was *infected*³ with the Reformed or rather Gospel doctrines; church ceremonies were forsaken, superstitions derided.⁴ The Church of Rome had always professed itself infallible and incapable of change. Paul III. though a liberal and literary man had forbidden his legates at Ratisbon to concede the smallest point which deviated from the Romish creed. Zeal for the honour of God and for the honour of the Church are two essentially different things, though the one is often cloaked under the mantle of the other. What a joyful thing for the Christian world would it have been, if by any possibility a Pope could have appeared, who, escaping the contagion of his education, should have evinced a sincere desire to purify the Church from its corruptions and present it as a chaste virgin to God, stripped of its trappings and meretricious ornaments. But whatever might have been the wishes of Paul III. on his first accession to power, when he ordered ten of his wisest counsellors to draw up a memorial of reforms necessary for the Church, the idea was soon abandoned, for a very cogent reason, that the abuses were a part of the system, and that they could not be laid aside without undermining the whole. The increasing demands of the Protestants for liberty of conscience accelerated the papal desire to erect an impassable barrier which might stem the flood of

¹ "Scoprisse in Venetia, il commercio che haveva il Calvino per alcune lettere scritte da lui in quella città libera, vi faceva grandi faccendi gl' heretici insino a tener scuola di loro dogmi perversi quasi pubblicamente."—Caracciolo, *Vita de Paulo IV.* MS. p. 118.

² "Como, come piu vicino a paesi settentrionale solea esser tragitto d' Eretici perciochè da Germania mandavano balli di libri eretici come si scuopri poi nel 1549, per mezzo del S. Offitio di Roma."—*Ibid.*

³ *Velenoso hidra*, Caracciolo calls it.

⁴ See CHAP. VI. p. 229.

spiritual light, fast threatening to engulf the authority of Rome. For this purpose nothing could be more suitable than the Inquisition. Its machinery was formed for deeds of darkness; in silence, secrecy, and solitude it fulfilled its office, and laid its destructive hand on every dissident from the Romish creed. False principles must inevitably produce erroneous actions. Men who ignored the spirit of the Christian religion so far as to pin their faith on traditional legends of human origin, who extolled Mary the mother of Christ above the divine Saviour, and who worshipped a material wafer instead of their invisible Lord who had laid down his life for his people, were naturally ready to impose their tyrannical creed on a world just awakening to a sense of its religious responsibilities. Believe or die, was the watchword of Rome while brandishing the sword of extermination. Never had those consoling words of our merciful Saviour reached their hearts, "Come unto me, all that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Their zeal for the Church was harsh and unholy, and their instruments cruel and perfidious. Unhappy victims were tortured to make them reveal the names of places and persons where prayer was wont to be made: in the agony of suffering the tenderest ties of humanity were snapped asunder, and a moment of weakness gave to the flames the dearest objects of affection. Conscience was foresworn, and the wretched culprit abandoned to the torments of a remorse so overwhelming as to destroy the empire of reason.¹ In Catholic countries priests are not ministers of consolation, but spies of the police; that demoralising thing, confession, makes every child a liar, and every man afraid of his neighbour. If mud soils the purest garment, what must be the debased state of ignoble minds who are in daily presence of that odious thing "a naked human heart." By the introduction of the Inquisition, the priests, a caste apart, with none of the common interests or affections of humanity, were endowed with the power of life and death over their fellow-men. It was this war of caste which raised such an outcry against Paleario, deprived him of the chair of eloquence at Siena, and sent him from his home and his friends to a new sphere.

When he wrote to Orazio Malvolti the election was still pending. From the way he speaks of the small amount of

¹ See for instance Francesco Spira.

salary we must conclude that the university of Siena had declined from its former splendour, for in the fifteenth century it was a renowned rival of Florence, but the wars of the city had impoverished the state, and the influence of the Inquisition discouraged all progress in learning.¹

AONIO PALEARIO TO ORAZIO MALVOLTI.²

“From the letters and conversation of my friends and of all those who come to visit me, I daily hear of your great exertions and good-will in my favour. This affords me the utmost pleasure, not so much from my desire to obtain that which you and other excellent and distinguished youths have so earnestly sought to procure for me, but on account of the admiration I feel for the greatness of your mind and talents. I have neither merit nor claim sufficient on you to deserve that you should take so much trouble for me, especially as I see you will at the same time draw on yourself the enmity of powerful men, who are like furies born to ruin families and disturb order among citizens, for they are not able to content themselves with the misfortunes of one man only. I am unwilling that you should bring on yourself the rage of these people, whose hatred is so inveterate as not to be governed by reason. As in winter when we have had storms for several days we cannot immediately trust to the first clearing of the sky, no more can I trust to those who are in the habit of factiously disturbing the state, even when they seem to be tranquillised by a better form of government. Perhaps it would be better if you also were to be of this opinion, and give up the idea of the canvass rather than compromise the dignity of us both. If we should not obtain what you are asking with so much zeal and earnestness, how rejoiced will our adversaries be! If we finally succeed, the remuneration is trifling and the labour to be undertaken by no means small. For though my writings are no great things, neither you nor I esteem them so little as to think them worthy of so small a stipend. What will it not cost me to pray and beseech iniquitous men, whom, whenever they come in my way, a thing of daily occurrence, I never even bow to. If I accepted this charge, then I, poor unfortunate, must always be cap in hand. If any one accuse me of failing in the duty I owe to myself, I shall take it in good part, and as a sign of the love of those excellent youths who desire to pursue their studies with me. With this object in view I hear they are constantly repairing to the palace of the Eight. I wish I had the opportunity of shewing my gratitude to these good young men. I fear, when they hear of my indifference about this appointment, those whom I wish to please will be rather dissatisfied. If you perceive that my indifference is displeasing, pray soothe them by that courtesy which is so natural to you. Rather than offend them I will do all they wish. . . . I am not surprised at what you tell me of the enmity of Fabiolo. I pity that young man who daily partakes of the venom which Maco Blaterone so wickedly pours forth

¹ Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. p. 94.

² *Palearii Opera*, lib. ii. ep. 13.

against us. The pupil will regret it too late, when he finds that after so much study he has not learned enough to be able to write a page worthy of being read. I love his (Fabiolo's) brother much for his great urbanity and pleasing manners, and because he also loves me, and on his account I do not apply to him injurious expressions. I doubt not that he himself, who is now so much against me, will some day, when age and experience have formed his judgment, think very differently. On this account we ought sincerely to desire his continuance in life. Farewell. From the city of Colle."

When all hope was over he received a letter from his other friend Placido Aldelli,¹ who gives him a miserable account of the treachery of those who had professed themselves his friends, and mourns over the loss which the youth of Siena had suffered by Paleario not having been chosen professor.

"I now see that you have acted most judiciously in giving up the appointment, but on the other hand I must acknowledge that the young students of the belles lettres have sustained a serious privation. In consequence of the evil dispositions of light-minded men the state has not granted what, notwithstanding the small amount of stipend, a man of so much merit was desirous of obtaining. Your reputation is as much increased now as it would have been diminished had you accepted the appointment, though we have lost the hope which we so fondly nourished that through your means we should be able some day to boast of the flourishing state of our youth. That you may understand in small matters whom you are to beware of in great ones, I will write you not only what I saw, and what was done in my presence, but what I heard from others, and also that which I have good reason to suspect. You had for competitors in this canvass Maco Blaterone and Liciano: of these, Blaterone, a most audacious and impudent man, did much in talking, beseeching, and incessantly urging even with vehemence that you should be excluded. To understand this you must remember that in the affairs of the republic men are not guided by their own judgments, but by entreaty, partiality, or ambition. Not a few are prevented by their ignorance or impulsive rashness from forming any opinion. Though from many circumstances I rather feared this from the first, yet never were these evils so openly displayed as on the occasion of your being a candidate. Nor did I ever before grieve so much over the republic. It is less surprising that you have been neglected by the magistrates of the Eight, since your adversaries were numerous, and your partisans few in number. Sp. Cæcio and A. Blasio Barbato, who were so indebted to you, declared themselves ready as in duty bound to do everything for you, but one of them has shewn himself so much in favour of Liciano that he has opposed you openly; the other is as much your enemy in secret, as in your presence he professes himself to be your friend. Many nourish hatred on account of benefits received. Not knowing Cæcio well, I could not believe it possible for a man to be so ungrateful and unmindful of

¹ We have met with him before in *CHAP. VIII.* pp. 295—297.

favours. . . . What shall I say of Blasio, who pretended he was one of your most strenuous supporters, and was continually recalling to memory your intimacy and good-will, and mutual interchange of good offices? Oh! now I may boast of being a prophet of no mean order. I call heaven to witness that he is now what I predicted him to be, a man of very inconstant character; for while he declares and acknowledges that you are the most learned of men and also his intimate friend, nevertheless, on account of your erroneous opinions, that is to say, want of superstition, he would on no account have you appointed to instruct the young men in the belles lettres, lest you should communicate your errors to them. You smile at this fine theologian! But one thing is certain, that in the Senate, and before the magistrates of the Eight, none were so adverse to you as he was. You will know this and many other things when you come, for they are of such a nature as not to be trusted to a letter. As to the rest, imagine yourself, from what I have said, how things have gone; I will only say that few were in your favour, and those persons of little influence, while many powerful men were against you."

He then assures him that he has used all possible diligence to promote his interests in this affair, and left nothing undone to advance his cause; but from various reasons he had little influence, for it was supposed he acted more from friendship than conviction. At the close of the letter he endeavours to console Paleario by reminding him that his reputation is not founded upon the opinions or discourses of the malevolent or the envious, but upon his superior talents and that indomitable activity of mind which had excited him to pursue a long course of study, and which had laid him open to the envy of ignoble minds.

"It behoves you now, however, to take care that these unlearned men your adversaries, though they have prevented your attaining what you wished, do not succeed in inflicting grief for your want of success. As you surpass them in all things, let them see also your superiority in moderation and greatness of mind, that they may not be able to boast of having been able to force you to do anything contrary to the gravity and patience suitable to your character. Farewell. Siena."¹

Aldelli knew well how deeply Paleario would feel this cabal against him, which in its consequences was so serious as to shut him out from the exercise of his talents, and deprive him of those pecuniary resources which were necessary for the maintenance of his position.

Paleario returned an answer to Aldelli's letter, full of affection and gratitude for the kind exertions made in his favour.

" I took a singular pleasure in reading your letter, because just

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. iii. ep. 14.

at that moment I was accused by our party of not having exerted myself sufficiently in the competition, and of persisting in the opinion that we ought not to receive from bad men even honourable distinction. I see that you approve my sentiments; if your friends had followed them, my adversaries would have had less occasion for pride, and we more reason to glory; but now having obtained nothing which we asked, we shall be looked on with contempt. I foresaw from the beginning the result of this affair, knowing as I did the ignorance and inconstancy as well as the factious disposition of these men.

"How could I place my hopes on those who turn everything to their own advantage, and who, though extremely ignorant, aspire to be thought wise? Tell me, among those who guide the affairs of the republic, is there one who knows what it is to speak Latin? Shew me another who, when style is spoken of, does not stultify you with his rhetorical airs. What then? Ignorant persons are always arrogant.

"Do you think the miserable eloquence of Maco Blaterone (whom Aretino has made the subject of a very amusing comedy) could have been put up with for ten years, if among the elders there had been any real lovers of Latinity?

"I fear lest you, Sallust and Fausto, of our party should suffer a diminution of favour from these beardless creatures (*barbatulos*), especially as they look on you as traitors and deserters from their camp, because you cultivate a pure and elegant style, and reject that which is common and unpolished.

"I cannot imagine from what other motive Jerome, a grave and prudent man, always favours Blaterone. He prefers Sancio to us, an injury of which I should certainly complain, if his son, a young man of great promise and superior talent, were not so respectful and devoted to me. I must have some consideration for him, for a better or more amiable youth never existed; but you will not easily find a more crabbed or stupid old man than the loquacious Antonio.

"I will now speak of the Eight, *πρὸς θεὸν λέων, ὀπίθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα*, "in front a lion, behind a dragon, in the middle a chimera." God reward your faithfulness. What threats, what rumours about reforming the schools! Now they are so indolent that Liciano is secure, Veteramentario has nothing to fear, and Blaterone wholly triumphs. I entreat you not to look for anything good from this quarter. No republican government has ever prospered where there has been too much attention to private interests.

"Review all the rectors of the schools which are known to you, you will not find one who does not seek to procure honourable stipends for his relations, connections, or friends. We are always overlooked or opposed; the one we can bear with equanimity, the other is more serious, as we have no reason to expect this in regard to the rising youth.

"If in treating of that part of philosophy which belongs to morals, or if in our discussions we have examined that which is called the art of disputation, we have not been opposed to those who treat on the same subjects. If there are any among you who write with elegance, and if the study of eloquence is rising in importance, all this is our work.

"I desired also to illustrate by eloquence that part of philosophy which treats of divine things, but as there is nothing so far from it as superstition, such researches may appear to some not very consistent, as the rest is sufficiently proved by the testimony of one's life. I laughed at the theologian Blasio, who daily throws himself at the feet of a statue, but does not pay his debts. He is rich in gold and silver, while his creditors are immersed in misery and want; and he thinks he can deceive God as he has deceived his creditors. I never could have imagined him capable of so much fraud. It is indeed unfortunate that I should have chosen a man of this character to be my counsellor and agent in this competition, and my defender against injustice. Our cavalier Orazio (Malvolti) was the first to find out that I had been deceived and sacrificed. This explains why the Eight looked at each other and smiled. I cannot sufficiently express my astonishment at the perfidy of this man, which meets me at every step. He hoped (God forbid it) to alienate from me my friends the Bellanti, and to banish me from their society, the defender of their fortunes, the guardian of the family, the friend of their father, and the advocate who has so loudly proclaimed the glory and the praise of the Bellanti family. These intrigues he carried on in secret; meanwhile he was smiling blandly, and saluting me graciously, and pressing my hand; but time will avenge me and shew him in his true colours. As he would not have me for a friend let us be enemies, and as he has worked in secret against me I will publicly recompense him. If he publishes his writings in Italian, I will some day do the same. The more he seeks to make war against me by courting the friendship of silly women,¹ the more bitterly will he feel the consequences. As to Sp. Cæcio I did not believe anything against him, and till I got your letter I could not be induced to believe that he was among the evil-disposed. I am grieved that he should rise up against me, but I grieve still more that he is not the man I took him for. His exertions in my behalf were quite as much desired by his brother and other good men as yourself. Would to God, my dear Marco, that others had not violated the laws of friendship which you have so faithfully kept! I am now reduced to the necessity either of laying violent hands on myself, or of being overwhelmed and consumed with grief; for though, as you wisely advise, I wish to despise honours, to disregard injuries, and to be placable and forgiving, yet while I am striving to draw both from my head and heart the darts which have been hurled against me, others are continually being thrown. Be not you or my friends surprised therefore, if, while extracting these darts or being attacked afresh, I should call out in the struggle, or groan aloud to express my grief and to frighten my furious enemies. Farewell."²

On the perusal of this letter we are reminded of the words of Solomon, "the spirit of a man may sustain his infirmity, but a wounded spirit who can bear." Paleario was indeed deeply

¹ This appears to be an allusion to circumstances mentioned in a former letter to Fausti Bellanti. See CHAP. VIII. p. 293.

² Palearii *Opera*, lib. iii. ep. 15.

wounded; disappointed hope, mortified self-love, and false friends, all contributed to weigh down his spirit and excite his indignation against the ignorant crew which shut him out from literary occupation, and pointed him out as a person unfit to be trusted with the education of youth. Knowing that this was part of a scheme to prevent intellectual progress and to nourish the growth of superstition, he felt as deeply wounded for the rising generation as he did for his own personal mortification.

The bishopric of Veroli was about this time conferred on Antonio Filonardi, nephew of the cardinal of that name. The knowledge of his being raised to this dignity had accidentally reached Paleario in a letter from Corsini, and he immediately sat down to congratulate his friend. "He was the more bound," he said, "to rejoice on account of the great kindness he had received from his excellent uncle both at Rome and Perugia, is delighted to think of the bishopric being transmitted to him, and feels sure that he will imitate the wisdom and integrity of his venerated uncle. Though absent from it, his native place (Veroli) is still dearer to him than life, and he rejoices that Antonio is set over the souls of his fellow-citizens to direct them in the path of piety."

"Your office is of the highest importance, for during the roll of ages great darkness has overshadowed divine philosophy, and now the minds of men are occupied about anything but Christ. This is the fault of those who, for the sake of appearing acute, have set *προβλήματα*, *doubtful questions*, before the people, *ἀπὸ εὐαγγελίου*, *instead of the Gospel*, being rather chatterers than orators. None can better remedy such evils than a bishop, who is revered by the people for his gravity and authority, respected by the Senate, and can himself teach, and invite good and learned men to teach. Persons of unblemished life, not eager for contention but for the truth, earnestly desirous of sounding forth the praise and glory of the Son of God, in whom, as Paul says, *εἰσι πάντες οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς γνώσεως ἀπόκρυφοί*, "are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge."¹ You will be the better able to do this because it is your usual course of study; you are not much distracted by family affairs, and have in your house an example worthy of imitation, a man of great wisdom, lauded not only by our own people but by testimonies of reverence and regard from the Swiss, the French, and the Germans. It remains for me to recommend to you my relation Philip, a youth whom I believe to be modest and promising. If you fail him he will neither have friend nor relation there. I recommend him then to you by reason of your Christian piety, your episcopal office, and by my respect for the Filonardi family. Siena, 28th July."²

¹ Coloss. ii. 3.

² Palearii Opera, lib. ii. ep. 17.

In 1541 the truce between Charles and Francis was broken by the murder of Rincone¹ and Fregoso, who were returning from a mission to Constantinople. War recommenced in consequence the following year. Francis called the Turks to his aid, and filled Italy with terror. Its coasts were exposed to the predatory and murderous attacks of Barbarossa, who landed on the shores of the kingdom of Naples, carried off the inhabitants as slaves, and set fire to the towns, leaving nothing but smoking ruins behind. As the pirates neared the coast of Tuscany, Cosimo the sovereign took measures to defend his territory by sending bodies of picked troops to Piombino, Pisa, and Pietrasanta. But for these preparations Piombino would have fallen into their power. Barbarossa threatened to burn everything in the island, if the proprietor Appiano did not restore to him a boy of the name of Sinam, son of one of his captains, a Jewish corsair, by a native of Elba. In vain he was told that the youth having been baptized as a Christian he could not be given up. He ordered his troops to land and destroy everything: these commands were executed with so much violence that Appiano judged it impolitic to save one Christian by destroying so many, and consented to give up the youth provided the Turkish admiral would restore all the prisoners he had taken. To this he agreed, and Sinam was given up dressed in the richest style of Italian magnificence, and received by the Turks with loud shouts of joy and salutes of cannon.²

The Tuscan court was now left at peace, but the Sieneſe territory was the more exposed to danger. Cosimo offered to assist them with troops for their defence, but they were so afraid of his assuming dominion over them, that at first they refused all assist-

¹ Antonio Rincone and Cesare Fregoso, trusting to the truce, ventured to pass the Po at Venice, on their return from Constantinople. Rincone, as a rebel subject of the Emperor in the service of France, was not protected by the truce. The Emperor's emissaries, anxious to seize their papers, barbarously killed them both; but they did not attain their object, for their baggage had been all sent forward in another boat with Rincone's secretary, who fled to Piacenza on hearing of the murder of his patron.—See Muratori, *Annali*, vol. x. p. 40.

² When the fleet arrived at Constantinople, Barbarossa sent the boy to his father, who was at Suez, captain in the Persian division of the Turkish army. He was so overcome with joy at receiving his child, whom he had given up for lost, that excess of emotion proved fatal, for he died shortly after, embracing his son.—See Muratori, *Annali*, vol. x. p. 55. Botta, *Storia d' Italia*, vol. i. pp. 222, 226.

ance. When however the Turks had taken Talamone¹ and Porto Ercole, the republic of Siena sent Ambrogio Nuti as ambassador to entreat for succour. Cosimo immediately despatched a considerable force under Chiappino Vitelli. It was time; for the Turks had disembarked their artillery, landed their janissaries, and began to attack Orbitello,² when Don Giovanni di Luna³ rushed to the rescue with a small detachment of Sienese troops, reinforced by the Tuscan soldiers. The season being far advanced, Barbarossa was not disposed to spend time before this place, which was strongly fortified both by nature and art. In spite therefore of the persuasions of the French, and Leone Strozzi prior of Capua, the Turks resolved to return to Constantinople. They sacked the island of Giglio in passing, and carried off a rich booty. As the fleet approached the Ecclesiastical States, the Pope sent the Turkish admiral such magnificent presents, that remarks were made on the great friendship which existed between the head of the Catholic church and the followers of Mahomet, although he was carrying off some thousands of christians as captive slaves. There can be little doubt, however, that this courtesy of the Pope did not proceed from friendship or from enmity to Charles, but from fear, to guard his coast against these marauders, and shew himself an ally of the king of France, with whom the Turks were in league. As these barbarous pirates drew near, great terror was felt at Siena, business was at an end, fear of the invaders filled every breast. They not only trembled for themselves, but for the honour and lives of their wives and daughters. Though the enemy were prudent enough not to go far from their ships, yet as they had troops on

¹ Talamone, or Telamone, is a port situated on a promontory of the same name, called by the ancients Portus Telamonis. Cato says this name was derived from Telamon, prince of the Argonauts. It was here the Romans gained a great victory over the Gauls during the consulship of Æmilius Lepidus.

² Orbitello is a town built above the lake of the same name, of which Strabo says the water is salt. In front of this lake is a great isthmus or promontory which runs into the sea, called Monte Argentaro, having on one side S. Stefano, on the other Port' Ercole. (Alberi, *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia*, p. 33.) S. Stefano was the port to which the Grand-Duke Leopold II. fled during the revolution of 1848, and from whence he embarked on board the English sloop "Bull-dog" for Gaeta.

³ D. Giovanni di Luna was made Governor of Siena in 1643. See Sozzini *Diario*, p. 24, from *Archivio Storico Italiano*. Florence, 1842.

board whose fierce valour was well known, none thought themselves secure.

In the following letter Paleario gives some account of the consternation which prevailed at Siena. Francesco Corsini was his early friend, perhaps his townsman; we have heard of him before when Paleario was selling his paternal estate.¹ In this letter we may observe that if he was keenly alive to the pains of violated friendship or simulated regard, he himself knew well how to feel and to act as a true and affectionate friend. Corsini had asked some favour in behalf of a relative which Paleario had not succeeded in obtaining; hence this explanatory letter. After expressing his affection and gratitude for past kindnesses, he enters upon business.

“The departure of C. Sfondrata, who was ever ready to assist us, has been a great impediment. The Republic is at this moment in such a state of disturbance that even what we actually possess we expect to see torn from us. A decree had been made by the Senate with regard to your relative, allowing him to compete honourably for the magistracy. Although his rivals were men of high reputation in jurisprudence, nevertheless, by the favour of powerful citizens, we were before them. The assembly, which usually met on the 15th of May, was prorogued till the 15th of June, which was very disadvantageous, partly because the senators, who had been incited by our friends, grew cool in the affair, and partly because, in the interval, the fleet of those barbarous pirates who had visited all the shores of Europe, had turned their prows towards the Sieneze territory, had occupied the ports, and landed on the sea-shore.

“At this news such great fear took possession of the Republic on a sudden, that every body was in the utmost agitation. They all ran at once to the Senate; it was necessary to collect money and make levies. There was no time for public business. Those who were the most friendly declined to assist me. The Senate decreed the prorogation of the magistrates, the assembly was suspended, and the people ordered the Senate not to think of, or attend to anything but driving the barbarians out of the state. Though I know that report and many letters have carried you this news, yet I write myself to assure you that I have not become remiss, either in my exertions or in my desire to serve you. When I was at Bellanti's castle at Arbia, and Father Ugolino was sent to the auxiliary troops,² he told me that the assembly had meanwhile been opened; I went immediately to Siena, but when I arrived there I found the report was false, and returned to the castle. As the couriers are stopped in a thousand places, I wrote these things to your relative who was not so very far off, but was travelling in security towards Lombardy. I have received a letter from him, which I imagine was written before he got

¹ See CHAP. II. p. 87.

² Sent by Cosimo from Tuscany.

mine, for he tells me that he had heard from a peasant who had arrived from Siena that he was appointed to the charge; he could not understand, he said, how in these troublesome times this was possible, as the assembly had not met, and that he should not move till this account was confirmed by me.

"As to our amiable Corsini I have read with pleasure your wishes; nothing could be more acceptable to me than this letter. I hope he will be what you desire. It is not necessary for me to promise that I will do all I can for him; facts will speak when opportunity offers. To no one am I under so many obligations as to you: whatever be your advice in this affair I will follow it; you will perhaps say I know my opinion; I ask yours.

"You, who from a very early age have studied sound learning and have attained no ordinary erudition, will be much dissatisfied with the many smatterers (*eruditulis*) here, who hardly know a word of Latin, though it was with the hope of hearing them that I came into Tuscany. Particularly as it is on Corsini's account that you would not wish to find at Rome kings or emperors, nor men of large possessions, but poets, orators, and philosophers. There is nothing here to gratify a young man of brilliant talent. The three or four, or at most five, professors of philosophy make Aristotle speak so barbarously that Œdipus would not understand him, so much have they obscured his doctrine. This is not the author's but the interpreters' fault, who often invert the philosopher's method, and do not discuss things in their right places, but dispute in accumulated periods, following sects and commentators. The more this system departs from the ancient method, the clearer and more delightful they think it. There are not in the whole world more stupid dialecticians. They have nothing of the science they profess to teach, but the love of disputation.

"Do not, I beg you, enquire about medical men; those must be in a bad way who have recourse to them. To die is not such a miserable thing, as to die by the hands of these *ἀνδροφόνους τε καὶ ἀνθρωποφάγους*, manslayers and devourers of men.

"This city, believe me, does not contain men among whom the lively intellect of your Corsini would find that which he desires. With regard to the great expence which you say you incur, I believe you; here also there will be expence, though not so great. France is kindled into war, Savoy is in arms, they are levying troops in Picino, a tempest lowers over Tuscany, we see that the war promises to be of long continuance, and do not know what turn things will take: if these circumstances do not displease you I am content. Tomorrow or the day after I shall go to Siena. Though matters are much as I tell you, or very little different, I shall converse with my friends, and write you another letter, and inform you of the expence, the schools, the professors of philosophy, and everything else. Adieu. 24th of July, [1544]. From the castle of Areola."¹

From this letter it appears that Corsini's son was at college at Rome, that his father was not satisfied with the professors

¹ *Palearii Opera*, lib. iii. ep. 16.

there, and found the expence heavy. He therefore desired to remove him to Siena to study philosophy under Paleario's superintendence, but he had himself been so disappointed in Tuscan learning that he does not encourage his friend to send his son to Siena, even though the expence be less than at Rome.

The last letter in the printed series which Paleario wrote at Siena was addressed to Alessandro Visconti, governor of Siena. He probably succeeded F. Crasso, who was governor when Granvelle came to reorganise the state in 1541. His name tells that he was a Lombard. It has been before mentioned that it was the policy of the Emperor to place a governor from a different state over his several dependencies, thus hoping to ensure their fidelity.

We omit his grateful thanks for kindness received, and take him up when he alludes to facts which elucidate his history. The letter was written from one of Bellanti's villas or castles, for they were places both for rural retirement and recreation, and fortified castles to keep out intruders, especially when situated on the frontiers.

“ Ever since you came into Tuscany not only has your house ever been open to me, but you have admitted me to your friendship, and have left nothing undone to draw me over to your party and captivate me by great services. When I was in the city not a day passed without some mark of your kindness; when I was absent in the country your most obliging letters reached me. In them you expressed with affectionate regard how much you had my dignity at heart, and therefore did not hesitate to write to me when a certain person had troubled you with a letter. From what you say I perceive that you fear that an unjust report has been made of me to the good inhabitants of Lucca. Since you do not know, I will inform you who it was who rendered me this service.

“Maco Blaterone, the person about whom Aretino presented us with a facetious comedy,¹ written with exquisite art, is a most impudent man, and as ignorant of true and pure Latinity as those who dwell beyond the Taurus. While I lived in Siena he annoyed me greatly, fearing lest the appointment of professor of Latin should be conferred on me. He had for many years filled this office, but unfortunately had not acquired among the young men, who were more learned than himself, aught else than the evil name of incapacity. He is now at Lucca: may he be known there as well as he was known at Venice, where the comedy was represented, and Maco turned into such ridicule that he fled in despair from the presence of these distinguished

¹ See Appendix A.

men. Obligated to go away he went to Chioggia,¹ and opened a school for Greek mariners, in which I do not think he could teach more than he had learned; and indeed what could he teach which was not barbarous? To lie and to deceive, which is natural to the Greeks, he learned so quickly that even his masters were astonished. As to his levity, loquacity, and audacity, (defects which Aretino describes as part of his nature,) they were greatly increased by his intercourse with the Greeks, and as the proverb says, 'the prudent man passes for wise, the bold for strong, and the loquacious as cheerful;' thus I am not surprised that Maco should pass for a learned man in the opinion of the vulgar. He might perhaps have retained this character, if, like the flute-player of Xenophon, he had ceased playing; so might he if he had abstained from speaking. But urged by the love of money he went last year to Lucca, giving himself out as a great rhetorician. There, if I hear aright, there are men of delicate and religious ears, and the incapacity of Blaterone could not be concealed. From what I can learn I imagine that he will be here in a few days, on account of the delicate state of his health. He is always seeking to publish his infirmity, so that if any one discovers his ignorance, or complains of the dulness of his interpretations, he has a ready excuse, and shelters himself by saying at one time that he cannot bear the density, at another the elasticity of the air.

"I find from Vettorino's letters that there are some in that city who wish me to be invited, and chosen as professor of Latin Literature. When Blaterone heard it, how do you think he felt? Do you believe that his evil trumpet, full of lies and barbarisms, could be restrained? His heart, inflamed with hatred, took fire, and vomited forth the venom of his malevolence. Be prudent enough not to enquire who has spread these reports against me in that city. It is the very man who, to prevent my being his rival at Siena, adopted the same method of slander in order to deceive and alienate from me the minds of the citizens. This crafty man is born for such machinations. As true as I am alive I will revenge myself: nothing can be more repugnant to a man, who pretends to be a great literary character without being so in reality, than to be attacked in writing, and obliged to answer the stinging sarcasms of a free pen, or the vehemence of an eloquent oration.

"The pen is to a literary man like a sword or a lance. Let Blaterone wound if he can; but, please God, he will suborn no one to answer except some foolish boy, to say no worse, pretending to despise all that comes from me as he did those verses of Aretino's, though it galls him sorely. But he will not have recourse to the pen, but to fraud. He will bethink himself of forming a conspiracy among powerful men, he will set the citizens against me; some he will send to the prætors, others to the senators, and try everything except engaging in writing, which will expose his ignorance. I see all this as clearly before me in mind, as if I saw it with my bodily eyes. Good heavens! how we shall laugh for having fathomed his depth so long before; how amused those excellent young men will be who know his real ability. But I am too

¹ The ancient Fosse Claudia on the Adriatic below Venice.

bitter. If you love me see that the splendour of your name and character dissipates the dark clouds which are so unworthily gathered round me.

“If the Lucchese—for I think they have written to you, though you do not say so—by means of this scoundrel have been induced to entertain a false opinion of me, admonish them in a friendly manner not lightly to give credence to him: tell them I am a good Christian, and ready even to die for Christ if circumstances require it. This I have stated in a long oration, which you yourself have read, in reply to the calumnies of Blaterone and his ignorant compeers. My adversaries having been convicted of calumny, were on that account rejected by the people of Siena, who honour me with their esteem. These things cannot remain unknown; on the contrary, I desire that through your testimony in my favour they may attain all possible publicity, in order that all may understand that, in consequence of the similarity of our studies and the integrity of our manner of life, an intimate friendship subsists between us. My respect for you has never wavered; your kindness has never failed me. From the Argiano of Bellanti, 9th April.”¹

This letter is a cry of despair. Shut out from the enjoyment of a professor's chair, his old antagonist and rival meets him on another field, and by his slanderous malevolence threatens to deprive him of all honourable employment; but he had powerful friends who knew his merits, and four years after the conspiracy against him their exertions were finally crowned with success, and he received an invitation from the Senate of Lucca to fill the chair of eloquence, and to become the orator of the republic.

It was no doubt extremely painful to him to leave Siena; he would rather have exercised his professional talents where he had contracted intimate friendships, and in the neighbourhood of his villa; but he was obliged to go forth from the presence of his enemies.

Lucca was at that time a free and peaceful state under the protection of Charles V. Paleario was furnished, by the cardinals Bembo and Sadoletto, with recommendatory letters which counselled him to prudence. Filled with the desire of animating the rising generation of this industrious republic to the love of study and the cultivation of pure classical literature, he bade a temporary adieu to his wife and family, to his villa and his garden, and embarked on a new scene of life. The fame of Peter Martyr's reforms, and the revival of religion which had succeeded, revived his hopes; but he soon found that every situation has its own disadvantages, and that none are exempt from jealousies and rivalries, especially under a republican form

¹ *Palearii Opera*, lib. iii. ep. 17.

of government, when men are more alive to their individual interests than to the general weal.

On accepting the appointment, Paleario wrote a letter to the Senate of Lucca as follows :

AONIO PALEARIO, OF VEROLI, TO THE REPUBLIC OF LUCCA.

" I am conscious of not possessing those qualities which have been reported to you in my favour by most worthy and courteous persons, but it is nevertheless very gratifying to me to be invited to go to one of the Tuscan cities, which, from the wisdom of its inhabitants, shines with a light almost divine. Your virtue cannot remain in the shade, for all Italy beholds your great moderation and skill in state affairs. Thus in most difficult and unhappy times the republic of Lucca is flourishing ; no one attributes this to chance, or anything but your own political guidance. For many years we have seen the minds of powerful princes, from whom we might expect improvements, wholly occupied by an eagerness for war, so that none dare affirm that through them the citizens have enjoyed either ease or security. It is to you, and to your industry and praise, if, when all Italy is so often engaged in war and embroiled with a cruel and barbarous people, one city alone is exempt, not because it is surrounded by marshes, but from the wisdom and prudence of its citizens. Other cities, agitated by foreign or internal discords, have recently been exposed to great calamities. While heaven and earth have been convulsed, and everything overthrown by the diluvial torrent of war, you seated at the helm of the republic have known how to keep the tempest from your walls.

But this subject cannot be properly treated within the limits of a letter unless I had more time ; I will now speak of that which has induced me to write to you, I mean the courteous invitation which you have sent me by letter. Your city has always been the asylum of good learning. As energy and determination of mind have not been wanting to cross the sea for the purpose of increasing the riches of your state, neither have you been deficient in adorning it with the best studies. This is proved by the persons you have invited to instruct the rising youth, men richly endowed with eloquence, besides those among you who distinguish themselves in what are called the liberal arts, your own citizens, who deserve the highest praise. I often think of them with the keenest pleasure ; how much do I owe you for giving me the opportunity of seeing and knowing these learned men, and enjoying the society of distinguished citizens, and the honourable youth who, from what I hear, take great delight in the study of the belles lettres. Already I feel anxiously desirous of being able, through the labours and vigils I have undergone ever since my infancy, to fulfil the hopes of these excellent young men in order that your choice may not appear vain or fallacious. The great inclination of your youth towards the study of literature encourages my hopes, for we can generally accomplish with very little assistance that which we spontaneously undertake. As far as regards myself, I promise and assure you that if a desire to conform myself to your wishes, and a sincere respect and veneration can do anything for your never sufficiently praised republic, it shall be

done, that all may acknowledge that though you might have chosen a man more learned and of greater eloquence, yet you could not have found any one more desirous of being useful to the young men, and at the same time of following your wishes."¹

Though we have no exact detail how Paleario obtained this appointment, it appears by the following letter that the cardinals Bembo and Sadoletto had interested themselves in his favour. Sadoletto writes to him in the most friendly manner, and enters with prudence into the circumstances which had overclouded his lot.

JACOPO SADOLETO, CARDINAL, TO AONIO PALEARIO.

"You will learn from the letters which my colleague² and I have written to Cardinal Guidiccioni³ how great is the affection we bear you, and how highly you are esteemed by us. We could not with greater zeal have borne witness to your probity and talent, to your character as well as to your studies. Bembo would have preferred our letters being addressed to the Senate and people of Lucca; I also should have been of this opinion if I had known the disposition, habits and wishes of these men; but I was rather afraid lest a recommendation from persons with whom they had neither acquaintance nor friendship might not be well received, especially as you had written to me signifying that you only wished for one to Guidiccioni, but this you particularly desired, knowing how necessary it would be. When Bembo read this he yielded to my opinion, and we hope that our letters will be useful to you. Should Guidiccioni have left Lucca when you arrive, you will take care to have the letters opened and read in the Senate, in order that they may understand that those who are against you have been incited by the calumnies of illnated and pusillanimous persons, and have no just grounds for their enmity. Your lot, as you say, is singular in this affair; for this reason you have done wisely in resorting to those studies in which you have been occupied from a child; these liberal studies will never fail you, but always provide you with that support which they have hitherto yielded, both to assist others and to save yourself.

"The oration which you have written in your own defence is highly polished and dignified, and of thundering eloquence. In short, it is perfect in every part. I do not say this to flatter you, but I cannot innocently be silent in your praise. To ignore your excellences would be stupidity, and to conceal them illnated.

"There can be no reason why I should not speak the truth to you my intimate friend, modest though you be. I will act sincerely by you. While I was reading I felt my mind excited and animated, and at length I was carried away by the vehemence of your oration; it pierces like a lance thrown with consummate skill, and charms by the variety of its style. This (oration) is now to be numbered among the choice fruits of your intellect. In that

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 1.

² Cardinal Bembo.

³ Bartolommeo Guidiccioni, bishop of Lucca.

divine poem, which can never in my opinion be sufficiently praised, we see your great talent for poetry, and now it is difficult to decide whether you excel most as a poet or as an orator. In past years some have been extolled for excelling both in poetry and oratory, but you surpass them greatly in the elegance of your composition and the chaste purity of your style; so that in comparing their writings with yours, it appears, to say nothing less, that you write with more elegance, and that you are the only person who makes use of pure Latinity.¹

"You say that you fear that some will be displeased because you have enthusiastically eulogised Bernardino Ochino towards the close of your oration,² hoping to move the senators of Siena, to whom it is addressed. Any one who is even moderately versed in the art of oratory will perceive that your object was to move and rouse the citizens, who were greatly attached to their fellow-townsmen. You have nothing to fear, for you wrote with accuracy and prudence, and you have the less to dread because I can bear witness that when I went as legate to France I passed through Siena, where I assisted and warmly recommended you to the archbishop. It was about that time that the first reports of Ochino's flight were circulated; no one knew on what authority, nor was it considered certain. If you, when writing that oration, the beginning of which you read to me, indulged the same hopes and desires that all did who knew the popular eloquence of Ochino, who shall lay it to your charge? We should rather consider what you wished him to do, than what he said or did some time after.³ If it were necessary, on recommending any person, to guarantee all that should be said or done in any part of the world by a person to whom we give the name of friend, it would become a dangerous thing to praise or shew any kindness or attention to our friends. As great inconveniences have arisen from those who have passed judgments upon authors contrary to the clemency⁴ and equitable customs of our ancestors,

¹ If this praise appears exaggerated to English taste, which loathes either to give or to receive praise, we may impute some of its force to the extreme kindness of the cardinal, who was desirous by a high strain of approbation to remove the cloud which hung over his friend through the machinations of evil men. This letter we must remember was intended to be shewn to Paleario's new patrons, the Senate of Lucca, who were very likely to be influenced by the dignity and high standing of Sadoletto.

² See CHAP. VIII. p. 318.

³ Mr. Babington, in his Introduction to the reprint of an old copy of the *Beneficio*, cites a passage of this letter written by Sadoletto in 1546, and observes: "Ochino, as every one knows, afterwards became heterodox in his sentiments about the Trinity: and Cardinal Sadoletto assures Paleario that he ought not to be considered responsible for what Bernardino might have done or said long afterwards." Sadoletto could not have referred to the heterodoxy of Ochino in point of doctrine, for this was not manifest till the year 1562. He was only endeavouring to excuse Paleario for publicly praising a man who had proved himself a heretic.—See Babington, *Introd.* p. 35. CHAP. IX. pp. 392—396.

⁴ Here he speaks feelingly, his own writings having been condemned.

the Pope has done wisely in appointing a very learned and moderate man¹ to examine all works on sacred subjects. Bembo and I have recommended you to his favour; he told us that he had received last year from you a very courteous and pious letter, and he both professed and promised to exert himself in your behalf, and be ready to do what he knew we also were willing to perform.

“But I, in Bembo’s name and my own, not only exhort but entreat you to listen to persons who love you sincerely; for we live in times when more is thought of the calumnies circulated against us than of our real opinions. Employ yourself in compositions which rather incite than controvert the course of your thoughts, which is so well known to us.

“You are going to take up your abode in a city, which from what I hear has excellent laws and morals; therefore, to be agreeable to the inhabitants, why not apply your mind to what has been written on morals by the whole family of the Peripatetics, but which have never been properly commented on in Latin? I need not tell you what will be the consequence, for you must see it yourself. There are some who are much opposed to writers. In interpreting and commenting on the Peripatetics there is no danger. In short, provide for your own tranquillity; for we, who know your studies, your life, opinions and intentions as well as if we had always lived with you, should never dare to read or touch those works in which you write of us in terms of the highest compliment and closest friendship, if we deserted you. Farewell.”²

It must be observed that this letter was written in the tone of an advocate for the purpose of being shewn to the Senate of Lucca, and is especially framed to remove any unpleasant impressions which the calumnious reports of Paleario’s enemies might have made on the authorities at Lucca. The last paragraph is purposely obscure; it alludes to Paleario’s severe strictures on the ignorance of the monks, and his leanings to enlightened opinions.³

This was the last proof of kindness Sadoletto had it in his power to shew Paleario, for he died at Rome the following year. It was written in 1546, the year of Paleario’s removal to Lucca, but is not to be found among Sadoletto’s works, having no doubt been suppressed as written in defence of a heretic. As the friend and protector of Paleario, and a learned man of high moral character, Sadoletto claims our attention.

¹ If this was, as is probable, Tommaso Badia, who condemned Sadoletto’s *Commentary*, his allusion to him in this manner was either from great amicability, or it was a stroke of policy in favour of Paleario, who had written to him. See CHAP. VIII. p. 286.

² Palearii *Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 2.

³ “*Postremum illud, ut tranquillitati servias. Nam qui studia, vitam, mentem, voluntatem tuam tam novimus, quam qui semper vixerint tecum: nunquam auderemus ea legere, aut attingere.*”—Palearii *Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 2.

CARDINAL JACOPO SADOLETO, BISHOP OF CARPENTRAS.
BORN AT MODENA 1477.—DIED AT ROME 1547.

His father was an eminent lawyer, and sent his son at an early age to the university of Ferrara.¹ Eloquence, poetry, the Greek and Latin languages were his principal studies. He evinced so passionate a taste for literature that his father, who would have preferred his being a lawyer, allowed him to follow his natural inclination.

In the pontificate of Alexander VI. he went to Rome, where he found a munificent patron in cardinal Olivieri Caraffa, who took him into his house and became much attached to him. The celebrated Scipione Cartomeraco was his master, and he was assisted in his studies by many of the learned men who frequented Rome.

Leo X., an acute discerner of merit, had no sooner ascended the papal throne than he chose Sadoleto and Bembo as his secretaries, and soon after gave Sadoleto the bishopric of Carpentras in Dauphiné.

The pontificate of Adrian VI. was not so favourable to him, and Sadoleto lived a good deal retired from court, occupied himself in writing, and retired to his vineyard indifferent to court favours. This was a natural consequence of the Pope's neglect of learning. Adrian had so little appreciation of elegant literature, that on reading some choice Latin letters he said, *Sunt literæ unius Poetæ*, shewing how lightly he thought of eloquence. The unmeasured admiration which literary men expressed for Cicero appeared to him little short of idolatry. It is not surprising that the unimagined strong sense of a Flemish mind could not sympathise with the elegant and refined taste of the Italians in their own mother tongue, or that Adrian should disapprove of their extreme veneration for classical literature. The change in the Roman court was indeed great, and no wonder they said Rome was no longer Rome; but the character of Adrian was far more suited to the task of governing the Church than that of the pleasure-loving Leo, and there were subjects, which had been entirely overlooked, worthy of more

¹ The university of Ferrara was in the sixteenth century one of the most renowned of Italy. It was crowded with foreigners, especially English, who were so numerous as to form a distinct body in the university.—*Hist. Gymn. Ferrar.* apud Tiraboschi, vol. vii. p. 96.

eneration than the heroes of antiquity. Sadoletto, finding himself cast into the shade, asked and obtained leave of absence for six months to visit his diocese. People were surprised that the Pope let him go, but he was not to Adrian's taste, and therefore he gave no heed to the regrets expressed at Rome on his departure.¹ Girolamo Negri² wrote to Marcantonio Micheli³ in 1523.

"Our beloved Sadoletto is going away, to the great sorrow of the whole court. I think if the old custom of putting on mourning when we are sad were still kept up, not fewer than twenty thousand persons would put it on as they did for Marcus Tullius. Every good man seems to think that with him goodness and virtue leave Rome."⁴

He travelled by way of Modena and Milan to Carpentras in France, with two mules, one carrying his bed and baggage.

Sadoletto had other subjects of annoyance at Rome which made him glad to retire to his diocese, for he was accused of falsifying a brief. On the election of Clement VII in 1523 he was again summoned to court, to fill the office of secretary⁵ which he exercised under Leo. But Clement, though he had a high opinion of Sadoletto, unfortunately did not rely on his judgment sufficiently to follow his counsel, when he warned him of the dangerous position in which he was placed before the capture of Rome. Finding he could no longer be of use he again retired to his bishopric, just twenty days before the approach of the enemy; and was thus spared the fearful sight of the horrible scenes of cruelty, violence, and rapine which overwhelmed the city. But his personal safety was all that he secured; his books, which were his chief treasure, were all lost.⁶ The plague broke out on board the ship which conveyed them to Nice, the passengers were not allowed to land, the books were

¹ *Lettere di Principi*, lib. i. p. 113. Ed. Venetia, 1681.

² Girolamo Negri, a Venetian, who was many years in the service of the Venetian Cardinals, Marco and Francesco Cornaro, and Gasparo Contarini, was an elegant writer. He died at Padua in 1557. His orations and Latin letters were published at Rome in 1767. There are twenty Italian letters of his in *Lett. di Principi*.

³ Marc' Antonio Micheli, a Venetian noble, author of *Agri et Urbis Bergomi Descriptio*.—Mazzuchelli, *Scritt. Ital.* tom. ii. p. 635.

⁴ *Lettere di Principi*, p. 114.

⁵ On the 2nd of December, 1523, Negri wrote, speaking of the new Pope: "ha mandato a chiamare il nostro Monsignor Sadoletto per Secretario, et tre di fa partì il messo coi Brevi, per il quale gli scrissi una mia incondita epistola, persuadendo sua Signoria al venire, saltem per causa delle lettere, le quali oppresse dalla barbarie d' Adriano, hanno gran bisogna d' un Mecenate appresso Augusto.—*Lett. di Principi*, p. 119.

⁶ See Appendix B.

carried with the passengers to distant countries and never more heard of.¹ He does not appear to have gone in the same vessel himself, for in a letter to Giberti he mentions being driven into Nice by a storm so violent that it had made them all ill; from thence he went in seven days to Carpentras.² To Bembo he laments the loss of his books, but adds that this was nothing in comparison with the sufferings at Rome.³ His anxiety for his friends must have been dreadful, for he could receive no certain intelligence, though reports of the horrible doings at Rome made their way into France. In a letter to Francesco Bini⁴ his assistant secretary, he begged for news, and enclosed a few lines to his mother; he lamented the loss of his books which he had collected at great expence, especially some ancient Greek copies which must have been in manuscript.⁵ It was beginning to be the custom for literary persons to make large collections of rare and precious volumes. Some of them were so splendidly bound that the indulgence of this bibliomaniac taste seemed only fit for princes. The library of the learned cardinal Dominico Grimani contained a thousand volumes. At his death in 1523 he left them all to the church of St. Antonio in Venice, where they were carefully preserved till the 17th century, when the library was unfortunately destroyed by fire. Tiraboschi says Sadoleto's library was equally choice and extensive even before he was made cardinal. Celio Calcagni, professor of the Belles Lettres at Ferrara, had three thousand five hundred volumes of MSS. and printed books, which he left by will to a convent of Dominican monks.

Bembo's splendid library enriched that of Urbino, and was subsequently transferred to the Vatican, which contains untold treasures.⁶

The Lords of Carpi, Alberti and Rodolfi Pio, cardinal, uncle

¹ *Epist. Fam.* vol. i. p. 195. Ed. Roma, 1764.

² *Jac. Sadol. Epist.* p. 9. Ed. Colonia, 1554.

³ *Idem*, p. 13.

⁴ Dated 18th June, 1527. "So delle cose mie non ho altro affanno, che dei libri nei quali la fortuna mi è pur stata sempre troppo crudele, io ne aveva fatto munizione di molti antiochi Greci con grandissima spesa. Pur se a Dio così piace, così sia."—Sadoleti *Opera*, vol. ii. p. 215.

⁵ See Appendix C.

⁶ If ever anything so extraordinary as liberty and publicity should prevail at Rome, and an accurate catalogue be drawn up to facilitate literary researches, the world would be greatly benefited by a participation in these intellectual treasures.

and nephew, were munificent collectors of books. The latter had a splendid library.¹ Alberti was a very studious man, and had collected a great number of books. He gave them to Agostino Steuco, canon of S. Salvador, whose brother Fabio gave a great part of them to cardinal Marcello Cervini; he again left them by will to cardinal Sirleto, but died before Cervini, and cardinal Ascanio Colonna bought them for 14,000 crowns. After passing through several hands, much increased by the manuscripts belonging to Cristina, queen of Sweden, and other rare works, they were finally united to the Vatican library, where they now remain.²

Sadoleto sought consolation for the loss of his books in the duties of his church at Carpentras, and divided his time between his studies and the care of his people. He protected the Jews from injustice, and restrained their practice of usury. Though by no means rich, he was ever ready to relieve the poor and to console the afflicted. He encouraged the young men to study and provided masters for them. From these and other benevolent actions he was beloved as a father by his people. As such an example of virtue in a bishop was rare in those days, Francis I. was anxious to draw him to court, and made him the most tempting offers; but he preferred remaining at his post, till in 1536 Paul III. sent for him to Rome, and made him a cardinal. He profited by his new and dignified position to give advice for the good of the church; the Pope was not offended at his frankness, but esteemed him the more on this account. Sadoleto accompanied the Pope in 1538 when he went to Nice to negotiate with the Emperor and the French king.

Finding himself so near his diocese he requested permission to visit it, and remained there till 1542, when he was recalled to Rome and sent to France on a mission of pacification between Charles and Francis. It was then, as we have seen, that he befriended Paleario at Siena.³ His negotiation in France was not successful, for Charles remained intractable. Greatly attached to his beloved retreat at Carpentras he returned there for the winter, but in 1543 he was summoned to Bologna to accompany

¹ Sadoleto speaks in his letter of this choice collection; it contained the famous Codex of Virgil, revised in the fifth century by the consul Rufus. It is now preserved in the S. Lorenzo library at Florence.

² Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 187.

³ See CHAP. VII. p. 277.

Paul III. to Busseto, where he was expecting to meet the Emperor. We find by a letter written from Modena to his nephew Paul that this journey was very distasteful to him, and that he sent his secretary Fiordibello to Bologna with a letter to cardinal Farnese expressing his unwillingness to undertake the journey on account of his infirm state of health, and craving permission to return to Carpentras as soon as the meeting with the Emperor was over: he tells his nephew that this was intended as a hint that he did not wish to go to Bologna, but preferred resting at Modena.¹ This permission was granted, and he retired to the family villa of Corliano, where, though without his books, he occupied himself in finishing his work on original sin. In the same letter he alludes to a report which had reached him that the Pope was thinking of bestowing on him the governorship of Bologna, vacant by the death of Contarini;² he expresses his indifference about the truth of this report, and prefers living tranquilly among his own people to living splendidly in exile. In another letter from Parma he says that he had written about his affairs to a person at court. His friend had a long conversation with the Pope, who appeared well disposed towards him (Sadoleto), but did not furnish him with a decided reply. He then set out for Bologna, and went to stay with his old friends the Paleotti family; the next day he visited the Pope, who received him graciously, praised his exertions in the French mission and expressed pleasure at his arrival, and promised in a short time he would attend to his wishes. Sadoleto repeated the request he had made by letter, that in consideration of his age he might be allowed to lead a life of learned leisure and make himself useful: thus hoping to induce the Pope to employ him as the defender of the church. He wrote to his relative Paul Sadoleto that he offered this in consequence of the death of Pighius and Eckius. The Pope, being now tied to the severe system of the Inquisition, wanted defenders of sterner stuff than Sadoleto; he therefore put him off with an uncertain reply, that he could not at present decide; the Christian Commonwealth was in need of the advice and assistance of many. This was not very gratifying to the cardinal's self-love. A long account is given of the consultations between the cardinals, whether the Pope was to go on to meet the Emperor or not. All this Sadoleto seems

¹ Sadoleti *Epist.* p. 839.

² See CHAP. VII.

to find very wearisome, and he expresses his extreme desire to return home, and finishes his letter by saying, "Hitherto I have only had promises; this has been going on for seven years. But God will provide."¹

In the year 1545, when the Council of Trent was convoked, he wrote to Carlo Gualterrucci that he heard it was the Pope's intention to summon all the absent cardinals to the Council, but as for him it would be impossible for him to go, as he could not meet the expence of the journey, or reside there in the style becoming even the poorest of the cardinals. His income, he says, is very small, and the greater part of it goes to pay his debts, which are not yet all discharged. He has neither horses nor mules nor any kind of equipage, and is worse off in this respect than many others. His holiness, he says, is well acquainted with his necessities, for he has often promised to provide for him. His intentions are no doubt good, but the difficulties of the times have hitherto prevented him from fulfilling his purpose. Though he has no means of making an appearance suitable to a cardinal, yet, if such be the Pope's pleasure, he does not object to go as a second-rate bishop.² It does not appear that the Pope ever granted his requests, or fulfilled the promises which had been made to him when created cardinal, and it is doubtful whether he ever made his appearance at Trent. He subsequently repaired to Rome, where he died in 1547. Fiordibello, his secretary, who wrote his life, speaks of his rare virtues and superior talents. His writings shew his amiable turn of mind and benevolent disposition. Averse to superstition he was fitted to be useful in the tranquil and palmy days of the Church, and to advance gently and insensibly in the path of reform as his own mind became enlightened; but he was not endowed with the noble spirit of a martyr, or the energy of a reformer. At the same time he was by no means disposed to abet violence or persecution in religion; he preferred persuasion to coercion, and if free enquiry and open discussion had been permitted by the Roman Catholic Church, there can be little doubt that his mind would have been open to conviction and willing to listen to and receive divine truth. The epistle he addressed to 'his dearly beloved brethren, the magistracy, council, and citizens of Geneva,'

¹ Sadoleti *Epist.* p. 831. Dated Parma, 18th July, 1543.

² *Idem*, No. xiv. *Italian Letters*.

was an affectionate and conciliatory address, in which nothing was omitted to induce the 'wandering dove to return into the secure ark of the true church.' It has been already noticed that no one being found in Geneva capable of answering it, Calvin, though in banishment, undertook the task, and wrote such a reply as to leave Sadoleto little hope of success.¹ Both the letter and the reply are eloquent and elegant compositions, and free from anything which could offend modern courtesy.

It has been recorded that Sadoleto was much impressed by the force and elegance of Calvin's reply in the name of the Council of Geneva, and that he had a great wish to converse with this celebrated reformer. Passing *incognito* through Geneva he enquired the way to Calvin's house, expecting to be directed to some magnificent palace. What was his surprise when a poor insignificant habitation was pointed out to him: he knocked at the door, it was opened by Calvin himself. The cardinal could not help expressing great astonishment when he learned that the individual before him, so simply clad and poorly lodged, was the renowned Calvin. They conversed long and freely together, both perhaps with the secret wish of convincing each other. Calvin took occasion to remark, probably in answer to some hint by Sadoleto, that in leaving the Church of Rome he had not taken counsel with flesh and blood; that riches and advancement in the world were no objects of ambition to him, but that his greatest desire was to glorify God and defend the truth.²

Sadoleto's literary reputation stood high, he wrote in a pure and polished Latin style; the letters written by him in the name of Leo X., Clement VII., and Paul III., as well as his private correspondence, are a happy imitation of Cicero's manner. But he was not exclusively occupied in refined composition; there was scarcely a single branch of learning to which he had not directed his attention. Two of his works, *De Liberis Instituendis* and *De Laudibus Philosophiæ*, shew the extent of his reading. In the first he treats of the moral and literary education of children, and speaks so pertinently of the arts and sciences in which a youth ought to be instructed, that his book must be valuable in every age as a treatise on education. The second is written in imitation of a work composed by Cicero on the same

¹ See CHAP. IX. p. 387.

² See *L' Histoire véritable du Calvinisme*. Ed. Amsterdam, 1683.

subject, now lost. He introduces the celebrated Fedro Inghirami, asserting that philosophy is both useless and mischievous; his interlocutor takes the part of philosophy, and with much lucidity and elegance makes use of all the arguments which may be adduced on both sides of the question. It fully merits the high eulogium passed on it by Bembo. He wrote also a beautiful treatise on an interesting topic, *Philosophic consolationes et meditationes in adversis*. But, as especially connected with our subject, let us examine more particularly his theological writings.

He wrote two essays on *Original Sin* and on *Purgatory*, some homilies, comments on the Psalms, and other writings on sacred subjects; but his chief theological work was a commentary on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans; a publication which found a ready acceptance in some quarters, but was the cause of great annoyance to the author.

There was scarcely an ecclesiastic of any character or talent, after the secession of Luther, who did not devote himself to the study of some part of the Scripture. The Epistles of St. Paul produced many commentators, who explained their meaning according to their views of divine truth. If the church disapproved, they were obliged either to retract their assertions or submit to see their books prohibited.

This was Sadoletto's case. Tommaso Badia,¹ who was at that time master of the Sacred Palace, as soon as the work appeared issued a prohibition, without giving the author any notice. The ground of the condemnation was its semipelagian tendency, and that it was unsound and differed from Augustine on the doctrines of grace. In letters to Federigo Fregoso and Contarini,² Sadoletto gives his reasons for expressing himself as he did, while at the same time he shews great anxiety to submit his opinions to those of the church. The prohibition was a severe blow, which he felt the more keenly because it fell on him by means of his townsman.

In August 1535 he wrote to Francesco Bini:

"I am not displeased at being found wrong; and whoever writes to me to prove my ignorance does not offend me, nor do I desire that

¹ Tommaso Badia, of Modena, born 1483, died 1547, was a Dominican monk; Clement VII. made him master of the Sacred Palace: he was sent by Paul III. to the Colloquy of Worms, of which he gives an account to Cardinal Contarini; it is printed in *Epist. Poli*. He was elected Cardinal in 1542, and died at Rome in 1547.

² Sadoletti *Opera*, vol. ii. pp. 148, 161, and 342.

Lippomano should be dissuaded from executing what he has begun, and I beg you to contrive that he may not be hindered. But the prohibition of the book has cut me to the heart, done thus by name expressly and uncourteously, no one having written me a word about it; but, as you may suppose, so much has been said on the subject at Lyons, Avignon, and in all the neighbouring towns, that I never in my life was so much annoyed, so that I could scarcely look any one in the face, for it appeared as if this was not the work of one person, but the judgment of the whole court of Rome. If the master would not allow the book to be published a general prohibition would have been sufficient, and he might have done it in a kind and polite manner, if he is the person you tell me he is. I have been obliged to send the censure and the answer to Lyons, not to be printed but to be read, and I have also written to some good men there complaining of this act of the master."¹

Sadoleto, deeply grieved at having this note of infamy stamped upon his work, sent it to the faculty of theology in the university of Paris, hoping that their approbation would repair the injury inflicted at Rome. The university named two theologians to examine it, who pointed out some propositions which required explanation, and the faculty desired them to write to Sadoleto for a further illustration of his meaning.

Meanwhile he had sent a copy of the Commentary to the Pope, and through the intervention of Contarini the prohibition was taken off and the book declared Catholic.² His friends felt great sympathy with Sadoleto, and were indignant at his book being censured. Paleario, as we have seen in his oration, brings this forward when speaking of the friars, saying they wish to censure every writer not after their own pattern. "They have even attacked that venerable and upright man, my friend Sadoleto; the sun never shone on a more unworthy deed."³

As the Commentary of Sadoleto was published in 1535, and the Benefit of Christ's Death in 1542, it is not impossible that the censure of his friend's work induced Paleario to examine what was the doctrine laid down in the Scriptures, and thus led him to exalt the inspiring influence of divine grace in his admirable

¹ *Lettere Italiane*, p. 121.

² "Credo vostra Magnificenza intendesse già il travaglio gli fu dato dal Maestro del sacro Palazzo sopra li Commentarij suoi sopra l'Epistola di San Paolo alli Romani, accusandolo d' Heresia, e vietando li libri non fossero venduti, il Vescovo mandò qui al Papa una bella Apologia et era attaccata una grossa scaramuzza con questo frate suo conterraneo. Sopravenuto il Reverendissimo nostro, si ha intraposto, e fatta la pace con grande honore del Vescovo; li libri sono stati approbati et rilascati."—*Lettere di Principi*, lib. iii. p. 37. Ed. Venetia, 1681.

³ See CHAP. VIII. p. 317.

treatise. It does not enter into the plan of this work to analyse Sadoletto's commentary, or to say how far he advocated the system of the Pelagians. Their doctrines for the most part were, that inward preventing grace is not necessary to form in the soul the first beginnings of true repentance; that the natural faculties are capable of this, and also of exercising faith in Christ, and of forming the purpose of a holy and sincere obedience. But they owned that none could persevere in a holy and virtuous course, which he had the power of beginning, without the perpetual support and powerful aid of divine grace.¹

The enlightened Scripture reader will at one see the inconsistency of these opinions upon divine grace with the revealed Word. That we are able of ourselves to begin the work of divine grace in our hearts, but are unable to carry it on without spiritual aid from above, is a most extraordinary idea, and contrary to all analogy either in temporal or spiritual things. Reasoning naturally we should be tempted to invert the proposition, and say that it was first necessary to receive the divine impulse to begin our heavenly course and to shew us the value of spiritual things. Having once received this gift, this spiritual life, we might then go on progressing and acquiring strength. But these are idle reasonings. Christ himself has declared, "Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God." Birth is an entrance into a new state of being; spiritual birth is receiving the grace of the Holy Spirit to teach us the ways of holiness here, and guide us to glory hereafter. The effects of divine grace are represented in Scripture as a quickening influence, freely received from God, to awaken the slumbering soul² to run in the way of his commandments.

¹ See Mosheim, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 91, and Basnage, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 16.

² See Rom. iii. 24; Gal. i. 6, 15; Eph. ii. 5, 8; 1 Tim. i. 9; Titus iii. 7.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

CHAPTER I.

A. (p. 26.)

"In the midst of this noise Clement, who was in vain wearying an angry God with prayers at the altar, hearing the cry of the soldiers hurried his steps through the long passage in the double wall, and fled weeping from the palace to the castle, complaining that he was betrayed by every one. During the whole of the way he could see from the little windows the flight of our people, a bloody spectacle of tumult; the pikes and the halberds of the furious barbarians being thrust into the backs of the fugitives. While Clement fled with hasty steps, I, *Paolo Giovio*, who write these things, was near him, and held up behind the train of his long garment that he might walk faster. I also put on his head the red cap, and dressed him in his red robe that he might be known as the Pope by his white rochet while he passed over an open wooden bridge in the fortress, and not be taken aim at and killed by the arquebuses of the barbarians. We got in by the gate of the bridge, not being able from the terror and stupidity of our people to put down the drawbridge. Two Spanish grooms tried it with great energy and boldness, and though cannon were being fired on all sides they were not deterred by the fear of death, if they could but prevent persons passing over the bridge to the neighbouring square. Falcoo, a Spanish captain, also strove by the same *bestialità* to force the gate of the castle, and here some few were killed." —PAUL JOVIE, *Life of Card. Colonna*, p. 173. Venice, 1557.

"In questo strepito Clemente che indarno stancaua Iddio sdegnato contra lui con preghi all' altare, udendo il grido de' soldati, affrettando il passo per il lungo corridore del muro doppio fuggì di palazzo in Castello, piangendo e spesso lamentandosi d' essere tradito da ogniuno: di maniera che in tutto quel camino dalle fenestrelle uedeua la miserabile fuga de' nostri, uno aspetto di tumulto molto sanguinoso, e le picche e le alabarde de' barbari infuriati sulle spalle di coloro che fuggiuano. Mentre che Clemente a gran passi fuggiua, gli era appresso PAOLO GIOVIO, il quale ha scritto queste cose, e gli haueua alzato di dietro il gheron della ueste lunga, accioche potesse caminar meglio, e gli haueua anco posto in capo e alle spalle la sua ueste e cappello paonazzo, accioche il Papa conosciuto dal rocchetto bianco, mentre che passaua per un ponte aperto e di legno nella rocca, non fosse per auentura colto di mira e amazzato di qualche archibugiata da Barbari. Entrarono dentro la porta del ponte, non essendosi potuto per la paura e dappocaggine de' nostri mandare giù la Saracinesca, due Alfieri Spagnuoli, con tanto uigore, e ardire: che benche da tutte le parte gli fossero scaricate contra artiglierie, non si spauentarono punto per la paura della morte, si che non passassero per lo ponte nella piazza uicina, sforzossi ancora con la medesima bestialità il Falcio Capitano Spagnuolo spingere le porte del Castello, e quiui con alcuni pochi fu morto."

B. (p. 51.)

“Letter of Isabella d’Este, Marchioness of Gonzaga, to Renée de France, Duchess of Ferrara.”

“MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LADY,—Yesterday his Cesarean Majesty came from Castelfranco to the Certosa, about a mile distant from Bologna; he was first received by the Governor and the regiment of Bologna, and then by all the most reverend Cardinals. Accompanied by a numerous suite of gentlemen they went to meet his Majesty, who remained that night at the Certosa, with as many of his own people and gentlemen as could be accommodated there. The rest went to Bologna to the lodgings appointed them, and so did the reverend gentlemen who had gone out to do honour to his Cesarean Majesty. To-day, about two o’clock, he made his entry into Bologna in the following order. First came three companies of light horse with lances, well armed and mounted; after them appeared the artillery with its band of sappers; then came fourteen squadrons of infantry, part of them were sharpshooters, and part armed with pikes and halberds, fine looking men and well armed; in the midst of them was seen Antonio de Leva unarmed, carried in a chair by his servants, being quite lame with the gout; and really he did not appear deficient either in strength or vigour, though he was thus carried, for he looked as if he was in the enjoyment of the greatest strength and armed at all points. After these detachments came the Burgundy cavalry, all in white armour, and wearing velvet jackets of the same uniform, with yellow, green, and red colours. Next came a fine body of light horse, with cloth jackets, of the aforesaid colours, armed with lances. Every Burgundian had a page behind him on horseback, well mounted, who carried the helmet and the lance. Next followed his Majesty’s gentlemen with jackets and cloaks of different shapes and fashions, according to their several tastes and fancies. After the gentlemen came the pages of his Majesty dressed in yellow velvet caps, and jackets also of velvet, but of

“Isabella d’Este Gonzaga a Renée di Francia, Duchessa di Ferrara. Da Bologna, il 6 Novembre 1529.”

“ILLUSTRISSIMA MADAMA MIA,—Heri la Maestà Cesarea venne da Castelfranco a la Certosa, distante da Bologna un millia; accolta prima dal Governatore et regimento de Bologna, poi da tutti questi Reverendissimi Cardinali, i quali, unitamente con uno seguito de infinito numero de gentilhomoni, erano andati ad incontrare la predetta Maestà; la quale quella notte rimase al detto loco de la Certosa, con quelli signori et gentilhomoni de li soi che poterono restare; et il resto entrò in Bologna a li logiamenti diputati: così fecero li Reverendissimi che erano andati per honorare Sua Cesarea Maestà. Hogi poi è stata l’intrata sua in Bologna a le circa 22 hore; l’ordine de la qual fue questo. Prima vennero tre compagnie di cavali ligieri colle lanze sue molto ben armate et ben a cavallo; drieto loro comparse l’artellaria col seguito de soi guastatori; poi vennero quatordecie bandiere de fanterie, parte archibuseri, parte co le piche et alabarde, bellissima gente et ben armata, in mezzo de le quali era il signor Antonio de Lejva disarmato, portato sopra una sede da soi servitori, per esser storpiato de la gota: et veramente non se comprendeva in lui manco vigore et virtù, essendo così portato, come se fusse stato nel magior vigor del mondo et armato a tutte arme. Drieto queste compagnie comparsero li cavali borgognoni, armati tutti ad arme bianche; coperte de saglioni de veluto ad una medema livrea, con color giallo, verde et rosso. Drieto costoro era un’altra bellissima compagnia di cavali ligieri, armati con saglioni de pano de li antidetti colori, con le lanze soe; et ciascuno de li Borgognoni drieto havea el suo pagio con lo elmeto et lanza, a cavallo de boni corsieri. Seguivano poi li gentilhomoni de Sua Maestà, armati cum saglii et sopraveste a diverse fogie et imprese, secondo li animi et intentioni de ciaschuno de loro. Drieto epsi gentilhomoni comparsero li pagì de Sua Maestà, tutti con berette di veluto giallo, cum sagli pur de veluto, ma

three colours, yellow, green, and crimson. They were mounted on beautiful well trained horses, both of Spanish and other races, superbly caparisoned. His Holiness about this time left the palace, carried in a chair in his Pontifical robes, surrounded by his servants and grooms of the chamber; the ambassadors went before him, and then all the most reverend Cardinals on foot, two and two, followed by an immense number of bishops and prelates, who all repaired to a tribune or wooden gallery which had been erected on the steps before the church of St. Petronio. It was all covered with white cloth, and the pavement where his Holiness and their reverences were to stand was covered with red cloth. Where persons of lower rank stood it was covered with cloth of other colours. On the other side the procession of his Majesty's people continued moving. They were fine looking men, dressed in the same colours as the pages were. After them came the grandees and favourites of Cesar on horseback, all armed and adorned with very handsome jackets and cloaks, which was a very pretty sight. Next came his Majesty himself; one of his gentlemen carried a drawn sword before him, and he was mounted on a beautiful white Spanish barb; he was fully armed and robed in a vest and cloak of gold brocade, but the right arm and right side of the breast were uncovered. At his stirrup there were about forty young gentlemen of the city, dressed in jackets and breeches of white satin ornamented and lined with gold brocade, velvet caps with white feathers, and red stockings. They had met his Majesty at the gate of entrance, and accompanied him on foot under a canopy of gold brocade carried by the first gentlemen of this city. As soon as he arrived at the steps of S. Petronio he dismounted from his horse and went to pay his homage at the feet of his Holiness, who had risen from his chair to receive him. After he had kissed his foot, his hand, and then his mouth, he was very kindly received by his Holiness, and he made him sit down at his left hand. These are the words of his Majesty, used on presenting

variate de tre colori, giallo, berettino et morelo; et erano suso bellissimo et gentilissimi cavali, cossà gianetti, como de altra sorte, richamente guarniti. In questo tempo discese la Santità di N. S. da palazzo, portato in sede, in habito pontificio, circumdato da soi camereri et cubicularii; et avante procedevano li ambascatori, poi tutti li reverendissimi Cardinali a piede, a doi a doi, con seguito de infinità episcopi et altri prelati; et se redusse ad uno tribunale facto de ligname, qual è stato preparato suso le scale, nanti la giesa de Santo Petronio, coperto di pani bianchi; et el pavimento, in quella parte ne la qual havea a star la predetta Santità et li Reverendissimi, era coperto de pano de rosato; le altre parti ne le quali haveano a star persone de manco rispetto, erano coperte de pani de altri colori. Continuava da l'altro canto il procedere de le genti di la Sua Maestà, che erano tutti bella gente, et vestiti de li colori medesimi ch'erano li detti paggi. Drieto de loro se videro li grandi et li più chari a Cesare, a cavallo; armati et ornati con richissimi saglioni et sopraveste, che facevano un bellissimo et vago vedere. Drieto loro comparse la Maestà Cesarea, nanti la quale era un suo gentilomo che portava la spada nudata; et era suso un gentilissimo gianetto tutto bianco, armato con saglione et sopraveste de brochato de oro rizzo sopra rizzo, ma il brazo destro et tutta la parte destra del petto era scoperta. A la stafa erano circa quaranta giovani gentilomeni de la città, tutti vestiti cum sagli et giuponi de raso bianco, intaliati con fodere de brochato de oro, berette de veluto con penne bianche, et calze de rosato: quali de la porta per la qual intrò Sua Maestà, cossà a pedi l'haveano accompagnata sotto un baldachino di brocato de oro, portato da altri gentilomeni, primi de questa città. Et cossì, giunta che fu a le scale de Santo Petronio, smontoe da cavallo, et andossi a presentare a li pedi di N. S.; il quale lo aspettava fermato in pede in la detta sua sede; et doppo che li hebbe basato il pede, la mano, poi la bocca, fu molto teneramente raccolto da Sua Beatitudine, e fecilo sedere a man sinistra. Le parole che Sua

himself: 'Holy Father, I am come to kiss the feet of your Holiness, the which I have for a long time past wished to do. Now I have accomplished my purpose. I pray God it may be for the service of your Holiness.' The Pope's answer to these words was: 'Let us thank our Lord God that he has brought us to see this much-desired day, hoping that through your Majesty's efforts it will issue to the advancement of God's service as well as of christianity.' After these words were pronounced, his Imperial Majesty rose from his seat and offered the Pope a purse of cloth of gold full of gold medals; two of them were worth a hundred crowns each, and many others of great value, amounting in all to the sum of a thousand crowns. After his Majesty had risen, all those who came with him and who were in the tribune kissed the feet of his Papal Holiness. Having been some time together, but without engaging in intimate or social conversation, they rose and went down on foot, the Emperor walking on the left hand of the Pope. Though Charles made a show of accompanying his Holiness to the palace, yet (at the entreaty of the Pope) he remained and went into S. Petronio with four of the Cardinals, Cesarino, Ravenna, Naples, and Ridolfi, who stayed to keep his Majesty company. The Pope remounted his chair and returned to his apartments, accompanied by the other most reverend Cardinals on foot. When the Emperor dismounted and threw himself at the feet of the Pope, and when he went to S. Petronio, he was always followed by his own people, an escort of light horse and infantry, with abundance of munition. And after having rendered the homage due to our Lord God, and gone through the ceremonies usual on such occasions, he repaired on foot just as he was, in the midst of the four most reverend Cardinals, to the palace, where apartments had been prepared for him so near those of the Pope (as I hear from those who have seen them) that a single wall only separated the one from the other.

"This spectacle, my dear Madam, appeared to me so very fine that I

Maestà disse a la Santità de N. S. nel representarsi, furono queste: *Padre sancto, soy venido a basar los pajes du Vuestro Sanctidad, lo que es mucho tempo lo deseava, agora lo compuesco l'obra; suplico a Dios que sea en su servicio y de Vuestra Sanctidad.* In risposta de le quali parole N. S. disse: Ringratiamo N. S. Dio che ci ha condutti a questo giorno da noi tanto aspectato; sperando che per mezzo di Vostra Maestà seguirà el servizio di Dio et de la Cristianità. Dette queste parole, la Maestà Cesarea levandose in pede, offerse a N. S. una borsa de tela d'oro, piena de molte medalie d'ora, tra le quali ve n'erano due di pretio di cento scuti l'una, e tante altre, che giongeranno a la suma de millie scuti in tutte; et dopo che la predetta Maestà fu levata, tutti li altri poi che erano venuti cum lei suso il detto tribunale, basarono il pede a la Santità del Papa. Così essendo stati insieme per alquanto de tempo, ma pocho in ragionamenti familiari e domestici, si levarono; et così a pedi descesero ad basso, stando sempre lo Imperatore a sinistra de N. S.; et benchè Cesare haveasse facti atti et demonstrationi de voler accompagnare Sua Santità sino a palazzo, non de meno (così persuasa dal papa) restò, et intrò in Sancto Petronio con quatro de li Reverendissimi: Cesarino, Ravenna, Napoli et Ridolfi, restati in compagnia de Sua Maestà; et N. S. retornò a le stantie soe, remontato in sede, accompagnato da li altri Reverendissimi a pedi. Et mentre che lo Imperatore fu smontato, et reduto a li pedi del papa et poi in S. Petronio, sempre continuò el seguito de gente de Sua Maestà; che furono cavali legieri et altre fantarie, con una gran quantità de monitione. Et dopoi che ebbe rese le debite gratie a N. S. Dio, facte quelle ceremonie che in simili tempi et casi se ricercano; se reduese, cussì a pedi come l'era, in mezzo de li quatro Reverendissimi a palazzo; nel qual erano preparate le stantie soe, tanto propinque a quelle di N. S. (per quanto son advisata da chi le ha vedute), che un solo muro separa l'una da l'altra.

"Questo spectaculo, Madama mia, me ha parso tanto bello, che confesso

confess that I have never seen, nor do I think I shall ever again see in my time, one like it. If I had tried to describe all the particulars I should have given you too much to read; but this one thing I must not suppress, that in all the streets through which his aforesaid Majesty passed, coins of gold and silver were scattered in token of generosity and rejoicing. It now remains for me to pray God that, from the colloquy for which these two great princes have met together, those good effects may follow which are so earnestly desired for the peace and general tranquillity of christendom.

"I have no doubt that your most Illustrious ladyship has already been informed through your ambassadors, perhaps with more detail, of all this. Nevertheless, at the request of one of your gentlemen who was here a few days ago, I have had the pleasure of relating the same to you by letter, commending myself ever to you. Bologna, 5 Nov. 1529. Isabella."

per me non haverne mai veduto, nè credo di vederne più a li di miei un tale; et se havessi voluto attendere in descrivere a V. E. tutte le particolarità, troppo le haverei dato a legere: ma questa non tacerò già, che per tutte le strade dove passava la predetta Maestà, se spargevano monete de argento et oro, in segno di letitia et liberalità. Restame a pregar Dio che, del colloquio per il quale questi doi gran Signori se sono radunati insieme, habbia da seguire quelli boni effecti, che da ciaschuno sono desiderati per la quiete et universale pace de Christianità.

"Io ben credo che V. S. Illustrissima, per li soi Ambasciatori qua, sarà stata forse cum più diligentia raguagliata de tutto; non de meno, per satisfatione a quello de che fui recercata li di passati dal suo gentil-homo che fu qui, me son contentata de farle intendere il medemo per mie littere. Et a lei sempre me raccomando. Bononiae, 5 Novembris 1529. Isabella."

CHAPTER II.

Page 70. A.

"Gualterius de Galena sive de Palearys episcopus Trojæ sub Imperatore Henrico VI. consanguineo an. 1195, post sub Federico Henrici filio an. 1195, 1200 Archiep. Panor. electus ad an. 1209. Episcopus Cataniensis hujus genius familiarj sub suenis magnas edes et 8 inez in agro mensure vendiderunt. Comiti Bartolomeo de Lucy atque in regno Neapoletano Matheus de Palearij Comitatus sub Carolo ^o Neap. et consiliarius a Latere ex R. C. Présés atque Andreas Amalphantanus Archiepiscopus Mathe. frater.

"Hic jacet corpus P. Andreae de Palearia de Salerno Archiepiscopi Amalpitani qui obiit Anno Domini m.cccc14, die xxvi. iv42, xii. imp. cujus anima requiescat, in gaudio sempiterno.

"Fulvio Marii de Surdis Filio nobili Romano Viro probò et integerrimo.

"Ascanius Palearius IV. D. Heres ex testamento mestissime posuit, obiit die vigesima quinta Aprilis M.D.LXXXIX anno vero ætatis sue XXXIX."¹

Page 70. B.

"Secondo una lettera chegli fu in risposta di Ferdinando San Severino, Principe di Salerno, Aonio Paleario sembra essere d'origine nobile di quella città riportata fra le lettere di Vincenzo Martelli stampato presso

"According to a letter, written in answer to him by Ferdinando San Severino, prince of Salerno, Aonio Paleario seems to have been descended from a noble family of that city, as related among the letters of Vincenzo

¹ This is partly unintelligible, but is copied from a MS. in the Library of Siena.

Cosimo Giunti in Firenze all' anno 1606, p. 26 o 30, secondo l' edizione. Il vero casato del Paleario in lingua Napoletana sarebbe Antonio Pagliarolo ed in fatto tutt' ora in Salerno e molti luoghi del Regno di Napoli esiste questo Casato. In Veroli negli antichi catasti è scritto Pagliarolo ma per purgatezza di lingua i suoi discendenti sono nominati col cognome di Pagliaroli, ed anche Palearo, in latino Palearius come puo vedersi nei libri Battesimali di S. Erasmo nell' anno 1648, dove si legge *Alexander Sindacus Canonicus et Curatus S. Erasmo baptisavit in fontem natum ex Joanne da Palearij cui impositurus est Bernardinus Patrini fuere Romano da Federicis et Sanctus ejus Felicis hujus Parochie.* Bernardino ventisei anni dopo diventa Padre ed in Italiano viene scritto Pagliaroli o Palearoli senza addurre altre documenti. Mercurio Dottor Pagliarogli in fretta scrisse questa notizia in Siena 5 Agosto 1643. Aggiunge nell' archivio della comunità di Veroli il biavo dello scrivente Vidue viene cognominato Anne Tobani, Vidue Pietro Palearij; nome che si dava anche e Fedro." — *Unedited MS. Lib. of Siena.*

Martelli, printed by Cosimo Giunti at Florence in the year 1606, p. 26 or 30, according to the edition. The true family name of Paleario in the Neapolitan language would be Antonio Pagliarolo; and in fact, even now in Salerno and in many other places of the kingdom of Naples, this family still exists. In Veroli, in the old registers, it is written Pagliarolo, but for greater refinement of sound his descendants have taken the surname of Pagliaroli, and also Palearo, in Latin Palearius, as may be seen in the baptismal registers of S. Erasmus in the year 1648, where we read, &c.

"When Bernardino twenty-six years after became a father, his name was written in Italian Pagliaroli or Palearoli, without quoting other documents. Doctor Mercurio Pagliarogli wrote in haste this memorandum at Siena 5 Aug. 1643. He adds that in the archives of the community of Veroli the great-grandfather of the writer was called Anne Tobani, Widow of Pietro Palearij; a name by which Fedro also was called."

Page 71. C.

Ennio Filonardi was a native of Banco, a village in the diocese of Veroli. Though of modest extraction, he rose by his talents and judgment to an elevated position. He went to Rome during the Pontificate of Innocent VIII., obtained employment at court in recompense for his services, and received several benefices.

Alexander VI. conferred on him the bishopric of Veroli in the year 1523. He was in favour also with Julius II., and by him selected to be governor of Bologna on account of his moderate and prudent character. He was afterwards, during the commotions of Romagna, sent to Imola to calm the effervescence of that city. He executed his mission so much to the satisfaction of the Pope that he was sent Legate to Switzerland to form an alliance with that nation, which threatened to throw off the Papal yoke. On his return he was made member of the public Consistory, and but for the sudden death of Julius in 1503 would have been created Cardinal. During the reigns of Leo X. and Adrian VI. he was sent as Nuncio to several princes. He was ambassador in Switzerland during the sack of Rome, and through him Clement solicited assistance from the Swiss. Paolo Giovio in his Life of Cardinal Colonna says, '*Infiammata anco grandemente gli Svizzeri Ennio Filonardi Vescovo di Veroli Ambasciator vecchio appresso quella natione.*'¹ It must have been on his return from this mission that he was made Vice-legate of Perugia, but it is not mentioned by Ughelli.² Paul III. created him

¹ *Vita da Pompeo Colonna*, p. 176.

² See Ughelli, *De Episcopis Italia*, vol. i. p. 1397.

Cardinal, sent him as Legate to the Duke of Urbino, and made him governor of the castle of S. Angelo, a dignity attached to his title of Cardinal of S. Angelo. He was subsequently charged with a mission to Lombardy.

Beloved and respected by the court of Rome for his pure and upright life and experienced judgment, at his death he was universally regretted. On the 19th December, 1549, at the advanced age of eighty-three years, he expired in the castle of S. Angelo. During the interregnum which took place at the death of Paul III., his body was carried to his native village, Banco, to be buried. Filonardi was one of those moderate respectable men, who under all circumstances pursue a steady course, but from whom no suggestive improvement is to be expected. Whatever were his private convictions, he took no part in the great religious movement passing before him. Faithful to his trust as an ambassador or a diplomatist, he had more of the lay than the clerical element in his character. Such persons are necessary in an ecclesiastical state, where all government offices are filled by the so-called clergy.¹

Page 74. D.

"What you write about Verusco is true, or nearly so: there is danger in his insidious blandness. I hate such men, and am indifferent about offending him if I do not offend you, though in those letters, in which you opened your mind to me, you said you had always loved him as if you were one day to dislike him; you now deny feeling any aversion for him. But I am foolish to remind you of old grievances."—*Palcaarij Opera*, lib. i. ep. 2.

Page 81. C.

This ancient Etruscan tomb is in a cave of considerable depth, imbedded in a lofty rock fringed with trees. The descent of the entrance is about eight or ten steps, the door extremely massive with strong hinges. It forcibly reminds the beholder of the new tomb in which our Lord was laid; on seeing it we realise the difficulty which the women felt when they said among themselves, 'Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?' and their surprise when they found it already removed, 'for it was very great.'²

On the right hand of the Travertino door we find the following inscription engraved in Etruscan characters, which the learned Vermiglioli decyphers thus:

ARNTH: LARTH: VELIMNAꝞ
ARVNEAL: THVSIVR
SVTHI: AVIL: THECE

and translates it: 'Aruna. Larth. son of Volumni dedicated and ordered the annual sacrifices and annual Ferie here.'³

On passing the threshold the light of the torches, a necessary accompaniment, reveals a large chamber of symmetrical architecture, cut out of the solid tufo rock, filled with magnificent sarcophagi of the third and best era of Etruscan sculpture. The roof of the principal chamber is cut to resemble boards lapped one over another, and is of a gable form. Beyond this is a smaller or chief apartment, in which the sarcophagi are placed. The largest is supposed to contain the ashes of Aruns Volumnio, son of Aulo. He is represented reposing on a sumptuous couch with pillows at the head and feet, in a reclining position, resting on one elbow, the usual patera in the left hand, and the right holding the necklace or roll of wool which is peculiar

¹ See *Lettere di Principi*, vol. i. pp. 172—219, for eleven letters of instruction sent to him while in Switzerland in 1525 and 1526, by Gio. Matteo Giberti, Papal Datary.

² See Vermiglioli, *Sepolcro dei Volumni*. Perugia, 1840.

³ Mark xvi. 34.

to Etruscan figures. Below are two female genii, one of whom has her hair entwined with serpents; between them is a faded fresco painting, a sort of family group, in which the forms of the figures resemble by their ideal beauty those of the Raphael school. On the right arm are four other sarcophagi of the same family. The names of each, both male and female, are engraved in Etruscan characters; they are all nearly alike, in the same reposing attitude, the upper part of the body exposed to view, while a robe seems to be thrown carefully round the rest of the figure. There is a sixth effigy, different from the others. It is supposed to be that of the mother of the family, and a person of some distinction. The base of the sarcophagus resembles the other, but instead of reposing she is seated in an armchair, fully dressed, without a patera. She holds in one hand a kind of band or ribbon, which she appears to be passing over her shoulders. The learned Etruscan antiquary Vermiglioli suggested several hypotheses as to the meaning of this seated figure, it being the only one yet found, though empty chairs, prepared for the spirits when they revisit their mortal remains, have been discovered in several tombs. He alludes to its resemblance to Nemesis, one of the divinities of Erebus, but this idea is discarded on finding the sarcophagus bears the name of a female of the Volumni family. An unclassical mind, unencumbered with mythological illusions, might imagine it represented a member of the family married at a distance not yet passed to the land of repose, and consequently figured as a person alive and active, whom the family artificer of the tomb was unwilling to leave out of commemoration in the domestic circle of defunct persons; but this idea has little weight when we recollect that in this case she could not be the mother of the family, and also that a reclining posture was often that of a living individual at meals or in repose.

Besides these six Travertine sarcophagi (whitened to look like marble) there is also a marble tomb of another form, and of much later date. From the Latin inscription we learn that it belongs to the Volumni. It resembles a small building or temple of the Corinthian order with a gable roof. It is richly adorned with sculpture of exquisite workmanship on all sides, of allegorical signification, Egyptian sphinxes, trees, plants, flowers. The inscription, *P. Volumnius—A. F. Violens—Cafatia natus*. The same is found in minute Etruscan characters on the roof of the tomb. All these several monuments prove the antiquity and power of the Volumni family. They were originally of Perugia, but as the greatness of Rome increased they took an active and distinguished part in the government of the Roman empire. Varro mentions a Volumni as the author of Etruscan tragedies. Cicero often alludes to them. As early as the sixth century of the Roman era Lucci Volumni, surnamed Fiamma Violens, exercised consular power.—See Niebuhr, *History of Rome*.

Page 97. E.

“ Il nome di Balia, vale Potestà e Amministrazione viene da Bali voce araba, che significa Padrone di casa, così Balia la governatrice de' Bambini.

“ La Balia, o Collegio di Balia, si è uno de' principali Magistrati della città. Il suo nome a tempi antichi si davansi ad alcuna autorità e potere sopra i pubblici affari soleva dirsi di avergli data Balia di soprintendere ad essi. Tali facoltà furono concesse talora dalla Repubblica ad alcune persone per affari particolari, e ristrette

“ The name of *Balia* signifies power and administration. It comes from an Arabic word *Bali*, which means master of the house; also *Balia* children's nurse.

“ The *Balia*, or college of the Balia, is one of the principal magistrates of the city. Its name expresses authority and power over public affairs; it is usual to say the Balia is given to superintend them. This power was given at times by the Republic to some persons under peculiar circumstances, and limited to a fixed period.

ad un tempo determinato. Per diversi decreti fu poi vietato il più concederla, perchè con essa veniva ristretta la suprema autorità, che risieda ò nel Consiglio Generale, ò nella Signoria. Ciò nonostante nel 1403, poichè la città si tolse dalla servitù del Duca di Milano, fu data autorità e Balìa di riformare il governo ad otto cittadini insieme con la Signoria e Gonfaloniere, dovendo conservare un tal podere sei mesi. Continuossi dappoi tratto tratto a fare tali deputazioni nonostante lo statuto in contrario. Sicehè con l'andare degli anni si è cambiata in Magistrato ordinario."—Ghirom. Gigli *Diario. Balìa di Siena*.

"It was afterwards by different decrees forbidden to be granted, because it had a tendency to infringe on the supreme authority which existed either in the General Council or in the Signory. Notwithstanding, in 1403, when the city disowned the authority of the Duke of Milan, Balìa, and authority, was given to eight citizens to reform the government in conjunction with the Signory and Mayor, and they were to be in power six months. This power was from time to time continually exercised, notwithstanding that it was contrary to law. Thus in the lapse of time it became an ordinary Magistracy."

CHAPTER III.

Page 98. A.

Giovanni Lascari, a learned Greek, fled with his father from Greece on the ruin of their country by the Turks, and took refuge in Italy. They were kindly received by Cardinal Bessarione,¹ himself a Greek. The young Lascari went to Padua to complete his studies, and was afterwards sent by Lorenzo de' Medici to Greece for mss. to enrich his splendid library. After the death of Lorenzo, and the incursions of Charles VIII., he accompanied that king to France, and remained there many years in high favour.² Louis XII. sent him ambassador to Venice in 1503; he filled this office till the war broke out in 1508, when he retired to a private station, and occupied himself in teaching Greek till 1513. At the election of Leo X. he went immediately to Rome,³ and was employed by the Pope to found a college for the study of Greek and Latin literature. Lascari had been occupied in Florence in completing the splendid edition of the Greek Anthology. He published at Rome some scholia on the Iliad of Homer and the Homeric questions of Porphyry,⁴ and also on the seven ancient tragedies of Sophocles. In 1518 Francis I. invited him to Paris. Here he assisted Budæus in forming the magnificent library which the king was collecting at Fontainebleau. He was sent a second time ambassador to Venice. Paul III. invited him to Rome with the promise of a liberal stipend, but he died soon after his arrival, in the year 1535, when only fifty years of age.—See Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. p. 391; and Boernerio, *De doctis homin. Græc.*, p. 199.

Page 112. B.

Aldo Manuzio, born 1447, died 1513, was the famous printer whose industry and talents were so great a benefit to literature. He was a native of

¹ A native of Trebizond; born 1396, died 1472.

² He instructed the celebrated Budæus in Greek.

³ Sadoleti, *Epist. Pontif.* p. 2.

⁴ Porphyry, a Platonic philosopher of Tyre; he studied at Athens under Longinus and afterwards went to Rome. He was a decided enemy to Christianity. Died A.D. 304.

Bassiano in Latium, near Rome. He studied under Batista Guarini at Ferrara, and at the same time had for his pupil Alberto Pio di Carpi, a young noble whose family had been always distinguished for their talents and munificent patronage of letters. When war broke out between Venice and Ferrara, Aldo found a ready welcome at the court of the learned Giovanni Pico di Mirandola. Pico, Pio, and Aldo met at Carpi for the purpose of arranging a plan they had conceived of publishing correct and elegant editions of the Greek and Latin classics. Aldo undertook the practical part, and the two princes furnished the money to commence the undertaking. Aldo set out for Venice in 1494, and began there to print some Greek books. During twenty years he continued his labours with so much assiduity and perseverance that there was scarcely a single classical author which had not issued from his press, besides many other works both in Latin and Italian. He was remarkable for his diligence in searching for the best mss., and spared no expence or trouble in collating and comparing different copies of Aristotle's writings. It has been said that Erasmus was for some time in his office while his proverbs were printing, and some think that he was employed as corrector of the press, but his letters seem to disprove this conjecture. It is more certain that he examined for Aldo some ancient mss. He used to say that if Aldo had all his wishes fulfilled, the learned would soon have books in every language and on every subject. He had in fact projected the idea of printing the Old Testament in the Hebrew language. So grand an enterprise met with encouragement from the learned in all parts of the world.

Besides attending to the business of his printing-office he taught Greek regularly, and attended the meetings of the academy which he had founded at Venice for the purpose of examining the editions in mss. which he proposed printing. Bembo and all the most learned men of the age were members of his academy. He had also a great deal of occupation in writing prefaces, dedications, and comments on the works he printed. Notwithstanding his indefatigable industry he was not prosperous in a pecuniary sense, but his mind was too superior to make this his chief concern. No sordid element mixed with his noble projects. When much overworked he used to say, "I suffer willingly, if I can but do good to others; while I live I will persevere." He died, as the saying is, in harness, still busy at his press in 1513. It is a proof of the ingratitude of mankind that no stone was raised to his memory.

Page 114. C.

Romolo Amaseo was one of the brilliant literary characters of the sixteenth century. He was born at Udine on the 24th of June, 1481. His father was Gregorio Amaseo, and his mother a nun; he was afterwards legitimized. In 1508 he accepted an invitation from Egidio, of Viterbo, an Augustine friar, to go to Padua to teach the classics to the novices of the order. He studied only a few months at Padua, but during that time he taught the Augustine monks Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The war in 1509 obliged Romolo to leave Padua for Bologna, where he was kindly received by Campeggi, and in the year 1513 was appointed professor of eloquence. He then married Violante Guastavillani, by whom he had several children; one of them was the celebrated Pompilio. So many scholars pressed to hear him lecture, that in the crowd there were often fights for admission. In 1520 the Venetian republic, considering Amaseo as their subject, recalled him to Padua, where he lectured for four years with the same applause as at Bologna. He was recalled in 1524 by Clement VII. to Bologna, to the great dissatisfaction of the Senate. Bembo complained that all the foreign students left Padua when Romolo did. His fame was so great that he was invited to Mantua by Cardinal Hercules Gonzaga; to Rome by Clement VII.; again to Padua by Bembo; and even to England by Cardinal Wolsey. But he was so beloved

and esteemed at Bologna that he refused every offer, thus shewing his gratitude for having his stipend raised to 1000 *lire*. He was appointed secretary of state to the legation, and was sent to Rome on the election of Paul III. to negotiate some public affairs. In the year 1525 he was invited by the Cardinal of Mantua to pay him a visit of three months, and to bring his son Pompilio. He wrote a most pleasing account of his reception to his wife Violante. "We are enjoying a deliciously cool air, and up to this time we have been well, and Pompilio better than he has ever been; he studies at his regular hours, and then he has so many delightful walks, without danger, and my lord Ercole is so kind, that he could not make more of him if he were his own son. He insists, even against my wishes, on having him sit always at table, and before dinner and supper he even comes to our room to fetch him to take a walk with him, and he takes more care of his health and comfort than I do. I find the cardinal the most excellent and most polished gentleman I ever knew. He makes a great deal of me, and says openly that he has made greater progress in literature in four days during my stay with him than he did in a year in former times, and this without giving me more trouble than studying two hours a day with him. I share his meals, and in the hours of recreation I walk and ride with him." Paul III. invited him to Rome to be professor at the *Sapienza*, and direct his nephew's studies. Julius III. made him his domestic prelate, but Romolo did not long enjoy this dignity, as he died at Rome in 1552.—Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 288.

CHAPTER IV.

Page 120. A.

Varchi¹ relates that the mayor, Niccolò Capponi, was greatly under the influence of the friars of S. Marco, and was very anxious to bring over the brotherhood to his party, they being numerous and much respected. With this object he favoured Savonarola's views and plans so much that he was blamed by some and laughed at by others. On the 9th of February, in the great Council, he recited almost word for word one of the discourses of the friar, in which he had first predicted many evils and then promised great blessings to Florence. At the close he threw himself on his knees on the ground, and cried out with a loud voice *misericordia!* The feeling was infectious, and the whole Council called out *misericordia!* Capponi then proposed to the Council that they should accept Christ the Redeemer as the special King of Florence. There were only twenty votes against it, and he put up on the principal door of the palace, not imagining it would ever be touched, these words:²

YHS

CHRISTO REGI SUO DOMINANTUM

DEO SUMMO OPT. MAX. LIBERATORI

MARIEQUE VIRGINI REGINE DICAVIT. AN. SAL. 1527.

S. P. Q. F.

The books *Delle Provisioni* do not mention this vote, but there is a notice of it in the *Libri Dei Partiti* as follows:

"In Dei Nomine Amen. Die 9 "In the name of God Amen. 9th
mensis Februarii, 1527. Feb. 1527.

"Dominica Septuagesima in Con- "On Septuagesima Sunday, 1002

¹ *Storia Fiorentina*, tom. i. lib. v.

² The old chronicler Giovanni Cambi quotes nearly the whole of Capponi's discourse.—See *Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani*, tom. xiii. p. 6.

silio maiori 1002 congregato hæc acta fuerunt: videlicet, Magnificus Vexillifer Justitiæ populi Florentini Nicolaus Capponus, post longam misericordię ac justitię Dei enumerationem pluribus exemplis a nostra civitate sumptis aliisque populis in medium adductis, factaque benigna consiliariis exhortatione ad bene beateque vivendum et summo Deo serviendum in timore eique exultandum cum tremore, nonnullis etiam doctorum sententiis alligatis demum duas infra notatas deliberationes per viam exquirendę populi voluntatis de consensu etiam Dominorum ad populum, qui in dicto Consilio maiori supra mille centum numero convenerat per Dominum Silvestrum Aldobrandinum officialem reformationum proponi jussit, videlicet: primo: utrum ipse populus, omnibus aliis post habitis, cupiat in suum regem ac gubernatorem huius civitatis Dominum Deum optimum maximum accipere: secundo: eiusque Matrem Virginem immaculatam Mariam reginam appellare, eorumque nomina sanctissima ad fores publici palatii litteris ac signis aureis ad perpetuam rei memoriam inscribi facere."¹

persons being assembled in the great Council, this act was passed. The magnificent Niccolò Capponi, the chief magistrate of the Florentine people, after enumerating at length the mercies and justice of God, and adducing many proofs of the same, granted to this people, and giving a friendly counsel and exhortation to live well and in a blessed manner, and to serve the great God in fear and to rejoice in Him with trembling, and also quoting the opinions of some divines, at last proposed that two decrees should be submitted to the will and consent of the Signory and the people, which in this said great Council my lord Silvester Aldobrandini, officer of the reforms, put to the vote: First, that this people and all who dwell here desire to have for king and governor in this city the Lord God most great and excellent. Secondly, that the immaculate Virgin Mother Mary be called queen; and that their most holy names be inscribed on the doors of the public palace in letters of gold to keep these things in perpetual remembrance."

This proposal of the mayor was carried, but not with the same votes, for the election of Jesus Christ as king was opposed by eighteen votes, and that of the Virgin Mary by twenty-four.

It was also resolved to surround the monogram of Christ, which was to be placed on the door of the palace, with a crown of thorns. To commemorate their liberty, three solemn festivals were appointed to be kept during the year. The 9th of November,² when the most high God had loosened the chains of servitude; the 16th of May, when it pleased their immortal King to restore to them their christian liberty; and the 9th of February, in which Christ the Redeemer had been elected king.³

It is not certain whether it was in 1527 or 1529 that the monogram of Christ was placed on the door of the palace: but it appears probable that it was affixed after the first decree was passed, as it was not surrounded with the crown of thorns according to the decree of the 17th of May, 1529. This is the opinion of the old chronicler Giovanni Cambi, who relates that on the 10th of June 1528 the clergy assembled in the great square, where an altar had been erected before the door of the palace, but detached from it so that the people could walk round it, and that then the name of Jesus King of the Florentine people was uncovered, and all honour and glory ascribed to Him for the defence of their liberty.⁴ On this same door, says Cambi, there were the arms of France in 1494, and those of Leo X. when he was elected Pope.

¹ *Archivio Centrale di Stato. Sezione della Repubblica. Libri di Consulta, No. 64, Carte 284.*

² The day the Medici were driven out of the city.—See *CHAP. IV.*

³ *Arch. Cen. di Stato Sezione Repubblica.*

⁴ *Delizia degli Eruditi Toscani, tom. xxiii. p. 35.*

There is a serious discrepancy between the wording of the different inscriptions. Varchi, as we have seen, gives one; Segni, a contemporary historian, gives two different versions, both of which we copy. The first is in his history:

Jesus Christus Rex Florentini Populi
S. P. Decreto Electus.¹

The second in his life of Niccolò Capponi:

YHS XPS REX Populi Flor. S. P. Q. F. consensu declaratus Anno,
Mense, die.²

And all these three vary from the existing inscription, *Rex Regum et Dominus Dominantium*, which however has no resemblance to the wording of the original decree, and does not mention Christ by name.³ As Varchi wrote about the middle of the sixteenth century, and makes the observation cited in the text, it is supposed that the original inscription was removed in his time.

This monogram reminds us of the great iconoclast Leo the Isaurian, in 730, when, moved by a holy zeal for God's glory, he took the images out of the churches, and struck a medal with this inscription:

TIBI SOLI REX REGNANTUM.

On which Christ is depicted seated in a chair holding a book.—See *Hist. Byz.* Du Fresne Domino Du Cange. Lutetia Parisiorum, p. 123, c10.c1cxxx.

Page 124. B.

At the death of the Grand-Duke Giovanni Gastone, in 1737, without heirs, the house of Medici became extinct, and Tuscany passed by treaty to the house of Lorraine in the person of Francis I., who as the husband of Maria Teresa was elected Emperor. It was not till his death in 1765 that Tuscany had an independent sovereign in the person of his second son Pietro Leopoldo I. His extreme youth obliged him at first to be under the tutelage of Count Thun and Marshal Botta. In 1770 he went to Vienna, and obtained from his brother, the Emperor Joseph II., complete freedom from all restrictions, and became totally independent of the Imperial court. He was an enlightened promoter of progress, and it was the study of his life to alleviate the burdens and ameliorate the condition of his subjects. He reduced the rate of interest, and appointed equal weights and measures throughout his dominions. To encourage industry he projected many public buildings, and when money was wanting sold a quantity of rich and beautiful things from the royal *guardaroba*. He was severely blamed for selling the villa Careggi, celebrated as the abode of Lorenzo de' Medici and for the meetings of the Platonic academy. In 1782 he conferred a great boon on Tuscany, by abolishing the tribunal of the Inquisition and using its funds in repairing the churches. He suppressed many convents of monks, and issued a very remarkable edict, in which he took from the jurisdiction of the bishops all civil cases belonging to the clergy, and totally suppressed all companies, congregations, and confraternities of monks. Pietro Leopoldo was very anxious for some reform in religion. With the assistance of Scipio Ricci, bishop of Pistoia, he drew up fifty-four articles of reform, and gave the clergy six months to consider them: at the end of that time he called a diocesan synod to establish them, but only three bishops declared themselves favourable; and such was the ignorance and superstition in which the multitude had been kept by the friars, that when these reforms were introduced the

¹ *Storie Fiorentine*, tom. i. p. 71.

² Segni, *Vita di Niccolò Capponi*, p. 929.

³ See Passerini, *Del Monogrammo di Cristo posto sulla Porta del Palazzo della Signoria*.

people rose in rebellion. But Leopoldo, though far before the spirit of his age, continued his benevolent plans in spite of all discouragement. In 1786 he abolished the penalty of death, and blotted out the crime of high treason from the statute-book. To convince his people that in all his reforms their good was his sole object he separated his possessions from that of the state, and ordered that all his property should be subject to the same laws and taxes as that of a private individual. It was an unfortunate day for Tuscany when he was called, by the death of his brother Joseph II., to the Imperial dignity. He had been long preparing the way for constitutional laws, and took the initiative by forming a committee of proprietors in Florence, to whom he gave the charge of fixing the taxes and rates necessary to sustain the expences of the town and the maintenance of the hospitals. The Florentines were scarcely sensible of his full value till he had left them. His character was not faultless, but as a prince endowed with absolute power he did more for his subjects in the encouragement of civil and religious liberty than any other sovereign, and had already prepared the plan of a constitution, when in 1791 his dynastic duties obliged him to relinquish the crown of Tuscany to his second son the archduke Ferdinand.¹

Page 125. C.

Playm, in *Notizie de' libri rari*, gives the following list of Bruccioli's translations of the Bible into Italian:—

La Bibbia tradotta in Lingua Toscana da Antonio Bruccioli. In Venezia per li Giunti 1532, in foglio.

La medesima. In Venezia 1541, in foglio, e 1566 in 4to.

La medesima. In Venezia 1546, in 3 vol. in foglio, con annotazioni; e in Geneva 1562, in foglio, con annotazioni, e figure.

Il Nuovo Testamento dal Bruccioli fu impresso a Venezia per i Giunti, 1530, in 8vo.

Fontanini in his *Eloquenza Italiana* says that Bruccioli was *dannati in prima classe nel Concilio di Trento* as a heretic, because he was honoured by the approbation of Renée, duchess of Ferrara, and asserts that Bruccioli took passages from Santi Pagnini and others, and appropriated them as his own. Santi Pagnini was a Lucca divine and preacher, who translated the Bible from the Hebrew and Greek languages into Latin, in the year 1528.

Before Bruccioli's translations of the Bible into Italian, Nicolò de' Malermi published a translation in Venezia, per Vendelino Spira, 1471; also Bibbia in lingua Volgare tradotta in 1471, without name or place.

Bibbia Italiana. In Pinerolo, per Gio. de Rossi, 1475, in foglio.

Bibbia tradotta dal Malermi. In Venezia, per Antonio Bolognese, 1477, in foglio.

La medesima. In Venezia, per Pietro Trevisano, 1477, in foglio.

La medesima. In Venezia, per Andrea Paltafichio de Catharo, in 1484, in foglio.

La medesima. In Venezia, per Gio. Rosso Verosellese, ad istanza de Luc' Antonio Giunta, 1494, in foglio.

La medesima. In Venezia, per Girolamo Scotto, 1565, in foglio.

La Bibbia tradotta dall' Ebraica in Lingua Toscana, da Santi Mamor-chini. In Venezia, per i Giunti, 1538, in foglio.

Dichiarazione de' Salmi di David fatta da Francesco Panigarola. In Roma, per lo Gigliotto, in 1587, in 8vo. ed. in Torino, 1586.

L'Apocalisse col commento de Gilberto. In Milano, 1520, in foglio.

Gli Atti degli Apostoli in terza rima per Lodovico Filicaja Capuccino. In Venezia, 1549, in 4to. e così anche gli *Evangelii, uniti in una storia.*

¹ See *Compendio di Storia Fiorentina*. Firenze, 1811; and *Istoria dell' Assemblée degli Arcivescovi e Vescovi della Toscana*. Firenze.

L'Epistole, Vangeli, e Lezioni di tutto l'Anno. In Bologna, 1473; in Venezia, 1483; and 1487, per Annibale da Parma, in 4to. In Roma, 1483; in Venezia, 1507, and 1522. Senza nome di traduttore.

Giovanni Diodati's Italian translation of the Bible is well known, it was printed at Geneva in 1607 and 1609, and afterwards in 1641, in folio; the last edition is the best.

La Sacrosanta Bibbia in Lingua Italiana da Mattia d' Erberg. In Colonia, 1712, in foglio, thought to be printed at Nuremburg.

Besides these there is Paschali's Nuovo Testamento, already noticed, and others not named here.

Page 129. B2.

The edition in which this preface is found has for title, IL NUOVO TESTAMENTO DI CHRISTO GIESU Signore e Salvatore nostro. Di Greco tradotto in lingua Toscana PER ANTONIO BRUCCIOLI. The sign is a naked child holding a branch it has just plucked, the stump of a tree which has only a shoot. At the foot of the page a text of Scripture, PREDICATE L' EVANGELIO à ogni creatura, quello che credera, e sara battezzato, sara salvo MARCO XVI.

The Giunti, who printed the greater part of the Italian Bibles and Testaments translated by Bruccioli, were a family of printers who lived at Venice. They were both printers and booksellers, and used remarkably fine round types. Their sign on the title-page was a vine, trained on a pole, loaded with leaves and fruit.—Fontanini *Eloquenza Italiana*, t. ii. p. 429.

CHAPTER V.

Page 149. A.

Pietro Pomponazzi, born 1462, died 1524, was born at Mantua, and studied at Padua. In 1488 he was chosen extraordinary professor of philosophy, and in 1495 succeeded to the regular chair. The force of his intellect and the brilliancy of his talents won such universal admiration that his salary was increased at different times till it amounted to 370 ducats. Gaspar Contarini, afterwards Cardinal, was one of his scholars; Alberto Pio di Carpi and Celio Calgnanini attended his lectures. When the university of Padua was closed in 1509 Pomponazzi went to Ferrara, and subsequently in 1513 to Bologna, where he remained till his death. In vain the university of Pisa tempted him with a high salary, he preferred Bologna.

He was three times married, but had only two daughters; being of small stature and ordinary appearance, he was once, to his great indignation, taken for a Jew. Sperone Speroni says he was *uomo ne' nostri tempi solo per avventura perfetto*. It was somewhat remarkable that, though he studied the secrets of natural science, read Aristotle, Plato, Avicenna, and Averroes most diligently, he knew nothing of the languages in which they wrote, and was but imperfectly acquainted with Latin.

He died at Bologna in 1524, aged 62 years. Hercules Gonzaga, one of his pupils, had his body carried to Mantua, and there honourably buried at his own expence. He also honoured his quondam master with a statue in bronze, which represented him seated in his professor's chair with an open book in his hand and another closed at his feet.

Pomponazzi's works are now little sought after, except his treatise on the Immortality of the Soul. It was generally thought he was an unbeliever on this point. His other books cast still greater doubt on the soundness of his opinions. *De naturalium effectuum admirandorum causis, seu de Incantationibus*, and five books on fate, freewill, predestination, and the providence of God, were printed at Basle in 1567. It cannot be denied that they contain many absurd and impious propositions, such as that miracles are only in the imagination; that Divine Providence does not attend to the things of this world; that God does not desire the happiness of all men, &c.

He averred that in treating of these subjects he spoke only as a philosopher, which gave rise to the sportive judgment of Apollo, reported by Boccacini, 'Let him then be burned as a philosopher.'

It is somewhat curious that Giulio Castellani of Faenza,¹ in his book *De humano intellectu*, printed at Bologna in 1561, stated that Aristotle denied the immortality of the soul; yet no one cried out against him because he followed up his assertion with proofs of the philosopher's error.

The work of Pomponazzi which attracted so much attention is a small duodecimo volume of 147 pages. The title is: *Pomponatii (Petri Mantuani) Tractatus de Immortalitate Animæ*.

In the last page we find the following paragraph: *Finis impositus est huic tractatui per me Petrum filium Joannis Nicolai Pomponatii de Mantua die 24 mensis Septemb. anno Christo 1516. Bononiae. Anno 4 Pontificatus Leonis X. ad laudem individua Trinitatis, &c.*

The latest editions of Pomponazzi *De Immortalitate* contain an account of his life by Chph. Gottfr. Bardili. Tenneman, in his *Manual of Philosophy* p. 174, says: "Among the most renowned Peripatetics of Italy we remark P. Pomponatius of Mantua. His devotion to Aristotle's doctrines did not prevent his originating many of his own, or from detecting the weak points of his master's system. He endeavoured to arouse his contemporaries to more profound investigations, and he discussed with singular force and acuteness various subjects, such as the immortality of the soul, &c., enchantment, or demonology; or to express it more precisely, the question whether the phenomena of nature which bear the appearance of being marvellous are produced by the agency of spirits, (as Platonists averred), or of the constellations. Having asserted that according to Aristotle there is no certain proof to be adduced of the immortality of the soul, Pomponazzi drew upon himself a violent and formidable controversy, in which he defended himself by asserting the distinction between natural and revealed religion.

To those who take an interest in the vigorous and unassisted energies of the human mind it is full of interest, while those who are guided by divine revelation will feel thankful to have a sure word of prophecy not open to doubt or conjecture.

The preface states that the work was written at the request of brother Jerome Natalis of Ragusa, and others who had heard Pomponazzi declare that the opinions of Thomas Aquinas on the Immortality of the Soul were not consonant with those of Aristotle. These friends desired to know his views on the subject, and apart from revelations and miracles desired to hear what natural reason he could bring forward, and also what were Aristotle's opinions on this point.

He divides his arguments into fifteen heads or chapters.

In Chap. I. he shews that man is of a complex nature, mortal and immortal. Some of his faculties can only be exercised through a corporeal medium; others need no bodily agency, and hence we allot to the soul, separability, immateriality, and immortality. In short, man has as it were three natures, the vegetative, the sensitive, and the intellectual. Among the

¹ Nephew of Pier Niccolo, one of the opposers of Pomponazzi.

three souls of men, some few may be ranked among the Gods, they having subdued the vegetative and sensitive, and become, so to speak, entirely rational. Others, by the total neglect of the intellect, have almost transmuted themselves into beasts; this was perhaps the idea of the Pythagorean philosophers when they maintained the transmigration of souls into divers animals. Others may be pronounced men in the true sense of the word; they hold a middle course, lead a moral and virtuous life, neither neglecting the development of their reason, nor the exercise of their physical powers. In this class of mortals we recognise the allusion of the Psalmist, 'Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels.'

In Chap. II. he lays down six methods, by which the multiform nature of humanity may be understood; neglecting two, he proposes to discuss the other four.

Chap. III. He begins with the first method, that taught by Themistius and Averroes, which they pretend to derive from Aristotle. They maintain the unity or singleness of man's immortal nature, and the multiformity of his mortal being.

Chap. IV. shews the deficiency of the system of Averroes.

Chap. V. takes up the second method, which asserts that the intellectual nature is distinct from the sensitive, though it stands in the same rank. Some of these regard the soul in relation to man as the mover to the moved, rather than as the spirit in contradistinction to matter. Others affirm that man may more truly be said to be made up of soul and body, than to be himself a soul making use of a body.

Chap. XV. sums up the whole argument.

The author considers the immortality of the soul to be an indeterminate problem; he thinks that no natural reasons can be adduced to shew that the soul is immortal, still less can it be proved mortal. At the same time he argues that it were unbecoming and inexpedient for man to be left in uncertainty on this point; since, if his soul is immortal, it behoves him to despise earthly and seek after eternal things; whereas if his soul is mortal he is led to do the reverse. This doubtful question Pomponazzi considers to have been definitely settled by God, even before the gift and advent of his grace, namely by the prophets, and by means of supernatural gifts under the Old Testament, and more recently by his Son, who said, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life,' and both in word and deed gave full demonstration of the soul's immortality. By word, when He threatened the wicked with eternal fire, and promised everlasting happiness to the righteous, saying, 'Come ye blessed,' and 'Depart ye cursed,' &c. By deed, in that He rose again on the third day. This testimony is as fully confirmatory as light excels what is luminous, or as an infinite cause is weightier than a finite effect.

Hence those reasons which seem to prove the mortality of the soul cannot be true, when the primal truth and light reveal the opposite. So also, if any reasons seem to prove the soul's immortality, they may indeed be true and luminous, but they are not the truth and the light. This method only (that of revelation) is unshaken and firm, while others are unstable and uncertain, &c., &c.

Such therefore, concludes the author, are the things which it seemed to me needful to say upon this matter; nevertheless always, in this and in other things, under subjection to the Apostolic See.

From this Treatise it appears that Pomponazzi was a man of original thought, whose reasoning powers outstripped the spirit of his age. While he owns that the immortality of the soul cannot be proved by reason, he does not seem to lay aside the authority of revelation. Probably the impiety he was accused of consisted only in a disbelief of popish superstitions, and a too great freedom in treating subjects which were thought to be the peculiar province of ecclesiastics. He gave an impulse to metaphysical studies, which was of great use in the spirit warfare which soon after took place.

Page 152. B.

Lazaro Buonamici, born 1479, died 1552, was professor of Greek and Roman eloquence, and the ornament of the university of Padua. He was born at Bassano, in the Venetian States, in 1479, of respectable parents, and pursued his studies at Padua, where he studied the classics with great diligence. In philosophy he had the celebrated Pomponazzo for his master, who esteemed his talents so highly that sometimes he even applied to him for an explanation of a passage of Aristotle. He studied also geometry, astrology, arithmetic, and music with no small success. From Padua he went to Bologna, and some think he was professor there, but this is uncertain; it seems more probable he only taught privately. In 1525 he went to Rome, and was elected professor of belles lettres in the College of the Sapienza; but Negri thinks he went earlier in the time of Leo X. He was so unfortunate as to be at Rome during its capture and sack in 1527, when he lost all his books and writings and everything he possessed, and narrowly escaped with his life. He was invited to Padua in 1530, and chosen professor of the classics; there he remained till his death in 1552. So highly was he esteemed by his learned contemporaries for his talents and erudition, that on his demise he was carried by the students of the university to the church of S. Antonio, where Girolamo Negri preached a funeral oration in presence of all the members of the university. He left nothing behind him to confirm his living fame; even the few poems and letters which are extant do not come up to the high idea formed of his talents. This has been accounted for by his being unfortunately addicted to gaming; this unhappy passion had taken such hold of him that he frequently spent whole nights in play. The refinement of fastidious censors was at that time so great that the most trifling error was visited with severe castigation; this perhaps kept him back from appearing before the public.

Page 152. C.

Sebastian Gryphius, born 1493, died 1556, was a German, from Swabia, near Augsburg. His fame as a printer was great. He was chiefly instrumental in restoring the art of printing, which soon after its invention had become much corrupted. He established himself at Lyons, and set about procuring new and beautiful types in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. His editions are greatly valued by connoisseurs, being no less accurate than beautiful: he was himself a very learned man, and perfectly versed in the languages of the books he undertook to print. Vulteus of Rheims, an epigrammatist, has observed that Robert Etienne was a very good corrector, Colineus a good printer, but that Gryphius was most able both as a printer and corrector. At his death, aged 63 years, his business was carried on by his son Antony Gryphius. One of the most beautiful books printed by Seb. Gryphius was a Latin Bible in two volumes, issued in 1540, with the largest types ever used.

Page 160. D.

Bernardino Maffei, cardinal, born 1514, died 1555. His family was of Lombard origin and lived near Verona, but he was born at Rome, where he commenced his studies, and continued them at Padua. Girolamo Negri gave him letters to Benedetto Lampridio, who received him as a young man of great promise, and of a pure and upright life. He was afterwards made canon of Verona, and subsequently of the Vatican at Rome. He was secretary to Cardinal Alexander Farnese, and bishop of Massa in Tuscany and Chieti in the kingdom of Naples. Paul III. conferred on him the dignity of cardinal in 1449, when he was only thirty-five years of age. Few men of his time, says Tiraboschi, could rival his elegant style of writing in Latin; his erudition

was of great extent. Some few letters, scattered here and there, are written with such exquisite polish that they make us regret the loss of other works he had begun, especially a history based on a collection of medals, which he had taken some pains to put together, and which Paleario, who had read it in MS., highly extols in a letter to Fausto Bellanti. See *Palearii Opera*, lib. iii. ep. 7.

He had begun also to write the life of Paul III. (says Bart. Ricci), but was carried off by a Roman fever on the 17th of July, 1555, aged forty years, a period of life when the judgment is mature, the best time perhaps for a learned man to transmit the benefit of his studies and experience to posterity.—Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.*

Page 163. E.

The Giulio Camillo here mentioned was one of those eccentric men of genius who were often met with in past ages. He conceived the extraordinary and impracticable idea of an indefinite number of categories which should embrace all the divisions and subdivisions of human thought. This plan he worked on for forty years, at the expense of 1500 crowns, and at length embodied his ideas in the construction of a vast machine, in which under the signs of the planets were placed niches for, or images of, all the operations of mind. For a long time he hesitated whether to confine himself to the faculties which belong to science and the higher classes of art and literature, and was almost lost in the conflicting theories of material execution. It was no easy matter to decide whether his scheme was to be worked out in wood or in stone, in painting or sculpture, but at length wood was considered more convenient for his immense machine, which he called a theatre. It was filled with little niches or cases, each of which was labelled with the name of some faculty or quality of mind. By changing the labels it could be adapted to any particular science. At Paris in 1530 he exhibited this machine to Francis I., and shewed him, arranged in symmetrical order, all the principles of the art of oratory as laid down by Cicero. In the enthusiasm of his delight he thus addressed the king: "*O Christianissimo! O felicissimo Re Francesco, questi sono i thesori e le ricchezze dell' Eloquenza, che 'l servo di Tua Maesta Giulio Camillo ti apparecchia, queste son le vie; per le quali ascenderai alla immortalità; per queste non solamente nell' impresa Latina salir potrai a tanta altezza, che gli altri Re del mondo perderanno la vista, se il vorranno in su guardare; ma ancor le Muse Francesche potranno per questi ornamenti andare al pari delle Romane e delle Greche. Viva pur felice la grandezza tua che se alcuna cosa mancava ne' molti ornamenti dell' altissimo ingegno tuo, la gran fabbrica, che io gli apparecchio, certamente gliela apporterà.*" Francis was so much pleased that he presented him with 500 ducats. Muzio was present at a conversation between the Marchese del Vasto while in bed, and Camillo, in which the latter explained his invention with so much method and eloquence that the Marchese was enchanted. Muzio adds that he had often heard him talk of it with such fire and vehemence that he seemed quite beyond himself, and rather resembled one of the Furies or enwrapped Sibyls than a human being.¹ Vasto ordered Muzio to write his description of the Theatre, and says that "*Dormendo noi in una medesima Camera in due letti vicini, per sette mattine ad hora di mattina svegliandoci, e dettando egli, e scrivendo io insino al dì chiaro, habbiamo ridotta l' opera a compimento.*"² This was afterwards printed with the title, *Idea del Teatro di Giulio Camillo*. He died suddenly at Milan in the house of Domenio Sauli, the 15th of May, 1544.

Tiraboschi thinks his knowledge consisted in a whimsical mixture of

¹ Muzio, *Lettere*, p. 66.

² *Idem*, p. 71.

judicial astrology, mythology, and cabalism. He was however a great oriental linguist, orator, and poet; and though his plan of presenting to the bodily eyes by material signs the conceptions of the brain was not feasible, yet the idea was a grand one and shewed the originality of his mind. From Paleario's account it brought him no small gain. This was some compensation for the ridicule of the learned.¹

We give a short extract from his *Teatro* :

"Et qui dirò quattro parole della utilità della mia fatica; che proponendomi lo stato di quest' eta, e della nostra religione, ho cercato di accomodare molte cose al nostro costume, come per esempio: Quantunque Cicerone non habbia mai parlato di Christo, nè dello Spirito Santo, considerando io il bisogno nostro del parlare, e dello scriver delle persone divine sotto la imagine della latitudine degli enti, ho apparecchiato gran selva tratta degli scritti di Cicerone, con la qual Ciceronianamente si potrà vestire il nome del figliuolo e dello Spirito Santo. Et quello del figliuolo ha due selve separate l' una per vestire il suo santissimo nome come verbo e sapienza, l'altra come verbo incarnato, cioè Christo e Christo crocifisso per noi. Questo dico, perciocchè molti de' Cabalisti Hebrei hanno conosciuto la sapienza e il verbo, ma non hanno creduto quello essersi incarnato e haver per noi patito. Il che vedendo Paolo dice un sottile passaggio, *Non per sapientiam verbi ne crux Christi evacuetur*. Di che se esso gelosissimo Paolo avesse havuto a scriver l' Evangelio di Giovanni, haverebbe perventura detto. *In principio erat Christus, et Christus erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Christus*: benchè Giovanni diede il rimedio, quando disse, *Et verbum caro factum est.*"—*Idea del Teatro*, pp. 147, 149.

"I will here say a few words on the usefulness of my exertions. Considering the state of the present age and of our religion, I have endeavoured to accommodate many things to our customs, as for example: though Cicero never spoke of Christ, nor of the Holy Spirit, considering it necessary for us to speak and write of them under the image of beings, I have prepared a forest (or great number of passages) drawn from the works of Cicero, which we can, in the Ciceronian manner, invest with the name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. That of the Son has two separate forests: one in which to invest His most holy names, such as word and wisdom; the other as the incarnate Word, that is Christ, and Christ crucified for us. I say this because many of the Hebrew cabalists knew the wisdom of the Word, but did not believe in the incarnation, or that He suffered for us. Observing this, Paul has a subtle passage on this point, *Non per sapientiam verbi ne crux Christi evacuetur*. Upon which, if this most jealous Paul had written the Gospel of John, he would perhaps have said, 'In the beginning was the Christ, and Christ was with God, and God was Christ.' But John remedied all, when he said, The word was made flesh."

The description of this theatre occupies ninety-two pages.

Page 167. F.

It was in the school of Alexandria that science first became Christian. The early fathers of the Church were Greeks. Philosophy became imbued with spiritualism in the Alexandrian school; the writings of Plato were specially studied, while Aristotle was greatly neglected. When however heresies crept into the Christian church, Aristotle's method of reasoning was called in aid to combat error. The desire of concentrating all knowledge within the circle of Christian acquirements led to the study of Aristotle's

¹ Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. p. 315.

works on natural history by Basil and others of the early Fathers. Augustine translated his *Pradicamenta*; he and Cassiodorus commented on several of his works, particularly his rational philosophy. The celebrated Boethius devoted himself to the study and translation of Aristotle; his versions were much circulated in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The first complete Latin version of Aristotle's works was made during the pontificate of Eugenio IV. by Thomas Aquinas, in the year 1270. Frederic Syllburge published an edition at Frankfort in 4to. between the years 1584 and 1596.

Page 175. G.

Extract from the Registers of Colle di Val d' Elsa.

Ind. Lib. F. 191.

1. *Lib. di provisioni del Comune di Colle*, a di 26^{di} Settembre è fatto Collegiane M. Aonio di franc^o Paleari di Veruli 1537 del Patrimonio. (vedere gli Provisioni dove è errato nel nome del Padre e nel paese.)

2. Bernardus } Albero f. Vendano Ceciniano a di 9^{di} Ottobre 1537. D.
Veronensis }

Antonio Matteo Francesco Palearij di Colle Val d' Elsa.

3. La cartella di Colle a 6 di Sep. di 191 M. Aonio di Matteo Paleari p. la Dote della Marietta figlia di Agostino Guidotti e sua donna di fiorini seicento Deve pagare lire quaranta..... 40.

1538 ad 3 d' Agosto pagò a Marchettino Camerlengo Gabelle lire quaranta 40.—*MS. Archives of Colle.*

CHAPTER VI.

Page 203. A.

"*Joanni Valdesio Erasmus*,—Ornatissime juvenis, tantum officiorum in me contulit et confert germanus tuus Alphonsus Valdesius, ut amare debeam quicquid quocunque modo ad illum pertinet. Tu vero, ut audio, sic illum refers et corporis specie, et ingenii dexteritate, ut non duo gemelli, sed idem prorsus homo videri possitis. Itaque æquissimum arbitror, ut ambos pari prosequar amore. Audio te deditum liberalibus disciplinis, ut istam indolem virtuti natam omni genere ornamentorum expolias, ad quod sane quid attinet hortari te, quum tua sponte curras in hoc pulcherrimo studio? Gratulari magis convenit et applaudere. Illud habeto pro certo, me nullius magis esse quam germani tui, nec minus esse tuum quam illius. Bene vale. Basil. 1 Martii, A. 1528." —*Erasmii Epistola*, ed. *Lugd. Bat.* 1706.

"*Erasmus to Juan Valdés*,—Most accomplished youth, your brother Alfonso Valdés has conferred such great obligations on me that I ought to love whoever is in any way connected with him. But you, I hear, resemble him so closely both in personal appearance and acuteness of intellect, that you seem not like twins, but one person. I think it therefore only just to love you both equally. I hear that you are devoted to liberal studies, that you may embellish your natural virtues with every kind of ornament. You need no one to exhort you to this since you spontaneously delight in those most excellent studies, but you rather deserve to be congratulated and applauded. Be sure that I am not more attached to any one than to your brother, and that I am not less your friend than his. Farewell. Bâle, 1 March, 1528.

Page 203. B.

Peter Martyr was born not at Angliera, as is commonly supposed, but at Arona, a place near the Lago Maggiore.¹ He was of noble Milanese extraction, and was sent in 1477 to complete his education at Rome, where he remained for ten years. In 1487 he was persuaded by the ambassador from Castile, Count Zendilla, to accompany him to Spain, and was received by Queen Isabella with great kindness: she wished him to take charge of the tuition of the young noblemen, but he preferred a military life. At the close of the war he took orders and resumed his literary occupations. He opened schools at Valladolid, Saragossa, Barcelona, and Alcalá de Henares, and they were soon filled with the principal nobility. He mentions this in one of his letters: *Surrexerunt mea literalia ubera Castella principis fere omnes.* He died in the year 1525, aged seventy years.

His works are *De Legatione Babylonica*, an account of a diplomatic mission to Egypt in 1501 to prevent the Sultan from retaliating on the Christians of Palestine the inflictions of Spain on the Moors. He wrote also *De Rebus Oceanicis et Novo orbe*, a valuable work at the time when books on geography were scarce. But his voluminous correspondence, *Opus Epistolarum*, is the most important of his works. His letters begin in 1488, the year after his arrival in Spain, and extend to the period of his death; they are remarkable for a faithful and accurate account of passing events, and for their judicious and intelligent observations. Alvaro Gomez and John de Vergara, his contemporaries, highly commend them, not so much for elegance of style as for their life and spirit. Martyr was like his countrymen, a man of great promptitude of mind—he would write two or three letters while the cloth was being laid. The first edition appeared at Alcalá de Henares in 1530. The second was printed at the Elzevir press, Amsterdam, in 1679.

Page 204. C.

The subjoined letter clears up the uncertainty as to the authorship of the *Dialogo*.² It has been attributed to Juan Valdés, but Serassi in writing the life of Castiglione has proved by the signature attached to the letter addressed to Castiglione that it was written by Alfonso. Serassi himself however subsequently confounds the two brothers, for after having said that Juan Alfonso Valdés was well versed in literature and in jurisprudence, and was in such great reputation that he became the Secretary of Charles V. who knighted him, he continues, "After the sack of Rome he wrote this *Dialogo* to defend the Emperor and excuse the army," and that Valdés embraced the reformed doctrines in Germany, and from fear of the Inquisition left Spain and went to Naples, where he held private religious meetings. Now it is thoroughly ascertained, as we have shewn, that this was Juan and not Alfonso. This confusion between the two brothers has caused many authors to imagine them one and the same person, but the letters of Erasmus disprove this. This

¹ See Mazzuchelli, *Scrittori d' Italia*, tom. ii.; Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. p. 332.

² The original title was:

Dialogo: en que particularmente se tratan las cosas acaecidas en Roma: el año de
M. D. XXVII.
A gloria de Dios y bien universal dela Republica
Christiana.

Dialogo is now generally found bound up with that of Mercurio and Caronte.¹ They were translated into Italian and extensively circulated.²

" *Lettera del Segretario Valdés al Conte Baldassare Castiglione, Nuncio in Spagna.*

" REVERENDISS. E ILLUSTRE SEÑOR,—Antes que d'esta Villa partiesimas para Valentia, V. S. me embió a hablar con M. Gabriel su Secretario sobre una obrezilla, que yo escrissi el anno passado, respondi le sinceramente lo que nel negocio passava: y de la respuesta segun des pues el me dixo, V. S. quedò satesfecho, y es la verdad que nunca yo mas la he leyda, ny quitado, ny an padido cosa alguna en ella; porque mi intencion no era publicarla, aunque por la poco lealtad que en casas semejantes suelen guardar los amigos; quellos a quien yo lo he comunicado, lo han tan mal guardado, que se han sacado mas traslados de los, que yo quisiera. Estos dias passados por una parte M. Gabriel, y por otra Oliverjo han con mucha instancia procurado de haver este Diálogo, y quiriendome yo informar della fin d' ella, he descubierto la platica, en que V. S. anda contro mi a causa d' esto libro, y que ha informado a Su Maestad que en el hay muchas coesas contra la religion Cristiana, y contra las determinaciones de los Concilios aprobados per la Iglesia, y principalmente que dize ser bien hecho quitar, y romper, las imagines de los templos, y hechar por el suelo las reliquias, y que V. S. me ha ablado sobre esto, y que yò no he querido dexar de perseverar. Porque cuesto como en qualquier otra cosa sientio my conentia muy limpia, no he querido dexar de quexarme de V. S. de tratar una cosa como esta en tanto prejuizio de my honra, mostrando tenerme por servidor, cosa por cierto, que yò nunca pensava de V. S, y sobresto dezir que me hablò y que yo no quise dexar de perseverar. Ya V. S. sabe, que nunca me hablò palabra sobresto mas de lo que me embió dezir por M. Gabriel, y

" *Letter of the Secretary Valdés to Count Baldassare Castiglione, Nuncio in Spain.*

" VERY REVEREND AND ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,—Before I left this city for Valencia you sent M. Gabriele, your secretary, to speak to me about a little work which I wrote last year. I sincerely reported to him what had occurred in the matter, and this answer he afterwards told me had satisfied you. It is indeed true that I have never read or revised, nor taken any trouble about it, for it was not my intention to publish it. From the want of fidelity which friends usually observe in similar cases, those to whom it had been communicated have taken so little care of it, that more copies have been circulated than I could have wished. Within these few days' past, on the one hand M. Gabriele, and on the other Oliverio, have with much entreaty tried to get this *Dialogo*. In seeking to know their object, I have discovered what you are doing against me on account of this book, and that you have informed his Majesty that there are many things in it against the Christian religion, and against the decisions of councils approved by the church, and especially that it asserts that it is right to take away and to break the images in the churches, and throw down the relics, and that you had spoken to me about this, but that I would not cease to persevere. As in this and other things I feel my conscience quite clear, I cannot but complain of you, Sir, that you treat a thing of this kind with so much prejudice to my honour, while at the same time you feign to acknowledge me as your servant, the which thing I should certainly never have believed of you; and that you say besides that you have often spoken to me, and I still persist.

¹ *DIALOGO DE MERCURIO I CARON*: en que allende de muchas cosas graziosas i de buena doctrina; se cuenta lo que ha acaescido en la guerra desde el año de mill i quinientos i veinte i uno, hasta los desafios de los reyes de Francia et Inglaterra hechos al Emperador en el año de 1528.

² See Serassi, *Lettere del Conte Baldassare Castiglione*. Padova, 1769.

cierto yo no se que perseverancia, ni obstinacion ha visto V. S. in mi; però todo esto importa poco. Mas en dezir, que yo hablo contro determinaciones de la Iglesia, en prejuizio de las imagines, y reliquias, conosco que V. S. no ha visto el libro; porque sy visto lo haviera, no puedo creer que dixera una cosa como esta, ni tam poco puedo dexar de tener quexa di V. S. que por oydas quiera acusar por hereje quando menos a un hombre, que muestra tener por servidor, y por no gastar muchas palabras, yo tengo por cierto que V. S. ha sydo muy mal informado; y a esta causa digo que sy V. S. se quexa de my que meto mucho la mano en hablar contra el Papa, digo que la materia me forzó a ello; y que queriendo a escusar al Emperador no podia dexar de acusar al Papa, della dignidad del qual hablo con tante religion, y atacamiento como qualquier bueno y fiel Cristiano es obligado hablar, y la culpa, que se puede attribuir alla persona, procuro, quanto puedo de appartarla del, y hecharlo sobre sus Ministros.

“Y sy todo esto no satisfaze, yo confesso aver excidido en esto algo, y que por servir a V. S. estoy aparejado para emendarlo pues ya no se puede encubri. Però sy V. S. quiere dezir que en a quel Dialogo ay alguna cosa contraria a la religion Cristiana, y a las determinaciones de la Iglesia, por que esto tocara demansiadamente my honra, le supplico, lo mire primero muy bien; por que estoy a qui para mantener lo que he scritto. Y porque V. S. no me tenga por tan temerario como quiza mi han pintado, es bien que sepa, que antes que yo mostrasse este Dialogo, lo vio el Señor Jo. Aleman el primero, y despues D. Juan Manuel, y despues el Chanceller, por que como personas prudentes, y que entendian los negotios, me puediesin corrigir y emendar lo que mal les pareciesse. Por consejo di D. Juan emende dos casas. No contento con esto por que havian casas que tocavan a la religion, y yo no soy, ny presumo deser Teologo, lo mostre al Dottor Coronel, el qual despues de haverlo passado dos vezes, me amoneció que emendesse algunas cosas, que aunque

“You know very well, Sir, that you have never spoken to me on this subject, but about that which you sent word by M. Gabriele. I do not know what perseverance or obstinacy you have seen in me; but this is of little moment. Since you say that I speak against the decisions of the Church to the injury of images and relics, it is evident you have not seen the book, for if you had it is impossible you could have said such a thing; and I cannot but remonstrate with you, Sir, for accusing a man by hearsay of being a heretic, whom you appear to consider as your servant.

“Not to be too diffuse, I will only say that I feel certain you have been ill informed; and for this reason I say that if you, Sir, complain of me because I speak against the Pope, I answer that the subject obliged me to do so; and that desiring to excuse the Emperor I could not do less than accuse the Pope; of whose dignity, however, I speak as every good and faithful christian ought to speak, and the guilt which might be personally brought home I try as much as possible to keep off and to cast on his ministers. And if this is not satisfactory I confess to have exceeded a little in this, and to please you, Sir, I am prepared to correct it, since it cannot be concealed. But if you mean to say, Sir, that in this *Dialogo* there is anything contrary to the Christian religion and to the decisions of the church, for this would touch my honour too closely, I entreat you to consider it well first. I am ready to maintain that which I have written. And that you may not, Sir, think me so rash as I have been represented to you, it is well that you should know that I shewed this *Dialogo* first to Sig. Gio. Alamani, and then to D. Gio. Emanuel, and afterwards to the Chanceller, in order that, as prudent and sagacious men of business, they might correct and improve what they thought was wrong. By the advice of D. Giovanni I altered two things, because they were points bearing on religion, and I neither am, nor pretend to be, a theologian. I shewed it to Doctor Coronello, who after having read it twice advised me to alter some

no fuesen impias, podian ser de algunos caluniadas.

"Mostrelo despues al Chanceller de la Universidad de Alcalá, y al Maestro Miranda y al Dottor Carasco, y a otros insignes Theologos, de a quella Universidad, loaronlo, y a un quisieron haver copia del, vieronlo despues el Maestro Fray Alonso de Vives, Fray Diego de la Cadena, Fray In. Carillo, y a la fin el obirco Cabrero todos lo han loado y aprobado, ya a un instandome que lo hiziesse imprimir con offrecerse de defenderlo contra quien lo quisiessse caluniar. Mas yo nunca lo quise hazer por que a la verdad no me parecia tambien como a ellos assi que vea V. S. sy quien tantos y tales padrines tiene, osara dezir y defender, que en la obra no ay errores. De todo esto he querido dar tan larga cuenta a V. S. porque con mas consejo y consideracion entienda en este negocio sabiendo todo lo que passa en ello. Y sy todavia determinare de insistir en la causa, sola una cosa, supplico a V. S. que no dexe por esso da tenerme por servidor; porque de verdad tendria por muy gran perdida el contrario. Y en lo de mas yo tengo confianza en Dios, y en mi innocentia que a la fin saldrè con mas honra que verguenza.

"Di V. S.

"Muy cierto Serv. ALONSO
"DE VALDES."

things, which though not irreligious might give rise to calumny. I shewed it afterwards to the Chanceller of the University at Alcalá, to the master Miranda, to Doctor Carasco and other distinguished divines of that University, who praised it and wished to have a copy. It was seen also by Master Fray Alfonso de Vives, Fray Diego della Cadena, Fray In. Carillo, and finally by bishop Cabrero. They all praised and entreated me to print it, and offered to defend me against whoever ventured to blame it. But this I never would do, because I did not see it in the same light that they did. Thus you see, Sir, that he who has such and so many god-fathers may courageously assert that there are no errors in the work. I have given you this long account, Sir, in order that, knowing all that has passed in this matter, you may proceed with more seriousness and consideration; and if nevertheless you determine to persist in this cause I beg only one thing of you, Sir, not on this account to cease considering me as your servant; for indeed I should feel the change to be a great loss. For the rest, I hope in God and in my innocence that I shall in the end come out of it with more honour than disgrace.

"I am, Sir, your very true servant,
"ALONSO DE VALDES."

Page 233. D.

"Commentary, or a brief and compendious explanation of the Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Romans, most salutary for every christian, composed by Juan Valdés, a pious and sincere theologian. *The Gospel is the power of God for salvation to every one who believes.* Rom. I. Venice. In the house of Juan Philadelpho, 1556."

"A LA ILUSTRISIMA SEÑORA LA SRA. DOÑA JULIA DE GONZAGA,—Persuadiéndome ilustrisima Señora, que por medio de la continua lezion de los Salmos de David, que el año pasado os envié, traducidos del Hebreo en romanze castellano, habreis formado dentro de vos un ánimo tan pio, i tan confiado en Dios, i remitido en todo á Dios, como era el de David: i deseando que pasando mas adelante formeis dentro de vos un ánimo tan perfecto, tan firme, i así

"TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LADY JULIA GONZAGA,—Being persuaded, Illustrious Lady, that the continual reading of the Psalms of David, which I sent you last year, translated from Hebrew into Spanish, has formed your mind to so pious and confident a trust in God that you can leave everything in his hands as David did: desiring that you may go forward, and that there should be formed in you a mind as firm, perfect, and constant as that of St. Paul in the things belonging

constante en las cosas que pertenezan al Evangelio de Cristo, como era el de san Pablo, os envío agora estas Epístolas de san Pablo traduzidas del Griego en romance castellano, con la continua lizon de las cuales estoi zierto que aprovechareis mucho en la edificazion espiritual, pero con tanto, que no las leais con intento de saber por curiosidad, i por vanidad, como hazen los hombres sin piedad, que piensan echar cargo á Dios, poniéndose á leer en san Pablo, como pensarían echar cargo á un emperador griego, los que siendo castellanos hablasen en griego, sino con intento de formar i fundar vuestro ánimo segun que estaba formado i fundado el de san Pablo. I quiero advertiros de esto, que en tanto habeis de imitar á David, en cuanto conociéredes que él imita á Dios, i que en tanto habeis de imitar á san Pablo, en cuanto conociéredes que él imita á Cristo. Esto digo porque pertenezendo á vos atender á ser mui semejante á Cristo, i mui semejante á Dios, pretendiendo recobrar aquella imagen i semejanza de Dios, conforme á la cual el primer hombre fue criado, no me contento conque penseis recobrarla, teniendo solamente delante como por dechados á David, i á san Pablo: porque á bien librar os acontecería lo que acontece al pintor que saca un retrato que ha sacado otro pintor, el cual no solamente no llega al natural, pero ni aun llega á la perfizion del retrato de donde saca, i si llega, es como per miraglo. I digo que no me contento porque quiero que tengais á David i á san Pablo por dechados, mientras que no os bastare el ánimo á tener por dechado á Cristo i á Dios."¹

to the Gospel, I now send you these Epistles of St. Paul translated from Greek into Spanish, the continual reading of which will, I feel sure, contribute greatly to your progress in spiritual edification, provided, however, you do not read from curiosity or vanity, as men do who are without piety, thinking thereby to serve God; setting themselves to read St. Paul as a Spaniard would do to speak Greek, with the view of pleasing a Greek emperor, without any intention of forming and grounding your mind on the foundation of St. Paul. I wish to warn you of this, that in all things you should imitate David in as far as you know that he followed God, and imitate St. Paul inasmuch as you see that he imitates Christ. I say this because it belongs to you to strive to be more like Christ and like God, and thus recover the image and likeness of God in which the first man was created. I am not satisfied at your thinking to recover it by looking only to David and St. Paul as patterns. For it might easily happen to you as it happens to a painter who copies a picture done by another painter, who not only does not imitate nature but does not even reach the perfection of the picture which he copies, or if he does it is almost by miracle. I repeat this does not satisfy me, because I only wish you to hold up David and St. Paul as patterns so long as your mind is not able to take as your patterns Christ and God."¹

CHAPTER VII.

Page 261. A.

Caracciolo says that, from the style, this reformation of the Church was evidently drawn up by Caraffa,² who, from his mature age, was more experi-

¹ From a reprint of the Commentary in 1856, kindly given me by Mr. Wiffen.

² When Caraffa became Pope under the name of Paul IV. he put this *Consilium* in the Index of prohibited books for the year 1559.

enced than the rest of the cardinals, having been already employed on the same subject under Adrian VI. and Clement VII. This *Emendanda Ecclesia*,¹ which consisted of twenty-eight articles relating to ecclesiastical discipline, was published in German by Luther, at Wittemberg, in 1538, with some very severe remarks. The celebrated Jean Sturm wrote *Epistola de emendanda Ecclesia ad Cardinales ceterosque viros ad eam consultationem delectos*. Strasb. Crato Mylius, 1538. In this Epistle he expresses his surprise at the inefficiency of the reforms proposed by so learned a body of cardinals.

“ Dans un écrit remarquable par sa noble franchise, Sturm félicite le pape et les cardinaux de leurs intentions, mais il ne leur cacha point la surprise produite par l'insuffisance des moyens proposés. Il demande pourquoi ils ne parlent pas de la religion, de la libre prédication de l'Évangile, de la propagation de la Bible, du rétablissement d'un culte plus pur et plus simple, seuls moyens de réformer la foi et la vie des peuples. A quoi sert-il d'interdire les *Colloques* d'Érasme ou de bannir des écoles la philosophie? Ce sont là des mesures peu dignes des hommes graves appelés à donner un avis au pape. L'unique remède aux abus, c'est l'Évangile substitué aux fables superstitieuses et aux vanités scolastiques qui obscurcissent l'esprit sans satisfaire la conscience. Pourquoi les cardinaux n'ont-ils rien dit de l'Évangile? Serait-ce par ignorance ou par aversion pour sa vérité? Ne donnent-ils pas raison à ceux qui affirment que, dans le catholicisme, on le cache? Croient-ils qu'on l'arrêtera de nouveau dans sa marche lumineuse à travers le monde? Nous l'aurons, dit-il, et nous le conserverons malgré les menaces, les prisons, les tortures, les flammes! Qu'on nous l'accorde librement, et nous serons prêts à céder sur les points accessoires; car nous ne voulons ni l'abolition du culte extérieur, ni le renversement de l'ordre et de l'autorité dans l'Église.”²

Page 262. B.

Gregorio Cortese³ was a native of Modena. He studied at Bologna and at Padua, and lived much at the court of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Leo X. The love of study and his delicate health brought him back to Modena, where he was made rector of the parish church in the gift of his family, canon of the cathedral of Modena, and vicar-general of the diocese. Three years after he became a monk, and subsequently went to reside at the convent of Lerins in Provence. The fame of his learning made this convent celebrated both in France and Italy, and attracted great multitudes. In 1536 he was named one of the commission to reform the church, and invited by Contarini to Rome for that purpose. Sadoletto and Contarini exerted their influence to have him made cardinal by Paul III. in 1542. His health was never good, and his close habits of study put an end to his life in 1548. He was a man of moderate opinions, zealous for the church, but did not approve of persecution. His vast knowledge and learning had but little influence in enlarging his views, for his time was chiefly devoted to studying the Fathers. He was considered an elegant writer, especially for a monk, as his writings were free from scholastic barbarisms. His treatise against Ulric Velenio to prove that St. Peter had been at Rome, has been highly commended. It was published with some of the letters of Cardinal Cortese. Fregoso highly praises the ease and grace of his Italian letters.⁴

¹ It is inserted in the history of councils published by Crabbe, 1551.

² See Charles Schmidt, *La vie et les travaux de Jean Sturm*, p. 43.

³ See his life by Monsignor Gianagostino Gradenigo Vescovo di Ceneda. Padova, 1774.

⁴ Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 254.

Page 263. C.

Marguerite d' Angoulême, daughter of the Duc d' Angoulême and of Louise of Savoy,¹ was one of the most virtuous and accomplished princesses of her age. She was first married to the Duc d' Alençon, who lost his reputation at the battle of Pavia, and afterwards to Henry the chivalrous king of Navarre. The darling of her brother Francis, she used her influence with the king to succour the unfortunate and mitigate the horrors of persecution. Having early embraced the reformed opinions, she patronised all good ministers and preachers.² Her attachment to her brother was so great that she undertook a journey to Spain on purpose to console him in his illness during his captivity. Montmorency complained to the king of her being a heretic, but he said she loved him too well to entertain any opinions he disapproved. Marguerite was a great patroness of letters, and herself wrote poetry with ease and grace.³ The death of Francis I. in 1547 so severely affected her that she never recovered it, but retired for a time to a convent, giving up the world and all her accustomed occupations. An illness which attacked her at the castle of Odos in Bigorre, December 1549, lasted twenty days. She bore her sufferings with great patience. The last words she uttered just before she expired, were 'Jesus! Jesus!' She died in the fifty-eighth year of her age.

Page 264. D.

" Niccolò Ardinghella, a nome del Card. Farnese, al Card. Contarini, Legato in Germania.

" Alli XII. del presente scrissi a V. S. Reverend. quanto insino a quella hora mi accadeva dirle in risposta di più sopra la materia della Religione. Ho di poi ricevuto le altre in diversi tempi, quali sono di 3, 4, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, e 16. Il contenuto di esse, e per la importanza di quello, che si tratta, e per la poco speranza che V. S. Reverendiss. scrive di havere, che se venga a concordia Christiana, ha fatto, e fa stare, S. Santità, con molto sospetto, e pieno di molestia. Ma non per questo ha lasciato di commendare al solito V. S. Reverendiss. e restare ben soddisfatto delli avvisi particolari, e distinti ch' ella gli da, à quali risponderò per questa in quella parte che a S. Santità è parso che lo ricerchino dopo lo haver ben vedute e considerate le sopra scritte lettere di V. S. Reverendiss.

" La conclusione fermata in tra li sei Deputati sopra l' articolo di Justificatione, per la quale V. S. ha man-

" Niccolò Ardinghella, in the name of Card. Farnese, to Card. Contarini, Legate in Germany.

" On the 12th inst. I wrote to your Reverence, and then stated all that occurred to me at the time in answer to several of yours on the subject of religion. I have since received others at different times, dated the 3, 4, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, and 16. Their contents, both on account of the important subject of which they treat, and the faint hopes which your Reverence seems to entertain of coming to any christian concord, have caused, and continue to cause his Holiness great uneasiness and annoyance. But he does not however fail to commend your Reverence as usual, and is well satisfied with the private and important details you have given him. I shall answer in this despatch those points which his Holiness thinks needful, after having well weighed and considered the letters of your Reverence. The conclusion which the six deputies have come to upon the article of justification, about which you speak in your letters of the 3rd

¹ Sister of Charles the good, Duke of Savoy.

² Calvin says God made use of her to spread the knowledge of his kingdom. *Te usus fuerit atque adhibuerit ad regnum suum promovendum.*—Calv. *Ep.* ad ann. 1545.

³ See *Marguerites de la Marguerite*, 1584.

dato con le sue lettere di 3 e 4 non è stata letta in concistorio, nè si è fatta vedere a molti, che così è parso a S. Beatitudine per non contravenire alli ricordi di V. S. Reverendiss. che le cose di qua si tenghino segrete, ancorchè e da Venezia e da diversa bande ci siano lettere circa quell' articolo de justificatione, &c., e se remonstrano copie, o almanco il progresso, disputatione e risoluzione: e perchè V. S. Reverendiss. scrive tra le altre ragioni del tener secreto, che viene da Italia, che alcuni vogliono interturbare la concordia; sarebbe bono, anzi necessario che V. S. Reverendiss. trovasse e desse avviso, chi sieno li autori di tale disturbo, acciochè sappiamo di che guardarci, e provvederci, essendo persone sopra de' quali N. Signore avesse Jurisdictione. Et però non li posso dir per questa, che la detta conclusione di justificatione sia approvata o reprovata da S. Santità, la avvertisco ben, che da tutti quelli, che la hanno veduta è stato giudicato, che presupposto che il senso sia cattolico, le parole potessero esser più chiare, e per conseguenza che in questo primo articolo non si sia fuggito interamente quella ambiguità e palliata concordia che V. S. Rev. ha prudentemente biasimato, e abhorrito nelli altri due seguenti di Eucharistia e Confessione. Il qual punto, cioè che le parole debbino in ogni cosa essere ben chiare, e non comuni a più sensi, con tutta che sia de grandissimo momento, nondimeno, poichè ella per se stessa lo discorre e ne scrive così resolutamente, pare superfluo a S. Santità il ricordarglielo di novo e esortarlo di non se partire in alcuna parte da tale risoluzione. Nondimeno per il debito dello officio suo, e per la importantia della causa ha voluto ch'io lo faccia. Et però torno a replicare a V. S. Rev. che oltre alle ragioni, ch'ella allega nelle sue lettere in questo proposito, la intenzion ferma di S. Beatitudine è che V. S. Reverendiss. nè in nome publico, nè in privato approvi alcuni conclusioni, che non habbia non solo il senso cattolico espressamente determinato dalla chiesa, ma etiam le parole tali, dove non sia pericolo di ambiguità procurandi che li articoli siano boni di senso, e chiari nel parlare, e

and 4th inst., has not been read in the Consistory, nor has it been seen by many. This is, by desire of his Holiness, in conformity with the suggestion of your Reverence, that we should keep things secret which happen out there. From Venice however and from various quarters letters arrive about this article on justification. Copies of it are shewn about, or at least of its progress, discussions, and resolutions. As your Reverence writes, among other reasons for keeping secret what comes from Italy, that some would fain disturb the (present) concord, it would be well and even necessary that your Reverence should find out and inform us who are the authors of such disturbance, in order to guard ourselves against them and act accordingly, if they be persons over whom his Holiness has any jurisdiction. Thus I cannot on this account say whether the said resolution about justification has been either approved or disapproved by his Holiness; but I must tell you that all who have seen it, even granting that the sense is Catholic, consider that the expressions might have been more clear, and consequently that in this first article that ambiguous and disguised concord has not been entirely avoided, which your Reverence prudently blames and dislikes in the other two articles of the Eucharist and Confession. The which point, that the definitions should be always clear and not susceptible of several meanings, although it is of the greatest importance, nevertheless, as you speak of this yourself and write so decidedly about it, his Holiness thinks it unnecessary to remind you of, or to exhort you not to swerve in any degree from this resolution. Notwithstanding, to fulfil this duty, and on account of the importance of the case, he has desired me to say thus much. I therefore now reply to your Reverence, that besides the reasons which you allege in your letter on this point, it is the determined wish of his Holiness that your Reverence should neither in public nor in private approve any conclusions which have not only the Catholic sense, expressly decided by the Church, but couched in such words that no danger of am-

non approvare cosa alcuna, ma rimetter alla sede Apostolica, perchè se ben V. S. Reverendiss. non ha in persona sua autorità pubblica di definire o terminare cosa alcuna, e circa il colloquio anche sia espresso, ch'egli debba esser *citra conclusionem*, &c. Nondimeno ogni volta che per li Protestanti si potesse allegare con apparentia la opinione di V. S. R.^{mo} in favore di alcuni di loro dogmati, non passerebbe senza gran scandalo, e anco danno di V. S. R.^{mo} e pregiudizio della verità, la quale non si potrebbe poi far capace per via di dispute, e dichiarazione alli popoli di Germania.

“Et però V. S. Reverendiss. seguiti, e osservi queste cautela interamente in qualunque sorte di articoli, che si havessero a trattare, ne sotto speranza di concordia si lasci trasportare, non solo ad acconsentire in quanto al senso ad alcuna determinazione, che non sia del tutto catholica, ma etiam nella esplicatione delle parole fugga ogni dubietà, e non comporti, che si pretermetta di esprimere il tutto, e tanto chiaramente che non vi sia pericolo di esser gabbato dalla malattia degli adversari, oltre che quando questo ben non seguisse, del che però si ha molta cagione di temere, si debbe haver l'occhio a quello, o che potessero guidicare le altre Nationi, . . . Quandoper alcuno di questi rispetti accaggia parlar vivamente o con S. Maestà Cesare, o con alcun altro V. S. Reverendiss. lo faccia senza rispetto, perchè sempre ne riporterà commendatione, come ha fatto di quello, che la scrive per le sue delli xv. circa li due articoli de Eucharistia e Confessione, intorno a quali è stato assai lodata di S. Beatitudine la determinazione presa da V. S. R.^{mo} e diligentia fatta con S. Maestà, e però non è bisogno ch'io ne scrivo più a lungo.—*Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli*, t. iiii.

This letter, which consists of eight 4to. pages, is dated Rome, 29 May, 1541.

The polite but earnest exhortations to caution herein contained, shew that the Court of Rome was afraid that Contarini would yield too much to the Protestants, especially on the article of Justification. Farnese, the Pope's grandson, was Secretary of State, and Ardinghelli his secretary.

Page 267. E.

This distinguished Reformer was born at Bretta in the Palatine in 1497, and died in 1560, after having passed his whole life in the advocacy of divine

biguity arise, taking care that the articles should be in a right sense clearly expressed, and that nothing be approved without referring to the Apostolic See. For though your Reverence has no personal authority publicly to define, or determine anything, and that concerning the Colloquy it is expressly said to be *citra conclusionem*, &c., nevertheless whenever, the Protestants can shelter themselves under the apparent approval of your Reverence in favour of any of their doctrines, it will be the cause of great scandal and injury to your Reverence, as well as prejudice to the truth, which cannot be afterwards set forth in discussions and declarations to the people of Germany.

“Thus your Reverence must maintain and observe great caution on every kind of article which is treated of, and not allow yourself, in the hope of concord, to be brought to consent to the sense of any resolution not altogether Catholic, but in the explanation of words avoid all dubious or uncertain admissions. But let every thing be so clearly expressed that there is no danger of being smitten with the disease of the adversaries; and besides when this does not happen, which however is to be feared, we ought to have our eyes directed to what might be the opinion of other nations. . . . When on any of these accounts you have occasion to speak earnestly to his majesty the Emperor, or to any one else, do it without ceremony, for this will always be to your credit, as you did about that which you wrote in your letter of the 15th concerning the two articles of the Eucharist and Confession. As the resolution you have taken on this point and your solicitude with his majesty have been greatly commended by his Holiness, I need say no more.”

truth. His conciliatory character was so highly esteemed that Francis I. invited him to France by the following letter :

"Je connois vos bonnes intentions pour la paix de l'Eglise universelle; elles se sont manifestées par la lettre conciliante que vous avez écrite a Jean du Bellay Evêque de Paris. Venez donc au plus tôt en ma cour pour y conférer avec grand nombre de docteurs sur les moyens de retablir le bon ordre dans la police ecclésiastique cette lettre vous servira de sauf conduite. Je vous prie de ne pas vous laisser détourner de ce pieux dessein par des mauvais conseils. Votre arrivée me sera agréable soit que vous veniez auprès de moi comme personne privée soit que vous soyez député par vos collegues."

The Elector of Saxony we have already seen was afraid of some snare, and refused to let him go. For the life of Melancthon see Melchior Adamo, *Vita Germanorum Theologorum*, p. 37; and Cox, *Life of Melancthon*.

The Italian work, *Sommario della Scrittura*, is probably taken from the *Loci Communes* of Melancthon. This conjecture receives some confirmation from the title of a book found in a prohibited list issued by the Senate of Lucca in 1546. The second on the list is *Philippi Melanctonis Summarium Scripture*. See *Archivio Storico*, vol. x. Antony Wood says that Simon Fish, the author of the "Supplication of the Beggars," translated from Dutch into English, "The Summe of the Scriptures," which, according to Tanner, was printed in 1550. See Ant. Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*, vol. i. p. 59.

For a full account of the origin of the term "beggars," consult Motley, *Dutch Republics*, vol. i., p. 437, &c.

Page 267. F.

Martin Bucer was born at Schelstadt, a town of Alsace, in 1491, and became a Dominican monk at a very early age. Sent by the Prior of his convent to Heidelberg, he devoted himself to the study of philosophy and theology, and applied with great diligence to the acquisition of the Hebrew and Greek languages. He was suspected of not being a good Catholic, because he read the writings of Erasmus and Luther; but was appointed by Frederic Prince Palatine to teach at Heidelberg. Luther's work, *Disputatio de libero arbitrio*, gave him the first light on the subject of justification. In the year 1521 he met Luther at Worms, and openly professed himself his disciple. A few years after he joined the divines at Strasburg, and publicly taught the reformed doctrines in company with Gaspar Hedio, Wolfgang Capito, and others; he was greatly instrumental in banishing the mass from Strasburg. In 1530 he was present at the Diet of Augsburg, and drew up the Tetrapolitan Confession from the four cities of Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindaw. His desire for peace in the agitating controversy about the Lord's Supper led him to frame the Concord of Witttemberg in 1536: anxious to unite all parties, and not having himself a very clear idea of the full import of the words, "Do this in remembrance of me," he loaded the simple institution of our Lord's ordinance with dubious definitions and ambiguous phrases. We find Bucer at the celebrated diet of Ratisbon in 1541, where he was one of the principal speakers on the Protestant side. Striving to accomplish impossibilities by seeking to unite men of various shades of opinion on the Sacramentarian question, he took the lead in the conference of Ratisbon in 1546. His advice was taken in framing the Interim, but he refused to receive it, and when it was forced on the country Bucer retired with his friend Fagius to England in the year 1549. Here he was usefully employed by archbishop Cranmer, but the climate of England seems to have shortened his days, for he died at Cambridge three years after his arrival.—See Melchior Adamo, *Vita Germanorum Theologorum*, p. 211; *Historia Vera*, 1562; Scott's *Continuation of Milner*; and Vol. I. CHAP. X.

Page 268. G.

Extract from a treatise on justification by Cardinal Gaspar Contarini.

After explaining the different meanings of the word justice or righteousness, and the several significations of faith or trust, he goes on to say: "Let us now explain what justification is—that justification which makes the unrighteous righteous. On this point we can have no hesitation in declaring that its efficient cause is the Holy Spirit. God only can remit sin, and it is his grace which justifies the wicked. It enlightens the understanding and moves the will, and in this way a man is enabled to do something, and as man he does it spontaneously and voluntarily. The Holy Spirit influences the will so that it turns to God, and the heart is thus prepared for the Lord, and the man prepares himself till his conversion becomes voluntary. But no one can become converted till he lays aside all iniquity, for when the will withdraws from and detests sin, then the heart rises to God and returns to Him. This, says the blessed St. Thomas, is the first movement of faith; it arises in the will which obeys God by faith, the understanding is convinced and free from doubt, and consents without hesitation to the dictates of revelation and trusts in the divine promises. From thence comes a fair trust, which, reasoning as it were in a circle, begins and ends with the will. It firmly believes the promises of God, and has a sure confidence that God forgives sin and justifies the unholy through the mystery of Christ's death. For he has made himself the author of salvation for all who believe in him; this faith having begotten detestation of sin turns the mind to God and converts it. God infuses his Spirit, which heals, sanctifies, and justifies, and adopts the man as a child of God through the spirit of His own Son spread abroad in the heart, whereby we call him *Abba, Father*. He gives us also with His Spirit Christ Himself, and in his mercy gratuitously imputes his righteousness to those who are clothed with Christ. While the soul is thus prepared by the Lord it also prepares itself, when the change is not made in a moment of time by a miracle, as in the case of the Apostle Paul. Those who are thus converted take care to do good and abstain from evil; but notwithstanding this we do not owe our justification and sanctification to our works, as St. Paul says in many passages, as does also St. Augustine and St. Thomas, but they come from faith, not because we deserve justification, or because we believe, but it is received through faith. As the Apostle says in the Epistle to the Galatians, receiving "the promise of the Spirit through faith,"¹ and also in the Epistle to the Romans, "By whom also we have access by faith unto this grace,"² and in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "for he that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them who diligently seek him."³ The blessed St. Thomas says that the passion of Christ is like a medicine which every one may take and apply to himself by faith, and also the sacraments of faith. The Protestants call this, apprehension of faith; not in the sense which you expressed in the letters you wrote to me, for that belongs to the conviction of the understanding, but in the signification above-mentioned, by which we are said to arrive at that which we seek.

"We may add that there is a double righteousness or justice, the one inherent, by which we begin to be righteous and are made partakers of the divine nature, and his love is spread abroad in our hearts: the other not inherent, but given to us with Christ, and his merits and righteousness. We receive both of these by faith, which of them is first is rather a scholastic question, and not belonging to our subject, which is faith. The discussion of this point we shall defer to another opportunity, as also the question whether remission of sins and reconciliation with God come before the infusion of grace. That God with Christ has freely given us all things, the Apostle

¹ Gal. iii. 14.

² Rom. v. 2.

³ Heb. xi. 6.

expressly declares in the Epistle to the Romans, "He who spared not His own Son, will He not with Him also freely give us all things?" In the Mass when we offer Christ to God we say, "to thee we offer of thine own gifts a pure, holy, and immaculate oblation.¹ As not to progress is to recede, and finally to fall down a precipice, thus those who say we are justified by works speak truly, and those who say we are not justified by works but by faith are also right, but that both may be understood all things must be clearly explained and comprehended. For the subject is sufficiently obscure and abstruse. In this epistle I have tried as far as possible to represent and clear up the point. Whether or not I have succeeded I leave to the decision of the illustrious Cardinal, your patron, you know how I respect him, and also to your own judgment. Live happy in the Lord. Ratisbon, 25th May, 1541."

The above is only a small part of this interesting treatise or epistle on justification. The serious attention which the upright Contarini gave to this important subject, and his desire to be guided by Scripture, as far as the Church permitted, had considerably enlightened him. But his respect for human authority did not leave him free to form an unbiassed opinion, and led the methodical disciple of Aristotle into some confusion of argument. For after having granted that the Holy Spirit infuses the first principle of grace into the heart, he goes on to say that man prepares himself; his scholastic reasoning and submission to the Church of Rome prevented him from coming to a simple apprehension of the words of St. Paul, "Therefore being justified by faith we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ."² But this letter, from a dignitary of the Roman Catholic Church, shews the influence of the Scriptures, at this the most hopeful period for the spread of the reformed doctrines. Probably the letter was addressed to M. Antonio Flaminio, and the cardinal alluded to may be cardinal Pole, who at this time held the doctrine of justification by faith.

Page 270. H.

Letter from Cardinal Contarini to Card. Farnese.

"By my letters of the same date, Most Reverend Sir, you will understand what progress is made, particularly concerning the colloquy or conference. By this present I shall impart other details relating to various instructions and papal concerns. First, I may say that on the 24th of this month we received your's of the 16th, which I will now briefly answer. On Sunday the 24th, we had audience of his Majesty, accompanied as usual, on our entrance. The ceremony (of reception) over, I said to the Emperor exactly the same things concerning the Colloquy I had laid before Granvelle repeating my request that his Majesty would inform me daily of the progress of the Colloquy; he willingly replied in the affirmative, then we had a little conversation on the corruptions imbibed by this people and by the Lutheran Sect, and how difficult it would be to induce them to obey the rules and ceremonies of the church, I gave the Brief to the Revd. M. Julius Flug, admonishing him as your Reverence had desired me. This was most acceptable to him; he replied that he would do nothing without my advice. As regards Pighius having discoursed with Monsignor the Nuncio, and agreed to give him Δ 50, fifty ducats, he will be paid at the rate of Δ 50. I shall tell him that N. S. does not wish him to have any loss by his book. As to the Indulgence and its publication, I shall wait the return the day after tomorrow,

¹ Observe here the monstrous contradiction which the doctrine of the Mass gives to Scripture. It is not Christ who offers himself for the sins of the world, but the priest who offers him to God as an oblation.

² See the original in *Epist. Reg. Poi.*, tom. iii.; and in a complete edition of Contarini's works. Paris, 1671.

and I will go from the place where I lodged to the Certosa, where on Sunday there will be vespers, and on Monday the mass for the Emperor's anniversary. There will be great danger in publishing this Indulgence with pomp, because many Lutherans and citizens of this city, who are Catholics only by name, will make game of it, and for this reason I shall do what his Imperial Majesty advises me.—*Epist. Reg. Poli*, tom. iii.

Page 270. I.

John Sturm, whose active and successful exertions in forming a school at Strasburg have been so ably related by a modern author, was one of the great actors in the German reformation, and the intimate friend of many of the Italians who took refuge at Strasburg. He was born at Sleidan¹ on the 1st of October, 1507, and studied at Liege at the college of St. Jerome, where the youth were directed in their studies by a brotherhood considerably in advance of the general spirit of the age, for they were the first in Europe to organize a progressive plan of study and to introduce order and method into the instruction of youth. Here Sturm received the germ of those ideas which he subsequently put in practice at Strasburg. At Louvain, where he finished his studies, he worked at the printing-press of the learned Rudiger Roscius. In 1529 Sturm went to Paris to sell his books. The *Renaissance* occupied all active and thinking minds. In spite of the opposition of the Sorbonne, literary men discussed with freedom not only philosophy and criticism but the opinions of the reformers. The talents of Sturm were speedily developed in such an atmosphere. After having tried the professions of law and medicine he devoted himself exclusively to classical literature, and like Paleario he sought to disencumber logic from the heaviness of scholastic reasoning, and to shew that lucid definitions might be expressed in elegant language. Peter Ramus is said to have received from the lectures of Sturm the first idea of making philosophy generally intelligible and useful, and the courage to combat the scholastic method.² While Sturm was shaking off the chains of the schools, Maillard, a doctor of the Sorbonne, asked his assistance in the explanation of the Epistle to the Romans. As yet unconscious of the spiritual meaning of the apostle, he commented on this epistle as he would on Demosthenes and Cicero; but a visit from Louis Carinus of Lucerne, in 1533, who brought with him the writings of Bucer, awakened Sturm's attention to the doctrines of the Reformation. That same year he heard Gerard Roussel, minister of the queen of Navarre, preach at the Louvre. The king was much disposed to check the violence of the monks and the Sorbonne. The able diplomatist Guillaume de Bellay, on returning in 1533 from an embassy to Germany, saw Bucer at Strasburg and conversed with him on the best means of reconciling the Churches. On his arrival at Paris he persuaded the king to take the advice of Melancthon and Bucer to bring about some degree of concord. But unfortunately, while things were in this hopeful state, the affair of the placards so incensed the king that he broke up the negotiation and punished the reformers, thus shewing how little was to be expected from his justice or clemency. From political motives, however, Francis wished to keep terms with the German reformers; the negotiation was renewed, and Du Bellay presented Sturm to the king as a man of peace and moderation, fitted to act the part of mediator. Sturm still believed in the king's sincerity, and communicated his confidence to Bucer. Melancthon was invited, but the Elector of Savoy refused to let him go. The Germans put no trust in Francis, and

¹ *La vie et les travaux de Jean Sturm*. Strasburg, 1855.

² Jean Philipson, his townsman, who took the name of Sleidan as historian, was one year older than Sturm.

³ See Ch. Waddington, *Ramus sa vie, ses écrits*. Paris, 1855.

the Catholics were soon again in the ascendant, and persecution was renewed with great violence. Sturm left Paris for Strasburg. He arrived at this city at the very time when his talents and indefatigable energy could be most useful. The reformation had been tranquilly accomplished at Strasburg, owing to the noble character of its magistrates. Jacques Sturm and Mathias Pfarrer had been received with joy by the population. The enlightened men who took the lead in this great movement saw the importance of uniting a sound education with religious instruction. Elementary schools were established, and a superior course of education was given in the College of St. Thomas by the pastors and the canons. On the arrival of Sturm in 1536 he was immediately appointed professor. Bucer was so relieved by his assistance, that he devoted his whole time to the interpretation of Scripture. Sturm now directed his attention to the organisation of an extended and enlightened plan of study, calculated to form the intellect and give to the education of youth a high moral and religious tone. He was chosen rector of the school, and continued to divide his time between this school and diplomatic missions in favour of the Reformation. He was present at all the chief Germanic diets and conferences, and personally known to the most eminent men of his day, and was the friend of Peter Martyr, Bucer, Fagius, and Sleidan. His latter years were embittered by the intolerant and overbearing spirit of younger and inferior men, particularly Marbach, who no longer respected the authority of the rector. His old friends were all gone, himself advanced in years; and at last Strasburg, unmindful of the great services he had rendered the town, in the year 1581 decreed that the rector should not be appointed for life, and requested Sturm to give in his resignation. This he was determined not to do, and they annulled his appointment; but he would never sanction their injustice, and continued to exert himself in favour of the school. He had sacrificed his whole fortune to assist the reformers in France, without receiving any return. The activity of his spirit and intelligence remained with him to the last. He died at Strasburg in March 1589, at the age of eighty-two, after having experienced the ingratitude of a city which he had faithfully served for fifty years.¹

Page 276. J.

"The death of Contarini was a grief to all good men both at Rome and Venice. Flaminio Tomazzo wrote from Rome: 'Two hours ago the intelligence that the most Reverend Cardinal Contarini was dying, and had already lost his speech, reached us, and has most deeply affected the whole court. It appears to me that our Lord God permits the Holy See to suffer more misfortune than can be well imagined, by taking away from us one of the great pillars and supports of his church. I cannot feel a moment's tranquillity, for my heart is full of tears.' I remember that Pope Paul III. summoned me to Perugia, and among other things asked me about my stay with the most Reverend Contarini, and if I was present at his death. I answered him truly, and told him how sincerely he had served his Holiness, and I spoke of his goodness and piety. The Pope, who was walking up and down, stopped as I said this, and struck a table near which he stood twice with his hand, and said with a sigh, 'We have lost a great Cardinal. *Pazienza!*'"—L. Beccadelli, *Vita del Card. Contarini*.

¹ We must refer the reader to Mr. Schmidt's interesting work, which is well worthy of perusal.

CHAPTER VIII.

Page 294. A.

"Notizie delle deliberazione di Consistori in Siena 1541, 28 9bre. Arrivò in Siena di Monsignore Niccolò Pernet de Granvela, Vicario in Italia dell' Imperadore, e descrizione del suo ricevimento il 20 e 21. Vedi *Deliberazione dei Consistori*.

"Die xxviii Novembris D'nus Ill^{mus} et Ex^{mus} D. Nicolaus Pernet D'nus de Grandeval Cesaræ M^{tie} Vice Imperator in Italia venit cum magna nobiliss. civium comitiva ad palatium pub. stans in medio R^{mi} Don Archiepiscⁱ et D. Francisci Sfrondadi Cremonensis dictæ Cesaræ M^{tie} Commissarij; et cum pervenisset juxta portam dicti palatij quatuor e mag^{ris} D'mini et omnes vex^{ri} mag^{is} conciliarij et capⁱ dati sunt obviam et cum reverentia et sic ascendens scalas cum ipsis venit primo in cappella et ibi facta brevi oratione introivit in d'us d.mini Consistorium et sedit in primo loco in medio dⁿⁱ R^{mi} Archiepi et d.us prioris et in quarto loco sedit d'mus d'nus Franciscus Sfrondadus et inter alios duos priores sederunt et filius Ep^{us} dicti D. Nic. de Grandeval et Don Indicus ffin. Ducis Amalphensis filius. Et dictus vice imperator locutus fuit narrando paternam benevolentiam qua prosequit Ces^{ar} M^{tas} hanc civitatem, et qua cupit eam manere pacifice et quiete cum perseveratione Reip. et libertatis, agendo gratias et offerendo fere longo die locutus fuerat. Supra et deinde Ill^{mi} Cap. ppli priore fuit datum responsum cum dignitate et ornatu declarando gaudium totius civit. de ejus adventu commendando hanc Remp. et ejus cives libertatemque et agendo gratias."—*Notizie delle deliberazione de' Consistori. MS. Siena.*¹

"From the archives of Siena. On the 28th November, 1541, Monsignor Nicholas Pernet, of Grandevella, arrived at Siena as Imperial vicar in Italy. Description of his reception on the 20th and 21st. See *Deliberazione dei Consistori*.

"On the 28th November his most illustrious Excellency Don Niccolò Pernet, lord of Grandvella, vice-governor of his Imperial majesty in Italy, came with a numerous company of noble citizens to the Town-hall, accompanied by the archbishop and by Francesco Sfondrato of Cremona. When they arrived at the door of the said palace, four of the principal magistrates and all the municipal council went to meet him with great respect, and ascending the stairs with them he went first into the chapel, where having made a short prayer he entered the consistory, and seated himself in the place of honour between the archbishop and the prior. Francesco Sfondrato seated himself in the fourth seat: between two other priors were seated the bishop, son of the said M. Nic. de Grandvella, and Don Inigo, son of the Duke of Amalfi. And then the vice-governor spoke, enlarging on the paternal good-will which his Imperial majesty felt towards this city, and how earnestly he desired that they should live quietly and peacefully in the maintenance of the liberty of the state. This sitting lasted all day, and he gave great promises of favour. The prior of the illustrious captain of the people replied with dignity and eloquence, expressing the joy felt by all at his arrival, and commending to him the liberty of this republic and its citizens."—*MS. Archives of Siena.*

¹ These minutes, written by a Town-clerk in the sixteenth century, have no pretension to classical accuracy; more especially as they were penned when the Italian and Latin languages were confused together, and the former in a transition state.

Page 307. B.

Office of the Reformation,
Deliberations of the Consistory,
3rd Dec. 1541.

"In the name of God, Most Illustrious and Excellent Signors, The most illustrious and most excellent Monsignor de Granvelle desires, by the royal authority which he holds from his Imperial Majesty, and also the Count Francesco Sfondrato, of the Senate of Milan, commissioned by the same to put in execution the good-will and sincere intentions of his Majesty, to provide for the general tranquillity and preservation of the liberty of our city, and shew forth the love and singular affection which the above-named illustrious gentlemen bear to the same. They having come, and being now in the city, have for this purpose with mature and weighty speeches made several propositions concerning the maintenance of justice and the good government of our Republic, and have presented them to the officers of the *Balia*,¹ sons and servants of your Excellencies, always intent upon the public good. These same propositions having been the object of consultation and discussion by a great number of citizens, and particularly by most able Doctors (of Laws), have been fully debated and examined. Finally, with the help of the above-mentioned illustrious gentlemen, they have approved and arranged them as they now are. Which resolutions the said officers of the *Balia* present to your Excellencies with due reverence, that you may remember and deign in your deliberations to present them in full Senate, that they may be entirely approved and decided on according to the excellent intention of these illustrious gentlemen, as the said officers of the *Balia* have judged it best to do for the public good and for the safety of our Republic, which may God our Lord preserve in liberty under the Imperial protection, and which we commend to your Excellencies."

Page 307. C.

"Prima che rilevi in tutto il Mag^{to} de li S. otto de guardia ateso massimo che ciò si può fare senza ingiuria d' essi per essere appunto al fine dell' uffitio loro, e che in luogo loro si porghi un Cap^o di giustizia, il quale habbi autorità nelle cause e guidizi criminali di qualsiasi sorte contro d' ogni persona di qual grado o conditione si voglia e solo si possa appellare da le sententia differitive pecunarie del detto Cap^o e suo Giudice a li Sig^{ri}. Giudici de la ruota, quali sopra li medesimi atti e processo fatto dinanzi al d^o Cap^o habbino infra giorni xv. cioè quindici, dall' interpolatione dell' appellatione giudicato e sententiatò. Et infra tre giorni da la data sententia si possa appellare e dare libello rescissorio.

"Et il d^o Cap^{to} habbi ne le cause criminali da procedere per inquisitione,

"First the Magistracy of the Eight of the guards to be entirely removed, seeing especially that this can be done without injury to them, this being precisely the time of their completion of office. And that in their place a Captain of justice² should be named, who is to have authority in criminal and judicial trials of every kind against all persons and of all ranks and conditions of life, and appeal can only be made as to pecuniary differences from the said Captain and his judge to the judges of the *ruota*. They, upon the same accusation and trial, are bound to appear before the said Captain within fifteen days from the cause being called, and the case judged and the sentence past. And within three days of the said sentence appeal may be made, and a rescissory petition presented.

¹ Bernardino de Buoninsegni was one of the new *Balia* after the arrival of Granvelle.

² Francesco Crasso was the first *Captano di Giustizia*.

denuntia e accusa, e secondo la forma de' ragione e statuti del Mag^{to}. comune di Siena fatti e da farsi."¹

"And the said Captain is to proceed in criminal causes by enquiries, denunciations, and accusations, according to the form and manner of the laws of the magistrates of Siena."—*M.S. Archives of Siena.*"

Page 313. D.

List of names mentioned by Paleario in his *Oration* :

Nicholas Pernet, or Perrenot de Grandvelle,	}	The Emperor's minister.
C. Francesco Sfondrato,		Sent by Charles V. in 1541 to re-organise Siena; remained two years.
C. Francesco Crasso,	}	Captain or officer of justice at Siena, afterwards sent as governor.
Antonio Bellanti Petrini, F.		A proprior of Siena, whose cause Paleario defended in a brilliant oration.
Osma and Cova,		Magistrates of Siena.
Ottone Melio Cotta, supposed to be Paleario.		Orlando Marescotti; he was the enemy of Paleario.
Lejulejo Deciano,		one of the conspirators against Paleario.
Sp. Bavius, or Scipione della Bava,	}	Priests, conspirators.
M. Pierus, or Pieri,		
Rapido Volterraneo, or Raffaello Volterrano,	}	Monks, conspirators cited by Paleario in 1540, for taking money from the house of Bellanti's mother.
Girolamo Ciano,		
Andrea Pansa,		
Gregorio Primpilus,		
L. Auletes, or Luti,		
C. Cirsa, or Calso,	}	Gentlemen, conspirators.
Alessio Lucrino, or Alessandro Lucherini,		
Balbo Rufo Negociosius,		a worthy citizen.
Giano Tito Belide, or Gio. Ballati,		a learned juriconsult.
Bernardino Francesconio,	}	brothers, sons of Antonio Bellanti, and great friends of Paleario.
Girolamo Bandinelli,		
Fausto and Evander Bellanti. Bono,	}	worthy citizens of Colle, and friends of Paleario.
who retained Paleario in Tuscany,		
Tancredi, Placidi, Malevolti, Tori Fungari, Silvano,		a friend.
Cavaliere Chigi,		friends and defenders of Paleario.
Father Egidio and his divines,		

Page 321. E.

"Essendo restato lo Sfondrato in Siena per dar fine al già cominciato modello, mediante il quale, per due anni in circa, la città visse meglio e più pacificamente che per qual si voglia tempo passato: dopo il qual tempo il detto Sfondrato cominciò a

"Sfondrato remained in Siena to complete the newly begun plan of government, by means of which, for about two years, the city was in a better and more tranquil state than it ever had been before: after this time the said Sfondrato began to favour

¹ *Uffizio dei Riformazioni. M.S. Siena.*

favorire alcuni cittadini con certe scoperte dimostrazioni, quali dispiacquero a molti della città, e ne fu fatto intendere secretamente a sua Maestà Cattolica. Quale, sotto colore di alcuni negozii, lo levò di Siena, e lo mandò a Roma, come oratore appresso la Santità di papa Paolo III. dal quale infra pochi mesi fu fatto Cardinale."—Sozzini, *Revoluzioni di Siena*, p. 24.

some citizens in an open manner, which much displeased many in the city. This was made known to his Catholic majesty, who under colour of affairs removed him from Siena, and sent him to Rome as orator to his Holiness Paul III., by whom he was within a few months made Cardinal."

In 1543¹ Don Giovanni di Luna, a Spaniard, was sent as governor to Siena: he endeavoured to follow the plan laid down by Grandvelle, but the people thought he favoured the order of the *Nove*, and consequently united with the other orders to attack the *Nove*; blood was shed, and many persons killed; the governor was so alarmed that he shut himself up in his palace with the young men of the order of the *Nove*. Next day there was a stronger rising, and it was intimated to Don Giovanni that if he and all the Spaniards would leave the city they should be allowed to pass with their flags flying, if not they would not answer for his security. He took the hint, and with the Spaniards and the men of his party set out for Florence. After the departure of Don Giovanni the Emperor sent Francesco Grasso, or Crasso, as governor, who had formerly been *Capitano di Giustizia* in Siena. He declared it was the Imperial will that the city should receive a guard of three hundred Spaniards and maintain them, but the citizens would not hear of such a thing. Francesco Grasso was not more acceptable to the unruly inhabitants of Siena, and he very soon followed Don Giovanni to Florence.²

Page 324. F.

"Noi siamo giunti al fine di questi nostri ragionamenti, nelli quali il nostro principale intento è stato di celebrare e magnificare secondo le nostre picciole forze il beneficio stupendo che ha ricevuto il christiano da Gesù Christo crocifisso: e dimostrare che la fede per se stessa giustifica, cioè che Dio riceve per giusti tutti quegli che veramente credono Gesù Christo havere sodisfatto alli lor peccati, benchè si come la luce non è separabile dalla fiamma che per se sola abbruscia, così le buone opere non si possono separare dalla fede che per se sola giustifica. Questa santissima dottrina la quale esalta Gesù Christo, e abbassa la superbia humana fu e sarà sempre oppugnata dagli Cristiani che hanno gli animi hebrei. Ma beato colui il quale imitando san Paulo si spoglia di tutte le sue proprie giustificazioni: ne vuole altra giustitia che

"We are now come to the end of our arguments; in which it has been our chief intention to celebrate and magnify to the utmost of our feeble power the stupendous benefit which the christian has received from Jesus Christ crucified. And it has been our object to shew that faith of itself justifies, that is, that God receives as righteous all those who truly believe that Jesus Christ has satisfied for their sins; though as the light cannot be separated from the flame which burns, so good works cannot be separated from the faith which of itself justifies.

"This most holy doctrine, which exalts Jesus Christ and humbles human pride, has been and will always be opposed by christians who have Jewish minds. But blessed is he who, imitating St. Paul, strips himself of all his own righteousness, and pleads

¹ On the 25th of February, 1543, Orlando Rainaldo Marescotti was chosen one of the *Otto*. He is supposed to have been Paleario's enemy, under the name of Ottone Melio Cotta.

² *Archivio Storico Italiano*, tom. ii.; Sozzini, *Revoluzioni di Siena*, pp. 24—27.

quella di Christo: della qual vestito no other but that of Christ; clothed
 potrà compare sicurissimamente nel in this he can safely appear before
 conspetto di Dio, e riceverà da lui God, and will receive from him the
 la beneditione e l'heredità del cielo blessing and inheritance of heaven
 and della terra insieme co' l suo uni- and earth, together with his only
 genito figliolo Jesù Christo nostro begotten son Jesus Christ our Lord,
 Signore: al quale sia gloria in sempiterno. Amen."—*Beneficio*, p. 70. Amen."
 Ed. Babington.

Page 330. G.

As *Il Catalogo* is rarely to be met with we give a passage from Vergerio's notes on the Catalogue of 1549:—

"Segue questo benedetto Catalogo e dice, il beneficio di Christo, e di sotto vi sono queste parole. Un libro così intitolato, sono accorti, et hanno voluto dichiarare che non condannano immediate quel beneficio, che Jesù Christo fece agli eletti suoi morendo in croce, ma il libro. Et che differentia è condannar quel istesso beneficio o condannare un dolce libriccino, che ci mostra e ci insegna a conoscer quel beneficio? Or di questo libro ascoltate, o è buono o è triste, se è buono perchè haverlo condannato? Se è triste perchè ne hanno prima lasciati vender XL mille, che tanto io so che da sei anni in qua ne sono stampati e venduti in Vinetia sola, perchè hanno lasciato andar attorno tanta quantita di tossico di anime (secondo loro)?

"Questo è gran cosa dove costoro essendone tanto pregati, e sgridati dovrebbero ogni anno diventare più humili, più riconoscere gli errori, le superstitioni, le tenebre nelle quali hanno voluto tener soffocata la povera gente, e mitigarla, e farsela benevola e compiacera dove va la gloria di Dio vedendo, che ella desidera tanto di stare con la dottrina dell' Evangelio, si hanno deliberato di voler insoperbire ogni giorno più e di voler tenere bassi, e tirannizzare i poveri popoli e ascondere ogni cosetta che potesse loro dar luce alcuna della salute, per ciò che invero non fa per loro (come ho detto) non fa che essi la possano intendere. Chi non sa che i popoli si faranno beffe delle indulgentie, de' jubilei e di tutte le altre inventioni, e pensate d' huomini, con le quali un tempo di lungo si è dato ad intender, che si potesse avere la remissione de' peccati quando havranno havuto gratia di poter con viva fede conoscere il gran beneficio, che ha fatto loro il celesto Padre dando il figliuolo diletto a spander il sangue e morir sulla croce."¹

Page 331. H.

From the original *Catalogo* about the *Beneficio*.

"Ma ci è anchora da dire di questo Beneficio di Christo. E un certo frate, che non lo vuole a patto alcuno, e con speranza di haver un beneficio dal Papa ha fatto una invettiva contra quel di Christo crocifisso, è stato poi un' altro buon ingegno e spirito che lo ha tolto a diffendere, et ha composto un dolce libro, et l' ha dato alle mani di un Cardinale, il quale ha fama di haver lume di conoscere gli errori della chiesa, et gustar la dolcezza dell' Evangelio certo egli ha di molti virtù eccellenti. Ma mi risolvo, che se questo Cardinale non lascia adesso venir fuori la difensione, che egli ha in mano di quel buono libro, et se non si scuopre a dire che egli sia buono, che la fama sia falsa, et che non sia in lui quello Spirito che molti hanno creduto. Egli suol dire che bisogna esser prudente, et aspettare la occasione, et il tempo opportuno ;

¹ *Il Catalogo de' Libri, Li quali nuovamente nel mese de Maggio nell' anno presente MDXLVIII. sono stati condannati e scomunicati per heretici. Da M. Giovan della casa legato di Venetia, e d' alcuni frati. E' aggiunto sopra Il Medesimo Catalogo un indico e discorso del Vergerio.*

è ben detto, ma non sarà occasione et il tempo opportuno adesso, che in tanti modi tanta gente cerca di estinguer, et seppellire il benefìtio, et la gloria di Cristo. Quando si vorrà egli dichiarare, et farsi conoscere per suo soldato, se nol fa adesso, che il suo Christo è tanto combattuto, travagliato, afflitto? Orsù staremo a vedere come farà questo Cardinale. Dio li doni ardire e sarebbe ben tempo che egli si havesse e dichiarare con tutta la sua schola.

“Aggiungo di questo libretto, che sono due persone, le quali vi hanno posto mano, una l’ha cominciato, l’altra finito, et espolito, e tutte due sono in Italia et molto conosciute e carezzate dai primi membri, e ministri di Roma, e il libro loro è condannato per heretico. Staremo anche a vedere, se essi potranno soffrire et divorar questa injuria che è fatta sulla faccia del padre loro celeste, o se pur la vorranno dissimular e godersi le comodità et delitè delle chieriche loro.”—*Il Catalogo.*

Page 340. I.

Known editions of the *Beneficio di Christo*:

1.	ITALIAN	Original.	Venice,	1543.	St. John's Coll. Library, Cambridge.
2.	" "	" "	Venice,	[1546?]	[by Paulo Gherardo], University Library, Cambridge.
3.	" "	" "	Venice,	1546.	by Philip Stagninum, Royal Lib., Stutgard.
4.	" "	" "	Tubingen,	1563.	University Library, Laibach.
5.	" "	" "	Tubingen,	1563.	Royal Library, Stutgard.
6.	" "	Trans. from English.	Pisa,	1849.	
7.	" "	" "	Florence,	1849.	
8.	" "	" "	London,	s. l.	Reprint of "Florence," by Jones, London.
9.	" "	Original.	London,	1855.	Rev. C. Babington, reprint of 1543.
10.	" "	" "	Leipzig,	1855 etc.	Five editions. Tischendorf.
11.	FRENCH	Trans.	s. l.	1552.	St. John's Coll. Lib., Cambridge.
12.	" "	" "	London,	1855.	Rev. C. Babington, reprint of 1552.
13.	" "	New Trans.	Vevay,	1856.	} See Eco di Savonarola.
14.	" "	(do?)	Lausanne,	1856.	
15.	" "	New Trans.	Paris,	1856.	by Louis Bonnet, of Frankfort.
16.	SLAVONIC	Trans.	Tubingen,	1563.	Slavonic letter, Univ. Laibach.
17.	" "	" "	Tubingen,	1563.	Slavonic Glagolitic letter, Roy. Lib. Stutgard.
18.	" "	" "	Tubingen,	1665.	Roman letter, Univ. Laibach.
19.	GERMAN	Trans.	New Hanau,	1614.	Royal Library, Berlin.
20.	" "	Another.	Hamburg,	1856.	by Sittler.
21.	" "	Another.	Strasburg,	1856?	
22.	ENGLISH	In MS.	Cambridge,	1548.	University Library, Cambridge.
23.	" "	Same printed.	London,	1855.	Rev. C. Babington.
24.	" "	From French of 1552.	London,	1573?	
25.	" "	" "	London,	1580.	G. Bishop and S. Woodcocke. Sold by T. Kerslake, Bristol, 1858.
26.	" "	" "	London,	1633.	Duke of Manchester.
27.	" "	" "	London,	1638.	E. C., for Andrew Hebb (E. G.)
28.	" "	" "	London,	s. l.	Printed by H. Byneman. Sold at Sotheby's, 1856.
29.	" "	" "	London,	1848.	Religious Tract Society.
30.	" "	" "	London,	1859.	Ditto.

A Paleario Over de weldaad van Christus. Mit inteiding untr. den Auteur. Amsterdam, 1856. Supposed to be the first Dutch Edition.

I am under great obligations to Mr. Benjamin B. Wiffen for the above list of the several editions of the *Beneficio*.

CHAPTER IX.

Page 367. A.

"Auditis D. Johanne Baptista pri^o et D. Johanne Palmerio, equitibus generosis, D. Bem^o Philippo de Boninsinis, et D. Carolo Maisanio clarissimis consultis, recordantibus, cum reverentia quod esset bonum et valde utile animarum saluti quod R^{us} fr. Bernardinus Ochinus de Senis, qui hoc mane in aula magna consilii fecit salutarem predicationem cuncto p^olo, assistentibus et Ill^{ms} D^{nis} et Capitano p^{pli}, permaneret aliquot dies predicare in cathedrali aut prope palatium pub. unde attendentes hujusmodi proficuum reordinationem convenient; quatuor p^{renominatis} civibus qui vadant ad dictum fratrem Bernardinum et cum eo eant ita ut curent quod non discedat Senis et faciat aliquot predicationes in sancta Cathedrali aut in palatio ad suum libitum, et pro p. d^{nis} scribantur litteræ ad summum Pontificem, si opus, quod oves p^{redicta} executioni mandaverunt et voluerunt quod dictus frater Bernardinus ut morem gerat Ill^{mo} Consist. ac toti Reip., satisfacere eorum voluntati. 1539, Giugno 21."—*MS. Cancellerie di Siena.*

"After hearing first D. Giovanni Battista, Giovanni Palmerio, distinguished cavaliers, D. Bembo Filippo Buoninsegni, and D. Carlo Macagna, eminent counsellors; remembering with reverence how good and profitable for the salvation of souls, the Rev^d friar Bernardino Ochino of Siena is, who preached so useful a discourse this morning in the great hall of the council; in order that the people may hear him, the illustrious gentlemen, and the captain of the people are entreated to invite him to preach another day either in the cathedral or in the public Town-hall, so that a greater number of persons may be present; and [it was decreed] that four of the above-named gentlemen go and see friar Bernardino and entreat him not to leave Siena, but request him to preach again either in the cathedral or in the town-hall, which ever he prefers; and that letters be written to the Pope, if necessary, for the fulfilment of the wishes and commands of the aforesaid citizens, so that friar Bernardino may not leave the city, but comply with the wishes of the illustrious council. June 21, 1539."

Page 367. B.

"Aretino scrive:

"Mosso da quella sua tromba che si fa udire col frate apostolico, (Ochino) ho creduto a le ammonitioni della riverenza sua le quali vogliono che questa lettera in mia vece gettata ai piedi della vostra Santità Beatissima le chiegga perdono della ingiuria fatta a la Corte dalla stoltitia delle scritture mie, benchè tutto quello ch'io ne ho detto con la bocca e scritto con la penna l'hanno ordinato i Cieli acciò se nulla mancasse a la Beatitudine sopradetta vi forniate di glorificare nella conversione Aretina. Ma se Iddio, per esser più merito nell'emenda del peccato, che nella continenza del non peccare, si rivolge con più benignità a chi doppo l'errore si corregge, che a quello che mai non errò, chi dubita che la clemenza vostra nell'atto del mio pentimento non usi più tosto il premio che la pena."—*Epistole Reg. Poli. Diatriba, Caput Nonum, Pars iii. p. 88.*

"Aretino writes:

"Moved by the trumpet tones, uttered by the Apostolic friar (Ochino), I yield to the admonitions of your Reverence. By means of this letter, as my substitute, I throw myself at the feet of your blessed Holiness, and ask pardon for the insults offered to your court by my foolish writings. Providence has, however, ordered that nothing should be wanting to your Holiness, and that all which I have ever uttered by word of mouth or written with my pen should rebound to your honour by means of my conversion. But if God holds the abandonment of sin as more meritorious than abstinence from it, and shows more benignity to the man who corrects his faults than to him who never erred, who can doubt that on my repentance your clemency will be more inclined to favour than to punishment?"

Page 371. C.

The original passage is as follows: it describes how Ochino reasoned with himself: "Puoi adunque essere certo ch'el ti torra la vita siccome ne hai li avvisi e certezza. Un giorno più, che fussi andato avanti, ero presi da dodici i quale la vigilia de S. Bartolomeo a cavallo circondavano il monasterio de' Cappuocini fuor di Siena per pigliarmi siccome è publica e non mi trovando continuò verso Firenze a fare il simili."¹

Girolamo Muzio, to whom this letter was addressed, was an earnest champion of the Roman Catholic church. His original name was Nuzio which he changed to Muzio. He was a native of Capo d'Istria; his early years were spent in the service of different nobles and princes. After various travels Muzio arrived in Rome in 1532, the year that Aurelio Vergerio was poisoned; he was afterwards in the service of the Marchese del Vasto, and subsequently at the court of Don Ferrante Gonzaga, governor of Milan, whom he served for many years. Having been visited by a severe illness in 1552 he wished to withdraw from the management of affairs and *dare al servizio di Dio, questo poco di tempo, che si avvanza rivolgendomi tutto agli studj sacri*; but D. Ferrante persuaded him to remain in his service till his death, which took place in 1557. Muzio then became tutor to the young prince Francesco of Urbino, to whom he addressed his *Trattato dal Principe giovanetto*. It was at this court he wrote his book on challenges and duels. In the reign of Pius V. he was employed at Rome in writing against heretics. Before Pius was elected Pope he had employed Muzio to answer Bp. Jewel's Apology for the Anglican Church. At the death of Pius V. in 1572 Muzio wrote to the Duke of Savoy, that during fifty-four years' service he had never been able to secure fifty-four pence of certain income. He died in 1576, aged 81 years. He had little knowledge of theology, and his books in defence of the Roman Catholic religion are chiefly invectives against particular persons. First he attacked Vergerio in the work entitled *De Vergeriane*; then Ochino in *Le Mentite Ochiniane*; afterwards Francesco Betti, *Malizie Bettine*. He wrote also *Bulingero riprovato*, and *La difesa della messa de' Santi e del Papato contra le bestemmie di Pietro Vireto Antidoto Cristiano, Lettere Catholiche, Eretico Infuriato, Cattolica Disciplina de' Principi, Tre Testimonj Fedeli, Risposta a Proteo, e Silva Odorifera*,² and other anti-heretical works.

Page 372. D.

Lettera da Fra Benardino Ochino, a Vittoria Colonna, Marchesa di Pescara.

"Io co' piccolo fastidio di mente mi trovo qui fuori di Firenze, venuto co' animo di andare a Roma, dove son chiamato, ben che innanzi ch'io fussi qui, da molti ne sia stato dissuaso, ma intendendo ogni di più cose, et il modo col qual procedono son stato, particolarmente da Pietro Martire et da altri, molto persuaso di non andare, perchè non potrei se non negar Christo, o esser Crocifisso. Il primo non vorrei. Il secondo sì, con la sua gratia, ma quando lui vorrà. Andar io alla morte, volontariamente, non ho questo Spirito; hora Dio quando vorrà mi saprà trovar per tutto; Christo m' insegnò a fuggire più volte, et in Egitto, et alli Samaritani io; et con Paulo, spesso mi disse che io andasse in altra città quando in una no' ero ricevuto. Da poi che farei più in Italia? predicar sospetto, e predicar Christo mascherato in gergo, et molte volte bisogna bestemiarlo per sodisfare alla superstitione del mondo et no' basta, et ad ogni sgraziato bastarebbe l'anima serivere. ma

¹ Copied from the original MS. in the Library of Siena. *Bernardino Ochino Senese a Mutio Giustinopolitano*. It was printed by Ochino, with his letter to Siena at the end of the second volume of his *Sermons*. The letter to Mutio bears the date of the original MS., Geneva, 7th April, 1543. There is a copy in the Bodleian library at Oxford.

² Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 283.

stonarmi, ritorneremo presto alli medessimi tumulti, e scrivendo manco potrei dare in luce cos' alcuna; per questi et altri rispetti eleggo partirmi, e premitte che vedo che procedono in modo, che ho da pensare che vorrebbero infino esaminarmi e farmi ringgar Christo o amazzarmi. Credo se Paulo fusse nel mio cuore, non pigliarebbe altro partito; Posso dir che forse come per miracolo son passato Bologna, e no' so stato intertenuto per la volontà che ho mostrato di andare; e per la bontà et prudentia del Car.^{de} Contarini, si come ne ho havuto evidenti inditij. Di poi ho inteso ch' il Farnese dice che son chiamato perche ho predicato heresia, et cosa scandalosa. Il Theatino, Puccio, e del altri ch' io no' voglio nominarli, dalli avisi ne ho avuti in modo che se io havesse crocifisso Christo, no' so se si facesse tanto romore. Io so' tale qual sa V. S. e la dottrina si può sapere da chi m' ha udito; mai predicai più riservato e co' modestia che quest' año, e già senza udirmi, m' hanno pubblicato per uno heretico. Ho piacer che da me, incomminciano, a riformar la chiesa. Tenghono insino un frate co' l' habito n'ro in Araceli; che il Caplo. anche ordinò che gli fusse cavato l' habito, onde tanto comotione contra di me. Penso sia bene cedere a tanto impeto. Dal' altra parte pensate se mi è aspro per tutti li rispetti che aspete; considerate, so ben che sento ripugna a lasciar tutto, et a pensare che si dirà Christo ha permesso et voluto che essi mi persecutino così, a qualche buon fine. Mi sarebbe stato sopra modo gratissimo. parlarvi et havere il v' tro giudizio et di Mon.^s Rmo. Polo, o una l' ra loro, ma è più d' un mese che no' ho vostre lettere. Pregate il Sig.^{or} per me. Ho animo servirgli più che mai in la sua gra' et salutate tutti.—Da Firenze." Alli xxij. di Agosto, M.D.XLII.—*MS. Lib. of Siena.*

Page 392. F.

Lelio Sozzini, or Soccino, was the son of the celebrated canonist Giovan Maria Soccino; he was born at Siena in 1525, and to his name is attached the unenviable fame of being the founder of the sect of Antitrinitarians. Fausto Soccini, his grandson, was indeed the real father of this unhappy sect, but Lelio, by his subtle reasonings and unbelief, prepared the way and secretly influenced many to doubt the most important truths of revelation. In the year 1546 Lelio held meetings of forty persons near Vicenza, and here probably Valentino Gentilis of Cosenza and Gianpaolo Alciati of Milan first imbibed those erroneous views which led them to undervalue the atonement of Christ. The Swiss reformers were fully alive to the danger of these opinions, and hoped by well-timed severity to prevent the infection of this deadly poison. After travelling about for some years Lelio fixed himself at Zurich, and there exercised a secret but evil influence over his countrymen. Admonished by Calvin, and intimidated by the fate of Servet, he contrived so to conceal his opinions from the public as to be left unmolested to the end of his days; he died at Zurich in 1562, with the reputation of being a learned man and well versed in Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic. After the death of Lelio, Fausto returned to Italy; he had not only imbibed the errors of his grandfather, but greatly exceeded them. He remained for some time at the court of Cosimo I., but at last, weary of dissimulating his real sentiments, he fled in 1574 to Bâle, and finally to Transylvania and Poland, where he was exposed to much illtreatment on account of his opinions. The people rose up against him, beat and dragged him through the streets, sacked his house, burned his books, and drove him from place to place. He died in a miserable village of Cracovia in 1604.¹ His friend Gentilis was beheaded at Berne in 1566.² Alciati, finding he could not open his mouth with safety at Geneva, took refuge in Poland; he afterwards went to Turkey, and it is said became a Mahometan. His intimate friend Georgio Blandrata,³ of Saluzzo, was suffocated in his bed by a nephew whom he had made his heir.

¹ See Sandius, *Bibl. Antittrin.*, and *Bið. Fratrum Polonorum.*

² *Scritt. Cosent.* p. 64.

³ See CHAP. X.

Page 396. G.

Desirous of convincing the reader that Ochino on his first conversion, by the knowledge of the Scriptures, was sound in the faith, in addition to the passages already given from his letters, we subjoin some extracts from his Sermons.

“Prediche di Bernardino Ochino da Siena, novellamente ristampate ed con grande diligentia rivedute e corrette.

“In Christo Fratello Bernardino Senese alli pij, candidi e sinceri lettori, S. All' impij Christo non satisfeco imo quanto più se gli dimostrò divino. Se Christo nò gli satisfeco lui, molto manco gli potrei satisfare io. Però lassandoli da parte alli pij dirò, che quando havesse possuto in Italia predicare più Christo, se non nudo, si come cel donò el Padre e si dovrebbe, al manco vestito e velato come già in parte mi sforzava di fare. Pur a buon fine per non offendere i superstitiosi, non mi sarei partito. Ma ero venuto a termine tali ch' il mi bisognava stando in Italia tacere imo mostrarmi inimico dell' Evangelio o morire. Et io non volendo negar Christo, si come non dovevo e non havendo speciale revelatione ne particular spirito d' andare volontariamente alla morte, per non tentare Dio, elessi partirmi, si come m' ha insegnato Christo e con la dottrina e con l' esempio; che anchè lui fuggì più volte e in Egitto, e in Samaria, e in Galilea, e più volte si nascose. Il che fece anche Paulo e altri santi. Quando verra l' hora mia Dio mi saprà trovare per tutto. So bene che s'el pio, sancto et prudente considera quello che ho lassato in Italia, a quante calunnie mi sono esposto e dove sono andato in questa mia ultima età, che sono certo ch' el mio partirmi non nacque da humana e carnal prudenza, nè anche di sensualità si come spero in Christo che la mia vita dimostrerà imo sa Dio che la mia sensualità sedotta dolga che Christo tosto habbi posseduto in me. Da poi adunque, Italia mia, che con la viva voce non posso per hora più predicarti mi sforzerò scrivere et in lingua volgare acciò sia più comune e penserò che Christo habbi così voluto acciò ch' io non abbi altro rispetto che alla verità. Et perchè la giustificatione per Christo e principio della vita christiana però incominciarò da

“Sermons of Bernardino Ochino of Siena, newly reprinted and diligently revised and corrected.

“Brother Bernardino of Siena in Christ, to the pious, candid, and sincere reader. Christ did not satisfy the impious even when he shewed himself to be divine. If Christ could not satisfy them, much less can I do so. Leaving them therefore apart, I will say to the pious that if I could have preached Christ any longer in Italy I would not have left. Even if not openly, as he was given to us by the Father, and as we ought, but at least veiled and concealed, as I in some degree endeavoured to do with a good intention, and not to offend the superstitious. But things were come to such a pass, that if I had stayed in Italy I must have been entirely silent, and either shew myself an enemy of the Gospel or die. Not desiring to deny Christ, as it was my duty not to do, and not having a special revelation, nor being animated with a signal inclination to go voluntarily to death; that I might not tempt God, I chose rather to go away, as Christ has taught me, both by doctrine and example, for he also was obliged to fly to Egypt, Samaria, and to Galilee, and he hid himself more than once; Paul and others did the same. When my hour comes, God will know where to find me wherever I am. I know well that if pious, holy, and prudent men consider what I have abandoned in Italy, and to how many calumnies I have been exposed, and where I have gone at my advanced age, I feel certain they will see it was not carnal or worldly prudence, nor any sensual inclinations, which made me leave, as I hope in Christ my future life will prove; nor have I been in any way seduced to grieve that Christ has had such power over me. Since, then, my dear Italy, I can now no longer preach to you with a living voice, I shall endeavour to write to you in the vulgar tongue, and that it may be more gene-

essa nel nome Gesù Christo nostro signore."

rally diffused. And I think that Christ has willed that it may be so, that I may have no regard for anything but truth. As justification by Christ is the beginning of the Christian life, I shall begin with this subject in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord."

In the Preface to the second volume of the Sermons Ochino says:

"La cagione, per la quale habbiamo separato queste seguente Prediche dalle precedenti, Lettore carissimo, in primo è stato la commodità tua. Accio li possi se li piacerà in due volumi legare e comodamente portarteli in seno, per fino a tanto che (distrutto primo la tirannide d' antichristo e rovinato il suo regno) gli sia resa la liberta e fatta retta la strada d' andare sicuramente a ragionare con li pij e sinceri christiani. L' altra cagione perche seguono materie che richieggiano di non aver altri capi sopra di se, ma elle son degni d' essere capo e principio dell' altri. Come quelle che trattava, che cosa sia l' origine e principio d' ogni altra cosa. Dio benedetto, di poi l' unigenito suo figliuoglo, autore di nostra salute e mediatore dell' accordo infra noi e Dio, secondo l' eterna divina elezione. Et tutto questo riguarda la bontà di Dio."

"The reason why I have separated the following discourses from the preceding, dear readers, is first your convenience, that you may, if you like, bind them in two volumes, and carry them more conveniently in your bosom, until (the tyranny of antichrist being removed and his kingdom destroyed) liberty shall be given you, and the way be clear for pious and sincere christians to converse together. The other reason is, because it treats of matters which ought not to have other subjects placed above them, but which are worthy to be the head and beginning of all other things—the blessed God and his only begotten Son, the author of our salvation and mediator of reconciliation between God and us according to divine and eternal election. All this relates to the goodness of God."

Prologo al Quarto volume de' Prediche d' Ochino.

"Si come il Padre, Figlio et Spirito santo sono un medesimo Dio così la fede, speranza, et carità hanno per obietto un sol Dio. Et si come il Padre non è senza il Figlio, nè senza lo Spirito Santo hor così nè la Fede è senza la Speranza et la Carità. Però essendo già impressi alcuni sermoni della Fede mi è parso conveniente il farne imprimere anco alcuni della Speranza et della Carità acciò che per la viva cognitione Spiritual, quale è sentimento di questi tre virtù, possino gli eletti elevarsi alla perfetta cognitione, fruizione e possessione dell' altissima Trinità, Padre, Figlio e Spirito Santo. Leggendo adunque, considera con la mente non maculata

Preface to the 4th volume of the Sermons of Ochino.

"As the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one and the same God, so faith, hope, and charity have but one God as their object. And as the Father is not without the Son nor without the Holy Spirit, neither is faith without hope and charity. I having therefore printed some sermons upon faith, it is not difficult for me to print some also on hope and charity, in order that, by the lively spiritual knowledge of these three virtues, the elect may be raised to the perfect knowledge, fruition, and possession of the Most High Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. In reading, reflect with a pure mind and a purified and simple faith, not vague, but in a firm

¹ This first volume contains fifty sermons on various subjects, such as justification, spiritual matrimony, confession, how to forsake our sins, human atonement, indulgences, purgatory, good works, the Christian's Testament, how to become rich, &c. It has no date of year or place.

ma per fede purgata et monda: non and certain hope, not uneasy, but vaga ma per speranza quieta et ferma: with a clear and holy charity. So non turbata ma per carità limpida et that by the grace of the Holy Spirit, chiara acciochè mediante la gratia through Christ, we may render to the dello spirito santo per mezzo di Christo Father praise, honour, and glory. rende al Padre ogni laude, honor et Amen." gloria. Amen."

Ochino wrote all his works in Italian, but they were translated afterwards into Latin. His works consist chiefly of sermons and theological tracts and discourses. We give the names of a few:

Dialogi VII. del Reverendo Padre Frate Bernardino Ochino Senese, Generale dei Frati Cappuzzini. Venezia, 1542, 1543.

The subjects are:

1. Del modo dell' innamorarsi di Dio. Speakers, Duchessa e Bernardino.
2. Del modo a diventar felice. Speakers, Padre Fra Bernardino e La Duchessa di Camerino.
3. In che modo la persona si debba reggere ben se. Speakers, Il Maestro e il Discepolo.
4. Dialogo del Ladrone in Croce. Speakers, Uomo e Donna.
5. Dialogo di convertirsi presto. Speakers, Christo e Anima.
6. Dialogo del Peregrinaggio per andar al Paradiso. Angelo Custode e anime peregrine.
7. Dialogo della Divina professione. Uomo e Donna.

In the year 1546 Ochino printed Sposizione sull' Epistola ai Galati e Risposte di Messer Bernardino Ochino alle false calunnie e impie biastemie di frate Ambrosio Catharino.

Prediche di M. Bernardino Ochino Senese nomati Laberinti del libero o ver servo Arbitrio, Prescienza, Predestinatione, e Liberta divina, e del modo per uscirne.

Ochino Bernh. Prediche, 3 vols. Tiguri, 1555. Dialogo di Purgatorio, 1555. Cena Domini.

Prediche d' Ochino, 4 vols.

The most complete list of the works of Ochino is perhaps that of Sandius, Bibl. Antitrinit., but the titles are all in Latin. Among them we find *Libellus de beneficiis Christi*, but this is evidently a mistake, as Vergerio, in his notes on the Catalogue of forbidden books in 1549, says expressly that the author or authors were then in Italy. Ochino left in 1542.

Among the Latin books we find, *Precum liber dedicatus est comiti Bedford*; we do not know whether this is the same as a copy of prayers in Italian among the rare books in the library of St. John's college, Cambridge, entitled, *La forma delle Pubbliche Oratione, le quali si fanno nelle chiese di pellegrini in Inghilterra*. Ochino was pastor of an Italian congregation in London before à Lasco. Unfortunately a volume of records has been lost from the Registers of the French Church in London, so that no accurate information can be obtained about Ochino's ministry in England.

CHAPTER X.

Page 399. A.

Girolamo Savonarola, born at Ferrara 1452, and put to death at Florence in 1498, was a man of great natural talent. His fanaticism, partly real and partly simulated, united to a strong resolute will and a decided bias towards republican opinions, gave him great command over the minds of others, and at the same time excited the cravings of a covert but insatiable ambition. Pure and upright in his own life, he attacked with unsparing

severity the vices of the day and of the court of Rome. As a monk he was a holy man, given to fasting and abjuring the most lawful and innocent enjoyments. In thundering against luxury and immorality he was a reformer, but his harsh stern spirit knew nothing of the love of Christ, and his cruelty and intolerance when in power proved that he was totally ignorant of the benign influence of the Gospel. His fanatical enthusiasm often assumed the language of prophetic inspiration; it was received with implicit faith by his hearers, and even made a strong impression on the conqueror Charles VIII. On learning that this monarch intended to sack Florence, Savonarola got admittance to his presence and addressed him in the most energetic language of reproof: "Dost thou not know that God can be victorious by many or by few? Remember the fate of Sennacherib the proud king of the Assyrians. Remember that through the prayers of Moses, Joshua, and the people of Israel, their enemies were conquered; so will it be with thee who desirest what is not thine own." The resolute attitude of the Town Council, and the courageous reply of Piero Capponi, had not been without effect; the forcible language of Savonarola brought the king to terms. The monk of S. Marco had all the credit of the king's moderation, though very likely Charles was not sorry to make use of the mask of religion to rescue himself from a perilous position. After the departure of the French army, Savonarola declared it to be the will of God that Florence should be governed by a democratic council; this opinion decided the multitude, and his influence became almost unbounded. Wishing to put down the licence of the Carnival, he invented what he called the *Santo Carnasciale*, a sort of religious rejoicing, in which a figure of the Madonna was carried in procession. Afterwards the *abbrusciamiento della vanità* took place. To feed this holocaust, boys were sent by Savonarola from house to house begging for the *anatema*, that is, for the accursed things condemned by the monk. Poems, books, indecorous pictures, female finery, playing cards, perfumes, musical instruments, &c., were brought and heaped together in the form of a pyramid to be burned on the last day of Carnival, as a sacrifice well pleasing to God. The actors in this curious entertainment were boys dressed in white, with olive garlands on their heads and little red crosses in their hands. They approached in procession, singing psalms, to the centre of the square of S. Marco, where the devoted pile of forbidden books was prepared to be consumed. Four boys advanced with torches and set the pile on fire; while the most precious things crackled and flamed, the sound of trumpets and the exciting shouts of the spectators rent the air. So little was Savonarola spiritually enlightened, that he thought of no other reform but substituting one kind of excitement for another. On these occasions even dancing was not neglected, for by way of amusement he arranged the friars and his disciples by two and two holding each other's hands. As they issued from the convent they formed a large circle on the square of S. Marco, where they danced round and round, like children, screaming loudly, *Viva Cristo! Viva Cristo!* What sort of devotion this engendered we leave to the reader's judgment. Some accompanied these dances by songs written for the occasion, such as the verses of Jacopo da Todi.

"Nol mi pensai giammai
Di danzar alla danza
Ma la sua innamoranza
Iesù, lo mi fè fare."

Ieronimo Benivieni sang as follows:

"Non fu mai più bel solazzo,
Più giocondo, nè maggiore,
Che, per zelo e per amore,
Di Iesù divenir pazzo.

Ognun gridi, com'io grido,
Sempre: pazzo, pazzo, pazzo!"

Savonarola was himself a poet; see

“Che fai qui Core?
Che fai qui Core?
Vanne al divino amore.”

Popularity of this kind could not last; it roused the jealousy of his enemies to bring him to a tragical end, in which his constancy and courage fell far short of his pretensions to inspiration.—See *Storia di Girolamo Savonarola*, Livorno, and *Poesie di Ieronimo Savonarola*. Firenze.

Page 403. B.

See CHAP. VII. Appendix F. Page 557.

Page 419. C.

Sommario di Storia Lucchese.

“Nuove incolpazioni di tollerare la diffusione delle luterane dottrine, anzi che reprimerle con calore, vennero ad aggravar la Republica, che pretendeva lasciasse circolare troppo liberamente quei libri onde venivano insegnate, e che menavano di quei di gran rumore. Ne solamente in Roma sorgevano contro di lei le accuse e le doglianze, ma in Lucca eziandio protestavano, per cosiffatto disordine, innanzi al vescovo e i canonici della Cattedrale; talmente che convenne usar destrezza per acquetar la procella. Ma vedendo il Senato che a remover la taccia appostagli non varebbero se non i fatti, lascio di rimanersi inoperoso (che cio non potevasi senza pericolo) e diè fuori rigoroso divieto di tener dispute e ragionamenti sopra materie di religione, di tener corrispondenza cogli eretici, e interdise i libri ereticali, dei quali si legge il catalogo nella riformaione. Istitul ancora un officio particolare che sopravvegliasse i delinquenti; bene inteso che sul passato si stendesse un velo, e soltanto si guardasse all' avvenire. Così però non l'intendeva l'ordinario, che aveva già incominciato varie procedure, nè voleva troncane la spedizione. Per la qual cosa fu scritto a Roma. Fece il Papa molti elogi al decreto, e in grazia di esso, condiscese che niuno potesse aver molestia pei passati traviamenti.”—*Archivio Storico Italiano*, tom. x. p. 429.

“Fresh accusations about tolerating the diffusion of Lutheran doctrines when they ought vigorously to repress them were brought against the republic; it was asserted that they allowed the books to circulate too freely in which they (the doctrines) were taught, and that they occasioned much excitement. It was not only from Rome that these accusations and complaints arose, but in Lucca also protests against these irregularities were laid before the bishop and the canons of the cathedral, so that some management was necessary to allay the danger. But the Senate, seeing that nothing would do but active remedies, left off being inert, which they could no longer be without danger, and issued a rigorous prohibition against disputing or reasoning upon religious subjects and holding correspondence with heretics. Heretical books were forbidden, as may be seen by the Catalogue in the state office of the Reformation. A particular office was established for the purpose of watching over the delinquents, it being understood, however, that the past was to be forgotten and only the future looked into. The ordinary, however, would not thus understand it, but having already begun several trials, he was not willing to stop them. In this case they appealed to Rome. The Pope highly praised the decree, and on this account granted that no one should be annoyed for past deviations.”

Page 423. D.

Expences of the Journey of Peter Martyr and Bernerdinus Ochino to England in 1547. (MS. in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)

"Money layd out by me, John Abell, for Bernerdinus Ochino and Petrus Martyr, from the 4th of November, at Basell, untill the 20th of December, that they came to London.

	Guld.	batz.	oz.
Paid for cloth, for a cloke, and for a cote, for boot, hose, and for a hooede for Bernerdinus at Basell.	8	4	0
Paid to a taylore for fustyan and lynng for a doblert for Bernerdinus, and for makynge of hys cloke, cote, &c.	3	0	2
P ^d to the skyner for furr for hys cote and furring it.	3	3	0
P ^d for a petycoote and for a payr knytt hose for hym	1	9	0
P ^d for a payer of botes for him	2	0	2
P ^d for a payer of bogetts and looks for them.	2	1	1
P ^d for a saddle for hys horse	1	11	0
P ^d for a hatt and glovys for hym	0	9	3
P ^d for a sworde, gyrdell, and mendyng hys sworde	0	8	1
P ^d for our expencys from Basell to Argentine, for our horsemeat, &c., at Argentine	4	6	2
P ^d for mendyng of sadells and pylyons at Argentine	0	7	1
P ^d for books for Bernerdinus at Basell as apperyth, particulerlye by a byll thereof delyv'd to my lord of Canterburye.	40	7	0
P ^d for the works of S. Augustine, Cyprian, and Epithanuis for Petrus Marter at Basell	13	8	1
P ^d for botes and spores, &c. for Petrus Marter	2	11	0
P ^d for two daggers, &c. for Bernerdinus and P ^r Marter	1	12	0
P ^d for a payer furryd glovys for P ^r Martyr	0	13	0
P ^d for a peticoote, glovys, and nyght cap for Julius	1	11	3
P ^d for 2 horse for Bernerdinus and Petrus Marter	36	12	0
P ^d for 2 horse for ther servants	40	7	0
P ^d by that I gave to two pencyoners of Argentine for conducting us two dayes jorney and for other expencys in the waye	12	4	0
P ^d for a vessell for ther books and for packyng them	1	4	2
S ^{ma}	180	1	2

Laus Deo.

S ^{ma} . 180 guldens, 1 batz, 2 oz. aft : 15 batz for the gulden, facit			
127 crones of the sun and 15 batz, 2 oz. reckonyng aft : 23 batz for the crone	117	15	2
P ^d more for our expensys and for our guydes from Argentine to London, 83 crones of the sun	83	0	0
		li.	s.
		d.	
S ^{ma} . 200 crones of the sun and 15 batz, 2oz. at 6 ^s the pece fecit	60	4	0 st

Money layd owt by me, John Abell, for Bernerdinus and Petrus Marter sens their comyng to London the 20th Dec. 1547.

	li.	s.	d.
Paid for two payer of hose for Bernerdinus and Petrus Marter	0	11	4
P ^d for a payer of nether stocks for ther servant	0	2	0
P ^d for 3 payer of shooe for them and ther servant	0	2	4
P ^d for 2 nyght cappes of velvet for them	0	8	0
P ^d for 2 round cappes for them	0	6	0
P ^d for 2 payer of tunbrydge knyves for them	0	2	8
P ^d for 2 payer garters of sylke ryband	0	2	6
For ryband for a gyrdell for Petrus Marter	0	1	2
For 2 payr of glovys for them	0	1	0

	li.	s.	d.
P ^d for their sop' and breakfast y ^t nyght and mornyng that they came to London	0	10	5
P ^d for Potycary ware for them and sending ther gere to Lambeth.	0	1	10
For the frayght of Petrus Marter's dryfate of books from Argentine to Andwerp, 12 dollers.	2	12	0
For the frayght of the same dryfate from Andwerp to London. . .	0	4	4
For the frayght of Bernerdinus dryfate of books from Basell to Andwerp, 17½ dollers.	3	15	2
For the frayght of the said dryfate from Andwerp to London . . .	0	7	9
P ^d for ther horsmeat untill two of them were sold and two delyv'd to ther svants	2	8	6
S ^m a.	11	17	0
S ^m a. of the other syde	60	04	6
	S ^m a. tot, 72 01 6 ^d		
Whereof I have R. for two of the sayd horses sold in Smythfield	4	18	6

So ther remayneth hereof due to me lxxvij^{li}. vii^s. vi^d.

	li.	s.	d.
Dely'd also by my lord of Canterburye comāndment to Julius and Peter Marter's s'vant at hys going o' french, 30 crones at 6 ^s the pece facit	9	00	0
Dely'd also to Julius by my lord of Canterburye comāndment a byll to receyve at hys comyng to Argentine	30	00	0
More for to be allowyd for my costes in rydyng to Argentine at Basell for these two men	20	00	0
S ^m a. 59 ^{li} . 0 ^s . 0 ^d .			
S ^m a. total of all the charges layd out by me, John Abell, amountyth as apperyth by this byll	126	7 ^s .	6 ^d .

Memorandū that I have also wrytten to my factor at Argentine to delyv' to the sayd Julius if he shall nede, as mych moneye more as he shall thinke necessary to pay the charges of the comyng downe of ther wyffe.

It may please my lords of the Council to consyder my hynderance and losse of tyme about myne owne buayness sith I went about this.

Indorsed JOHN ABELL 126^{li}.

PETRO,
D. BERNARD.

Ashmole MSS. No. 826.

Printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. p. 471.

Page 427. E.

Archbishop Cranmer to Martin Bucer.¹

"Grace and peace of God in Christ. I have read your letter to John Hales,² in which you relate the miserable condition of Germany, and inform us that you can scarcely preside in the ministry of the word in your city. . . . To you therefore, my Bucer, our kingdom will be a most safe harbour, in

¹ *Let. xi. Eng. Reform.* p. 19. The original is to be found in Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 844; *Jenkyns I.*, p. 335; Bucer, *Script. Angl.* p. 190.

² A good and learned man, clerk of the hanaper to Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth; he was an exile at Frankfort in Queen Mary's time.—See Strype, *Mem.*

which, by the blessing of God, the seeds of true doctrine have happily begun to be sown. Come over therefore to us, and become a labourer with us in the harvest of the Lord. You will not be of less benefit to the universal church of God while you are with us, than if you retain your former position. In addition to this, you will be better able to heal the wounds of your distressed country in your absence, than you are now able to do in person. Laying aside therefore all delay, come over to us as soon as possible. We will make it manifest that nothing can be more gratifying or agreeable to us than the presence of Bucer. But take care that you suffer no inconvenience from the journey. You are aware of those who pursue your life: do not therefore commit yourself into their hands. There is an English merchant yonder, Richard Hilles, a godly and most trustworthy man, with whom I would have you confer respecting all the arrangements for your journey. Moreover, I pray God, the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with my whole heart, that in the midst of wrath he may remember mercy, and look upon the calamities of his afflicted church, and kindle the light of true doctrine increasingly among us, and not suffer it to be extinguished, after having now shone with so much splendour for many years among yourselves. May He likewise, my Bucer, guide and preserve you, and bring you over to us in safety. Farewell and happily. London, October 2, 1548. Most anxious for your arrival,

THOMAS CREAMER, Archbishop of Canterbury."

Page 433. F.

In the year 1552 the great Italian philosopher and physician, Girolamo Cardano, was sent for from Italy to cure Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, of a dropsy. The remedies were successful, and the archbishop recovered, but his eccentric physician, blindly devoted to the study of judicial astrology, left a painful impression on the mind of his patient by telling him "that though he had saved his life he could not change his fate, for he was to die on the gallows." On returning through England Cardano was presented to king Edward, and was so struck with his intellectual and moral excellencies, that on hearing of his premature death he wrote the following eulogium:

"There was in him a towardly disposition and pregnance as to all human literature; as who being a child had the knowledge of divers tongues, first of the English his native tongue, of Latin and French; neither was he ignorant, as I hear, of Greek, Italian, and Spanish, and of other languages also peradventure. In his own and in the Latin tongue singularly perfect, and with the like facility apt to receive all others. Neither was he ignorant of Logic, Natural Philosophy, or Music. There was in him lacking neither humanitie, the image of our mortalitie, a princely gravity and majesty, nor any kind of dignity becoming a noble king. Briefly, it may seem a miracle of nature to behold the excellent worth and forwardness that appeared in him being yet but a child. This speech, not rhetorically to amplify things or to make them more than truth, yea the truth is more than I do utter. Being not yet fifteen years of age, he asked me in Latin (in which tongue he uttered his mind as readily and eloquently as I could do myself) what my books which I had dedicated unto him did contain. (*De varietate Rerum.*) I said that in the first chapter was shewn the cause of comets or blazing stars, which had been long sought for, yet hitherto scarcely found. What is the cause? said he. The concourse or meeting, said I, of the light and wandering planets and starres. To this the king thus replied again: Forasmuch, saith he, as the motion of the stars keepeth not one course, but is divine and variable by continual alteration, how is it then that the cause of these comets either doth not quickly fade and vanish, or that the comet doth not keep one certain and uniform course and motion with the starres and planets? Whereunto I answered, that the comet hath his course and moving, but much swifter

than they because of the diversity of aspect, as we see a crystal, and in the sun when the form of the rainbow reboundeth on the wall, for a little mutation maketh a great difference of place. Then saith the king, And how can that be having no subjects, for of the rainbow the wall is the subject? Like, said I, in *Lactea Via*, or a reflection of lights, as when many candles are lighted and set near together in the middle, they cause certain bright and white lightsomeness to appear.

"And so by this little trait a great guess may be given what was in this king. In whom no doubt was a great hope and expectation amongst all good and learned men both for the ingenious forwardness and amiable sweetness which in his condition appeared. First he began to love and favour liberal arts and sciences before he knew them, and he knew them before he could use them, whose mortal condition and sudden decease and decay in these tender years not only England but all the world hath cause to lament:

Things that be exceeding excellent
Be not commonly long permanent.

"A show or sight of excellency he could give us as an example. Where kingly majesty required gravity, there you might see him as a sage old man, and yet gentle and pleasant also, according as the condition of his age then required. He played well on the lute; he had also to do in the handling of weighty affairs of the realm. He was liberal and bountiful of heart, and therein he resembled his father."—Burnet, *History of the Reformation*. For the original see No. 1. *Coll. Records*. Idem.

Page 433. G.

Petrus Martyr Vermilius Florentinus magnus ille et re et nomine Theologus, 2^{us} post mortem Haynesii in hac 1^a Præbenda Præbendarius 1551 et Regis Eduardi 6^{ti} 4 Januarii 20. Cum aliquandiu publicæ Theologicæ Lectioni ut cum summo Protestantium applausu ita non sine summa Pontificiorum indignatione incubisset: dedit Eduardus 6^{us} hanc Præbendam ut susceptum munus majori cum alacritate obiret.

24 Oct. Installed Jan. 20. 1551. He was forced to change his lodgings
4th Edw. vj. with the Canon of the second Stall, who lived in the Priory House, on account of being continually mobbed and having his windows broken by the Papists, and went beyond sea in Q. Mary's Reign.—*MS. in Chapter-House Chr. Ch.* "Gilpin's Book."

At the back of Peter Martyr's picture, which hangs in the Chapter-house of Christ Church, Oxford, the following inscription is found:

Peter Martyr, S.T.P. 1548, Canon of the first Stall of Christ Church, 1550. Retired to Strasburgh in June 1554.

Under the more pleasing picture in the lodgings of the Rev. Dr. Jacobson, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, are these words: Peter Martyr Vermiglio, S.T.P.R. 1548—1554.

Page 443. F 2.

The commission was composed of Brooke, bishop of Gloucester, Niccolò Ormaneto the datary, Robert Morven the head of Corpus Christi College, Henry Cole, and Wright, doctors of civil law. Brooke was a literary man not deficient in eloquence, and at any other period would have passed for an amiable and agreeable person, yet we find him engaged in this odious work. Ormaneto was remarkable for nothing but his intolerable arrogance. Cole,

³ Extracted by the kindness of Dr. Jacobson, Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford.

in his own opinion, was a man of great learning, but others looked on him as rather of ordinary acquirements, and of a savage morose nature, *ut nihil mirum, si nec sacra biblia, quæ combusserat. nec Christi fautores, quos infestaverat, ei placere potuerint*, "he was never so pleased as when burning bibles or persecuting the followers of Christ." Morven was an inoffensive old man, and a good father of a family, but harsh to heretics. Wright was a man of natural talent and education, but of no firmness of character, and easily persuaded that to support the authority of the Roman Catholic Church by hunting down heretics was a praiseworthy action. Thus formed, this commission collected a number of bibles and religious books together and made a bonfire of them.¹

Page 445. H.

In a book called *A Collection of Letters, Statutes, and other Documents, from the MS. Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, edited by John Lamb, D.D., London, 1858, there are the following minutes of what the Ecclesiastical Commission did in 1556.

"XXII JANUAR. Tomlynson committed to the Mr. of Xts' coll. custody, who committed him to narrow stodye without mete or brede and at nyght the Visitors sente me with hym to the Vic. and so to the Tolbothe till tomorrow. At x of the clocke the Visitors wente to St. Marys where the Vic. did exhibit the cytation sett upp on Wednesday affirmynge that he had executed according to the tenour thereof in contumacia. citator. requiring tuesday to be appoynted for the condemnation of BUCER and FAGIUS which being granted they departed."

"XXV JANUAR. It. the visitors sent for Mr Chapman in the morning about the condemnation of BUCER and FAGIUS. It. some after vii they went to PEMBROKE HALL and they were receyved as before and so dyned and continued there until iii of the clocke and then they sent for the clarke of St. Mihells about FAGIUS matter."

"XXVI JANUAR. It. at 8 *Congregatio Reg. et non et omnium studentium et quilib. in Hitu in ecclesia beata Mariae* where when the Vic. with the university and the Mayer with the towne were set and present the Visitors came and wente upp into a lytle skaffolde made for them within the quere and first the Vic. came before them without the quere doore brynggng in his hand the citation sett upp on Saturday saying these words, *Reproduco vobis Reverend. Patribus commissariis reverendissimis hanc citationem executam secundum effectum ejusdem*, and then my Lorde of Chester spake unto the whole multitude declaring that upon request made unto them by the Vic. and hole universitie and after processe had been made according to the law they were come to the condemnation of BUCER and FAGIUS for Herytyckes and then hymself did read openly the sentences which done the Vic. preched and stood until almost xi and then wente to dyner with the Visitors to trinitie Coll. whyther also were browght all the verses which were set upp on the Church doores in the sermon tyme in dempnation of the said BUCER and FAGIUS which were a great number."

"VI. FEBRUAR. It. about vii they sent for the Vic. to know in what redines he had set all thynges for the taking uppe and brenning of BUCER and FAGIUS, who answering that provision was made for all things accordingly they sent with him Marshall the notarye and they first took the othe of Andr. Smith, Hen. Sawyer, and Henr. Adams in St. Myhelles for the buryinge and taking upp of P. FAGIUS and the lyke othe they took at St. Marye's of R. Smyth and Will. Hasell alderman and J. Capper Sexton, where-uppon the said BUCER and FAGIUS were taken up owf their graves and about ix of the clock Brent in the market place and a cart lode of Bookes with them, for betwixt 8 and 9 my L. of Lynkolne preched in St. Mary's and

¹ Jacobus Calfhill, *Historia Restitut. Cathar. Uxoris P. M.* p. 198. 1562.

stood tyll almost xi setting furthe BUCER's wyokedness and heretycall doctryn."¹

Fox gives the following account of the burning of the bodies: "Smith, the Mayor of the town, who should be their executioner, for it was not lawful for them (the Visitors) to intermeddle in cases of blood, commanded certain of his townsmen to wait upon him in armour, by whom the dead bodies were guarded, and being bound with ropes and laid upon men's shoulders, (for they were enclosed in chests; Bucer in the same that he was buried, and Fagius in a new one,) they were borne into the midst of the market, with a great train of people following them.

"This place was prepared before; a great post was set fast in the ground to bind the carcasses to, and a great heap of wood was laid ready to burn them with. So when they came thither, the chests were set on end with the dead bodies in them, and fastened on both sides with stakes, and bound to the post with a long iron chain as if they had been alive. Fire being forthwith put, as soon as it began to flame round about a great number of books that were condemned with them were cast into it. It being market day the people laughed at dead men being chained and burned, seeing they could do no harm.

There still remained the purification of the churches, St. Mary and St. Michael, in which these impure violations of the dead had been performed.

Fox says: "that breaden god, whom Bucer's carcass had chased from thence (St. Mary's), was not yet turned there again. The bishop of Chester took and carried him clad in a long rochet and a large tippet of sarsnet about his neck, in which he wrapped up his little idol of bread. The order of this procession was as follows: the Master's regents went before singing with a loud voice, *Salve feste dies, &c.*; next followed the bishop of Chester; on each side of him went Ormaneto and his fellow-commissioners with the masters of the colleges, bearing every man a long taper alight in his hand [fit emblem of their feeble light]; after whom, a little space off, followed other degrees of the university. Lastly came the mayor and his townsmen. Before them all went the beadles, crying to such as they met, that they should bow themselves humbly before the host. If any refused to do so they threatened to send them forthwith to prison. Within two years after this mummery and wickedness, God, beholding us in mercy, called queen Mary out of this life, the 17th Nov. A.D. 1558."² Elizabeth restored the Protestant religion, and Cambridge is now remarkable for the freedom of its benevolent and philanthropic assemblies.

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See CHAP. VII. Appendix I.

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At the death of Martinengo the Italian congregation applied to the Town Council of Geneva to write to the Council of Zurich, requesting them to send Peter Martyr for their minister. See the accompanying minute and the letter written by the Council to him.

"Spectables Lactance Ragnone et Micheli, pour et au nom de la nation italienne disent qu'il y a besoin d'un ministre en l'église italienne de cette cité, puisque spectacle Martinengo ministre est trépassé ces jours derniers. Leur désir est d'avoir maître Pierre Martyr demeurant en la ville de Zurich pour ministre en cette église, s'il plaît a Dieu. Ils sont en délibération là-dessus pour avoir icelui, c'est pourquoi ils supplient qu'il nous plaise en écrire

¹ Lamb, *Collection of Documents*, pp. 208—216.

² See Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, book xii. p. 933. Ed. 1838.

à la seigneurie dudit Zurich pour icelui avoir, qui sera en grande édification. A été arresté qu'on leur octroie leur requête et qu'on écrive comme il est supplié."—*Registres du Conseil de Genève du 7 Août. 1557.*

Letter of Calvin to the Council of Zurich, on the same occasion :

"I know that your school is a seminary for pious divines, nor am I ignorant how necessary the activity of our venerable brother Peter Martyr is for pure and holy teaching in this institution. I fear that I shall not be thought discreet, if, instead of forming the ministers of the word in the midst of a brilliant and distinguished audience, I ask you to allow him to fill the office of pastor among our people. If it was desired to seek a professor for our school, which does not equal yours either in numbers or in talent, it would be unwise to attempt to draw away so superior a man from you. But I offer no apology for making a request, which at the solicitation of our Italian guests I feel myself obliged to address to you. I am sure that I shall not appear troublesome to you: I only wish I were as sure that my request would be granted. Your solicitude for the Church of Christ makes me hope, however, that if you can without great inconvenience, you will grant P. Martyr to us, and that you will be too strongly interested in a church deprived of its pastor to refuse such earnest entreaties. Peter Martyr knows well what Martinengo was, whose place he is now invited to fill. I can myself fully attest the faithfulness with which he discharged his duty to the last. The remembrance of his excellence makes it difficult to find any one to fill his place. It is to be feared that if his successor is not up to his mark he will not be appreciated, and that thus the church may gradually disperse. The number of those who desire to have Martyr is not small, and he is invited by all; among them there are several men of warm hearts and serious views; some are even versed in literature, so that Martyr would have reason to hope to see encouraging results for his pains; and if we consider the great advantage his arrival here would be to our guests, still more happy consequences may be looked for. As for myself, without venturing to decide, I feel it is not a matter of slight importance to ensure and establish the prosperity of a church from whence up to this time the sound of divine truth has been widely promulgated. As you have at heart the general edification, weigh the matter well, and see if your Church can spare a man who not only is anxiously desired, but who also will, if you grant him liberty, devote his exertions with great success to his countrymen and to us. Adieu my excellent brethren, so truly worthy of my respect. May the Lord continue to protect and bless you, and guide you in this matter by the Spirit of wisdom.¹ Geneva, 31 Aug. 1557."

Calvin was the more anxious to have so sound a divine as Peter Martyr for the Italian Church, on account of the erroneous opinions entertained by some Italians on the subject of the Trinity. See the following extract from the *Archives of Geneva*. "En Mai 1558. Sur ce qu'on decouvrit que Valentini Gentili, Gio. Paolo Alciati, Georgio Blandrata et d'autres soutenoient des discours comme ne sentant pas bien des trois personnes, en une seule Divinité essentielle, et troubloient la paix de l'Eglise, semant des opinions erronées; par l'avis de M. Calvin et des Pasteurs de la ville, et du Pasteur et Concistoire Italienne fût dressée une Confession de Foi speciale la dessus, etendant ce qui est plus reserré en la confession ordinaire de Genève laquelle fu souscrite en une congregation generale, le 18 de Mai, en presence du quatrieme Sindyque, M. Chevalier (commis au nom de la Seigneurie des Pasteurs françois) par la plus part des membres l'Eglise, et par le reste en d'autres jours suivans, et le 23 Mai par six de ceux qui y faisoient difficulté Silvestro Teglio, Filippo Rustici, Franc. Porcellino, Nicolò Sardo, Valentini Gentili, Hypolite Gallo. L'original de la dite Confession n'était pas dans notre Registre."—*Conseil d'État. Archives M.S. Genève.*

¹ *MS. Bib. Geneva.* I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Binder for a copy of this letter; the original is in Latin.